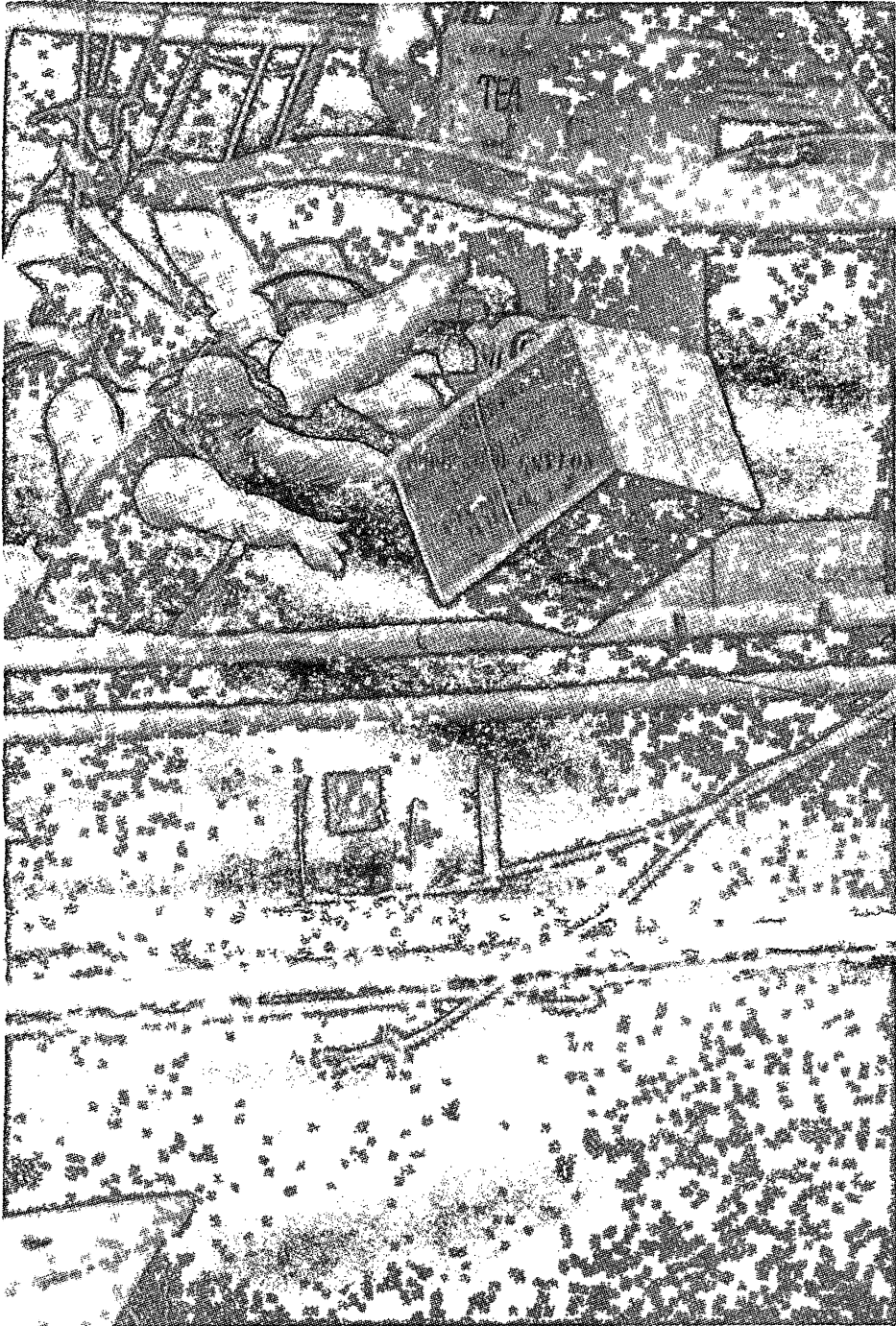


NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

BULK RATE
U.S. Postage
PAID
Permit No. 1048
Berkeley, CA 94704

VOL. III, NO. 4

JANUARY 1974 25 CENTS



BOSTON TEA PARTY

Rebels Steal the Show, Condemn Oil Companies, Nixon

SEVERAL THOUSAND spirited demonstrators dramatized grievances against President Nixon and American oil companies at the 200 anniversary celebration of the Boston Tea Party December 16th.

The demonstrators dumped oil drums into Boston Harbor, hanged the President in effigy, and generally dominated the festivities opening the nation's Bicentennial celebration of the American Revolution.

Boston police estimated that the crowd ranged as high as 40,000 people, although organizers of the People's Bicentennial said 12,000 was more realistic. Only a few hundred, if that, came for the "official" re-enactment. There hasn't been a crowd like this for a demonstration in Boston since 1970; there were theatre troupes, giant puppets and effigies of Nixon, every conceivable banner, fifes and drums, and a fantastic anti-Nixon/anti-oil company spirit.

The throng crowded the wharves and bridges around Fort Point Channel, braving sleet and snow and raw, sub-freezing temperatures. They watched quietly as members of the Charlestown Militia re-enacted the protest of 1773, when townsfolk dumped tea into Boston Harbor in defiance of taxes levied by King George III of Britain on the American colonies.

But spectators cheered calls for Nixon's impeachment and denunciations of oil companies, who were blamed for the current fuel shortage.

The celebration began at Faneuil Hall where Samuel Adams once called for rebellion against King George III.

In the Hall, a boisterous crowd of about 1,000—approximately 1,500 more were unable to get in—carried flags and banners and roared approval when speakers called for Nixon's impeachment and when the oil companies were attacked.

"How many offenses for impeachment do we need?" Rep. Robert Drinan

OIL COMPANIES PLAN

Puerto Rico: Target for Destruction

by Middlesex NAM Economic
Research Group

JANUARY 1974 IS the month the oil companies will announce record profits for 1973. Exxon alone will have after-tax profits of close to \$2 billion. For the industry as a whole, after-tax profits will be up 40 percent to 50 percent over the 1972 level.

January 1974 is also the month in which a group of large oil companies plans to begin construction of a massive superport complex in Puerto Rico. Under the guise of "solving the energy crisis," the companies plan to build a deep water port on the western coast of the island to handle huge tankers bringing oil from the Persian Gulf and elsewhere for the West Coast U. S. market. In addition to the port and storage facilities, the complex would include oil refineries, petrochemical plants, and metal refining and processing industry.

The project as planned is immense. When completed, it would take up over 15 percent of Puerto Rico's flat land. Interior mountain regions would be stripped for mineral wealth. Virtually all of Puerto Rico's fresh water would be polluted and air pollution would quadruple, according to studies of the plans. Very few jobs would be created,

(Continued on back page)

ON THE INSIDE

Miners' Convention, p. 3

NY Socialist Coalition, p. 4

The Way We Were, p. 5

3 Day Week

Heath Locks Out Workers

by John Willoughby
Berkeley NAM

LAST WEEK Prime Minister Edward Heath imposed a forced three-day work week for nearly all British industries. This drastic step, which will take effect in January and will drive thousands of families below the 20-pound (approximately \$46) a week poverty line, is a response to the growing industrial militancy of the miners, the railway train drivers and the electrical power station technicians.

While the Arab oil production slow-down has complicated the picture, Heath himself has emphasized that his main concern is to stop the miners from gaining a pay settlement above the norms set by the Tories' wage control program. Since the miners' ban on all overtime work began, coal reserves have dwindled significantly. Seventy percent of Britain's electrical power stations rely on coal. In addition, the strict following of all safety rules (called a "work-to-rule" in Britain) by the train drivers has further hindered transportation of coal and made efficient utilization difficult.

By locking out all of Britain's workers, the Conservatives hope to isolate the three unions in the forefront of the fight against wage controls and prevent their successes from setting off a flood of high wage demands. If Heath is successful, profits as a share of national income will continue to rise.

The problems of the British economy are not simply the result of sudden labor militancy. In the post-war years, Britain has had the slowest growth rate in Western Europe. As a result, the standard of living of most working people is appallingly low. A recent survey of housing conditions revealed that ten percent of all "homes" have no hot running water or indoor plumbing. In the traditional industrial areas of the North of England and Scotland, this figure is much higher.

One of the reasons for this poor performance is Britain's chronic balance of payments difficulties. Burdened with old machinery and far flung military

(Continued on back page)

(Continued on page 10)

Students Lead Revolt

ATTACK PAK

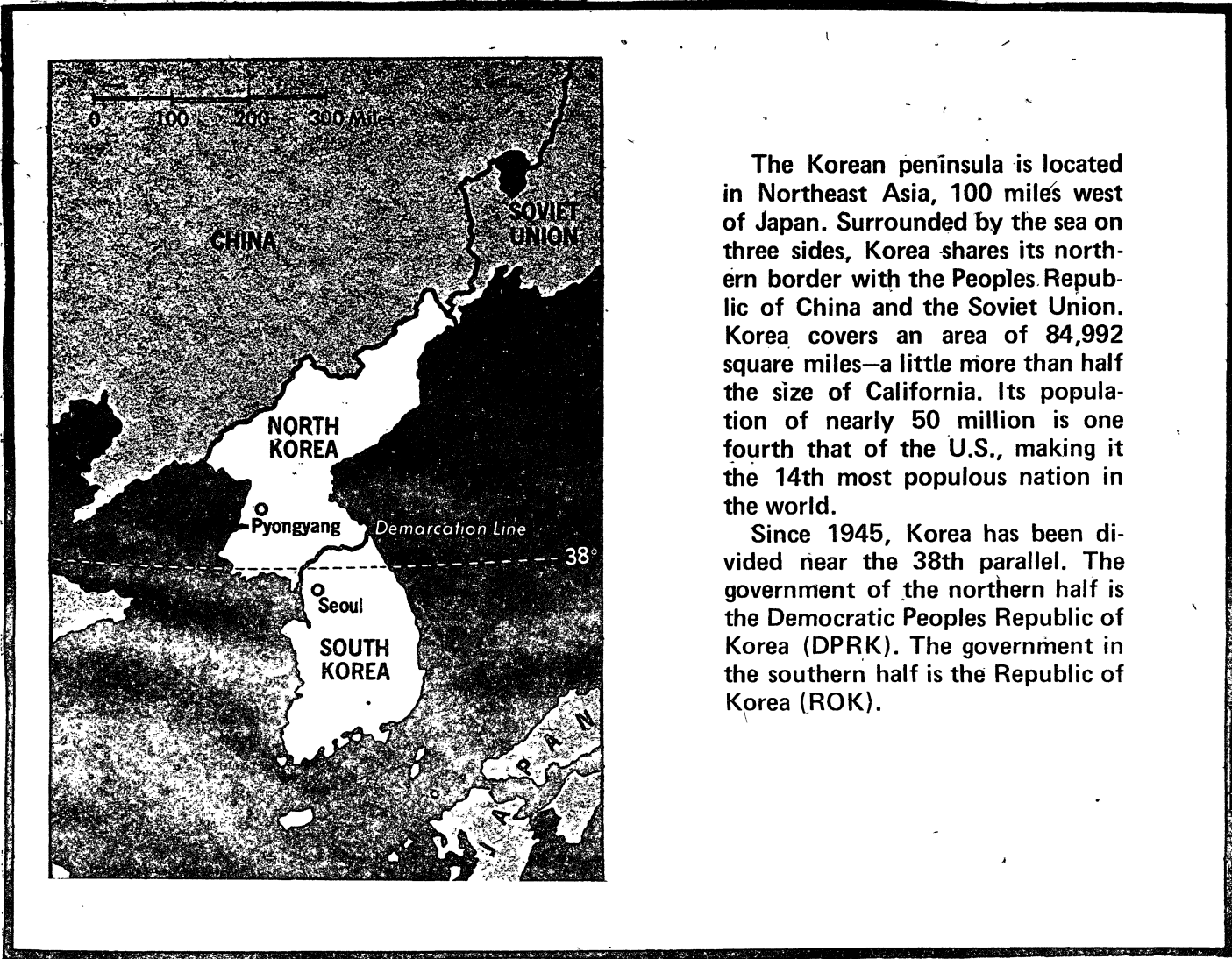
PROTESTS IN South Korea are now in their third month. Open opposition to President Pak's rule has been spreading, and recent student-led demonstrations have resulted in clashes with the police as they have moved off campuses and into the streets of Seoul, the capital. Reports indicate that as many as 5,000 students have been involved in various incidents.

The French newspaper, *Le Monde*, reports that despite severe censorship "information about the demonstrations circulates by word of mouth and the population, say observers, give their sympathy to the student movement, the successors to those who in 1960 overthrew the dictatorship of Syngman Rhee."

The student movement is important, the French paper adds, "because it is the last avenue of opposition, since the press is muzzled, the National Assembly is completely manipulated, and the entire country is under omnipresent police control."

The movement was sparked by the CIA kidnapping of opposition leader Kim Dae Jung in Tokyo last August. But the student demands have gone much further—an end to the dictatorship of President Pak, dissolution of the South Korean CIA, a restoration of democracy.

The students are also making alliances with the radical Christian movement. Prayer meetings in support of arrested students have been held in several churches. Following one prayer meeting recently, Presbyterian students marched



The Korean peninsula is located in Northeast Asia, 100 miles west of Japan. Surrounded by the sea on three sides, Korea shares its northern border with the Peoples Republic of China and the Soviet Union. Korea covers an area of 84,992 square miles—a little more than half the size of California. Its population of nearly 50 million is one fourth that of the U.S., making it the 14th most populous nation in the world.

Since 1945, Korea has been divided near the 38th parallel. The government of the northern half is the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea (DPRK). The government in the southern half is the Republic of Korea (ROK).

into the streets carrying placards and torches. 38 were arrested.

Since October when the student demonstrations began, there have been other significant signs of protest against the Pak regime. Perhaps the most important was a statement signed in early November by 15 of South Korea's most prominent intellectuals, writers, and religious leaders. Twelve of them were arrested when they held a small meeting

(Continued on page 11)



42,000 U.S. troops remain in the south today, obstructing the reunification of Korea.

KOREAN UNITY: CLOUDY

LAST YEAR, REPRESENTATIVES of the governments of North and South Korea had discussions on the question of reunification of their country. On July 4, 1972, they issued a North-South Joint Statement on Reunification agreeing on seven principles by which reunification is to be achieved. The principles include commitments to settle the problems of unification peacefully, independently (without reliance on outside assistance or interference), and without requiring a change in the ideology or social system of either area.

According to the Committee for Solidarity with the Korean People, the government of South Korea was forced to abandon its "anti-Communist" policy (which justified its refusal to deal with North Korea) when Nixon made moves of friendship toward China. However, soon after the joint statement was signed, President Pak of South Korea declared a state of martial law, imposed a new constitution which legalized his one-man rule by eliminating the powers of the national assembly, and completely curtailed civil liberties in the country. Pak claimed that these "revitalizing reforms" were necessary to strengthen his position with the North.

Pak's ability to reject proposals made by the North and hinder progress toward reunification rests largely on American government support which has perpetuated the North-South split for over 20 years. There are still more than 40,000 U. S. troops in the South, a force that is bolstered by huge stockpiles of weapons and military equipment sent under a \$1.5 billion five-year "Modernization Plan."

Pak's reliance on the U. S. has had a disastrous effect on the economy of South Korea. Compared with the North, which for the past 20 years has been steadily building a program of industrialization, achieving self-sufficiency in food production, and maintaining an independent economy not subjected to any foreign economic power, the South has neglected its agricultural development, become more and more dependent on food imports, and allowed the incursion of branch operations of U. S. and Japanese corporate giants. Foreign investments of \$3 to \$6 billion have flowed into South Korea to take advan-

tage of the cheap labor and has transformed the economy into a satellite of the U. S. and Japan. Its balance of payments deficit runs from \$1 to \$1.5 billion a year in an economy with about a \$7 billion GNP. (This would be like the U. S. running an annual payments deficit of \$150 to \$200 billion—ten times the "crisis level.")

The independent economy of North Korea is equipped to give the South the help it needs to acquire independence—the kind of credit and grants (amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars) it extends to countries of Asia and Africa. However, President Pak prefers to allow the imperialist needs of the U. S. and Japan to dominate the economy of the South. As late as July of this year, then Secretary of State Rogers gave Pak reassurances that U. S. forces would remain in South Korea until the Five-Year Modernization Plan is completed and he pledged support for Pak's two-Koreas policy. And Admiral Thomas Moorer, Head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, informed the U. S. Senate Appropriations Committee this year that South Korea's "strategic importance to us is obvious because of its proximity to the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union, and Japan."

Economic and military presence of the U. S. in South Korea has been supplemented by the stepping up of counter-insurgency operations including a grant of \$100 million in 1968 alone. A domestic militia of the "Homeland Reserve Defense Force," (about 2.1-million strong) was set up and equipped with U. S. arms. This force was used to help Pak enforce his repressive martial law decree last year.

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.

For more information on NAM, please write:

NATIONAL OFFICE:

New American Movement
2421 E. Franklin Avenue So.
Minneapolis, MN 55405
612-333-0970

NEWSPAPER:

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

UMW CONVENTION

Promise for the Union

by Judy MacLean Pittsburgh NAM

THE UNITED MINE Workers of America recently finished their first convention since a rank and file insurgent movement, Miners for Democracy, de-throned Tony Boyle, hand-picked successor to John L. Lewis, in a federally supervised election. The democratic reforms and militant positions taken by the new leadership could become a model and inspiration for rank and file insurgents in other unions who, like the miners, have increasingly lost voice in such matters as contract negotiations, health and safety, and the conduct of the union as a whole.

The steps taken at the convention were impressive. Arnold Miller, the new president and a veteran West Virginia miner, recommended and the delegates passed several proposals to insure greater participation by the rank and file. The most significant is the reinstatement of the membership referendum on contracts, a practice that was discontinued by Lewis in 1951. Negotiations for a new contract will begin this month and are expected to continue through next November when the current contract expires. In the event of a strike, all union officers will receive the same strike pay as the striking miners. The negotiating committee will number about thirty and will include rank and file members. Miller has committed himself to a contract that will be easily understood by coal miners and legal jargon will be restricted in the contract.

The headquarters of the union, ensconced since 1934 in a plush Washington building, will move soon to someplace more convenient to the miners. As Miller stated, "To understand the problems of a man who works eight hours a day in a coal mine you have to remember what coal dust tastes like. To represent the interests of miners you have to see a slag heap outside your window, not a skyscraper. To lead the United



Photo by Ed Meek

Mine Workers of America you can't be shielded from the look in a woman's eye while she waits for a husband trapped in mine explosion."

The convention was run democratically, with a total of eight mikes for easy access by delegates. And it was held in Pittsburgh, near the coal fields, rather than in distant cities where conventions usually have been held in recent years.

The spirit of the convention was important, too. As you entered the convention hall a photo exhibit depicted the struggles of the miners to unionize, from the early days all the way up to today's struggle to unionize the miners in Harlan County, Kentucky. The mood of the exhibit was one of pride in the miners' heritage of struggle—and militancy. Each evening there was dancing and singing with a great spirit of comradeship among the delegates. A highlight was Florence Reece from Harlan County, Kentucky, singing a song from the struggle there thirty years ago, "Which Side Are You On?"

The UMW convention shows promise for the union to take leadership in the union movement. Miller spoke of the UMW's role in the 1930's in forming the

United Steel Workers and other unions, and pointed out that the UMW has slipped far behind these unions in terms of benefits for its members. The UMW hopes to assert leadership on many fronts. They hope to set an example as a democratically run union where the maximum funds go to organizing, health, and retirement and little goes to bureaucrats' salaries. They hope to organize non-union coal miners in the western states, where more coal mining will take place in the future. The threat of a six-month strike if the coal operators don't accept contract demands in November, 1974, in contrast to UMW's "peace in industry," no-strike stance, and could inspire other unions to militance. Their expressions of solidarity and contributions of \$10,000, officially and \$2,700 by passing the hat to Caesar Chavez' United Farm Workers shows their interest in building the union movement as a whole.

The delegates approved a hard-hitting set of contract demands for the new contract next November. In some cases they voted even stronger measures than those recommended by Miller, as in the amount

of pensions for miners. The most important of the demands that will be made include:

* A cost-of-living escalation clause in the contract.

* A six-hour work day with a one-hour paid lunch break, wage increases on weekends and holidays and an end to overtime where layoffs exist.

* Rigid enforcement of occupational health and safety standards, expanded medical services, and a stress on dental care.

* A two-year contract (the current one lasted three) to give the union more room to respond to changing conditions like the energy crisis.

Although some of the demands will be negotiated away, the miners seemed to feel strongest about the health and retirement issues. And they are willing to fight for the contract—with a six-month strike if necessary.

The union also plans to lobby for federal legislation that will give subsidies

(Continued on page 7)

THE UNITED MINE WORKERS JOURNAL

VOLUME 41, NUMBER 1, JANUARY 1974

1.00 A YEAR

THE AGREEMENT

Chicago, Illinois, February 1974

EIGHT HOURS A DAY

Ten Cents a Ton Advance In Pay

COMPARATIVE UNIFORMITY IN THE DAY WAGE

Over The Competitive District,

IS THE RESULT OF THE CHICAGO JOINT CONVENTION.

SCAFFE

At Chicago, Illinois, the work of the Scaffolding Workers of America, Inc. is being reported in this issue of the Journal.

REPORT

Special Committee on Defense Fund

On the basis of the information received from the members of the Defense Fund, the following report is being submitted to the Executive Board.

REPORT

On the basis of the information received from the members of the Defense Fund, the following report is being submitted to the Executive Board.

MINERS UNION

Struggle Ahead

by Nick Rabkin Berkeley NAM

THE RANK-AND-file rebellion, which brought Arnold Miller and Mike Trbovich to power in last year's federally supervised rerun of the UMW elections, began more than ten years ago in the hills and hollows of Appalachia. The rebellion arose from problems faced by the coal industry and the union after World War II when coal rapidly lost ground in energy production to oil and natural gas.

In 1946 John L. Lewis, the autocratic patriarch of the UMW, raised a demand that the coal operators contribute a royalty on every ton of coal mined to establish a miners' retirement and welfare fund. The UMW struck for this demand on April 1st and continued strike activity despite injunctions, jailings, fines, and Truman's seizure of the mines, until July, 1947, when the operators agreed to a royalty of ten cents a ton.

However, by 1948 coal production had slumped by a third because of competition from other fuels. In 1951 Lewis secretly negotiated a contract that was the first step in the UMW's program to revitalize the coal industry. The new contract allowed operators a free hand

in automating and making coal production more efficient. Enormous loans from the union-controlled National Bank of Washington financed the companies' modernization program.

The program led to massive lay-offs in the coal industry. Three hundred thousand miners lost their jobs and hundreds of less efficient small mines were closed. For its part the UMW was assured of steady wage increases for working miners and began a broad program of health and welfare benefits.

The industry made a tentative recovery during the fifties, which is one reason for the acquisition of most of the major coal companies in this period by the oil majors. In spite of this recovery, the welfare fund was in serious trouble by the early sixties. Widespread union corruption had resulted in hundreds of sweetheart contracts in the coal fields. Coal operators were not making their payments into the fund and the UMW was doing nothing about it. The union was forced to sell its hospitals and reduce welfare benefits from \$100 to \$75 a month. When Tony Boyle succeeded Lewis in 1963 he inherited a union angered by the fund mismanage-

(Continued on page 7)

Photo by Ed Meek

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS REVEAL SECRET U.S. BOMB SCHOOL

Bombs With U.S. AID

by Mike Klare and Nancy Stein
North American Congress on
Latin America (NACLA)

Washington, D. C.

A year ago, *State of Siege*, the most recent film of noted movie director Costa-Gavras, leveled a series of startling charges at the American government.

At one point in the film, a Uruguayan police officer was shown receiving training in the manufacture and use of explosive devices at a secret police bomb school in the southwestern United States. Later, the same officer was linked to a right-wing Uruguayan "Death Squad" implicated in the murders (some performed with explosives) of prominent Uruguayan radicals.

For most American viewers and movie critics, these scenes appeared as mere cinemagraphic flourishes in a controversial film. Now State Department documents unearthed by Senator James Abourezk (D-S.D.) show beyond a doubt that the film was unerringly accurate in its picture of U. S. "Counterinsurgency" programs in Latin America.

The existence of the Abourezk papers was first disclosed in Jack Anderson's syndicated column for October 8 of this year. Pacific News has now received a full set of the papers which were used in preparing the following story.

The documents reveal that the U. S. government is, in fact, training foreign

policemen in bomb-making at a remote desert camp in Texas. In response to Senator Abourezk's inquiries, the Agency for International Development (AID) has now acknowledged that its Office of Public Safety (OPS) is providing such instruction.

At the U. S. Border Patrol Academy in Los Fresnos, Texas, foreign policemen are taught the design, manufacture, and potential uses of homemade bombs and incendiary devices by CIA instructors. At least 165 policemen—mostly from the Third World countries of Asia, Latin America, and Africa—have taken this "Technical Investigations Course" since it was first offered in 1969. Sixteen or more Uruguayans have received such training.

All costs of the training, rated at \$1,750 per student, are borne by AID. Students in the Technical Investigations Course first attend a four-week preliminary session at the International Police Academy (IPA) in Washington, D. C. They are treated to lectures on such subjects as: Basic Electricity ("Problems involving electricity as applied to explosives"), Introduction to Bombs and Explosives, Incendiaries ("A lecture/demonstration of incendiary devices"), and Assassination Weapons.

After completion of the preliminary course, the "trainees" are flown to the Los Fresnos camp for four week "field sessions." All lectures at Los Fresnos are delivered at an outdoor "laboratory"

presided over by CIA instructors. According to AID, these sessions include "practical exercises" with "different types of explosive devices and 'booby-traps.'" (In the film *State of Siege*, sample bombs are shown being exploded in buildings, automobiles, and in a "public plaza" filled with dummies.)

In a memorandum to Senador Abourezk, AID official Matthew Harvey argued that the Technical Investigations Course was set up to help foreign policemen develop "countermeasures" against terrorist attacks on banks, corporations, and embassies.

In order to develop countermeasures, he claimed the trainee must first study "home laboratory techniques" used in "the manufacture of explosives and incendiaries." Only then, according to the AID argument, will he be able "to take preventive action to protect lives and property."

Although Harvey stressed the defensive nature of the training program, he admitted that the Department of Defense found the subject matter so inherently sensitive that it refused to provide instructors for the course.

AID was thus forced to seek help from the CIA. Indeed, once a "trainee" becomes proficient in bomb techniques, there is no stopping him from using them offensively against criminal enterprises or, as in *State of Siege*, against opponents of a ruling oligarchy.

Such a possibility became more real when one examines a list of countries represented at the Texas bomb school. Almost every country in Latin America, such conservative Middle Eastern states as Jordan and Saudi Arabia, and a number of Asian nations are on the list. All have pro-American governments in which the police are actively involved in suppressing legal and extra-legal political opposition movements.

'Death Squad' Executions

Rio de Janeiro

Eight bodies, all bearing the trade marks of Rio de Janeiro's "Death Squad," have been found within a 72-hour period ending Friday morning, police sources said yesterday.

The Death Squad is said to be composed of off-duty policemen and is reported to have tortured and murdered more than 2000 local small-time criminals in the past few years.

Associated Press

These Third World policemen (particularly in Latin America) are themselves engaged in terrorist activities. Some of them are utilizing their U. S.-supplied training in vigilante assassination teams like La Mano Blanca (White Hand) and Ojo por Ojo (Eye for an Eye) in Guatemala, La Banda (The Band) in the Dominican Republic, and the "Death Squads" of Uruguay and Brazil.

It is generally acknowledged that these secretive Death Squads are made up of "off duty" policemen and representatives of the civil and military intelligence services ("The members of the Death Squad are policemen," a top Brazilian judge affirmed in 1970, "and everyone knows it.") These groups engage in kidnapping, torture, assassination, and bombings. Their victims range from petty criminals to students, academics, and political activists.

(Continued on page 10)

N.Y. SOCIALIST COALITION

The Possibility Is Clear

by John Farley and
Ronald Radosh

New York NAM No. 1

THE SECOND organizational meeting of the New York Socialist Coordinating Committee took place at the Diplomat Hotel in New York City on December 15th. Organized at the initiative of Stanley Aronowitz, well-known in left circles and author of *False Promises: The Making of Working Class Consciousness* (McGraw Hill, 1973), the organization's birth indicates renewed

interest in popular socialist activity in New York City.

The original nucleus of the group were members of the New York branch of Arthur Kinoy's newly-formed organizing group for a new People's Party who were dissatisfied with the Kinoy group's failure to affirm a socialist perspective. Because of this, they decided to meet on their own to try and build an organizational structure

that could create a socialist presence in New York.

Some 80-100 people attended the all-day meeting. Members of various socialist and left groups in the New York area were present including about 15 people from New York NAM Nos. 1 and 2, and the Queens College chapter. Aside from NAM, members of the Staten Island Community College Mayday Collective of New York Radical Teachers, taxi union rank-and-file, the Mongoose community coffee house from Park Slope, and members of the radical Teachers' Caucus of the United Federation of Teachers attended. Also present were members associated with the "Newt Davidson" socialist caucus of the Professional Staff Congress, City University of New York (the birth of which was reported in the July NAM paper). There were few black or Puerto Rican members present, but representatives from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) attended.

After much deliberation and extremely thorough discussion, the group decided upon adoption of a set of principles of purpose (see box).

As the statement of principles indicates, the group arrived at an explicitly anti-capitalist and libertarian socialist orientation, rejected vanguardist politics, and asserted the need to build a democratic revolutionary organization and structure. Whether or not the assembled group will be able to function in a political fashion and enter seriously into the mainstream of political and social life in New York City is open to question.

But the possibility for the New York Socialist Coordinating Committee to bring together the existing left in a non-sectarian and overtly socialist direction is clear. Already scheduled is a February forum on Marxism-Leninism and the Sixties, with presentations by Dave Dellinger, Annie Stein, Linda

Gordon, Harry Magdoff, and a member of the PSP. Plans are under way to investigate development of a weekly New York socialist paper as well as creation of a school that could combine social, cultural, political, and educational programs.

Membership in the group seems to be drawn at the start from three groupings: former members involved in anti-imperialist and anti-war actions during the latter 60's who had evolved toward a socialist perspective; members of other socialist groups such as NAM; the left of the old Socialist Party (Debs caucus, et al), and independent socialists, some of whom have recently quit either the Communist Party or the Socialist Workers Party. At the least, the ability of people from divergent backgrounds and politics to mend their differences and work in a comradely fashion indicates an increasing seriousness and desire to build a new, openly socialist politics in New York. ■

Minutes of Red Umbrella Meeting
December 15, 1973

1. Principles of Agreement were discussed at length. Final version approved at meeting (see box).
2. Plan for forum Feb. 2, 1974, on "Marxism, Leninism, plus the Sixties equals ???" Invite speakers on lessons of the sixties, from different points of view.
3. CUNY report -- no time to discuss it. Written report distributed. Rally 19 December at Biltmore Hotel by CUNY people.
4. At next meeting -- Jan. 5, 1974, 10 AM at Hotel Diplomat, NYC - will hear and discuss:
 - (1) Draft by women's committee on sexism and oppression of women
 - (2) Draft clarifying notion of "popular control"
 - (3) Proposal on union work
 - (4) Preamble about sexism and racism

Principles of Agreement of Red Umbrella Approved at Dec. 15, 1973 Meeting

Preamble: The following points of agreement must be understood as a totality.

1. We advocate a program and analysis that explicitly challenges capitalist relationships of power and control over people's lives, and puts forth socialism as an alternative goal: the social control of all economic, political and cultural institutions by the working class, broadly conceived as those who do not own or control the means of production of resources.
2. We recognize the U. S. corporate ruling class as the main enemy of the people of our country and of the peoples of the world in their search to control their own destiny and lead fuller material and cultural lives. Because the system we oppose is world-wide, we consider our struggles against the U.S. corporate order to be in common with those of the peoples of the world who are fighting imperialist domination as well as their own reactionary regimes. We understand the combination of the struggles for socialism and against imperialism as the most powerful guarantee of our long-term success.
3. Historically, racism has been a crucial weapon of the ruling class in maintaining its control here and in the rest of the world. Racism in the past and in every aspect of our lives today blocks the unity necessary for basic social change. Within the U. S., the struggle for socialism cannot be separated from the struggle against racism and the struggles by all oppressed peoples for their own liberation.
4. We recognize that domination and exploitation are the principal forms of social relations under corporate capitalism. We must struggle against all forms of domination, institutional and interpersonal, in our homes, schools, workplaces, communities. We advocate popular control in every arena of daily life and oppose all forms of hierarchy. At the same time we recognize the need for democratic revolutionary organization, structure, and leadership which is chosen by and responsible to its membership.

movies

the way we were

by Roberta Lynch
Pittsburgh NAM

"Woman is born to suffer, mistreated and cheated

We are trained to that hothouse of exploitation."

Marge Piercy
Burying Blues for Janis

IVE ALWAYS FELT a certain perverse admiration for Tammy Wynette's "Stand By Your Man" because it's such an unvarnished version of the prevailing ideology of male/female relationships: for a woman the experience of love is bound up unalterably with pain. One reason I liked the new Streisand/Redford film, *The Way We Were*, so much is woman's pain--not tragedy or horror--but the ordinary everyday desperation of a woman in love.

The Way We Were is a good film in several respects: It takes politics seriously. It takes a woman seriously. And it attempts a measure of honesty in its portrayal of the complex interaction of a woman and a man and the world in which they live.

It all begins in the 30's in the college days of New York Jewish Communist, Katie Morosky, and WASP Jock, Hubbell Gardner. They clash some but their mutual attraction is made clear. (Although Katie's attraction to Hubbell is always made more clear.) They meet again several years later and, though their differences remain, have an affair. After several more years, they marry and go off to Hollywood where he becomes a screenwriter and she eventually becomes pregnant. Katie maintains her political commitment and "abrasive" style, if not her activism, through the McCarthy period. The conflicts--both of politics and style--between her and Hubbell continue. When the baby is born, they split up and Katie goes back to New York.

The Way We Were does not make it on its plot, but on its characterizations and its sensibilities. It treats, with precision and affection, the development (and simultaneous disintegration) of the relation between Katie and Hubbell. It is a relationship based from the beginning on the contradiction between caring and power. Hubbell displays a kind of kindness, a quiet concern and a genuine ad-

miration for Katie. But there is always something else. He wrote of himself: "In

a way he was like the country he lived in, everything came too easily to him." In reality (like the country he lived in) Hubbell's ease masked a determination to win and the subtle uses of power. Nothing really just came. It was all gone after--however indirectly. It was all fought for--however hidden the battleground. With Katie and Hubbell the dynamics of power are all too familiar. The man remains cool, detached. He could leave at any time. The woman cries easily. She cannot let him go. They are in love.

Katie is portrayed as a strong, independent woman. Yet Katie is always eager to please. She apologizes a lot. She worries that she is not attractive enough. She encourages Hubbell's writing talent, forgetting her own ambitions. There is a slightly desperate edge in her initial involvement with him. And years into their marriage she tells a friend Hubbell is still the most important thing in her life.

Throughout the film Hubbell remains a political-cynic. And Katie remains an intensely political person. She is never able to take less than seriously the world around her. She cannot ignore or forget and she cannot stop speaking her mind. The conflict between her fierce need for Hubbell and the strength of her political convictions is at the core of her character.

In a scene that painfully dramatizes Katie's situation, she calls up Hubbell after he has broken off the relationship. She is crying and begs him (she says it--"I beg you") to come over and talk with her because she can't sleep. A little while later he walks in the door and without a word drops some sleeping pills in her hand. He's very controlled.

Even though she eventually convinces him not to leave her, the phone call will not go away. It is the jagged mirror of the minor, daily, barely-noticed incidents that splinter such relationships. *The Way We Were* is a love story. It is about love as it has been formed--or deformed--in our 20th century, American capitalist society. The film portrays the plethora of contradictory elements tied up in that experience clearly, but it does not,



of course, portray them socially, leaving Katie (and its audience)

"... ignorant of the fact this way of grief is shared, unnecessary and political." (Adrienne Rich)

It is a political film, though, to the extent that it does not allow its subjects to exist independent of social forces. Katie and Hubbell cannot construct a relationship apart from the world they live in. The end of their marriage is not so much due to any single event as it is to the recognition of this fact. Though it is Hubbell who decides to end the marriage, it is Katie who is freed by its dissolution. (In the film's final scene, Katie and Hubbell meet accidentally in New York. They've been separated a few years. Hubbell is a TV writer. Katie is leafleting against nuclear testing. It's

clear they still care for each other. But Hubbell no longer has any power over her.)

The Way We Were is a good film and a political film, but it is not a good political film. Its strength is in its focus on the efforts of a man and woman to form a life together who cannot escape the confines of their personal histories and the social realities of their times. Unintentionally, I'm sure, it reflects some difficult truths about women and love and power. Its weakness lies in the lack of content of its politics (Katie never espouses any view to the left of Eleanor Roosevelt), and the limitations of its vision (there is a certain fatalism that belies any sense that things could be different). Still, despite its fallacies and its inadequacies, *The Way We Were* offers at least a piece of the way we are.

books

a hidden past

A Long View From the Left, Al Richmond,
Houghton Mifflin Co., \$8.95.

by Harry C. Boyte

FOR THOSE OF US who grew up as radicals in post-war America the fifties destroyed our past. McCarthyism shattered the continuity that would otherwise have existed between generations of socialists. Ultimately the new left was innovative and powerful in part because of that break. Cast adrift from prior tradition, it was forced to deal with contemporary American reality, without the political categories

formed in a different age, in a different kind of world. But the new left was simultaneously impoverished in many ways by its lack of historical consciousness. Most young radicals were ignorant of the great struggles of the '30s; few were familiar with the theoretical legacy of the socialist tradition, a legacy that provides powerful tools of analysis, even if it also suffers from dogmatism; and finally, the new left was unfamiliar with the painstakingly acquired tactical and strategic insights of past generations of activists, and

lacking such knowledge, found it enormously difficult to build and sustain a long-range movement for socialism.

Al Richmond's book, *A Long View From the Left*, is important because it illuminates the old left heritage, the experiences of the Communist Party in America, with consistent clarity and with moments of eloquence. It reflects and depicts the best aspects of that tradition: a keen internationalism, a concern with theoretical questions, deep feeling for those who suffer physical hardship and poverty. Reading it one feels what it was like to organize on the waterfronts or what it felt like to face the terror of McCarthyism.

Throughout the book there runs a deep thread of international consciousness. Richmond describes the comradeship he felt with the farflung revolutionary community:

"As the Red Star shone for the Irish poet over the slums of Dublin so it shone for me in Sparrows Point or

the ghettos of Philadelphia; so I knew it shone over London's East End where I was born, and over all the cities I had traversed, Yokohama, Warsaw, Berlin, Paris, and many more I had never seen... The star was the symbol of the nascent world brotherhood... It made you one with the peoples you read about on the onionskin pages of International Press Correspondence... the more remote they were from you in space and sociological time the greater the thrill of the sense of kinship with them. A mutiny aboard a Dutch cruiser in waters off the Dutch East Indies, a strike of diamond miners in South Africa, peasant uprisings in French Indochina--you came upon such events not as a distant observer but as allied combatant..."

Moreover, in contrast with the easy new left assumptions about the bankruptcy of Communist theory, Richmond demonstrates an agile and penetrating mind throughout his work. His examination

(Continued on page 11)

UNDER CAPITALISM

Work Kills

- by Parker Street Research Collective
Berkeley, CA

EVERY YEAR 400,000 Americans contract a work-related disabling disease. Up to 100,000 die from such diseases and 17,000 others die each year from on-the-job accidents, according to a 1971 presidential report. This toll and the general question of occupational health and safety have been nearly ignored until recently. California, which keeps the best statistics on work-related disease and injury, had reported only 20 to 40 yearly deaths from occupational disease. (California has about 10 percent of the nation's population. Nationally this would come to 200 to 400 deaths per year, a bit below the estimated 100,000.) These figures indicate the desire of corporations and industrial medical authorities to cover up severe health hazards in industry.

During the mid 1960's, Dr. Irving Selikoff of Mt. Sinai Medical School (New York City) released studies showing the effect of long-term exposures to asbestos. Asbestos workers have a death rate from lung cancer seven times that of the population at large, and an overall death rate from cancer three times greater. Five percent of the workers die from asbestosis, a crippling lung disease that had been suspected as a cause of cancer and lung disease as early as 1900. In spite of this knowledge, the powers that be had ignored asbestos as a health hazard. The limit on exposure to asbestos dust had been set without even considering the possibility of cancer. Moreover, enforcement of exposure limits has been incredibly lax. In one case dust levels ten times the exposure limit were ignored by Federal inspectors at a plant in Tyler, Texas.

Asbestos is the most publicized and best studied of the many chemical and physical hazards that afflict American workers. But lead, carbon monoxide, and sulfur dioxide are among the most dangerous of more than 10,000 chemicals in common use. Exposure limits exist for about 450 of these, but are often no more adequate than the old limit for asbestos. Insurance statistics indicate that industrial workers have rates of heart disease and cancer about 40 percent higher than people in other occupations. These rates result from daily exposure to dusts, chemicals, heat, noise, and stress.

Some 300,000 coal miners suffer from black lung, a debilitating disease caused by exposure to coal dust. In the 1950's, medical textbooks stated that coal dust is harmless, and public health officials proclaimed that the disease is non-existent. The successful push for relief started in 1968 with the founding of the Black Lung Association, an organization that explained the connection between lung disease and coal dust to rank and file coal workers. A 23-day wildcat strike in West Virginia in 1969 led to the passage of the Coal Miners' Health and Safety Act that year. The Act set limits on exposure to coal dust and provided for compensation to victims.

Around that time, the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) held hearings throughout the country to collect information on health and safety problems at work. OCAW has been in the forefront of struggles around health and safety, and was instrumental in bringing about the passage of the Occupational Health and Safety Act of 1970 (OSHA).

The passage of the law opened a wedge for popular action. Its provisions include the writing into law of 450 exposure limits to chemical and physical hazards, and the establishment of

the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH), an organization charged with doing research on health effects of working conditions and making recommendations for change. The law provides for periodic inspections if a hazard exists. Its most glaring weakness is in its provisions for enforcement.

At its inception OSHA had only 500 inspectors in the entire country. When a workplace is inspected (perhaps once in 20 years on the average) and found in violation of the law, penalties have been ridiculously small. Fines generally average \$15 per violation.

THE COMMON interest of community residents and workers in controlling industrial pollution leads to a natural alliance between the two groups. In the past corporations had tried, with some success, pitting one group against the other by blackmailing workers with

the workers, break the union, and avoid shelling out for improved health and safety conditions. Able to continue production at reduced capacity during the strike by using scabs and reassigning non-union personnel from non-production jobs, the company appeared invulnerable.

A national boycott against Shell products was pressed by radical and environmental groups in many areas. Well known environmental groups such as the Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth endorsed the strike demands, and a Washington-based group, Environmental Action, produced a large amount of literature for the strike effort. The strike actions made it clear to many people that corporations and profits were the chief source of environmental problems.

The final settlement was a compromise. Shell agreed to the main demands, with the exception that the health and safety committee was to have no power to enforce its recommendations. The real test of the strike will come with workers' efforts to enforce the contract.

Some groups have been able to provide continuing aid in the form of health, scientific, and legal information, and help in filing complaints with OSHA.

Health and safety is critically important to many workers. (A recent survey showed that health and safety was listed as the most important issue by the greatest number of industrial workers surveyed.) Moreover, it goes past traditional trade union demands, and can lead workers to want to take over the production process. During the Shell strike the company complained that the union wanted to tell it how to run its business, a charge heatedly denied by the union. There was, however, much truth to the statement. Workers on health and safety committees will naturally think about changing production to make the workplace healthier and safer.

The issue also opens up great possibilities for alliances between diverse sections of the working class, e.g., between plant workers and community people who want to control industrial

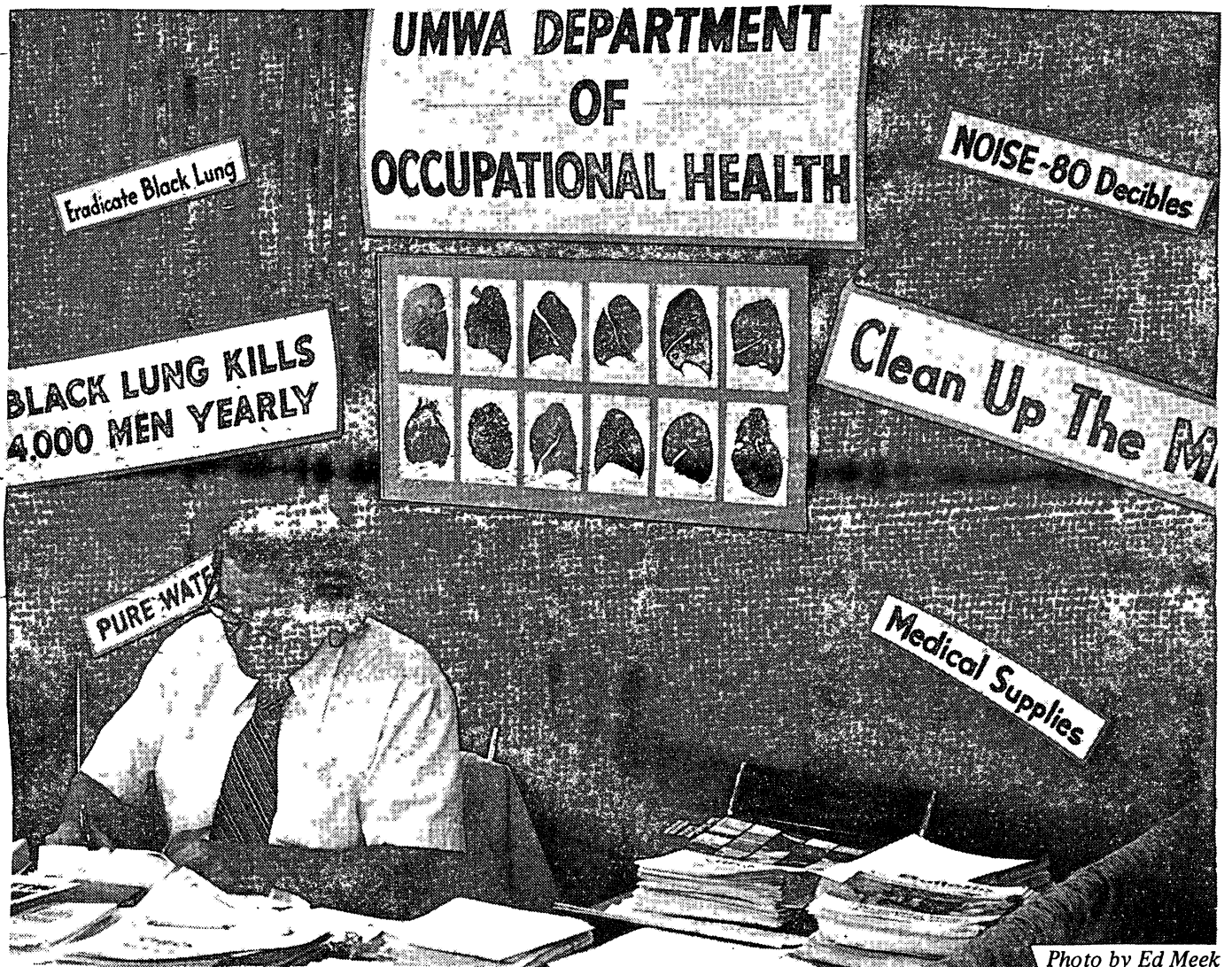


Photo by Ed Meek

threats of closing plants if pollution control regulations were enforced. The generally upper middle class and elitist nature of many environmental groups helped to feed this division. Union Carbide and West Virginia strip miners had been among the most successful practitioners of this tactic.

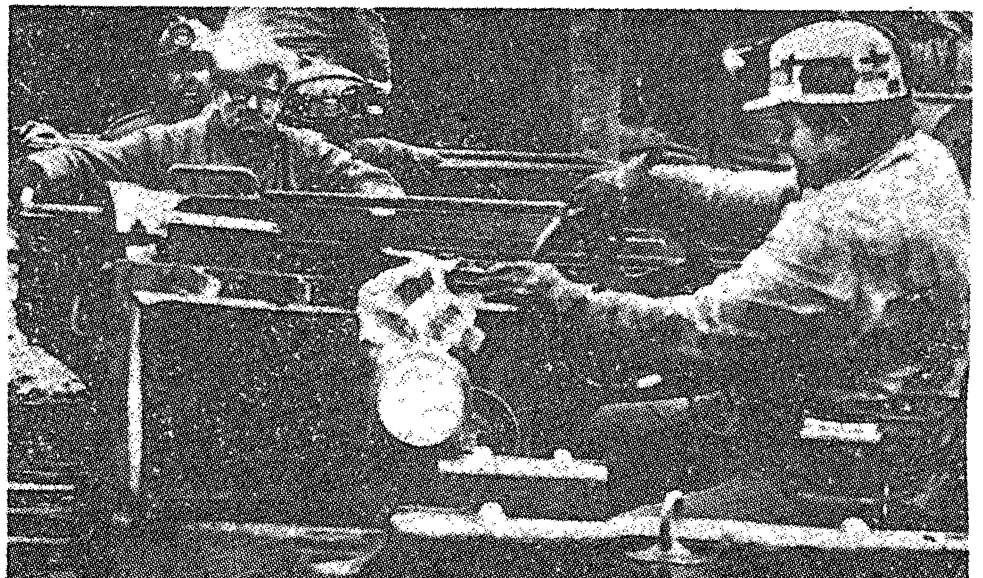
At first this tactic was successful. Some workers identified with their employers and some unions testified against strict anti-pollution laws. Recently the more progressive unions and environmental groups have taken steps to make alliances.

Before 1973 OCAW had won several basic points on health and safety from several major oil companies. Contracts provided for the establishment of joint union management health and safety committees in every plant, and the right to call in independent health and safety inspectors approved by the union. And the union was allowed access to death and disease records for plant workers, and provision was made for periodic medical examinations paid for by the company with the results made available to the workers.

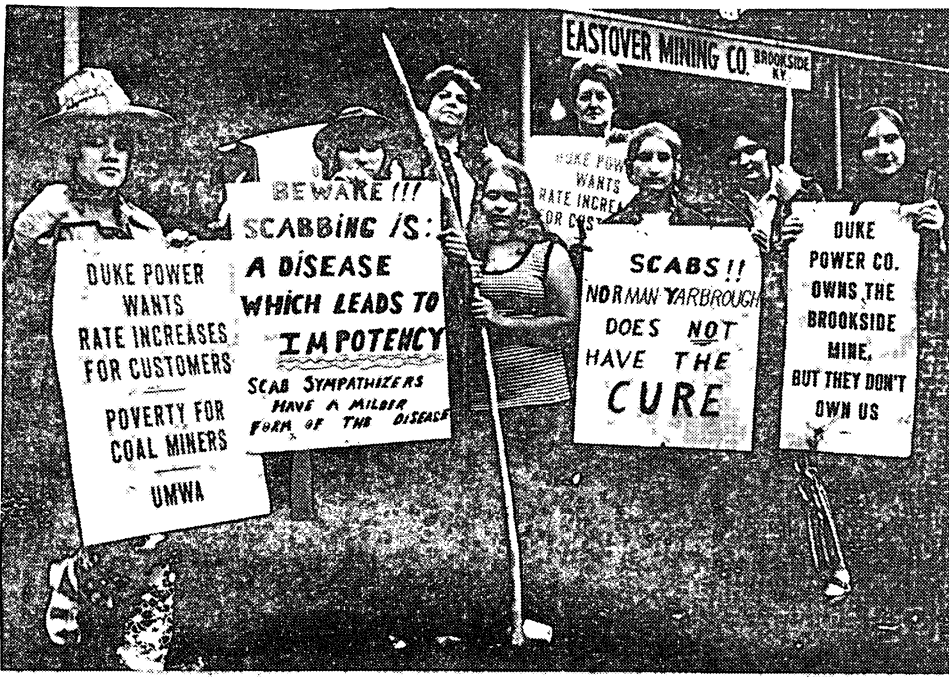
OCAW's contract with Shell Oil expired in January, 1973, but the company refused even to discuss health and safety issues. Shell was larger (the fourth largest corporation in the world) than any of the oil corporations that had previously settled, and apparently management thought it might outlast

THERE ARE NOW numerous movement organizations around occupational health and safety throughout the country. The first was the Scientists' Committee on Occupational Health and Safety in New York, a group whose main function was teaching working people about on-the-job health hazards. Activities by other groups have included providing pamphlets and shop sheets on various hazards and aspects of OSHA, and sponsoring weekend conferences on health and safety for working people.

pollution; between primarily manual and primarily intellect workers, who can work together on an organizing project, between industrial and clerical workers who both want to fight a noise problem on their job. It also raises the issue of health in a way that shows the class nature of many diseases. Finally, the issue gives people the opportunity to show the roots of a problem in the capitalist system, and to suggest the socialist alternative. ■



Miller pledged major fight for enforcement of safety standards in mines. 'Coal miners,' he said, 'are tired of dying so that men in the board rooms of New York and Boston and Pittsburgh can get rich.'



UMW

(Continued from page 3)

ment and by union indifference to health and safety issues.

In spite of rising dissent Boyle negotiated a new contract in early 1964 that ignored the issues considered critical by the rank and file. A wave of wildcat strikes directed at the union leadership followed. Boyle's first convention was held in Miami, far from the coal fields. It was a model of demagogic manipulation--from delegate packing to bribery and hired thugs. The growing dissent movement was repressed and then co-opted in the following years as UMW support of the coal industry paid off and its recovery trickled down to the miners.

In 1968 the rank and file was stirred again. On November 28th the Consolidated Mining Company's mine at Farmington exploded, killing 78 miners. The identification of union interests with the operators had become so deep by this time that Boyle's reaction was to praise Consol's safety record. The rift between the leadership and the miners began to grow again.

In January, 1969, inspired by the efforts of three doctors to win support for workmen's compensation for black lung disease, the West Virginia Black Lung Association was founded. Charles Brooks, a black miner, was president of the Association. Its chief fund raiser was Arnold Miller, a black lung victim and president of his local. The Association led a three-week wildcat strike that closed every mine in the state and forced a strong black lung compensation bill through the state legislature. Boyle had favored a weaker law and he raised the charge of "dual unionism" against the

Association in efforts to discredit it.

The health and safety issue took on a major dimension of its own when Joseph "Jock" Yablonski, a long-time bureaucrat and apologist for Boyle, announced that he would run against Boyle in the December election for the union presidency. Yablonski was supported by Miller and other rank and filers because he had broken with Boyle over a health and safety law in Pennsylvania in 1968. The campaign was marked with violence, intimidation, and lies from the Boyle camp. Against enormous odds and stuffed ballot boxes, Yablonski polled 37 percent of the vote.

Such a strong showing was too much for the union leadership. In January of 1970 Yablonski, his wife, and daughter were murdered in their sleep. The Yablonski murders spelled the end of Boyle's reign. The Labor Department reacted by scheduling new, supervised elections. Boyle was indicted for misuse of union funds and lost the election to Miller.

The rank-and-file struggle that brought Miller to power is not over. The United Mine Workers, once the richest union in the country, is a shell of its former self. The welfare fund operates at a multi-million dollar deficit each year, a deficit that will grow as the reformers open the fund to miners who had been excluded. A growing percentage of coal is mined today in giant strip mines, employing few workers. Most of these mines are not UMW and therefore pay nothing into the welfare fund. The \$150 per month welfare benefit is the lowest of any major organized industry.

Coal mining remains a killing profession. No compensation law can eliminate coal dust in underground mines. And coal dust causes black lung disease. Nothing can change the fact that strip mining has caused as much damage to

the land and environment of Appalachia as Nixon's carpet bombing has in Indochina. Miners will get black lung and land will be destroyed as long as coal is mined from the earth. And coal production will increase vastly in the coming years as the fuel crisis increases demand for coal.

In the fifties the coal industry depended on the UMW to save it. In return for financing the industry the UMW got higher wages. Today the coal industry is part of the national energy trust controlled by the giant oil corporations and is once again strong. The union, by contrast, is relatively weak.

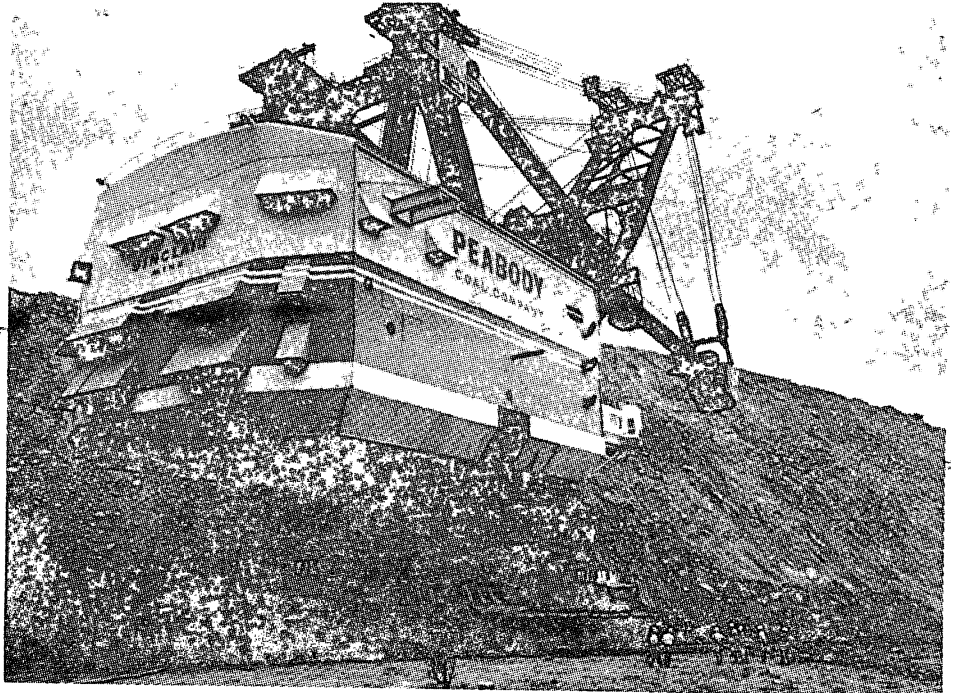
As coal production increases the UMW can strengthen itself. Under Miller it has already begun its largest organizing drive in twenty years. It is concentrating on organizing giant strip mines west of the Mississippi where enormous productivity will help stop the depletion of the welfare fund. It is also pushing an organizing drive at smaller, unorganized underground mines, especially in Eastern Kentucky, where women are playing a crucial role in the drive.

As in the forties the fortunes of the UMW and the coal industry are inextricably linked. The union hopes to capitalize on the industry's new vitality. The industry, for its part, hopes that Miller

remain a critical issue as long as people dig coal. The interdependence of the union and the industry can only lead to amelioration of this problem, not solutions. The rank and filers have already begun to weaken their stand against strip mining as they have realized how much strip mine operators can contribute to the welfare fund. The demand for a six-hour workday, which will be made at next year's negotiations, has enormous potential (because it could get the men out of the mines without loss of pay) but will probably get negotiated away into a provision against compulsory overtime.

The new contradictions arising out of monopolization of the energy industry and the onset of the energy crisis have begun to make the United Mine Workers of America a political anachronism at the very moment when it has finally been democratized. Steps must be taken to unite workers throughout the entire energy industry. And both workers and energy consumers must develop the political power to stop the manipulation of the energy market by the oil companies.

Ultimately only the abolition of capitalist control of the energy industry will save the lives of thousands of miners who will die in accidents or from black lung. The nationalization of the entire



will be a "strong leader," i.e., one who will restrain rank-and-file militance in the interest of labor peace and increased productivity. The ability of the energy trust to manipulate the energy market already hamstring the union. A militant and lengthy strike next year could provoke the bankruptcy of the welfare fund; it could provoke a wave of federal labor repression if coal production is cut during the "energy crisis;" it could provoke more reliance on oil again.

Health and safety for miners will

energy industry under the directorship of energy workers and consumers could serve as a transitional program for energy that socialists could demand. It is unlikely that the UMW will support such a demand now. But the democratization of the union for the first time makes such a demand a possibility.



Photo by Ed Meek

convention

(Continued from page 3)

and create a favorable investment climate for coal development as opposed to oil development. Miller said that the energy crisis is in part due to government policies, such as the oil depletion allowance, which have encouraged the development of oil at the expense of coal, which is a much more plentiful resource in the U. S. In urging this, Miller is not really cooperating with a coal industry as opposed to the oil industry; he pointed out that most coal operators are now part of energy conglomerates that deal in oil, too.

Miller's final remarks in his state of the union speech suggested that miners should consider running for public office. "We proved this year that coal miners can run an international union," he stated. "In the years to come, I think we'll prove that coal miners can help run a state legislature, too, or a Congress." Perhaps. But the implication of miners running their own union could be far broader. Why not running their own industry?

The AMHERST CHAPTER organized a meeting on December 4 about prisons and in particular Attica. The meeting was attended by 80 people and was addressed by two former inmates from the Fortune society. One of the inmates was in Attica during the rebellion and the other was there as an observer. This was the kick-off of a local Attica defense effort with 25 people staying on for the organizational meeting. The message of the meeting was simple: solidarity and support for those struggling in prisons throughout the country and especially for the Attica Brothers who are now taking the weight.

• • •

MARGARET SANGER NAM

With the aid of the new Margaret Sanger chapter of NAM, a large, broad-based health care organization in Durham, N. C. has begun a major campaign against corporate and banking control of health care in the area. The organization, Citizens Concerned About Durham Health Care, has grown rapidly this fall and now involves over 50 people, including groups of workers from most health care institutions in the city. Its fall action centers around three demands: an end to corporate, banking control of the health board which controls many health institutions in the city; for a more rapid rate of tax assessment on commercial property;

Building the New American Movement

Concerned was largely white and the Health Committee largely black. The group started a petition campaign around the makeup of the hospital board, the limited amount of clinic space, the need for guarantees for service-regardless of income, transportation arrangements for the hospital, and the need to guarantee a local health center servicing the low-income community. For several months the coalition held together; it sponsored major confrontations with the hospital board, held rallies, distributed great amounts of literature, and spoke to over 50 groups in Durham, explaining the hospital and its control by banking, insurance, and corporate interests. Despite several small victories, a lot of press coverage, and broad support, the hospital began construction as scheduled; for the next year Citizens Concerned re-evaluated its past efforts and worked on research plans for future health campaigns.

In August, 1973, many of the activists in Citizens Concerned formed a health care chapter of the New American Movement to help build the organization, to offer an openly

of two years ago was a positive first step toward broader and longer range coalitions. The effort this fall has been encouraging. Black attendance at Citizens Concerned meetings has been steadily rising and the newly elected steering committee includes three blacks and three whites.

Women's role in the organization is even more striking. From the beginning of Citizens Concerned, women have taken key leadership and public roles in the organization; half of the steering committee members are women, and women comprise at least half of those attending meetings. In part this is a natural result of an issue largely affecting women, both as health workers and as housewives and consumers, but it is aided by the leadership from women with strong feminist consciousness.

Sanger is also working on several other projects. It has done active impeachment work in the area, and initiated a coalition between the state AFL-CIO, students around the state, and community groups which had a rally on December 1. Sanger is researching hospital billing practices at Duke Hospital in anticipation of a possible struggle against Duke. Most members of the chapter work as health workers and the chapter spends much of its time analyzing and discussing workplace organizing efforts. Finally, Sanger is working openly in other health care organizations, notably, the City-Wide Health Committee and MCHR.

• • •

PHILADELPHIA AREA CHAPTER

On Friday, November 16th, somewhere between fifty and seventy-five unionists, leftists, and students turned out for a demonstration called by the Philadelphia New American Movement in support of the strike of United Transportation

intransigent management, was one that clearly demanded such outside support.

Prior to the strike, the UTU had what was probably the best contract in the Trailways system. The company is organized on a semi-franchise basis, and its contracts are negotiated separately in each region. The UTU, which nationally represents railroad workers, has organized only the New York to Washington franchise. Drivers in other areas are represented by the Amalgamated Transportation Union, which is known to many drivers as a weak, company-oriented union.

When the UTU contract at Trailways came up for renegotiation in April, 1972, the management decided it was time to crush this bridgehead of militant unionism in the company. Trailways may have had several reasons for making this decision at this time. The company has been feeling the financial squeeze like other businesses, and lowering wage levels is one of the easier routes to cutting costs. Effective unionism was the obvious stumbling block to this solution. Furthermore, the company feared that a strong union in this region would set a precedent for its other drivers.

So the management forced the union to strike. "When we went out, they as much as locked us out," said striker Bob Keyes. "In a sense, they wanted to give us less than in the prior contract. My own impression of this is that it was a lockout. Forcing you on the street, so to speak."

The regional management arranged with the Trailways parent company to provide financial backing during the strike. Various franchises within the national system pay regularly into a special fund to defray the cost of strikes. (Such contributions are, of course, tax deductible.) Furthermore, Trailways is owned by Holiday Inn and, in turn, by Gulf Oil, which further strengthened the management's hand.

Before the strike, the company hired almost exclusively white drivers. After the strike began, their hiring policy changed. The company hired 150 strikebreakers, 95 percent of whom were black. "They made blacks slaves before the Civil War," John Lantz, president of the local, told the men at a recent meeting. "Now they're using them as slaves again, this time as

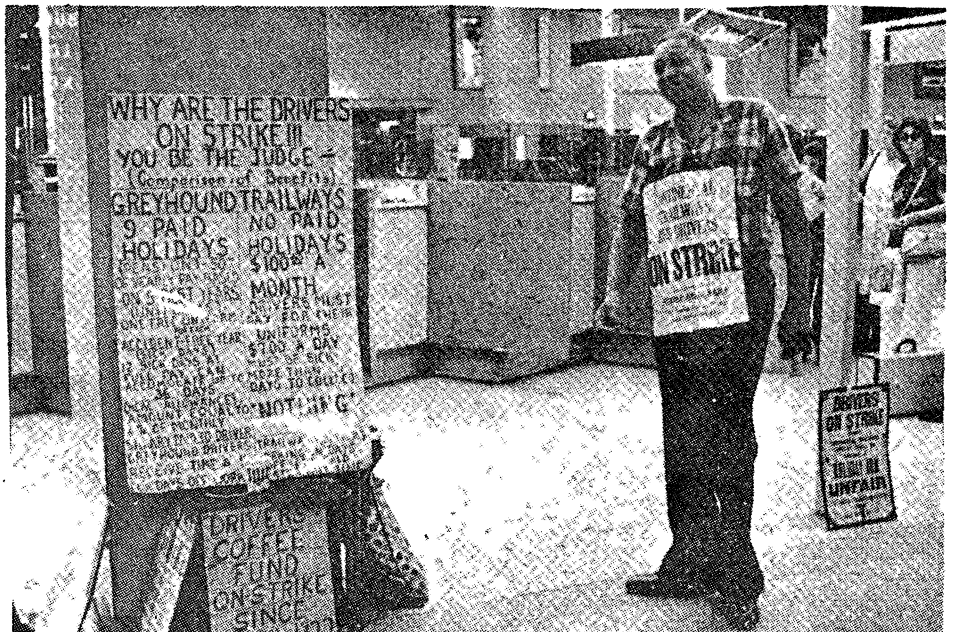


and for board meetings at a time when workers can attend. Citizens Concerned About Durham Health Care plans coordinated petitioning efforts, speaking engagements, and other activities to dramatize its demands. Sanger NAM has played a major role in Citizens Concerned, aiding its growth and helping to formulate program. Recently Sanger produced a NAM slide show on health in Durham which is being widely used in the campaign.

Citizens Concerned About Durham Health Care grew out of a fight a year and a half ago against plans for the new county hospital in the city. A coalition representing a broad cross section of Durham's population confronted the local power structure for the six months preceding ground-breaking of the hospital. Two groups did most of the organizing. One group (the Citizens Concerned About Durham County Hospital) was a coalition of radicals, including NAM members, and civic, church, and labor groups. The other (the City Wide Health Committee) was a low-income health group organized by the local poverty program. Both groups were multi-racial, though Citizens

socialist analysis of health care in the city, and to engage in other activities. We are all young and white, and most of us are health workers in a variety of jobs and institutions. We knew from our experience that people would be mobilized around health issues, especially when they were related to tax structure. We also knew that short-term strategies would not be successful, but would lead to frustration. We felt a socialist strategy was necessary, although we knew that we could not mobilize just socialists (there are only about 50 socialists in Durham). Sanger decided to work actively in the campaign as open socialists, explaining what socialism concretely means to us, specifically in regard to health care.

The chapter's central focus has been on building Citizens Concerned. We have especially stressed the need for the campaign to unite blacks and whites around the same issues. Durham, a southern city, is characterized by a polarization between the races. In the past there have been at best shaky and temporary coalitions between blacks and white liberals, primarily around electoral issues. The health campaign



Union (UTU), Local 1699, at Trailways. The situation of the Trailways drivers, who have been on strike for twenty months against an

strikebreakers."

Since the strike began, the drivers and their local leadership have been crippled by injunctions, dragged in and

(Continued on page 10)

OPINION

Class Consciousness Isn't A Body of Ideas...

The question is not whether socialists ever engage in bourgeois elections--there are some circumstances in which socialists do. Rather, the question is whether we adopt an electoral strategy--that is, whether in our minds elections become our strategic perspective, the connecting link that ties everything together and becomes the context in which everything else is located. Melissa Upton and the other members of the electoral caucus are saying we should adopt such an electoral strategy. I believe we should not.

It's very easy in a non-revolutionary period--when the decisive break seems so far away--for a revolutionary organization to collapse into social democracy. I think that to adopt an electoral strategy (in the above sense) is to do that.

Such a strategy breeds illusions about the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism, which is unlikely. It creates illusions that bourgeois democracy is genuine democracy when bourgeois democracy is in fact a form of class rule. It creates a passive relationship towards politics. And it has very strong tendencies towards reformism.

The argument for an electoral strategy is based on the assumption that the electoral arena is the only arena in which a total socialist critique can be presented; that other struggles are necessarily partial and therefore can only create partial interest group consciousness. But, argues the electoral caucus, in the electoral arena you can present your entire program.

This strategy comes from a very intellectualized understanding of what socialism is, of what class consciousness is. It tends to see socialism essentially as a body of ideas, a theoretical critique of capitalism. Class consciousness, therefore, happens when the working class finally absorbs in full this body of ideas. In the electoral arena you can present that body of ideas in total to workers so they can absorb it in total and therefore the electoral arena is primary to transmitting full socialist consciousness.

But I think reality is different from that. Class consciousness isn't a body of ideas but rather grows out of the process that takes place when a group of people oppressed in similar ways struggles together around that oppression. And through that struggle the people begin to recognize themselves as a distinct group,

as a class exploited by another class--a ruling class--as a class that has the right and power to rule, to itself be a ruling class, and thus to abolish all classes.

The electoral arena does not basically offer that class forming kind of experience. Because it is a form of class rule, the rules of electoral politics are rules that spell out a kind of bourgeois legality which tends to isolate people from each other, that is, not to provide the experience in which a class struggles together and experiences its own strength and power.

Therefore, the alternative to an electoral strategy is one that bases itself in a strategic way--although it may use elections at times--on the formation of powerful peoples' organizations, working class organizations at the workplace and in the community, organizations in which the working class comes to feel its power and strength, in which it forms itself as a class. I think that that has to be our strategy.

I am not taking a syndicalist position. I don't think socialist consciousness emerges spontaneously out of mass struggle alone. I think there does have to be the kind of mediations that the proponents of an electoral strategy claim elections are--that is, a connecting link that ideologically and organizationally unifies all the separate sectoral interests within the class. But that connecting link is the party. We need over the coming years to be building a revolutionary party that can play such a role.

Although the people can begin struggle spontaneously--demonstrate, strike, even occupy factories, they cannot sustain that struggle unless it has been raised to ideological consciousness and organizational coherence. As the Front de Liberation du Quebec writes, the party's role "is not to take the place of the people, nor to impose an authoritarian plan from above, but to help them arrive at the level of organizational consciousness which will permit them to resist the attack of the bourgeoisie, to defeat them militarily, politically, and economically, and to lay the basis for a new, egalitarian, and human society, in cooperation with other liberated peoples, since it is clear that no isolated revolution has a chance for long-term victory."

Or, as Andre Gorz writes, "The development of autonomous self-organized actions from below to win direct power over the process of production can there-

TRANSCRIPT OF SPEECH BY
MILES MOGULESCU TO ELECTORAL
PANEL, NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT
ANNUAL CONVENTION DE KALB,
ILLINOIS, JULY 1973.

fore grow into a lasting revolutionary movement only if it is accompanied by the building of political consciousness and organization. . . Without a revolutionary party that stimulates effective self-expression from below and offers a unifying perspective to autonomous and 'spontaneous' struggles, there can be no lasting revolutionary movement; conversely without a movement that draws its vitality from the imagination and inventiveness of the masses, the party, however powerful its organization, is doomed to become a force of repression and domination and to waste its energies in internecine struggles and conspiratorial tactics."

We have to distinguish the kind of party we're trying to build from both of the traditional models: the social democratic model and the bolshevik model as it has come to be understood. The hallmark of the social democratic model is just the electoral strategy which the electoral caucus advocates and which for all the reasons articulated above is not what we are after. The bolshevik model, while it was correct as an application of marxism to economically underdeveloped nations--and I believe remains correct in those situations--is not a correct application of marxism to the advanced industrial countries. While we can learn a great deal from leninism, particularly his critique of economism and his insistence that socialist consciousness does not grow spontaneously from struggle but has to be cultivated, that particular form of party organization is not what we should learn from leninism. (For a fuller discussion see Ackerman and Boyte's "Revolution and Democracy" and my paper in the pre-convention Discussion Bulletin)

In terms of the kind of party we need to form, we can learn from both of those models, though we must also define new criteria. From the social democratic model we should learn to insist on full democratic life within the party (social democratic parties rarely lived up to this in practice). From the leninist model we should learn a more disciplined attitude towards our work. There has been a tendency in NAM to shy away from that kind of discipline. I don't mean the kind of discipline that says you simply accept the decisions of the party leadership no matter what, but a self-

imposed discipline and a consistent attitude towards our work ensuring that when a decision is democratically arrived at, those who make it fully carry it out.

The kind of party we should be working towards needs to fulfill a number of important functions. I'll list a couple. One is the development of theory. We cannot gain, much less sustain, mass support, unless we can explain reality better than the ruling class. Nor can we shape a strategy unless we clearly understand the workings of bourgeois society, its strengths and weaknesses. Secondly, political organizing entails certain skills. The party needs to teach those skills to new people. Thirdly, the party has to stimulate those organizations of working class self-organization I referred to earlier. Out of spontaneous struggle, the party helps catalyze those formations, so the movement can organizationally survive beyond the immediate crisis. Fourth, the party has to integrate interest group demands into a holistic conception of socialism, to play that mediating role I mentioned earlier. Finally, in the long run, the party has to prepare for a contestation with state power. All along, in our consciousness, we have to remember that goal--that there will at some point have to be a decisive break, that that's not all there is to revolution, but that the moment of decisive break is a necessary moment. It can't be bypassed.

Now it seems to me that NAM is clearly not that kind of party now, and it would be foolish to pretend as though we were. Nor should such a party be formed immediately. A party which is not formed in the process of mass struggle is likely to be a sect. For the moment, the appropriate form of organization is an intermediate form of organization--neither a cadre nor a mass organization in the traditional sense, which engages in mass struggles and simultaneously begins to raise issues of socialist analysis. What we can do now is to recognize the need for that kind of party, to say publically that the perspective of the New American Movement is that that kind of party must be formed out of the struggles in the coming years; and the goal of our organizing is to lay the groundwork for that kind of party. Our strategies in our local areas should work towards the formation of that kind of party. I hope NAM will adopt that perspective as a central part of its strategy.

***We encourage chapters and individuals to send articles (500 to 1,000 words), reviews, and letters. The deadline for each issue is the 15th of the month.*

Any suggestions for a new name for the paper?

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
388 Sanchez Street, San Francisco, CA 94114

\$3.00 per year.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

LETTERS

Dear Comrades,

... One point to be made about Watergate: none of the corporate contributors of illegal campaign funds has gotten a jail sentence or more than a nominal \$1,000 fine, while former Mine Union boss, Tony Boyle, got \$130,000 fine and a five-year sentence for illegal 1968 contributions of \$49,250. Boyle is, of course, not a pro-working class figure but this is still a blatant case of class "justice."

John French
Amherst NAM

Dear NAM,

... What we need is a *visible public presence*. Dammitall, we should be vigorous and aggressive. . .

... As a Gramscian, I believe that creating, among the masses of working Americans, the consciousness of the *possibility* of a socialist America, is our most important task. If there were millions of unorganized convinced socialists, the organizational forms would come of themselves, practically. One difficulty we have to overcome is the propagandistic notion, believed by many in NAM and outside it, that the anti-war movement was defeated, that Nixon won the war, that the 50's are back again, etc. This is ruling-class baloney. There is enormous and enormously widespread rejection of corporate capitalist values; but in the absence of a visible socialist movement it seeks salvation elsewhere—freaky religion, psychological navel-gazing, etc.

... We can expect a good audience on the Left if we push our line. But *only* if we have a strong and visible public presence. Many people drift into RU because they feel that RU is active and serious, while NAM is a group of do-nothing dilettantes. So the very first problem, I believe, is reorganizing NAM to make it more effective and make NAM a publicly known organization. We have to overcome the anarchist anti-leadership, anti-structure hangup which has paralyzed the non-sectarian Left.

Yours in struggle,

John Farley
member, NY No. 1 NAM

P. S. Congratulations on an excellent paper!

(Continued from page 1)

requirements of the old empire in the immediate post-war years, the capitalists never mobilized the necessary investment to "modernize" the economy. As a result, Britain's exports have become less and less competitive on the world market.

This situation has been exacerbated since the mid-sixties by what right-wing, former Labor Defense minister, Dennis Healy, has labelled an "investment strike" by British industry. Plagued by a falling share of profits in national income throughout the sixties, investment fell off drastically two years after the Labor Party launched its austerity program in 1966.

The fall in domestic investment, however, has not stopped the massive export of capital to Western Europe. In 1966, capitalists invested one and a half times more capital outside the U. K. than inside. In 1968, three times more capital was invested abroad. This is one of the reasons why the Tories have pushed a reluctant Britain into the Common Market. In addition, Heath has hoped that the prosperous Common Market countries, particularly West Germany, will transfer some surplus to

BOMBS

(Continued from page 4)

Week after week, Latin American papers announce the discovery of yet another body. Some estimates of the number of opposition figures executed by the Death Squads in Brazil alone exceed 1,500. Frequently, the mutilated bodies of these victims are found with cards boasting of the work of the Death Squad—the intent being to intimidate the population and discourage the development of any opposition to the established regime.

U. S. governmental desires to keep Latin America as a friendly political arena and an open preserve for U. S. corporate investment have led to support for the build-up of powerful and ruthless police forces throughout the continent.

American strategists in the CIA, the Pentagon, and the State Department have long felt that quiet support for Third World police might insure the elimination of significant threats to pro-U. S. regimes without a visible deployment of U. S. combat troops.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the countries with the most active para-police assassination squads—Brazil, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, and Uruguay—are also the recipients of the largest U. S. police training grants in the region.

U. S. involvement in the organization, training, and equipping of Uruguay's Death Squad, for instance, has been abundantly described in the testimony of Nelson Bardesio. A police photographer and Death Squad member, Bardesio was kidnapped and interrogated by Tupamaro guerrillas in 1972.

Bardesio affirmed that the Department of Information and Intelligence (DII, a government agency which provided an official "cover" for the Death Squad) was set up with the advice and financial assistance of USAID Public Safety Adviser William Cantrell.

Bardesio also testified that Cantrell (who he sometimes served as a chauffeur) made daily trips between the DII, Montevideo police headquarters, and the U. S. Embassy to insure the steady transfer of intelligence data and coordination of all extra-legal activities.

In his testimony, which served as the basis for several scenes in the film "State of Siege," Bardsio names numerous police officers and military officials (many with ties to the U. S. Embassy or the Public Safety program) who participated in specific assassinations

the U. K. in the form of "regional assistance." This dream, however, was shattered by the West Germans at the Common Market foreign ministers meeting in mid-December.

The grave economic difficulties of British capitalism are behind the present political crises in both the Conservative and Labor Parties. Some "liberal" Tories are complaining that Heath should have settled quietly with the miners and thus not provoke a showdown; on the right wing, Enoch Powell peddles the gospel of race hatred and has called for even stricter immigration control. In addition, the fascist National Front has grown significantly in certain areas of the Midlands and the North of England.

The Labor Party is in still more disarray. The right wing, led by Roy Jenkins, supported entry into the Common Market, while the left, with the support of the trade union leadership has called for unconditional withdrawal from the Common Market and the nationalization of 24 of the largest companies of the U. K. In the middle of this, the tried and discredited former Prime Minister Harold Wilson has rebounded from right to left like a ping pong ball.

It is important to remember that much of the "left" was in the last Labor

Philadelphia

(Continued from page 8)

out of court, and harrassed by the police and the FBI. The local president was unable to attend the strike support rally because he was subpoenaed that morning and had to spend the day in court.

Drivers have faced opposition even from their own union. While John Lantz has thrown himself fully behind the strike, the union's national leadership appears uninterested. The union's last few contracts for the railroad workers were won in negotiation, and the UTU's strike fund is relatively full. "As I see it," one of the strikers put it, "it's easier for the UTU to pay us our \$125 a month benefits than to intervene actively on behalf of our strike."

Solidarity in the local has been good, despite the odds against the strike. In twenty months, only 25 of 300 drivers have returned to work. "It's a matter of principle to stick with it," said Dick Houp, walking the picket line with his son.

The difficulty of their situation has made the drivers more receptive to outside help than many other unionists. The November 16th rally was the second this fall. At the end of August, the drivers helped organize a demonstration on their behalf with the AFL-CIO leadership in Philadelphia. The men were disappointed, however, both with how difficult it was to persuade the Council to come to their assistance and with the lack of follow-up after the rally.

and bombings as members of the Death Squad. He also reported that the Death Squad had a bomb laboratory filled with supplies of explosive materials similar to those demonstrated at AID's Texas bomb school.

The ties between U. S. government agencies and local police terrorism have long been common knowledge in Latin America. It is likely to become an issue in the U. S. as well. Already there have been attempts in Congress to dry up the funds for AID's Public Safety Program.

As noted by Senator Abourezk, "Maybe the American people don't have to know about troop movements or the location of nuclear weapons, but by God they sure as hell can decide whether they want to support torture or not."

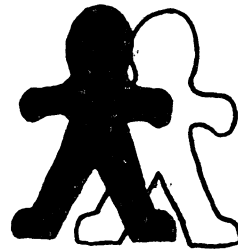
(Copyright, Pacific News Service, 1973)

The impact of the latest rally remains unclear. Few people who did not actually witness the demonstration were aware it had taken place. Although the picketers may have convinced some people not to ride Trailways, the local management, bolstered by the parent firm, is prepared to hold out almost indefinitely against such economic pressure.

It was highly significant, however, that other unionists were present:



members of the Pennsylvania Social Services Union, the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, Teamsters Local 115, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the U.A.W., the Pulp and Sulphide Workers, AFSCME, Hospital Workers Local 1199, Retail Clerks Local 415, Communication Workers of America, the Steelworkers, and the International Union of Electrical Workers. If the rally had a positive impact, it was in beginning to bring these unionists and others together in a city-wide strike support movement able to take bolder and more effective actions in the future. ●



government which was noted for imposing the most severe forms of wage control in British history and for attempting to introduce legislation which would have led to restrictions on British unions similar to those of the notorious Taft-Hartley law of the U. S. The Tories were able to use this precedent to establish the Industrial Relations Act, an even more vicious, anti-union piece of legislation.

Unfortunately, the traditional group left of the Labor Party, the Communist Party, has not shown itself capable of exploiting this unstable situation. Even though in 1972, more working days per thousand workers were lost through strike activity in Britain than anywhere else in the world, the C. P. remains wedded to a passive, parliamentary strategy. Even though the present lock-out by Heath is clearly a political attack on rank-and-file militancy, Mike Mcgahey, a prominent Communist in the Scottish Mineworkers Union, has stated that, "I'm only conducting an economic exercise at this stage."

Despite the Communist Party's attempts to retain respectability, there are indications that new rank-and-file movements are developing among British working people. The miners' strike of

early 1972 saw the creation of mobile national pickets in a successful attempt to shut down the nation's power stations. Even more significant, this tactic originated with the militant shop stewards of the North of England. Later that year, in the summer, the Trade Union Congress, solely as a result of rank-and-file pressure, was forced to threaten a general strike to protest the jailing of five workers from the London docks who explicitly disobeyed the new Industrial Relations Act. This strong action led to rank-and-file opposition organizations in the dockers, mining, car workers, and teachers unions. In addition, local tenants' organizations have formed to fight against rising rents in municipal housing.

What the result of the present Tory struggle with the miners will be is unclear, but the contradictions within British capitalism are fast approaching a crisis situation. American socialists should pay close attention to the present activities in Britain. Despite the stereotyped views which many of us have of a phlegmatic and apolitical working class in Britain, this most ancient of industrial countries may be the first advanced capitalist nation to make the necessary revolutionary transition to lay the foundation for the first democratic socialist society.

korea

(Continued from page 2)

in the Seoul YMCA to read their statement to the press. They were later released.

It was the first time since martial law was declared last year that these leaders--all of whom have been arrested at one time or another--had dared to speak out.

Such actions are remarkable, given the climate of repression in South Korea where even church sermons come under CIA scrutiny. The fate of a professor at the College of Law at Seoul National University this October was undoubtedly intended as a warning to others. In the words of the Far Eastern Economic Review, "Prof. Choi Chong Gil, who took the side of the students, died while undergoing interrogation at CIA headquarters. The CIA announced that the professor's death was suicide."

To date, the South Korean police seem to have taken a relatively "mild" approach--what one reporter defined as "limited prosecution and limited torture." But many observers believe that the Pak regime was simply trying to avoid bloodshed while the Korea question was being debated before the United Nations last month. Once Korea has dropped from the headlines, they predict, severe repression will be brought against the students and those who have publicly supported them. ■



South Korea's Pres. Pak Jung Hi with Nixon.



The U.S. has shifted a wing of F-4 Phantoms to South Korea.

hidden past

(Continued from page 5)

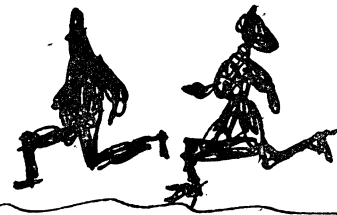
tion of the Party's strategy in the Popular Front period of the thirties shows originality and depth. His discussion of the American left's historic failure to develop an authentically "American" language and strategy--a failure which both antedated and postdated the Communist Party's hegemony on the left--is a helpful antidote to the tendency to blame the left's mistakes solely on the Russian connection.

Finally, his book is both dramatic and moving. It is the story of a man who remained true to a humane and compassionate vision for decades, who consistently tried to act with integrity through difficult and torturous times, and who showed great courage and resistance in the face of McCarthyism and the breakup of the left. The new left suffered much from its failure to understand and appreciate the experiences, courage, and wisdom of revolutionaries like Richmond.

The weaknesses in the book also stem from the old left tradition which Richmond illuminates: the touchstone of socialist politics in the present is the question of feminism. Richmond's failure to deal at all with women's struggles in Communist Party history and in his discussion of the new left symptomizes the broad weaknesses in his book. His work (though not his vision) gives only the most cursory attention to questions of social and personal struggle, to the qualitative

questions that have moved millions of people to anger and rage against the system. Reading his book one gets a deep sense of his sensitivity to material hardship, but one gets only glimpses of insight into the social and personal barrenness people experience in contemporary capitalism (indeed, he at one point derides such questions as little more than the bromide that "money can't buy happiness").

But despite its flaws, it is a book which helps unearth a tradition we must reclaim. The work before us is to learn from and synthesize both the traditions to which we are heir--the old left and the new--to recognize their limitations, and to create a revolutionary politics and a humane, democratic socialist movement that can speak to the contemporary American reality.



Newspaper Collective for this issue (only, we hope)

Del Griffin
Jean Nute
Jim Weinstein

NAM CHAPTERS & PRE-CHAPTERS

NAM chapters are numbered; pre-chapters are starred

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|--|
| 1) Amherst NAM
Box 1329, St. No. 2
Amherst, MA 01002 | 11) Pittsburgh NAM
P. O. Box 8224
Pittsburgh, PA 15217 | 22) Hocking Valley NAM
c/o Morningstar Books
44 N. Court Street
Athens, OH 45701 | 33) Austin NAM
P. O. Box 7265
University Station
Austin, TX 78712 |
| 2) Radcliffe-Harvard NAM
c/o Dan Goldstein
12 Upland Road
Cambridge, MA 02140 | 12) Philadelphia NAM
c/o Schuldenfrei
4107 Chester Avenue
Philadelphia, PA 19104 | 23) Bloomington NAM
c/o Knecht
1130 W. 6th Street
Bloomington, IN 47501 | 34) Boulder NAM
2653 Spruce Street
Boulder, CO 80302 |
| 3) Middlesex NAM
Box 443
Somerville, MA 02144 | 13) Bread and Roses NAM
1734 20th Street NW
Washington, DC 10009 | 24) Iowa City NAM
509 Davenport
Iowa City, IA 52240 | 35) Los Angeles NAM
P. O. Box 24521
Los Angeles, CA 90024 |
| 4) Boston Area NAM
Rm. 308, Heller School
Brandeis University
Waltham, MA 02154 | 14) C. P. Gilman NAM
920 Dacian Ave., Apt. 7
Durham, NC 27701 | 25) Minneapolis NAM
2421 E. Franklin Avenue
Minneapolis, MN 55406 | 36) San Francisco NAM
388 Sanchez Street
San Francisco, CA 94114 |
| 5) New York NAM No. 1
c/o Blau
306 W. 93rd Street
New York, NY 10024 | 15) Margaret Sanger NAM
c/o Rose
Rt. 1, Box 491
Durham, NC 27705 | 26) Nicollet Avenue NAM
Rm. 4, 1502 Nicollet Ave.
Minneapolis, MN | 37) Berkeley NAM
2022 Blake Street
Berkeley, CA 94720 |
| 6) New York NAM No. 2
42 West 65th Street
New York, NY 10023 | 16) Asheville NAM
P. O. Box 8486
Asheville, NC 28804 | 27) DeKalb NAM
839 N. 11th Street
DeKalb, IL 60115 | 38) ELF NAM
305 Eschleman Hall
University of California
Breekeley, CA 94720 |
| 7) Queens College NAM &
NAM Women's Chapter
c/o Welch
674 W. 161st Street, No. 4C
New York, NY 10032 | 17) Knoxville NAM
310 16th Street
Knoxville, TN 37916 | 28) Fox River Valley NAM
506 Barrington
Dundee, IL 60118 | 39) Reed NAM
c/o Ratliff
Box 867, Reed College
Portland, OR 97202 |
| 8) Interboro NAM
c/o Freeman
142-24 38th Ave., Apt. 511
Flushing, NY 11354 | 18) Morehead NAM
c/o Lewis
433 Water Avenue
Morehead, KY 40351 | 29) Chicago NAM No. 1
c/o Tulley
1908 So. Halsted
Chicago, IL 60608 | * Germantown NAM
5108 Newhall Street
Philadelphia, PA 19144 |
| 9) Queens NAM
Box 117
Kew Gardens, NY 11415 | 19) Lexington NAM
454 So. Ashland
Lexington, KY 40502 | 30) Lawrence NAM
c/o Kershenbaum
1304-1/2 Tennessee
Lawrence, KA 66044 | * Normal NAM
c/o Palmer
Bellermin Building
502 So. Main St.
Normal, IL 67761 |
| 10) Binghamton NAM
c/o Sklar
159 Oak Street
Binghamton, NY 13905 | 20) Cleveland NAM
1816 Chapman Avenue
East Cleveland, OH 44112 | 31) New Orleans NAM
P. O. Box 2647
New Orleans, LA 70176 | * Chicago NAM No. 2
c/o Upton
659 W. Armitage
Chicago, IL 60614 |
| | 21) Mad River NAM
810 Ferndale
Dayton, OH 45406 | 32) Norman NAM
Box 2370
Norman, OK. 73069 | |

rebels

(Continued from page 1)

Many of the protesters--an organized group that calls itself the People's Bicentennial Commission--wore tri-cornered hats, knee breeches, and other 18th Century garb.

People at the demonstration wore buttons saying "Impeach Nixon" and others carried placards. One large banner said "Gay American Revolution." Other slogans included "Put heat on the oil companies," "Dump Nixon, not tea," and "The Spirit of '76 lives."

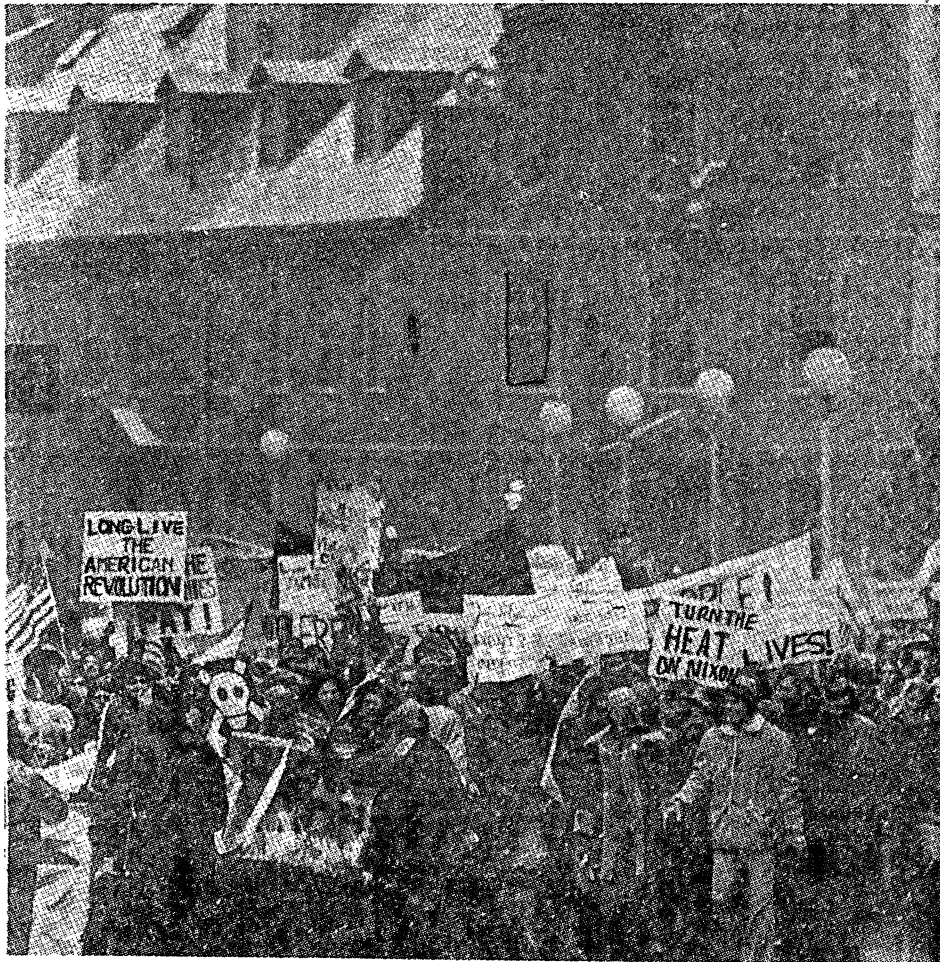
About a half-dozen of them boarded the Beaver II, a replica of one of the three ships from which the colonialists dumped the British tea in 1773.

The protesters then dropped three oil drums into the slate-colored waters of Boston Harbor.

They hoisted onto the ship's riggings a banner reading, "Heed the people, tax the rich, jail the tyrant."

They tarred and feathered an effigy of Nixon and tossed it into the harbor, as well as the oil drums. They hanged a large plaster bust caricaturing the President--it had a purple robe and crown bejeweled with emblems of Exxon, Gulf, and Amoco oil companies--from mock gallows.

The crowd applauded and chanted intermittently during the half-hour



Members of the "People's Bicentennial" toss oil drums off the Beaver II and march past the Old State House.

that the protesters staged the theatrics.

Their antics overshadowed the realistic rendition of the Boston Tea Party by the Charlestown Militia who preceded the protesters aboard the Beaver II.

At 2 p.m. about 30 stocky militiamen, including a few professional acrobats, clambered onto the ship. They also wore 18th Century costumes. Some cloaked themselves in blankets and wore paint streaked on their cheeks, imitating the colonialist dissidents who had disguised themselves as Indians.

Mindful of the pollution now bespoiling the harbor, the militiamen yesterday limited themselves to 20 empty casks, all attached to cords for easy retrieval.

Some of the militiamen grumbled about the protests of the People's Bicentennial Commission, who blared rock music and segments from Nixon's speeches over loudspeakers before the re-enactment of the Tea Party began. They desisted, however, during the re-enactment.

At one point, the militiamen threatened to cancel their event, but it proceeded largely as scheduled. The militiamen were not the only ones disgruntled. One NAM member in the press area heard Boston Mayor Kevin White saying "What the fuck is going on here? Why am I freezing my ass off for this?"

In all, three groups dumped something or other into the harbor during the day.

Puerto Rico

(Continued from page 1)

since the complex would consist of modern, automated industries. But, like most other "solutions" to the energy crisis, the Puerto Rican superport would help prevent a profit shortage in the oil industry for years to come.

The immediate cause of the current oil crisis is the shortage of refining capacity. From the point of view of the oil companies, the easiest way to deal with the problem would be the construction of a few huge port and refining complexes for the East Coast market. Attempts to build such facilities off the New Jersey and Delaware coasts have been blocked by the state governments; opposition was based on the fear of oil spills and other environmental destruction.

In Puerto Rico, however, the local government was willing to give the companies a free hand. And Puerto Rico is an ideal location for an ugly, polluting industrial complex--usually invisible to the mass media and North American public opinion, but still nearby.

From Puerto Rico to Alaska, the energy crisis is proving useful to the oil companies. Opposition to the industry's plans is crumbling. Congress has approved the Alaska pipeline, even though it is almost certain to cause massive ecological destruction. The Interior Department has granted permission for production of oil from shale on federally owned lands in Colorado and Utah, even though the process is known to create a ton of waste for every barrel (42 gallons) of oil.

In the present climate of hysteria, it seems that anything the companies ask will be granted. And in Puerto Rico, the colonial administration is only too willing to oblige.

THE OIL COMPANIES' PLANS

The plans for Puerto Rico are for much more than just a port. Two to four large refineries would process the crude oil coming in to the port. Much of the refined oil would then be shipped on to the U. S. But some would go to new

power plants that would generate huge quantities of electricity for petrochemical and metal processing industries. The metal industries would be fed by striping and open pit mining of Puerto Rico's nickel and copper, and by imports of bauxite and iron.

The initiative for the entire project came from U. S. oil companies, with plans first announced in December 1972. It is now also supported by U. S. and Japanese metal companies, and it is expected to receive additional financial backing from the Saudi Arabian government--a hint about the future of the Arab oil boycott.

For the people of Puerto Rico, the project would be a disaster. Oil spills in the waters around the island have already damaged the local fishing industry; the superport would increase the damage. Three petrochemical plants are already operating, producing pollution-related illnesses among the people who live nearby. The superport complex would increase these illnesses. The complex would take some of the best farmland in Puerto Rico, and the destruction of fresh water supplies would be staggering.

Of the jobs created in the refineries and factories, many would require skilled technicians. But there would be little employment for the farmers and unskilled workers displaced by the complex. For them, the superport means moving to the ghettos of North America or taking jobs as servants to the North American business personnel and tourists.

The plan for a superport is only the latest of the ways in which U. S. imperialism has used its Puerto Rican colony. In the past Puerto Rico has been a source of agricultural raw materials, particularly sugar. It has been a captive market for U. S. goods. It has provided cheap labor, both through immigration to the U. S. and through U. S. investment on the island. And U. S. tourists have taken over the country's beaches while employing its people as shoeshine "boys," waiters, and prostitutes.

Now Puerto Rico is to serve another function. It is to be a piece of land that the oil companies can use as a depot and refinery site, an area that they can ravage without concern.

All of this is typical of the international operation of U. S. business. The key to U. S. imperialism is not to be found in any one mode of exploitation. It is not just cheap labor that U. S.

imperialism is after, as some critics seem to believe. Nor is it simply markets of raw materials. It is all of these, because each is a means for expansion of profits. To be sure, some countries suffer one form of exploitation more than another. But Puerto Rico has been a triple winner: there the whole breadth of exploitative practice has been revealed. And now the oil companies have new plans for the island.

THE RISE OF OPPOSITION

The Puerto Rican superport, however, may not develop according to the oil companies' plans. Significant opposition has been developing on the island. In October, a labor congress of 600 delegates, representing 100 unions, expressed unanimous opposition to the superport. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party has made the campaign against the superport a central aspect of its current program and has held successful mass demonstrations in recent months.

The opposition to the superport in Puerto Rico is part of a broader political offensive by left forces on the island. They have brought the issue of their country's control by the U. S. before the United Nations. Last November a major victory was achieved when the U. N. voted 98 to 5 (the U. S., France, England, Portugal, and Israel) with 23 abstentions, to declare Puerto Rico a colony. This vote allowed the question of Puerto Rico's decolonization to come before the U. N. in early December.

The U. N. debate, like most Puerto Rican issues, has been ignored by the U. S. press. But in Puerto Rico it has served as a further impetus to action. For example, when the U. S. Mayors' Conference took place in Puerto Rico in December, it was greeted by a demonstration of 25,000 people (about one percent of the island's population) objecting to the mayors' presence, demanding freedom for Puerto Rican political prisoners, opposing the superport, and protesting the high cost of living. (One immediate accomplishment: the caucus of black mayors came out in support of Puerto Rico's independence.)

Once again, in their rush to exploit the third world, U. S. businesses are provoking a response that may be more than they can handle. Coming in the midst of the energy crisis, the development of the Puerto Rican movement may provide an impetus to action throughout the U. S. It offers an opportunity to link the environmental protection movement with anti-imperialist forces. Thus, the events in Puerto Rico suggest one more way in which the energy crisis can become a powerful stimulus to the redevelopment of the left in the United States.

For more information about the situation in Puerto Rico, write to Casa Puerto Rico, 106 East 14th Street, New York, NY, or

Committee for Puerto Rican Decolonization
Box 1240, Peter Stuyvesant Sta.
New York, New York 10009

