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Tricky Jerry tricks himself

Ford has a better idea

by John Katz, Berkeley NAM, and Nick Rabkin, Oakland NAM

THE SCHOOLBOY image that Gerald Ford projected as he picked up the paper and buttered his toast in the first days of his presidency is tarnished now. Caught between the ideals of "justice" and "mercy," Ford has opted for mercy and, in the process, obstructed justice by pardoning Nixon.

POLITICAL MOTIVES

Ford's tarnished image is the least of his problems, though. He did not par-

don Richard Nixon simply because he wanted to appear to be a man of mercy. Ford may have believed the stories planted by Nixon's people that Nixon was overwrought and depressed. And he may have genuinely wanted to spare the man to whom he owed the presidency further grief. But Ford's principle reasons for pardoning Nixon were political.

He has inherited a legacy from Nixon that includes a deeply divided ruling class, severe economic problems, and a skeptical populace. His first task as president has been to try to reunite the ruling class. He has used a variety of

tactics to do this: the nomination of Rockefeller for Vice President brings the Eastern establishment into the fold; his summit meetings on inflation are designed to give all parts of the ruling class an opportunity to be heard; and, most important, he has attempted to build popular support for himself, knowing that it is a prerequisite for a broad ruling class endorsement.

BUILDING SUPPORT

Ford has made a policy of offering symbolic gestures of solidarity to various groups of people who were offended by Nixon. He assured Blacks that he would stop the import of Rhodesian chrome—knowing that U.S. deposits are large and that chrome from

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Brookside Miners Win UMW Contract

by Len Stanley
C.P. Gilman NAM

Jubilation hit Harlan County, Kentucky, in the early morning of Aug. 29 when Eastover Mining Co. signed a United Mine Workers (UMWA) contract, a major victory for the UMWA as well as for the miners and their families.

Junior Deaton, an ex-coal miner whose roadside grocery store had been a gathering place for striking Brookside miners, said, in a telephone interview: "I guess I heard that first car horn start to blow about 3:30 this morning. Then, well, Lordy, I didn't know there was that much ammunition still left in this county. It really started going off." Deaton added jubilantly, "I'm so happy, I'm still trembling. You can just feel it in the air."

By the next day, the fireworks celebration had calmed to a victory decla-

ration by the entire Brookside community. The miners proudly stood with clenched fists and arms raised over their banner, "UMWA Local 1974—Brookside," and other banners declaring, "UMWA—Here to Stay," and "Harlan County is UMWA Country." There was a more relaxed mood, even a return to laughter, as the miners and their families mingled with neighbors and UMWA officials, including president Arnold Miller, and a sense of pride as congratulatory telegrams were read and speeches delivered.

MINERS CONCEDE LITTLE

Certainly these UMWA miners deserved their victory declarations. Even in the words of the *Wall Street Journal*, "the union conceded practically nothing" in signing the contract with

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Unionists Respond to AFL-CIA Links

by Tim Nesbitt
Oakland NAM

(From material furnished by Rodney Larson of the Emergency Committee to Defend Democracy in Chile, and from press accounts.)

As new confirmation emerges in the press that the CIA financed the disruption and eventual overthrow of the Allende government in Chile, evidence is also building that the AFL-CIO was involved in the U.S.-backed program of subversion in that country and throughout Latin America.

In April, when CIA director William E. Colby was telling the House Armed Services Subcommittee of his agency's \$8 million plan to "destabilize" the Allende regime, a 50-page booklet documenting AFL-CIO involvement in chaneling some of this money began attracting national attention.

The booklet has since triggered controversy and discussion within many AFL-CIO caucuses and evoked a self-incriminating response from the federation's highest leadership.

The study details the role of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), the Latin American arm of the AFL-CIO, in financing and training personnel to oppose strong left unions with "bread-and-butter" style craft and professional unions on the AFL-CIO model at home. It recounts AIFLD actions, in secret cooperation with business and intelligence agencies, that led to the 1964 military coup in Brazil, the right-wing takeover in the Dominican Republic in

1965, and the eventual defeat of Cheddi Jagan in Guyana.

The booklet, entitled "Our AFL-CIO Role in Latin America, or Under the Covers with the CIA," was commissioned by the 300-member Emergency Committee to Defend Democracy in Chile. Its author, Fred Hirsch, is chairman pro-tem of the Emergency Committee and a member of Plumbers and Steamfitters Local 393 in San Jose, CA.

Since publication of the Emergency Committee's study, other events have broadened the case against the AIFLD, and its covert relationship with the State Department, the CIA, and numerous multinational corporations with interests in Latin America.

After summaries of the study appeared in the *Congressional Record*, Senator William Fulbright wrote to the Committee commending its effort. He included a previously classified report, from the Comptroller General of the U.S., documenting extensive government financing of American union activity overseas and listing some of the unions involved.

The AFL-CIO's own Santa Clara County (Calif.) Central Labor Council adopted a resolution urging George Meany, the federation's president, to answer the allegations. With increasing publicity including a letter of support from Mrs. Salvador Allende, Meany finally dispatched the executive director of the AIFLD, William C. Doherty, from Geneva to meet with the Council and try to have the resolution rescinded.

Facing sharp questioning from the council, Doherty admitted that AIFLD

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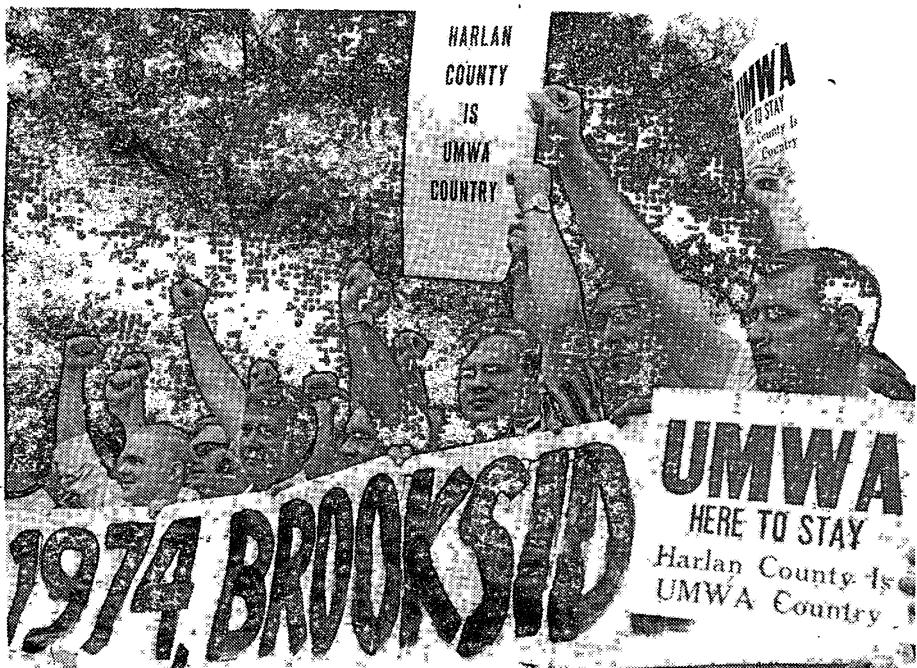


Photo by Jim Trammel, Atlanta

The Coverup Behind Nixon's Pardon



by Noam Chomsky

With the pardon of Richard Nixon by his hand-picked successor, the Watergate affair ends where it began: not tragedy, but farce. People who regarded the Articles of Impeachment as a solemn exercise in the defense of democracy, and who took the resignation to be a vindication of the American System and the Principle of Equal Justice Under Law, have every reason to be shocked by Ford's action.

But in fact, the whole affair was monumental in its insignificance. The only system vindicated by the forced resignation was the system that guarantees to a broad segment of monopoly capital the authority to control the state executive exploiting its power to maintain domestic order and international "stability" in the interest of the privileged by whatever means are required. Nixon was brought to heel because he violated the rules of this system, concentrating power too narrowly and attacking men of power by means reserved, in the normal course of events, for use against those who depart from the general conservative consensus.

PRINCIPLES ARE IRRELEVANT

The Articles of Impeachment were designed to exclude any issue of principle. Of course, the international crimes of Nixon and Kissinger receive no mention. Contrary to misleading press coverage, these crimes also barely figured in the Committee debate. True; the secret bombing of Cambodia was mentioned, but the emphasis was on the secrecy, not the bombing. Had the minority resolution been adopted, the conclusion could only have been that it is an impeachable offense to initiate aggressive war without properly informing Congress of this act.

The bombing of Cambodia was "secret" only to those members of Congress who chose not to know about it. In January 1970 the Cambodian government published an official White Paper giving details of American attacks against civilian targets in Cambodia through May 1969. The presentation included pictures, names, places, dates, and casualty figures. Press censorship in the United States, though not abroad, was total. Thus the administration was able to plead, without rejoinder, that the Sihanouk government never protested—indeed, approved—the bombing of "North Vietnamese base camps," the euphemism for "Cambodian villages."

Other crucial evidence was also suppressed. Thus, it is known that rubber plantations in Cambodia were defoliated in the spring of 1969. By whom? There is substantial evidence of U.S. participation in the coup that overthrew

Sihanouk in March 1970. Under Nixon and Kissinger, the bombing of civilian targets in Northern Laos, far from any field of battle, reached levels of unparalleled savagery. None of this appeared in the Articles of Impeachment or the Committee debate.

Nixon and Kissinger conducted a savage war in Vietnam for four years in an effort to impose the rule of fascist torturers. It was only after the failure of their last desperate attempt, the Christmas bombing of urban centers in December 1972, that they accepted the peace treaty that had been offered by the DRV and PRG. And this concession was purely formal. Kissinger and the

Nixon was removed from office because of his choice of targets, not the means employed.

White House made clear at the time of the signing of the Paris Treaty that the U.S. had no intention of adhering to its central provisions. Again, none of this was fit for mention in the "historic debate" that vindicated American democracy.

GREATEST ABSURDITY

But the clearest indication of the absurdity of the proceedings lies elsewhere. With all of the lofty rhetoric about presidential abuse of power, there was no mention in the Watergate debate of the most dramatic revelations of the past year, namely, the series of FBI memoranda on disruption and harassment of the Left produced on court order since December 1973. These documents reveal that a full-scale campaign was waged by the FBI through the 1960's against the Socialist Workers Party, the Black Panthers, and other Black groups, and finally the entire "New Left." Measures included infiltration and surveillance, false arrest, extensive efforts to discredit and disrupt, entrapment, and probably complicity in murder, as in the case of Hampton and Clark; in fact, virtually all the devices that one would expect of the political police.

The actions were undertaken on the express grounds that these enemies of the state were supporting integration in the South, running candidates in local elections, urging a change in U.S. policy towards Cuba, calling for the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, working to expose FBI infiltration on campus, defaming the Director, and other such crimes. The FBI projects were explicitly modeled on the successful destruction of the Communist Party in earlier years. Nothing unearthed in the Water-

gate investigations begins to compare with what these documents reveal, in severity or scope. The press is silent. The liberal commentators who exult in the vindication of American democracy and our constitutional system have nothing to say about these abuses.

As the Watergate rhetoric and the Articles of Impeachment demonstrate, Nixon was removed from office because of his choice of targets, not the means employed, a trivial variant of the techniques of repression regularly used to crush political dissent. Plainly, no issue of principle arises in the Watergate proceedings. The incident belongs in the gossip columns. The fact that it was

raised to an issue of political significance is just another indication of the subservience of the media to the principle that only those who threaten the system of privilege and control of the state by private economic power are to be subjected to state repression. This is the lesson of Watergate, and it will no doubt be heeded by more astute politicians than Richard Nixon.

WILL FORD COMPLETE THE FARCE?

To complete the farce, it is only necessary for President Ford to pardon the rest of the Watergate conspirators—perhaps, if his sense of humor is sufficiently macabre, excluding only John Dean. Amazingly, the ground is being laid for this final absurdity. Thus liberal hero Elliot Richardson explains that his support for the Nixon pardon, while Dean goes to prison, does not amount to a "double standard of justice." Why? Because, in his words, "John Dean for the rest of his life will be accorded a certain amount of respect as the guy who blew the whistle," while "Richard Nixon for the rest of his life is an ex-President who betrayed his trust, who was forced by the exposure of his wrong doing to resign his office," (*Boston Globe*, Sept. 11). Words fail.

The presidential pardon is condemned as the "final coverup." That is a rather selective reading of current events. Thus, on the very day the pardon was announced (Sept. 8), the press reported the secret testimony of CIA director William Colby in April on CIA activities to "destabilize"—that is, subvert—the government of Chile. These activities were supervised by Henry Kissinger, who informed Congress at the time that:

The CIA had nothing to do with the coup, to the best of my knowledge and belief, and I only put in that qualification in case some madman appears down there who without instructions talked to somebody. I have absolutely no reason to suppose it.

As the Colby testimony reveals, the great exponent of "stability" was in fact the "madman" who was working to subvert Chilean democracy. For those who may be confused, it was indeed the same Henry Kissinger who ruled out explicit measures to stop the Cyprus coup because this would have been "interference in the internal affairs of another nation." (Leslie Gelb, *New York Times*, Sept. 9) Greek fascism rested on Kissinger's full support, in this case.

According to the U.S. Code, "false, fictitious, or fraudulent statements or representations" by government officials in the area of their jurisdiction constitute a crime punishable by heavy fines or up to five years imprisonment. No congressional committee is willing to conduct an investigation of Kissinger's involvement in the Chilean events, or his false testimony about it to Congress. The coverup continues.

THE POLITICAL COSTS

One might ask why Ford chose to issue a pardon in the face of public opposition. The answer, perhaps, is given in a comment by Richard Strout (*Christian Science Monitor*, Sept. 10): He notes that the pardon will probably abort investigation of the sleazier Nixon-Rebozo dealings, such as apparent robbery of campaign funds for the purchase of jewelry. The aura of the Presidency would be still further diminished if the President is exposed as a common crook, rather than the exalted kind who simply bombs peaceful villages. The role of the President as a "mortal God" is far too powerful a device of ideological control to be sacrificed. Better to face the short-run political cost and put the matter to rest as quickly as possible.

The Watergate affair might have had some political significance, had there been an articulate, mass-based Left that could have focused attention on the real issues that have been so successfully concealed by the press and by Congress. In the absence of such a movement, the whole affair amounts to nothing, the pardon included. No doubt the public has become more cynical, but an unfocused general skepticism has no political meaning in itself. It may contribute to the rise of a fascist demagogue as readily as to a movement for significant reform or socialist revolution.

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

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Viet war resisters eye partial amnesty offer

by Bob McMahon

Chapel Hill NAM

Gerald Ford, in one of the first acts of his Presidency, has moved to set up a program of limited amnesty for draft resisters and deserters.

The move has been damned by conservatives and hailed by moderates as a major departure from the Nixon years. Spokespeople for American exiles and for organizations fighting for unconditional amnesty have called the Ford program insufficient and unacceptable.

The Ford plan for amnesty, or "earned re-entry," as administration spokespeople have labeled it, calls for both draft resisters and deserters to earn freedom from prosecution or imprisonment by a term of up to 18 months of alternate service and a statement of allegiance to the U.S. and intention to obey its laws. Military deserters would receive a dishonorable discharge in addition to being required to perform alternate service.

Administration spokespeople have acknowledged that these terms, which in effect require resisters to acknowledge they were wrong, will be unacceptable to many. Exile spokespeople echoed this view, declaring they had to pay heavy costs for opposing a war they believed immoral, and they did not feel the U.S. government had any right to impose penalties.

Also, the Ford plan entirely ignored another issue raised by the movement for amnesty—the question of less-than-honorable discharges from the military. More than 600,000 veterans of Vietnam carry "bad paper," which entails loss of veterans' benefits, including VA hospital treatment for service-caused disabilities, and frequent inability to find decent jobs. Supporters of universal and unconditional amnesty support wiping out undesirable discharges and the disabilities they carry as an essential part of any complete amnesty.

FROM WATERGATE TO AMNESTY

These limitations of the Ford amnesty plan point to the character of the new administration's break

with the Nixon years. They express the differences between the Ford and Nixon approaches to a common problem: the legacy of the Vietnam era in American politics and public opinion.

Nixon's political strategy was an attempt to reimpose a foreign and domestic consensus by a sharp counter-offensive. A "silent majority" of all those uneasy with the questioning of American life in the 60's was to be harshly mobilized against all dissenters. The rightness of the war was reaffirmed to the end, a rightness to be publicly underlined by mobilizing the full force of the law against war resisters.

Watergate saw the failure of the Nixonian strategy. The conservative Right, which rallied more fervently to the crusade to reaffirm old values, was too small a political base within the nation. The questioning had penetrated too far into the body politic for dissenters to become an isolated minority. Instead, the attack on dissent led directly to the attack on the Democratic Party, which had begun to play its historic role of absorbing and moderating dissenters.

The cost of the Nixon strategy to a political system that American capital was unprepared to abandon had become too high. The strategy had to be abandoned, and Nixon with it.

STRATEGY OF RECONCILIATION

President Ford must deal with the same basic problem of consensus, with the additional burden of the polarization and distrust created by the Nixon years. The dissenters proved impossible to exorcise from the body politic. Now somehow they and the government must be brought to terms with each other. The question of amnesty appears to play an important role in Ford's strategy for this.

Something of this motivation appears in a statement by one White House staffer, quoted in *Newsweek*: "He [Ford] realized that this was a matter that wouldn't go away. So why not face it at a time when the process of change and

conciliation is going forward?"

The ground for reconciliation Ford has chosen appears to be the notion of a universal obligation of obedience to the law. Resistance will be forgiven—but only if the obligation to obey the law in the future is acknowledged and some form of



While the U.S. still props up Thieu and Lon Nol, Ford suggests that war resisters and deserters have a "debt to their country."

expiation made. This policy attempts to accept the legacy of doubt left by Vietnam while setting bounds to it. Dissent will be accepted; disobedience to lawful authority will not.

This is a crucial question for the military, and underlies the harsher treatment given deserters and the avoidance of the question of less-than-honorable discharges in the Ford plan. The military requires unquestioning obedience to orders in order to function. The Indochina War brought a questioning of the legitimacy of the military's actions and of specific injustices within military practices. Discipline broke down, and a spirit of resistance—sometimes expressed in general, ideological terms, and sometimes in response to specific circumstances—grew. The military responded with harsh, arbitrary, and often illegal punitive measures.

The antiwar movement has always considered the question of military punishment and less-than-honorable discharges as inseparable from the general question of amnesty for war resisters. For the same reason, the Defense Department considers that if amnesty is granted at all, it must be in a form which leaves the authority of military commanders unquestioned.

Ford cannot hope to reconcile those firmly convinced of the right of dissenters to break unjust laws—whether out of pacifist or revolutionary politics—by his amnesty plan. What he can hope to accomplish is to undercut the sympathy for their position among more "moderate" dissenters from the war which Nixon's inflexibility on amnesty had created. Opinion polls now show a near majority favoring "complete amnesty." By his plan for "earned reconciliation," Ford can hope to defuse the issue while limiting what he must concede.

AMNESTY FOR NIXON

The question of amnesty for war resisters was from the very beginning linked with that of amnesty for Richard Nixon. Ford appeared to be feeling out the ground for a "reconciling" compromise. Now he has pardoned Nixon on the ground that he has "been punished enough."

This position represents more than an act of mercy towards an individual. It represents the other half of papering over the polarization wrought by Indochina and the Nixon years—a gesture to Nixon's "silent majority," a group essential to the political base of any Republican president. The conservative Right was nursing a deep sense of betrayal over Watergate and Nixon's removal from office. Some were muttering about a break with the Republicans to form a new conservative party. Ford's gesture to the Left, especially on amnesty, deepened this outrage. The linkage of amnesty on the war with Nixon's pardon may be a deliberate attempt to hold them in the fold.

As the mutterings of discontent on the Right indicate, Ford's general policy of reconciliation—which amnesty is a prime example—is a precarious attempt to paper over the deep conflicts which developed within American society during the last decade. The prospects for the future—including economic crisis at home and a continuing crisis in foreign policy—make it doubtful these policies can succeed.

LA demo hits deportations

by Marilyn Katz
Los Angeles NAM #2

In one of the most significant and largest demonstrations in Los Angeles in the last four years, over 3,000 people marched and rallied against inflation, unemployment, repression, and the arbitrary deportation of undocumented immigrant workers.

Initiated by CASA, an organization mainly involved in organizing and defending the rights of Chicano and Mexican national workers, the moratorium was sponsored by over 30 Left, community, and union groups, including the National Committee to Free Los Tres, SCLS, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Coalition for Economic Survival, New American Movement, and many church and trade union leaders and rank-and-file groups.

While the speakers and marchers dealt with all aspects of repression facing the working class during this period of economic and political crisis, their major focus was the deportation of Mexican and other alien workers.

Lucy Perez, speaking for CASA, provided an historical context for the present massive deportation raids and the anti-Mexican hysteria being woven around them. She explained that the large migrations of workers to this country resulted from the distortions of the economies of countries such

as Mexico, Puerto Rico, etc., caused by imperialism whose exploitation knows no boundaries or borders.

Condemning the activities of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), she and the committee argued that no worker can be considered illegal—only exploitation can—and that the solution to the problems faced by workers is to fight against imperialism and the attempt to place the burden of the economic crisis on the working class.

In particular, she countered the United Farmworkers' use of INS to clear the fields of undocumented Mexican national strikebreakers, with the demand that recruitment of strikebreakers, particularly across the border, be made a crime.

In response to the often heard argument that undocumented workers are a drag on class struggle since they are difficult to organize, she argued that only the removal of "illegal" status and the threat of deportations could provide a solution. In fact, where CASA and others have organized Mexican nationals, they have often been in the forefront of struggles for better wages and working conditions.

In summation, she called for the struggle for full rights for all workers, documented and undocumented, saying that only with such unity can workers successfully fight against the increasing repression, deterioration of working conditions, and decreasing wages they now face.

Among other speakers at the rally were representatives of PSP, AIM, SCLC, trade unionists, and a member of the Asian Collective who spoke of the importance of fighting against the vicious deportation of the Vietnamese students who had opposed the war and the Thieu regime.

The spirit, turnout, and composition of the demonstration were encouraging. There was wide-based community support and the greatest multinational participation seen in Los Angeles since the Moratorium against the Vietnam war held in East L.A. in 1970. NAM members had a contingent in the march and were active in the organization and in carrying out the day's activities.

The coalition plans to continue work against both deportation and the onslaught of repressive working and living conditions faced by workers as the crisis of U.S. capitalism deepens.



Women report from Chile

Political Genocide

by Kay Cole

Chile, State of War: Eye Witness Report, by Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.



"Don't underestimate the sexism of men in the Chilean junta. And be sure to take advantage of it." This was the advice given by a former professor at the University of Chile to this member of the six-woman delegation sent to Chile by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Our goal was to investigate the condition of human rights under the military regime.

The military showed their disdain for women in many ways: they seemed to ignore our movements as we pursued our investigation in two cities and their suburbs; they apparently were victims of their "machismo" and believed we were incapable of uncovering any significant facts. As a result the armed soldiers guarding the campamentos (workers' settlements) did not prevent our visits. And DINA (National Intelligence Administration) permitted us to examine their lists of prisoners and to question their staff concerning their whereabouts and the conditions in which they were existing.

Colonel Jorge Espinosa, chief of the Chilean Prison System, escorted us to the men's prison in Santiago and stood by while we interviewed three men in English (which the Colonel did not understand). These men told us facts directly contradicting the official line handed us by the Colonel. At the conclusion of the interview, Colonel Espin-

osa said, "I have always had the deepest regard for the nobility of the feminine soul and the trust women hold in their hearts. I know you will tell the truth as I have related it to you, about what you have seen here."

Captain Carlos Ashton, formerly in active Navy service and later an employee of the J. Walter Thompson Public Relations Agency in Chile (currently in charge of the junta's P.R. program covering the press of the world), told us in great detail about the damage done to Chile by Allende's Popular Unity government. One of his anecdotes was of an assault on a court of justice by fifty men who were ordered by President Allende to kidnap the judge, dismiss the jury, and release the defendant. The Captain blithely ignored what was obvious to us: if such an event actually occurred there would have been prominent coverage in the capitalist press, and that President Allende would have been impeached by his political opposition. He also arrogantly assumed we would not know that there is no jury system in Chile.

The results of our investigation have been published as a report by the WILPF. Interviews with prisoners and former prisoners, workers and professional people are faithfully reproduced. Economic conditions are reviewed and analyzed. The state of terror is described, and many of the techniques used by the junta are revealed here for the first time.

The report's conclusion is that the economic chaos in Chile has combined with the junta's brutal oppression to reach a stage of "political genocide."

Unfortunately, signs of resistance, which do exist, are not adequately recognized by the report. Members of the delegation were acutely aware of the life-and-death risks taken by the Chileans who took us about the cities and gave us interviews "in order to get the word out." More should have been

reported on that aspect. We heard of many strikes, of slow-downs, of refusals to increase the work week, of willingness to hide people hunted by the junta. After our return we heard of the sabotage of fighter planes which had to be returned to England where they were made, only to find that the British workers refused to repair them.

With recent exposures of CIA and other U.S. government millions poured in to destroy the Allende government and to shore up the junta, this report will be even more timely and useful in mobilizing support for the heroic struggle of the Chilean people.

The pamphlet is available through bookstores or can be ordered directly from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107, \$1.50 (\$1.25 in orders for 10 or more).



Wounded Knee Trial Draws to a Close

by Diane Wiley
Special to NAM

As the Wounded Knee trial of Dennis Banks and Russell Means draws to a close in St. Paul, more evidence of governmental misconduct against the American Indian Movement has surfaced. The prosecution demonstrated its willingness to go to any lengths to get a conviction when it was shown that the only witness to give any direct testimony against the defendants is on the government payroll.

The ten original felony charges against Banks and Means were reduced to five by Judge Nichol at the conclusion of the prosecution's case. Charges of burglary, possession of unregistered molotov cocktails and car theft were dropped for lack of sufficient evidence, and two counts of obstruction of justice were found to be invalid because of the illegal presence of the military in Wounded Knee.

This was the second time during the trial that Nichol ruled that the government acted illegally during Wounded Knee. The first ruling came at the end of a six-week evidentiary hearing on government surveillance when FBI agents were found to have illegally monitored the only phone going into Wounded Knee. There have been no charges brought against any of the government officials involved in either criminal activity.

Although the prosecution took from February 12 until July 24 to present its case, the defense rested after three days of testimony by five witnesses. Defense Attorney Ken Tilsen explained the brevity very simply: "We proved our case."

The five defense witnesses testified to the significance of the 1868 Treaty and the conditions on the Pine Ridge Reservation which forced the Oglala people to ask AIM to assist them in their struggle for control over their own affairs.

Author-historians Vine DeLoria (*Black Elk Speaks*) and Dee Brown (*Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*) attested to the court that the U.S. only made treaties with sovereign nations and that despite almost immediate violation by the U.S. the Oglala people consider the Treaty a pact for all time.

Frank Kills Enemy, an 80-year-old Oglala traditional leader whose grandfather had signed the Treaty testified next to the sincerity of the Indian people. "When Indians made a treaty, they smoked a pipe, a peace pipe. The pipe is sacred and when you smoke it you cannot lie." He told of the conditions which developed out of violations of the Treaty; the dwindling of reservation lands; and destruction of Indian communal forms of government and economic survival.

Another Pine Ridge resident, Agnes Lamont, also told of the deplorable conditions and how the reservation had become an armed camp. Mrs. Lamont, whose son Buddy Lamont was murdered by federal officers during Wounded Knee, described the arrival of federal marshalls in Pine Ridge ten days before the protest began and how she had to move young boys out of a residential dormitory in order to house the marshalls.

The last witness was Gladys Bissonette, an active leader of the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization. She described continuing harassment by the BIA and the tribal government and the refusal of various governmental agencies even to investigate the situation. At a meeting on February 26, 1973, attended by approximately 500 members of the tribe and the reservation's nine traditional tribal chiefs, AIM's help was requested



Russell Means and Dennis Banks

as a last recourse. Mrs. Bissonette testified that Means had "no alternative but to listen to the chiefs. No one else had listened to us on the reservation. There was no law. . . we had no choice. We meant no violence."

At the close of Bissonette's testimony Means stood and addressed an astonished court: "We believe that the story has been told. We stand on our treaty rights. The defense rests."

The prosecution was apparently so upset that their plans of keeping Banks and Means tied up in litigation had been thwarted, that they decided to offer an extended rebuttal case. Their "star" witness turned out to be a former AIM member, expelled from St. Paul last July for fighting. Louis Moves Camp, 22, had also been a member of OSCRO and participated in the early stages of the Wounded Knee protest.

When the government rested its case, testimony by 79 witnesses had failed to provide any substantive evidence linking Banks and Means to any of the charges against them. They claim that Moves Camp came to them in August and offered to testify because he disagreed with the AIM leadership.

It was revealed, however, that Moves Camp has two assault charges pending against him in Rapid City, S.D., and that he was paid a substantial amount of money by the government for his testimony.

The three-day cross examination of Moves Camp was interrupted twice. Once was when his mother, Ellen Moves Camp, AIM stalwart and negotiator at Wounded Knee, attempted to talk to her son who has been under "federal protection" and thus unavailable to her. "I'll never believe that he went to them of his own free will to do this to his own people," she said. "I know he's being bribed. The second interruption came when defense lawyers William Kunstler and Mark Lane were jailed for protesting the arbitrary removal of AIM supporters from the courtroom. They were released 20 hours later without charges.

Moves Camp's testimony was successfully disputed by defense witnesses who testified that he had not been in Wounded Knee when incidents he described had occurred. Transcripts of California cable television broadcasts in which Moves Camp appeared bore out defense assertions. Ellen Moves Camp and defense attorney Ken Tilsen denied his participation at meetings he claimed to have attended.

Moves Camp's mother- and father-in-law told the court of his fear of going to jail for the Rapid City assault charges. His wife Gayleen, testified that he told her that the FBI promised him a job, a house, \$200 a week, and all of his charges dropped if he would cooperate with the government.

If Banks and Means are acquitted, perhaps the government will decide that it can no longer legitimately justify these trials to the American public and drop the remaining 100 plus charges against Indian people. If the so-called leaders are found innocent, continued prosecution of the rank and file would only further demonstrate the harassment purposes of the government's charges. Victory in the Wounded Knee trials would still leave 15 court cases arising out of the police riot in Custer, S.D. unresolved, and three convictions on appeal. It would also not alleviate any of the conditions that led to Wounded Knee in the first place. However, it would allow more Indian people to get back on the offensive.

Support your local utility

Buy PG&E in Berkeley!

by Dan Marschall
Berkeley NAM

Berkeley residents will vote this November on an initiative to municipalize the electric distribution facilities of the nation's second largest privately-owned utility company, Pacific Gas and Electric (PG&E). The passage of this initiative—a realistic possibility following the energy crisis and the steady increase in PG&E electric rates—would place the utility under community ownership and open the way for democratic control over its operation.

The arguments in favor of community ownership are difficult to dispute. An independent feasibility study recently concluded that municipalization would bring economic benefits to Berkeley residents, with over \$1 million in profits going to the city in the first year of public operation. PG&E's rate structure would be reversed, with the lowest rates going to those who use the least amount of electricity. Utility rates would also be below average PG&E rates charged in neighboring cities.

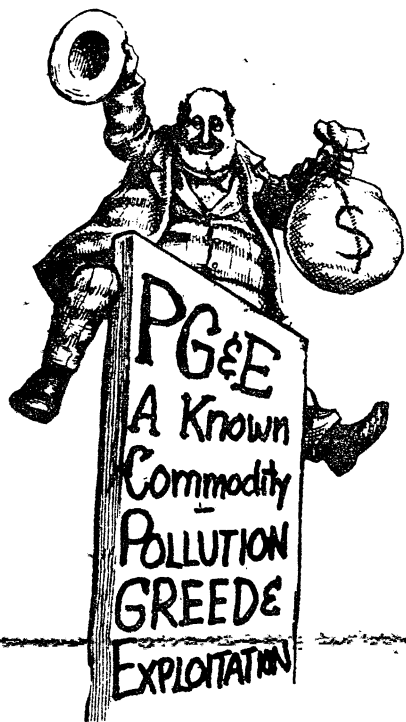
Like utility companies throughout the country, PG&E has routinely been granted rate hikes on the basis of the higher prices they now have to pay for oil and coal used in their power plants. These rates have increased 30% in the last 18 months, with increases of 20% more pending. The result has been enormous profits for PG&E—\$250 million last year, \$3 million of which came from its operation in Berkeley alone.

THE INITIATIVE'S PROVISIONS

Approval of the initiative would begin a two- or three-year process of acquiring the facilities of PG&E by setting up an interim commission whose members would be appointed by the Berkeley City Council. The commission would hold public hearings on a permanent governing structure for the utility which would then be voted on by Berkeleyans.

In order to avoid conflicts of interest, members of the commission could not be employees of PG&E, any of its affiliates, or any other privately-owned utility company. The same restrictions would apply to the advisors and consultants hired by the commission to oversee the condemnation process.

Financing the municipalization process would not require an increase in local taxes, since it would be done by tax-free municipal bonds which would be paid off in total by earnings from the publicly-owned electric system. The system would make payments to the City and to the school district equal to the amount PG&E would have paid. And local taxes could be reduced in the future due to the increased revenues going to the City.



Though the initiative would clearly benefit Berkeley residents, its effects on current employees of PG&E might not be as favorable. The publicly-owned electric system would fall under Berkeley's Affirmative Action Program, which would require all ex-PG&E workers to be re-evaluated according to a quota for the number of minority and women employees, as well as whether or not they are residents of Berkeley. (The majority of PG&E workers do not live in the city.) Through this provision, it is possible that some white male workers would lose their jobs.

But the overall effect of the initiative's Affirmative Action provision on PG&E's workers is not clear, since many Blacks and women are now employed and people hired by the public system would have to meet qualifications for training and experience before being subjected to the Affirmative Action criteria. That part of the initiative has opened it up to attack by PG&E and by the union representing PG&E workers, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. PG&E may call public hearings on municipalization in San Francisco, where the labor movement plays a stronger role in city politics than in Berkeley, to argue against municipalization and to take the steam out of a campaign now being conducted in San Francisco by Power to the People, a part of the S.F. Socialist Coalition.

If PG&E can convince their workers that they'll lose their jobs or be transferred to other parts of California if the initiative is passed, those workers will very likely be willing to do door-to-door canvassing against the initiative.

THE SECOND TIME AROUND

In 1973, Berkeley voters rejected a similar ordinance to municipalize PG&E by a 58% to 42% margin. Although the ordinance did pass in the student section of Berkeley with 62% of



the vote, it got only 35% in the Black community where PG&E propaganda was particularly intense. A major reason for its failure was its association with the April Coalition and the campaign by radicals for seats on the City Council. The ordinance was not considered on its own merits, but was defeated by a backlash against radicalism, the riots, and the belief that the campus community was trying to take over the city government.

In addition, PG&E waged a very effective campaign against the ordinance in 1973 by convincing many people that municipalization could only be financed by a rise in property taxes. Over \$100,000 was spent by PG&E to do this.

There are several reasons by municipalization stands a better chance this year. Ron Dellums is up for re-election in November and it is almost certain that he will win. Dellums supports the initiative and his precinct workers will be pushing it during their door-to-door canvassing. In past November elections about 15% more people voted, and they tended to be twice as liberal as those who voted in April elections on strictly municipal issues.

(Continued on Page 15)

Civil Rights Activists Told:

In N. Carolina, a "fair trial" Is not always a "perfect trial"

by Bob McMahon
Chapel Hill NAM

In North Carolina, the appeals of convicted civil rights activists, now known as the Raleigh Ten and the Charlotte Three, are gaining increasing national support.

In Raleigh, on August 29, the North Carolina Court of Appeals held a hearing in the case of nine Blacks and one white convicted of firebombing a grocery store during racial protests in Wilmington, N.C. The courtroom was packed with friends of the defendants. Other supporters conducted a 24-hour vigil outside.

During the hearings, the attorney for the State admitted key prosecution witnesses might have perjured themselves and conceded irregularities had occurred in jury selection and court procedure. He nevertheless asked the Court to dismiss the Wilmington Ten's appeal, arguing that "the defendants are only entitled to a fair trial, not a perfect trial. And they got a fair trial."

Protests against discriminatory treatment of Black high school

students sparked violent white retaliation since 1969. The Black community in Wilmington has been subjected to a wide variety of legal and extra-legal harassment by state and local authorities and armed white vigilantes. The case of the Wilmington Ten is only one part of this larger pattern of harassment, which has begun to receive nationwide attention.

A good bit of credit for this attention belongs to the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression. A July 4 rally in Raleigh against the Wilmington cases and other forms of political repression in North Carolina attracted about 5,000 people from around the country. Communist Party activist Angela Davis has made a number of visits to the state to rally support for the Wilmington defendants.

In Charlotte, an appeal is being readied in the arson conviction of Black activists Jim Grant, T.J. Reddy, and Charles Parker. The appeal is based on new evidence undermining the credibility of prosecution witnesses and the fairness of the trial.

The three were convicted of the 1969 burning of a Charlott riding stable solely on the basis of the testimony of two witnesses, Al Hood and David Washington. The defense insisted at the time that the testimony of the two contained numerous contradictions. Moreover, in return for testifying, the two received immunity from prosecution on charges carrying a possible total of over 100 years in prison. Despite the weakness of the prosecution's witnesses, the Charlotte Three were convicted and sentenced to 25, 20, and 10 years respectively, among the stiffest sentences ever given for arson in North Carolina. The judge made clear in his sentencing remarks that the basis for the severe sentences was the political activity of the defendants.

Since then the case of the Charlotte Three has attracted considerable comment. The *Charlotte Observer*, one of the most important newspapers in the state, began reporting on discrepancies in the testimony of the State's two witnesses. Finally, the *Observer* reported that the Justice Department in Washington had paid the two \$4,000 each for their testimony. The payments had been kept secret from both defense attorneys and judge in the trial, and Hood had even denied under oath receiving any payment.

(The payments for the two were authorized directly by Robert Mardian, head of the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department at the time. There is some indication, but no clear rec-

ord that considerably more than \$4,000 may have been paid the witnesses. Mardian himself was indicted in February for allegedly conspiring to seek secret payments for the Watergate burglars.)

The wide publicity given the Charlotte Three trial has led to pressure on North Carolina's Governor Holshouser to commute the sentences to time served. The North Carolina Political Prisoners' Committee, which has organized the defense, reports that over 4,000 letters were sent to the governor and over 10,000 signatures collected on petitions.

Despite this, Holshouser has refused to act. He has urged the defense to seek a new trial instead. The defense hoped to avoid the necessity of an appeal, requiring the defendants to suffer further time in jail, uncertainty, and expense. But the governor's attitude has left no other choice. Hearings on appeals for new trials in the arson charge against Grant, Reddy and Parker, and in the Federal case against Grant, are scheduled to begin shortly. A large number of supporters have already indicated their intention to attend the trials.

In the meantime, supporters of the three are appealing for whatever help people can afford. Persons interested in supporting the Charlotte Three, or in getting further information, may write the North Carolina Political Prisoners Committee, P.O. Box 2712, Charlotte, N.C. 28201. The Wilmington Ten Defense Committee can be reached c/o Othow, 417 Hill St., Raleigh, NC 27610.

What is AIFLD?

Not one penny of CIA money has ever come into the AFL or the AFL-CIO to my knowledge over the last 20 years, and I say to you, if it had come it, I would know about it.

— George Meany

George Meany notwithstanding, the case against the AFL-CIO's clandestine operations in Latin America and elsewhere is well documented and persuasive. In our *AFL-CIO Role in Latin America*, Fred Hirsch presents the following evidence relating to the operations of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD).

WHAT IS IT: The AIFLD, formed in 1962, is the Latin American affiliate of the AFL-CIO. Nominally an "education project," the AIFLD now administers social projects, credit facilities, and community development programs. Its training center at Front Royal, Virginia, offers a three-month course for Latin American trade unionists, who then return to their country on the AIFLD payroll.

FINANCES: In 1967, when Meany made his "not one penny" denial, the AIFLD budget topped \$6 million—more than three times the budget of the AFL-CIO itself. Director Doherty has admitted that 92% of the AIFLD budget comes from the U.S. government. The rest comes from U.S. business.

ENTER THE CIA: With this kind of backing, why use the CIA? According to the Hirsch booklet, the AFL-CIO-CIA connection began after World War II when the federation began a crusade abroad in the name of anti-communism. The Free Trade Union Committee (FTUC), established by Meany and David Dubinsky among others, set out to split the powerful French trade union federation, CGT.

Since then, various AFL-CIO unions, such as the International Federation of Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers and the International Association of Food and Allied Workers, have received varying amounts of money from CIA conduits like the Andrew Hamilton Foundation.

AIFLD operations and CIA aims have effectively coincided in countries like Guyana and the Dominican Republic to oust governments that threatened U.S. corporate interests. In Guyana, for example, AIFLD operatives first tried to buy off a general strike, then helped organize a dual union in opposition to the strikers. This union fought the liberal Juan Bosch government, then supported the military takeover ousting Bosch.

Similar tactics were used in Brazil and Chile.

(A limited number of copies of the Hirsch pamphlet are available for \$1.00 from the NAM newspaper office.)

AFL-CIA

[Continued from Page 1]

trainees were "intimately involved in some of the clandestine operations" that overthrew the Goulard regime in Brazil in 1964. In written answers to further questions, Doherty claimed, "The AIFLD has always been openly funded by the U.S. government." But he admitted no CIA involvement.

He also claimed that AIFLD's relationship with numerous multinational corporations was "a token of good faith that modern U.S. management accepts trade unionism as a normal, necessary part of a modern economy."

(The San Francisco *Bay Guardian*, in a recent story backgrounding the Emergency Committee's findings, listed 57 of "nearly 100 business contributors" that gave \$1 million to AIFLD from 1962 to 1968 alone. Of them, 14 were dominated by Rockefeller interests, including the family's own International Basic Economy Corporation.)

Doherty made no admissions regarding Chile, but he did acknowledge that the AIFLD program there has been doubled since the junta took power. Other sources reveal that, after the Chilean Federation of Labor was outlawed by the junta, a new federation emerged under military control. This group, meeting when all other union gatherings were banned, is now led by two graduates of AIFLD training schools.

This summer, newspaper stories relating the disclosures of disillusioned ex-CIA agent Philip Agee substantiated the Emergency Committee's case against the AFL-CIO. According to the

Washington Post, Agee revealed that "the CIA operates in close collaboration with an international network of trade confederations and national labor groups" which, he said, have proven to be effective instruments in Latin America.

The newspaper added that Agee "served as a CIA case officer for a local branch of the American Institute for Free Labor Development which was founded in the early 1960's as an affiliate of the AFL-CIO."

And Agee mentioned other labor organizations that support CIA programs: the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, an AIFLD subsidiary; ORIT, an early forerunner of AIFLD; the Public Services International, comprised of government employee unions; and International Trade Secretariats, groups of unions concerned with a specific industry or craft.

Rod Larson, a member of the Emergency Committee, claims to have "positive information that the Asian, African, and European operations of the AFL-CIO are going to be similarly exposed within weeks."

He points out that Congressman George Brown (Calif.) raised the question of AFL-CIO involvement with the CIA immediately after the Agee disclosures and that Brown called for further investigation by the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs. Larson also hopes that "Meany's flirtations with companies like Anaconda and Kennecott" may lead Congress to include the AIFLD in its investigation of multinational corporate activity.

"It is clear," says Larson, "that the AFL-CIO is going to have to come up with some answers."

CWA Settles; IBEW Short-circuits Strike

by Neal Goldberg
Los Angeles NAM #2

The threat of a nationwide telephone strike is over. By a mail ballot, workers throughout the Bell system ratified the national settlement reached by a coalition of 35 unions, led by the Communications Workers of America (CWA), with American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T). The final tally was better than two to one in favor of the contract.

Yet, despite the vote, opposition to the pact was evident from the first day of its signing on Aug. 5. Within a short time, a major strike at Western Electric and numerous wildcats erupted.

This is easy to understand in view of the settlement. On the surface it looks good. It provides wage and fringe benefit increases of 35.8% over three years. But the overall figure is deceiving. It breaks down to only a 10.7% wage boost immediately, with raises of 3.3% in 1975 and 1976.

Fortunately, it does contain a cost-of-living escalator, but that will provide only a 5.5% hike next year if the Consumer Price Index goes up 7%. Obviously, this is not enough in the face of galloping two-digit inflation. (See story, opposite page.)

Additional benefits will also include a dental plan providing up to \$500 of benefits yearly, improved pensions, and a tenth paid holiday.

But the CWA leaders clearly see their major accomplishment on the so-called "agency shop" issue. In effect, they won a clause in the contract requiring workers to join a union or pay an equivalent in union dues. But this victory was a trade-off. AT&T gave them the full agency shop but not the wage increase of 14% per year they were demanding. Most workers, naturally, could not see the wisdom of this exchange.

IBEW WORKERS STRIKE

The most organized opposition came from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW). The IBEW Telephone Council went along with the CWA agreement, but not the IBEW Electrical Manufacturers' Council. The Council represents workers at Western Electric, AT&T's manufacturing arm. Within a few days, nearly 60,000 workers had struck 16 Western Electric plants throughout the country. Pat Gino, president of the striking IBEW Council, charged that the first year increases, depending on income, would yield less new money than inflation had eaten away in the last year. He also charged that the new cost-of-living formula was worse than the old one.

Yet these statements were rhetoric, designed more to pacify IBEW members than to pressure AT&T. The leadership realized that they could

never get their more militant workers to accept the national pact as it had been negotiated. So their strategy was to let them strike, until they got weary enough to accept it.

After four weeks, IBEW officials submitted a new agreement to workers at 13 plants that was almost identical to the old CWA package. They especially wanted to get a contract before the final results of the CWA ballot were known. Not surprisingly, it was ratified by a slim margin of 80 votes.

But the militancy at Western Electric was real. Indeed, it spilled over into the ranks of the CWA, and threatened the national accord. In several cities, leaders of dissident IBEW locals said they were launching a campaign to get members of the other unions to reject the national pact. In New York, for example, the president of CWA Local 1150, which represents some 4,000 employees at AT&T's Long Lines Department, accused CWA president Glenn E. Watts of a "sellout." And in Los Angeles, like other cities, hundreds of employees at Pacific Telephone wildcatted, disrupting service and scaring local CWA officials.

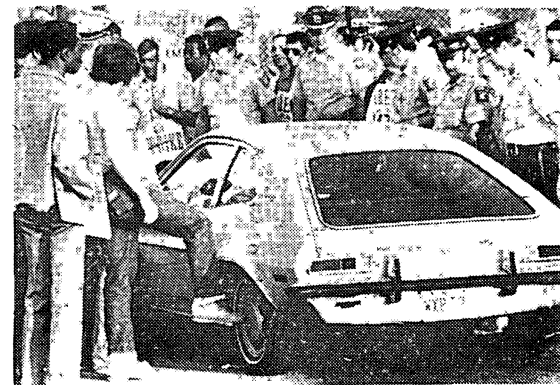
WHY NOT THE CWA?

With this apparent upheaval, why did the IBEW leadership call a strike, and not the CWA? The subsequent vote of the CWA rank and file, in fact, seemed to bear out the leadership's confidence that they had little to fear.

Part of the answer lies in the different work situation of employees at Western Electric. At Western, telephone equipment is manufactured in a factory setting. As in most factories, the skilled jobs are done by the men who, in this case, belong to the IBEW. These craftsmen, like craftsmen elsewhere, have a stronger tradition of trade unionism, and tend to be more militant. Also, because of their skill, they are somewhat more stable in their jobs. All these factors have combined to give these men a greater sense of solidarity, and the power to pressure their union from the bottom up.

In addition, Western Electric workers live in relatively isolated communities. This situation helps to keep them together. At the same time, it separates them from other phone workers. Even their union leaders are aware of this. During the strike, a CWA spokesman said that the IBEW walkout had little impact on their members in urban areas because "the typical Western Electric plant is on the edge of town. The 56,000 strikers are geographically fenced off."

On the other hand, operators and women workers in the CWA are much weaker as a group. Working conditions are extremely oppressive. Split



shifts are the rule. A brutal system of management keeps workers divided and afraid. The women are treated like children and made to feel powerless. In New York City, for example, operators at the switchboards have to raise their hands to get permission to go to the bathroom.

In the face of this, operators have rebelled, but in negative and mainly individual ways. Turnover has soared: absenteeism and shoddy work have become real problems. But, for the most part, the women have not had the power to fight back collectively. And, in most cases, rank-and-file caucuses just haven't gotten off the ground.

At the same time, the CWA has done its best to make these women feel impotent. Through the years, it has centralized bargaining at the national level. The power of local and district unions has been slowly pulled into the hands of officials at the top. And these male leaders have ignored the crucial problem of working conditions.

Yet, Dina Beaumont, director of District 11 in California and recently elected to the executive board, says she "detects some improvement in the CWA's attitude toward women" and wants to move that tendency along. In particular, she wants the CWA to do something about the "quality of the job" for telephone operators, and improve what she called the "awfully dehumanizing thing of being stuck on that switchboard all day." Some of her objectives are to eliminate the monitoring system and change Bell's attendance policy. In the union, she hopes to see women take on a greater role in the bureaucracy.

The new contract doesn't reflect any of these concerns. Indeed, it doesn't even maintain the economic status quo, and will cause phone workers to fall farther behind. The next three years, until the new pact expires, will see more hard times at the telephone company.

Riding the Inflation Escalator

by Tim Nesbitt
Oakland NAM

Despite cost-of-living clauses,
workers' take-home pay declines

At the first of President Ford's mini-summits on the economy in September, 28 experts met for what the business press billed a knock-down battle of ideas. The target was inflation, now Public Enemy Number One. And Ford, in his call to arms, vowed to "beat it to its knees."

Most of the contestants dueled with dull old swords—slashing budgets, cutting taxes, even brandishing again the double-edged threat of wage and price controls. The only hint of any new inflation-fighting strategy came from Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago.

Friedman proposes a surrender of sorts. Instead of trying to lick inflation, he invites us to join it. Just inflate all things equally, he says. Then, as after Watergate, we can get on with the business of governing the country.

The idea is appropriately simple for the man who advised both Richard Nixon and Barry Goldwater in the 60's. But it's no right-wing simplicity. Much of what Friedman calls "indexing the economy" is already taking place.

Indexing the economy means hitching all wages, prices, and monetary values to some standard measure of inflation, like the Consumer Price Index (CPI), and then letting go the reins.

Friedman calls his proposal a pain-killer, not a cure. But in Brazil, where the plan has been in effect since the military takeover in 1964, indexing is touted as the only way to combine a holy war against inflation with the endless crusade for economic growth: The "Brazilian solution" has created a permanent state of siege for the working class, with real wages shrinking like rations.

Here, the aim of the indexers is to "express all transactions that have a time value in terms that eliminate the effects of inflation." In every area of the economy, there is an amazing readiness to scrap the old free market in favor of the indexers' lesser evil—"impartial and automatic adjustments to general price movements." But the effect of an indexed economy may be less than impartial.

LABOR PLAYS CATCH-UP

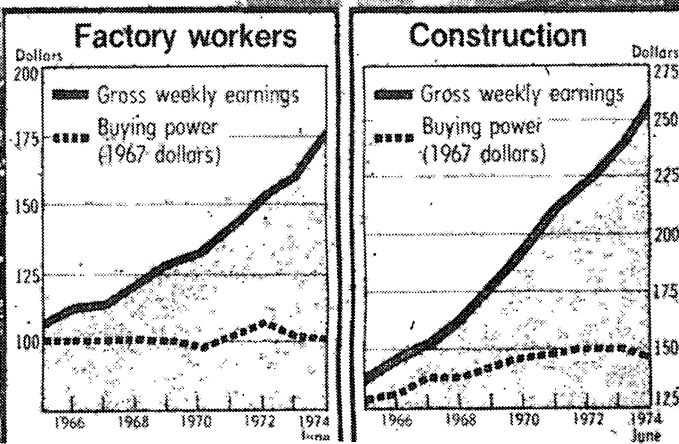
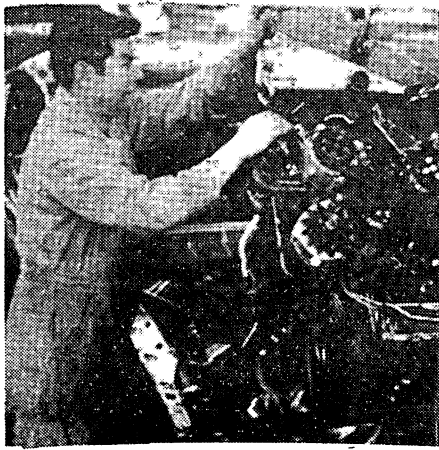
This is labor's problem. With inflation now threatening to double the cost of living every six years, it takes a lot of bargaining, threatening, and striking just to keep up. Real wages in July were down 5.3% from the year before. Yet Alan Greenspan, the President's new chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, complains of poor consumer spending. It's a problem: people who make less, spend less.

Thus cost-of-living escalators can look good from both sides of the bargaining table. But it wasn't always so. Back in 1939, after a decade of deflation, John L. Lewis of the CIO said of the cost-of-living proposal: "It is economically unsound, socially unjust, and politically unwise."

After World War II, however, labor was forced to change its tactics. With wage and price controls barely keeping the lid on a pent-up economy, President Truman, in 1946, issued a directive allowing wage increases only where they would not cause a direct increase in prices. It was then that Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers fought for a "look at the books" at General Motors. His own figures easily justified a substantial wage increase without the usual pass-on from GM. But the company resisted, cried wolf at the door of American capitalism, and stonewalled at the bargaining table. GM won.

Two years later, with all controls off the economy and inflation steaming at today's double-digit levels, the same GM management surprised the UAW with an historic offer—the first unlimited cost-of-living escalator in a major union contract. Reuther accepted, and the 1948 compromise offered regular cost-of-living and productivity increases for the union and the security to do some long-term planning for GM.

Since then, the popularity of cost-of-living escalators has varied directly with the rate of inflation. In the early 60's, the Steelworkers accepted a 3-cent ceiling on their CPI adjustments, then dropped the clause entirely. The UAW, too, accepted an escalator ceiling in 1967—just before the onset of the Vietnam-



fueled inflation. Three years later they had to strike to get it lifted.

Now both unions have unlimited cost-of-living escalators, adjusted quarterly, and calculated to increase hourly wages one cent for every equivalent rise in the CPI. Their members are among more than four million workers in the private economy covered by such automatic adjustment.

However, among non-union and small-union workers, the total covered by full CPI escalators is only 600,000. Overall, including government employees, fully protected workers number just 10% of the work force. Some of the rest are covered by partial or limited cost-of-living clauses. But it is this other 90% that pays in full for that 5.3% decline in real wages. These men and women bear the brunt of this inflation, while those well insulated with full CPI protection have more or less made a trade, explicit in that first UAW contract, of long-term safety for long-term status quo.

BIG MONEY SCHEMES

But this isn't all there is to indexing. Friedman's pain-killing prescription has been written for a more serious illness, called "stagflation," a new hybrid of inflation and recession. The trouble now is that any traditional cure for the one is a stimulant for the other.

By slowing down the economy, for example, the planners are supposed to be able to slow down inflation. But by doing so they invariably put people out of work. The home-building industry is an example.

When the Federal Reserve tightens the money supply (one of the textbook methods for fighting inflation), interest rates rise. But they don't rise equally. Pieces of paper like Treasury notes and corporate bonds respond the fastest, offering larger returns, and drawing money from the real world of stocks and savings accounts. But savings banks are the main source of mortgage funds. When money drains from savings banks, home buyers can't get loans. Houses don't sell. Building slumps. Construction workers lose their jobs.

Now the process has been complicated by the indexing schemes of several big commercial banks. New York's Citibank came up with "floating rate" notes keyed to the daily fluctuation of U.S. Treasury bills. These notes started paying well above the legal interest rates of any savings and loan, and they're rising still. Other banks followed suit. Now money is flowing from the savings banks in torrents.

So the savings institutions are fighting back with indexing schemes of their own. One plan, recently recommended by the president of the Federal Home Loan Bank, calls for variable-rate mortgages. These would enable the savings banks, with a nod from their federal and state regulators, to offer higher, more competitive interest rates.

But the built-in cost for a home buyer who accepts a variable-rate mortgage could be enormous. If such a system had been in effect in 1966, for example, a monthly mortgage payment of \$123 would have swelled to \$148 two years later. Any new home owner who accepts a variable-rate mortgage will have to be protected with a full cost-of-living escalator on the job.

But if indexing works for an autoworker and can keep him up to date with his payments on the house, there must be something in it for the Milton Friedmans of the country. The answer is obvious—lower taxes.

As the income system works now, anyone keeping up with or getting ahead of inflation will find him/herself spiraling with the upwardly mobile into successively higher tax brackets, thus paying higher and higher percentages to the government. This is particularly annoying to conservatives like Friedman. According to their thinking, the government causing this inflation with its unrestrained spending is also reaping the benefit with inflated tax revenues.

The argument is a personal one. Business should have no such complaint. Argus Research recently estimated that, while corporate profits have risen at a compound rate of 10.6% since 1969, the effective corporate tax rate—thanks to loopholes like the oil depletion allowance—has actually dropped from 43% to 34% in the same period.

Yet a bill introduced by Senator James Buckley of New York, and supported by Senators Proxmire and McGovern, calls for indexing the income tax structure to benefit both businesses and individuals. Inventory and capital gains would be deflated accordingly, while personal deductions and income brackets would be adjusted upward according to yearly changes in the CPI. Already Social Security payments are tabbed to rise with every 3% change in the CPI. The Buckley bill would index government securities too.

What are the consequences of an indexed economy? Brazil is one case history. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, the rate of inflation there under indexing dropped from 90% in 1964 to just 15% last year. But wages declined even more. The "Brazilian solution" was no more equitable than the bureaucrats who controlled it. Then, when barrels of higher-priced oil started rolling ashore in the first quarter of this year, inflation quickly escalated to 35%.

Obviously, an indexed economy absorbs all price increases indiscriminately and bloats accordingly. This happens without indexing. But with it, the price hikes of an oil company or the manipulations of a grain dealer are not only passed on, but legislated as well. Where corporations are strong and their pricing power unchecked, they will have all the more leverage to press for successively larger shares of the consumer market. Marginal, small, more competitive industries will be forced out of existence or into conglomerates. And prices, which are hardly the product of free market forces even now, will become powerful instruments of rule.

When UAW leaders sit down at the bargaining table nowadays, they invariably repeat that first request for a "look at the books." They repeat it casually and are casually refused. Emotions have cooled since 1946. Neither side takes it seriously now. But the demand is a good one and a winnable one. And it is exactly this kind of alternative to the wage-price spiral of inflation that is fast becoming obsolete with the onset of an indexed economy.

Perhaps only in the minds of Milton Friedman and a few others does indexing amount to anything like a theory or strategy. In reality, it's just a process of incremental adjustments and reasonable compromises. But this process may soon prevent any industry-by-industry approach to the sharing of power. It might just institutionalize inflation. And the war against inflation could well become a permanent state of siege in the name of peace at home.

'They hold up half the sky'

Women in China

by Saralee Hamilton, Resistance NAM
and Judy MacLean, Pittsburgh NAM.

"What men can do, women can do," was the phrase we heard over and over on our trip to China in May of this year. China's women struck us as confident in themselves and optimistic about their liberation; where things weren't yet up to their standards they still felt progress was being made and that they were improving.

Twenty-five years ago Chinese women were legally obliged to obey their closest male relative, often their feet were bound, making them able only to hobble about. They were confined to the house. Wife beating was common and girl children were sometimes sold into servitude by destitute families. Because of the general poverty of the country many women spent years in pregnancy and childbirth only to have all the children, who represented their only security in old age, die.

Now, all this is in the past, and many problems also faced by women in the U.S. have been solved in China, too. Women in China measure their progress from their condition before liberation (the taking of state power by the Communist Party of China in 1949) and the strides have indeed been great. Always gains have come from a predominantly male-led Communist Party and women have organized within this framework. The experience of Chinese women has convinced them this is the path to their liberation—and it seems to be true to this team of American observers. As for things that we, as American feminists, consider shortcomings in the liberation of Chinese women, it is important to distinguish those which Chinese women agree are shortcomings and plan to struggle against in the future (such as the lack of women in top leadership) from those which Chinese women don't see as shortcomings at all (such as lack of sexual freedom). By any criteria, though, the progress of Chinese women is impressive.

PRODUCTION

Liberation through production was the dominant definition of the goals of the women's organizations and representatives we visited. Official party policy has explicitly called for the full participation of women in all institutions of society; to fail to achieve this would jeopardize the revolution. Women must be brought into industry, and women's work must be socialized for two purposes. First, women must become part of the workforce which transforms the world, draw a salary, and so gain independence from the family authority relationships and a say in affairs outside the home. Second, women are an important force: in Mao's words, "they hold up half the sky" and a developing country like China will succeed only if it can involve the whole populace in industrialization. So bringing women into production benefits both the women and the whole country.

The heavy industrial units we visited (docks, steel mill, oil refinery, etc.) had between 15% and 50% women workers. In Tientsin we spoke to a woman who was the first woman worker in a steel mill.

"The old workers didn't want to accept me," she told us, "they thought women couldn't do machinery work. These wrong ideas go away gradually. The factory took eight of us for testing. The women did the work well, the men comrades summed it up—women are very clever and grasp techniques quickly. Now, there are 1,307 of us at the factory."

Chinese women receive equal pay for equal work. The jobs that are still considered "men's work" are the heaviest and most back-breaking—not the most highly skilled. Since salary differentials are based on years of work, not skill or place in the factory hierarchy, women's pay is gradually equaling men's as women work longer.

There are still more women than men in education, sales, and in health fields. Salaries in these fields are roughly equal to those in heavy industry. One area where women's pay seemed slightly lower was in housewives factories—light industry set up in neighborhoods during the Big Leap Forward in 1958 and again during the Cultural Revolution in 1966. These new factories had not been operating long, and they had been set up using the resources available. The wages were generally equal to those of a beginning worker in other workplaces which had been initially funded more extensively by the state. Still, the neighborhood factories seemed to us very pleasant places to work and being small are very directly under the control of the workers. As they grow and take on more complex tasks, wages will probably rise.

One woman told us of her struggle to become a worker in one of the housewives factories. Before 1949, she and her husband were poor peasants who migrated to Shanghai in search of work. He worked as a tailor, but seldom made enough for them to eat two meals a day. After liberation his tailor shop was organized into a factory and they got an apartment. His wages then adequately fed and housed a family of six. "When the women in the neighborhood set up the factory, I made up my mind to take part. One of my kids was four and one was seven, and that one, there, wasn't even born," she told us. "So, my husband thought that now his family income was not bad and he could support the family. This was in 1958. He wanted to



Members of the revolutionary committee of a Kwanchou sewing machine factory. Chinese women feel there has been steady progress in training women for leadership positions although there is still much to be done. The revolutionary committee serves many management functions in a factory.

keep me home to take care of the children. But, I thought, I couldn't work in the old society and I want to now. So, the neighborhood committee helped persuade my husband and set up canteens and nurseries. So all difficult problems were solved and finally my husband agreed with me."

Her neighbor continued, "When she got her first wage, she bought food, wine, and special dishes to treat her husband. She said, 'In the past, you support me; this time, I treat you.'"

This pattern of struggle, but with an underlying harmony, seemed characteristic of relationships between men and women in China today. Since liberation, women have been able to see themselves as workers and producers and not simply as consumers.

LEADERSHIP

Among intellectuals, we observed there were more men, but the ratio of students in the university is now close to half women, so this situation is changing. The place where Chinese women have farthest to go yet is leadership. All revolutionary committees (equivalent to management in factories and local government in communities) we asked about had some women, but only neighborhood committees had half or more than half women. In Tientsin, a factory committee must be at least 25% women to be recognized, but this wasn't the case in other cities. Still, there appear to be more women in management and government positions in China than in the U.S. If there are few women in the highest positions in China, there is an effort to increase women's participation.

HOUSEWORK

A lot of housework in China has been socialized. Workers can get inexpensive, nutritious meals in factory and neighborhood canteens. Day care is available for all

who want it in neighborhoods and workplaces for between 50 cents and \$1.50 a month. Homes are small and from our visits to homes we saw that Chinese men and women take great pride in sharing what housework remains in the home. At one apartment we visited the wife spoke to us while the husband cooked lunch. They seemed eager to show us this arrangement. Many people told us housework is often organized within the family according to who gets home from work first on a given day.

CHILD-REARING

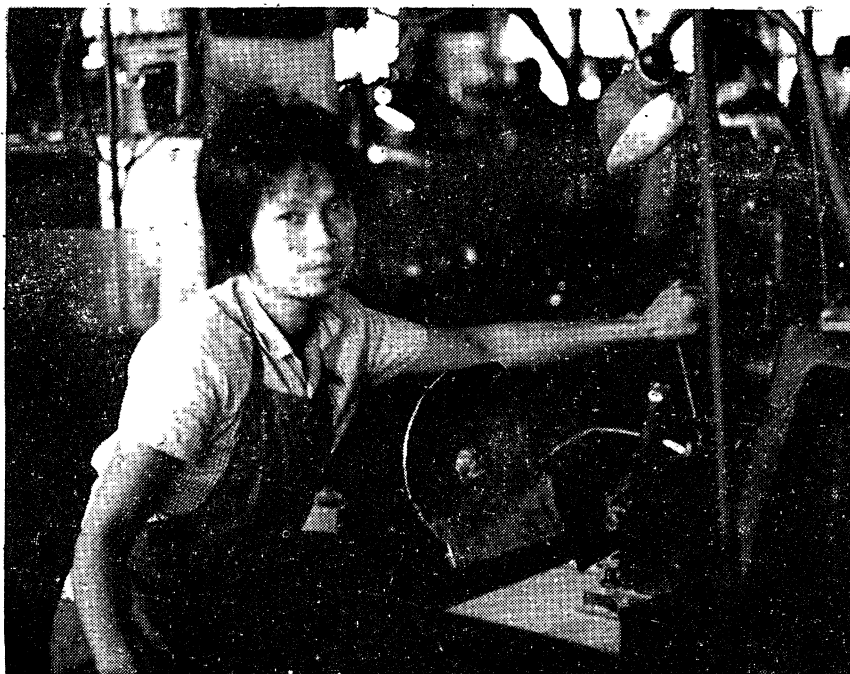
Most women in China continue working after their children are born. They get 56 days of paid maternity leave and when they return to work they get a half hour off from work each morning and afternoon to nurse the baby who stays in the factory nursery for the next eighteen months or so. After that, the child can go to either neighborhood or factory day care, and twenty-four-hour care is also available. Of course, a woman may choose to raise her children at home herself, and another popular alternative is to have grandparents care for children. This is especially true on People's Communes where day care is often set up only during the busy season. We saw many grandfathers as well as grandmothers in the parks with their children.

Although men share child-rearing chores at home, women are still believed to be more suited to this type of work in nurseries. When we asked a group of women in Tientsin if men couldn't learn to do this type of work, the women said it might happen in time but they thought women could do it better. Apparently, bringing men into women's fields is not a high priority. China has tried to build on what was already available. In contrast to Cuba, where the opening of more day care centers is awaiting the graduation of teachers from four-year training courses, in China enough day care is available by using people with experience and then training them for a short time. This has meant women.

THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SEXES

The Chinese believe there are differences between men and women and some of the socialization reflects this. Girls are said to be more patient, boys more rowdy. For special occasions, little girls wear skirts, though all children wear pants for everyday. There are men's and women's clothes, too, but they are all practical and women's clothing is not designed to be alluring.

When we told a group of Tientsin women how in the U.S. little boys weren't allowed to cry while little girls were, they replied that in China all children learn to be brave, but that if a child fell, for



Woman worker in a Kwanchou sewing machine factory. Such women receive equal pay for equal work and 56 days paid maternity leave. Childcare is available on factory premises or in neighborhoods at low cost or free.

Photos by Judy MacLean.

(Continued on Page 14)

Players Hit Owners

by Paul Hoch

"Pro footballers on strike!" the sports editor fumed. "What's the world coming to?" This is the year "professional" football players joined garbage men, transit workers, dock loaders, teachers, airline stewardesses, and many, many others on the picket lines.

In the seven years since the merger of the American Football League into the National Football League, and the demise of even token competition for players between the two leagues, football players' salaries have fallen way behind those of players in other sports, like hockey and basketball, where there has been player competition between two rival leagues. In rough terms, the average NFL footballer gets about half of what the average pro hockey player pulls down, and less than one third of what the average pro basketballer pockets.

Probably the main reason why pro basketball players have been able to keep their salaries up is that the strong and unified NBA players' association, under the leadership of militant Blacks like Oscar Robertson, not only got the proposed NBA/ABA league merger blocked in the courts and Congress, but got themselves prepared for effective strike action against any possible merger.

The football players' associations have traditionally been made of far weaker stuff, and indeed the NFL players' association was only belatedly "recognized" (and partly organized) by the NFL owners as a "sweetheart" alternative to what would have been a single players' union for all sports being organized through the Teamsters by former, all-pro defensive back Bernie Parrish. Indeed, one of the most active player organizers of the AFL players' association was Buffalo quarterback Jack Kemp who, as a member of the House of Representatives, went on to be one of the most rightwing hawks in the entire U.S. Congress.

One of the most crucial ideological weapons in management's pacification arsenal is their ability to use racism to divide white and Black players. In the present NFL strike, you didn't need especially good eyesight to notice all those Black players carrying picket signs at training camp gates, while many white vets (including especially a large number of higher paid, glamor-boy white quarterbacks) marched into practice. The establishment press seemed to relish giving attention to this aspect of things, perhaps in hopes of turning a fairly united and solid players' strike into some sort of race war. It didn't work. There was, in fact, except for the quarterbacks, almost total Black-white unity among the strikers right to the end. Aside from the quarterbacks, what scabbing there was came almost entirely from marginal players, many of whom would not even have been in the league but for their scab duty vis-a-vis the strike.

The quarterback situation was peculiar in another way, too. Though Blacks had previously been virtually barred from this position in the NFL in the past, in the middle of the strike several clubs including the New York Jets suddenly came up with Black quarterbacks. This undoubtedly stimulated fan interest, especially in cities like New York with large Black populations, and was used to attract people to the low-quality scab exhibition games. In effect, the "Blacklegs," who had been barred from a certain job, were once again being used with some success as strike-breakers. In order to prevent this situation from recurring in

the future, it is in the interest of every NFL player, be he white or Black, to put racism aside and fight for the right of qualified Black players to be quarterbacks. It is very disappointing that the NFL players' association has not so far taken a stand on this important issue.

WITHOUT OWNERS

Then, too, in the football strike, as in all other strikes, there has been a strong tendency for the battle to shift beyond wage demands, which supposedly are the overt "issues," into an all-out struggle over whether management or workers are to have control over the final product. Dick Young of the New York *Daily News*, who is perhaps America's most widely read sports columnist (and certainly one of its most establishment-oriented), was quick to get the point. The real issue, he recognized, was who would control the sport: the Lords of Football or the union—management or labor.

One of the main ideological obstacles to workers' control over production in industry generally is the myth that management is supplying "their" machinery, and without "their" machinery the workers would be unable to produce the goods. In sports like football, except for uniforms and minimal equipment, there is obviously no "machinery" to produce the product. Theoretically, therefore, there would seem to be no reason whatever why the players' associations could not simply rent stadiums, sell tickets, arrange TV contracts, and run the sport themselves for their own profit and benefit—without owners. And the possibility of doing just that has been under discussion, to one degree or another, in virtually every football or baseball players' strike in recent years.

the media, the banks, and industry generally began to take control over their industries too. As a general rule, and as the baseball players found to their sorrow in 1890, it is virtually impossible to long maintain workers' control in any single large industry without having workers' control in all industries. There can be no significant islands of socialism in a sea of capitalism. Nevertheless, the movement toward greater players' control in sports can be a significant part of, and a psychological impetus toward, workers' control in industry generally.

ON THE TRADING BLOCK

On the surface, the main stumbling block to settlement of the present NFL dispute has been the so-called "freedom issues," which involve essentially the minimal capitalistic "freedoms" of workers in other industries to sell their labor to whatever bosses they can get the best deal from. In the context of the present football monopolies, and the under-the-table agreements between NFL, WFL, and CFL to respect each other's option clauses (giving management an additional year's option on the player's services), the players have more or less been reduced to highly paid serfs bound to a particular feudal owner until such time as he may choose to puth them up on the trading block.

Although in theory each NFL player can play out his option year (at slightly reduced salary); and then negotiate with whichever club will have him, the owners have prevented even this limited labor mobility through an ingenious device known as the "Rozelle rule," (after NFL Commissioner Pete Rozelle who was the first to wield this weapon in the defense of the existing monopoly). Basically, the hitch was that if a player moved to another team after playing out his option, his new team was obligated to give "compensation" in players and money that was satisfactory to the old team. If this wasn't satisfactorily arranged, NFL Commissioner Rozelle would rule on the compensation he felt was necessary. Five years ago, Rozelle ruled that the New Orleans Saints would have to give up their No. 1 draft pick for the next two years as compensation for a player they acquired who had played out his option. It was then the option clause became virtually a dead letter to players seeking a better deal elsewhere around the league. From then on, it became obvious that even if the various owners were so foolish as to compete for players, the league commissioner simply wouldn't allow it and would use the Rozelle rule to punish any club that sought to buck the monopoly labor market.

The NFL dispute might have been settled (and possibly will be settled) if the football owners are willing to accept the same sort of outside arbitration on compensation that already exists in other sports. Of course, from the players' point of view, although this might be a satisfactory temporary armistice, in the long run they must fight to oppose any compensation, any reserve or option clause, any limitations over free player mobility, and ultimately any owner involvement in the control of the sport. The real goal, as even a Dick Young can see, can only be players' control of sports in the context of workers' control over industry generally. It's still a long road. But the players are moving ahead.



Indeed, in 1890, in the midst of a productivity clause strike in the National League, the baseball players' union set up its own Players' League, run entirely by the union and staffed by almost all the regular players of the old league. The National League became what was politely called the "sandlot league," or, more impolitely, the "scab league," staffed almost entirely with rookies off the sandlots and assorted scabs. The other major league, then called the American Association, was similarly decimated by a mass exodus of its top players to the new Players' League. In its first year of operation, the new league drew more fans than both of the old leagues combined, and yet went bankrupt and had to fold up shop. The reasons why this happened shed a good deal of light on the limitations of workers' control in any one industry and the obstacles any players' association would face in taking control of its sport today.

The fact is that even in 1890 other capitalists, including those who owned the banks and newspapers, did not much like the idea of workers deserting a business and setting up their own. So the Players' League found it nearly impossible to raise money. It could not get bank loans. More often than not, its games received no press coverage. What news there was of the new league amounted to a new scandal "uncovered" every week.

In his book, *Baseball: The Early Years*, Harold Seymour quotes a newspaper account of a players' union meeting. The player reps are reported as dressed in fur-lined overcoats—this in the middle of summer!—with patent leather shoes, silk hats, with \$5,000 diamond stick-pins, gaudy rings, gold-headed canes, and smoking expensive Havana cigars.

Indeed, the press coverage of the recent NFL strike was not very different. Newspapers like the New York *Daily News*, day after day, in banner headlines, lauded veteran scabs as returning heroes, and announced daily that the strike was "on the skids."

In other words, with capitalists in control of the mass media, it is far from obvious that a new players'-controlled league would be able to get decent press coverage, no less negotiate the sort of multi-million-dollar TV contract upon which (in the absence of substantial bank loans) the survival of the new league might well depend. This situation could change decisively only if workers in



SDS: Hope and Failure of the 60's

by Bruce Dancis

Until its fragmentation in June, 1969, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was the central force of the white New Left in the United States. During the 1960's SDS grew from a tiny group of a few hundred members to a national organization of nearly 100,000 people in more than 350 chapters around the country. Its influence was considerably larger, as SDS became the symbol of the New Left and the anti-war movement in the eyes of most Americans.

Kirk Sale's *SDS* is a fine book, certainly the best on the particular organization being studied, but also the closest thing we have to an inclusive history of the American Left in the 1960's. The book is filled with accounts of demonstrations and debates, statistics on membership and finances, evidence of government and university efforts at repression, and numerous other kinds of information that will be valuable as a resource to anyone interested in the subject.

But Sale has written something much greater than dry, narrative history: he has made the process of radicalization that was experienced by so many young people accessible and comprehensible to those who did not take part in the Movement in the 1960's and he has forced those of us who were involved to search our memories and evaluate what we were doing. And despite the failures of SDS—its sexism and elitism being among the most obvious from today's vantage point—its accomplishments are clearly shown. Although Sale's list is somewhat excessive in its praise, it is fair to credit SDS with being instrumental in generating opposition to the war in Vietnam—an event which led to a major defeat for U.S. imperialism and the forced retirement of a President (Johnson, not Nixon). In addition, SDS was centrally involved in creating a new spirit of resistance to the character of American capitalist society, generating the growth of counter institutions, changing to various extents the face of the university, and providing the "seedbed" for the women's liberation movement, although, as Sale says, this occurred "sometimes . . . as much by inadvertence as intention." Finally, Sale has shown that SDS helped create again a permanent Left in the United States which in the 1960's radicalized millions of young people. This is not to say that SDS was responsible for the growth of socialist consciousness among students, but that it moved many people to the place where they are readily accessible to a socialist appeal.

SEEKING THE REVOLUTIONARY AGENT

Especially valuable are Sale's evaluations and summaries of the various theoretical and strategic turns made by SDS and the shifting understanding within the organization as to which social sector was the most dynamic agent for change and therefore the most proper focus for SDS' attentions. In the Port Huron Statement of 1962, SDS' first major document, the university was seen as both a base and as an agency for social change. Yet, in subsequent years, spurred on by the growth of the civil rights movement, some SDSers came to think of the poor as the "real people" and tended to denigrate work among college students. Although there were critics of this new "cult of the ghetto" and the romanticization of the poor, these ideas prevailed among many in SDS until the Berkeley student revolt in 1964 and the escalation of the Vietnam war in February, 1965.

Ironically, the war in Vietnam brought SDS back in touch with the campuses and led to an examination of the sources of the oppression that SDSers themselves felt. The connection was made when SDSers realized that the universities in which they lived and studied were intricately tied up with the government's war effort—through research directly sponsored by the Pentagon, providing recruiting space for the military and war-related corporations like Dow Chemical, housing ROTC, or giving class rankings to the Selective Service System at a time when it appeared that large numbers of students would be drafted. People in SDS began to analyze the changing role of the university and realized that students were being trained to become the new managers and skilled workers of the corporate economy whose political system was continually escalating its war on the people of Indochina.

The draft resistance movement, in which SDS played a vital part, was among the first to explicitly make this connection between fighting against the war and fighting for one's own freedom. This new understanding was expressed theoretically in

the concept of the "New Working Class" developed by some members of SDS who were strongly influenced by European Marxists like André Gorz and Serge Mallet. This theory argued that highly educated workers held jobs that were central to the productive process and therefore had to play a central role in any revolutionary movement.

Sale correctly emphasizes the importance of this theoretical breakthrough which gave students a class analysis accounting for their place as a legitimate revolutionary group, but he tends to ignore its deficiencies, especially its elitism. The theory perpetuated the practice common to the American Left of finding one key sector of the population which would then lead the movement, rather than trying to see how various sectors made up one expanded and diversified working class and how this class could overcome its differences to form a united movement. However, for all its faults, the theory represented an attempt on the part of SDS to develop an analysis of American capitalism based on twentieth century realities.

Sale fails to give an adequate explanation of why the theory of the new working class was so rapidly cast aside by its one-time endorsers. No doubt the attacks made upon it by members of the Progressive Labor Party operating within SDS (who clung to the traditional Left notion that the industrial working class was to be the vanguard of any American revolutionary movement) convinced many people of its inadequacy. Nevertheless, this by itself was no reason for the positive insights of the theory to be discarded. Students, it would seem, were still susceptible to guilt trips over their

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relatively privileged position in society. In any event, the national leadership of SDS adopted a version of Marxism only slightly less dogmatic and faulty than PL's. Instead of looking at the industrial working class as the sole agent for revolution, however, theories were developed which emphasized other groups, or a combination of them, as the true vanguards: domestic minorities, led by the Black Panther Party; youth, especially young workers (narrowly defined); and Third World revolutionaries, especially the Vietnamese and the Cubans. As James Weinstein has pointed out ("Weatherman: A Lot of Thunder and a Short Reign," *Socialist Revolution*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Feb. 1970), by the time SDS splintered in the summer of 1969, all of the competing factions had rejected the idea that the oppression personally felt by students was legitimate. All were now solely supporting the struggles of other peoples. In the months following the split, the various factions went their separate ways, each failing to attract large numbers of rank-and-file SDSers. As Sale notes, although student protests certainly did not end when SDS fell apart, the protests and the local groups that sponsored them lacked the cohesiveness that a national organization could give, even one as decentralized as SDS.

LOCAL PRACTICE

Sale devotes a good deal of attention to the organizational problems that plagued SDS

throughout its existence. He recognizes that the local chapters were virtually autonomous from the national organization and that there was a wide gap between the political consciousness of the various national leaders and the chapter members. Despite this understanding, Sale has written a book that focuses mostly upon national leaders and decisions made on the national level. Although he includes a few case studies—such as a brief history of the Columbia SDS chapter before that university's uprising in 1968—they do not give the reader a particularly meaningful impression of how different chapters functioned. The inclusion of additional chapter-oriented material would have made an already monumental effort even more arduous, but it would have enhanced the description of an organization like SDS.

Sale also neglects to analyze the localist ideology that was accepted by most SDSers, although he notes that following the break-up of SDS in 1969 local groups suffered because of the absence of literature, inspiration, direction, and national identity that an organization even as loose as SDS provided.

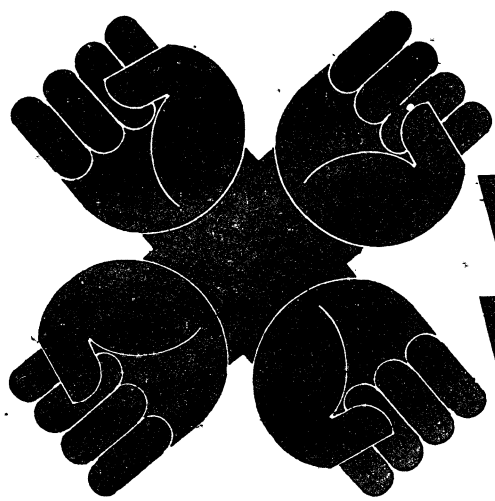
Sale faults the national leadership for failing at various times to give direction to the organization. For example, Sale criticizes SDS for relinquishing its role as the clear leader of the anti-war movement after its April, 1965 march on Washington. While he is correct in stating that most SDSers at the time underestimated the importance of the anti-war movement in building the Left, it is unclear whether the chapters would have followed their national leadership had it taken on such a role. There are numerous cases in SDS' history where plans for national actions were simply ignored by most chapters.

PL'S ROLE DISTORTED

Although Sale's book is more than one organization's history, there are problems with the way Sale deals with other organizations. For example, he tends to underestimate the importance of groups like SNCC (and the civil rights movement as a whole) and The Resistance in influencing the thought and actions of SDS members. More serious is his treatment of Progressive Labor (PL), the recipient of most of the venom the author has injected into the book. Although PL was not a significant force within SDS until around 1967, Sale includes a parallel history of it set off from the main body of the text by horizontal lines. PL thus becomes something like a sinister symbol in a Hitchcock movie: we are continually being warned that this seemingly innocuous and tiny sect will become a terrible menace later on in the story. This is quite unfair because in many ways members of PL and the May 2 Movement, a student group closely aligned with PL, went through the same process of radicalization as did SDS members, although perhaps a year ahead of SDS. Sale's antipathy to PL becomes so great that he falls into using a double standard in his criticism. He mockingly castigates PL for its failures in recruiting industrial workers into its ranks, calling its ideology dogmatic and unrealistic. But when he is confronted with an equally unrealistic statement by a future Weatherman in 1969 to the effect that the revolution has already begun and those who don't get out of the way will be stomped on, Sale comments: "It may have been delusory; but it was real." This is scarcely an adequate or fair analysis.

One final criticism of Sale's book is worth making. He tends to make too much of the fact that large numbers of SDS members and people on its periphery thought of themselves as revolutionary by the end of 1968. Sale doesn't seem to realize how vague the word "revolution" was (and is) and he fails to make a distinction between what would most accurately be described as militant liberalism and socialist consciousness. SDS never became a socialist organization, nor was it "inexorably" moving in a socialist direction. SDS was at best an amorphous collection of young people who were willing to engage in direct action around a number of major issues and shared a common revulsion towards the culture and politics of the United States. But socialism as a goal was seldom discussed, except in the form of largely uncritical praise for selected socialist countries.

These criticisms should not detract from the enormity of Sale's accomplishments in *SDS*. He has made the events of the 1960's come alive in a manner which, for me at least, is quite moving and thought provoking. At the very least, he has written the best history of the 1960's New Left to have appeared so far, a history which socialists of the 1970's need to understand.



Weatherman... Whither NAM?

The opinions expressed on this page are not necessarily those of the newspaper staff or the New American Movement. This page is intended as an open forum for debate on the important issues we face in building a movement for socialism in this country.

by Michael Lerner

IT'S HARD NOT TO have respect for the tremendous revolutionary commitment of the Weather underground. Driven by their outrage and moral fury at the continuation of the war, they were willing to take the risks that their political analysis suggested were necessary. Their intense hatred of injustice led them to armed attacks and bombings against symbols of American imperialism and racism. For four years they have managed to evade police repression and not only survive, but now create a book-length political statement, *Prairie Fire*. It is this history of moral seriousness and personal courage that still commands our attention and gives the Weather underground continued access to the media and an impact on the thinking of those who are discontented with America.

All the more reason to lament that as political analysts and strategists the Weather underground continues to be a disaster. In their long-overdue self-criticism, they admit to "de-emphasizing the importance of mass work" and "mistaking friends for enemies"—an understatement in the extreme. The Weathermen were duly elected leaders of SDS, the only mass organization the New Left ever had. Three months after having been elected, they dissolved the organization, confiscated its membership lists (which they claimed involved over 80,000 people), and began to attack physically and spiritually individuals and groups that did not agree with them. This helped to create a permanent distrust of national organization and leadership among most New Lefters.

Their redefinition of militancy at the Chicago Days of Rage and in subsequent bombings raised the ante to a level that most people could not participate in, far beyond any plausible mass base. They justified their new approach in terms of the failure of the mass anti-war movement to make any significant impact, thereby popularizing an analysis that undermined the self-confidence of the movement and strengthened the hands of the war makers who (as subsequent Watergate revelations now conclusively prove) were doing their best to convince the anti-war movement of their powerlessness while privately believing the anti-war movement to be an incredibly important political threat.

WEATHER REPORT THE SAME

While the Weather underground now speaks of the need for an above-ground mass organization, its strategic thinking shows little improvement over the past several years. In *Prairie Fire* we are told that our current situation is "particularly suited to urban guerrilla warfare. . . We believe that carrying out armed struggle will affect the people's consciousness of the nature of the struggle against the state. By beginning the armed struggle, the awareness of its necessity will be furthered." (p. 3)

The Weather underground claims to have tested this theory. Their bombings, they say, stimulated "thousands of politically-directed armed actions." Yet there is no evidence for the claim that these actions helped advance consciousness of those not yet convinced: nothing in the past three years of above-ground experience lends any credibility to their claim.

On the contrary, such activity has helped weaken the movement in two ways. It has scared away those who have not yet heard our message, and hence do not yet understand why violence might be appropriate at some point. These people equate the movement with the bombings. And it has increased the passivity of many well intentioned movement activists who are encouraged to accept a mode of political activity where their primary function is to cheer on the underground, set up study groups about imperialism, and guilt-trip themselves about not having the courage of their romantic Robin-Hood heroes. Though they claim to favor mass movement, the Weather underground

must know that terrorism has always functioned as a substitute for mass political activity.

There will almost certainly come a time when such a substitute is necessary, when the threat of a mass movement for socialism forces the ruling classes to introduce violent repression on a wide scale, and when the above-ground work becomes severely limited. When it comes here, many of us will be happy that there has been a Weather underground that has been building an underground apparatus. But armed struggle is not on the agenda in the present period; and neither was it on the agenda in 1969. The Weather underground has been consistently mistaken in its analysis of the American present, and its insistence on armed struggle, while correct in the long-run, is inappropriate in the present period. It legitimizes repression against the Left long before it has gotten the attention and support of the potentially radicalizable in America. And it is only by getting that attention and support that we can ever hope to win the armed struggle.

Weatherman had an answer here: forget about building a mass movement in America because white workers are privileged and will not be radicalized; the majority we seek is the majority of the world's population, which we already have. That response has been dropped, and we no longer hear denunciations of "white skin privilege." They concede that the industrial proletariat will be needed for the actual building of socialism. But for the Weather underground, socialism is not the issue. The old constituencies of the New Left are still central to the present struggle, which is to fight imperialism. For now, oppressed peoples,



women, youth, "and other anti-imperialist forces" can deliver the telling blows." (p. 115)

ANTI-IMPERIALIST OR SOCIALIST MOVEMENT?

Here we come to a fundamental ambiguity: do the Weather underground mean to use "imperialism" as a code word for the present stage of American capitalism (in which case why not use the word "capitalism?"), or do they mean, as they seem to be saying on p. 179, that imperialism is the feature of American capitalism that leads to the exploitation of third world peoples and flows from the necessity of capitalism to expand? If the latter, then why try to root all of the other horrors of American capitalism within imperialism? Having decided that the struggle between the U.S. and third world countries is the crucial struggle in the world today, they are forced to show that this judgment doesn't deny importance to the struggles against sexism and racism, or the attempt to organize the working class. They do this by interpreting all of these as aspects of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Why not see instead that all these have a common root in capitalism, that anti-capitalist struggle is what logically unites these various struggles, and that only the toppling of the capitalist order will ensure the demise of its imperialist features?

One typical response here is to warn about

"social democrats" and "reformism." The problem with an anti-capitalist movement, we are told, is that it allows for the co-optation of demands into reforms that actually strengthen the system. But how does an anti-imperialist movement exclude these same possibilities? We have seen the anti-imperialist thrust of the anti-Vietnam war movement co-opted by liberal politicians. The nature of the general demand, be it anti-capitalist or anti-imperialist, cannot in and of itself guarantee revolutionary purity. Even the demand for socialism can be co-opted by Galbraithian state planners to strengthen the rule of capital. Only intelligence, vigilance, and continued internal struggle can defeat the persistent appeal of reformism.

THE ENEMY: CAPITALISM

Once we see that capitalism itself is the enemy and that our struggle must be a struggle to replace capitalism with socialism, the problem of finding in the abstract the central issue or the critical contradiction becomes less important.

The problem has always been that America's ruling class is adept at interpreting the needs and demands of the various sectors of the working class and counterposing them to each other, so that Blacks are fighting whites, men are fighting women, and American workers are against workers of other countries. Fighting racism and sexism in practice must mean developing concrete programs and struggles that help people see the reality of their common interests. That message, in turn, must be tied to another: that there is an alternative—socialism—to the present order that would be in the interest of everyone but the current ruling class and that can be achieved by the struggle of a united working class. To be anti-racist, anti-sexist, and anti-imperialist in any real way in this period would require the development of programs that could potentially communicate that message.

SOCIALISM AND ECONOMIC CRISIS

The deepening economic crisis offers us that very opportunity. We have entered a new period, quite unlike that described in *Prairie Fire*. While the struggles for third world liberation continue and deserve our support, a new factor looms of potentially greater significance: the struggle between advanced industrial capitalist societies. Already that struggle has deprived the U.S. of its undisputed position of world economic dominance. Limited both by the success of the third world struggles (of which Vietnam was the cutting edge in the 60's) and by the emergence of rival capitalist states, American capitalists must visit a sharp attack on the standard of living of the American working class, and particularly on third world people and women workers, an attack that took shape three years ago and which is becoming more pronounced every week.

The economic crisis has offered an incredible opportunity for the Left to be anti-racist and anti-sexist in practice. Bourgeois politicians cannot explain or remedy the combination of political bankruptcy witnessed by Watergate and the deepening economic pinch that faces most Americans. For the first time in our living memory it has become possible to raise the question of an alternative ordering of the society, and to explain how a united movement of American working people, including minorities, women, and industrial workers as central elements, could actually build an alternative that would be in the best interest of almost everybody. And we can show how the battle against racism and sexism is in the self-interest of the entire working class.

The challenge of internationalism is posed concretely by such a program. A serious movement in this period must counter the attempts at national economic chauvinism directed at Europe and Japan by developing programs that show workers in this country that their best interests would be served by an internationally united working class offensive against an increasingly internationalized capitalist class. It is this situation that must be addressed, and here *Prairie Fire* has nothing to teach us. In 1974 America, we are told by the Weather underground, "We have everything to learn from 'underdeveloped' peoples." As a moral exhortation to appreciate the beauty of the Vietnamese culture, they are certainly right, but as a guide for strategy in the current period they couldn't be more wrong. Our enemy, and the enemy of the Vietnamese, is not external, and nationalism is not a revolutionary issue here. Our proletariat is both highly literate and faces forms of sophisticated indoctrination and co-optation that could never have been real issues for the Vietnamese peasantry. This is not American exceptionalism, for we do have a great deal to learn about strategy from working class movements in Japan and Western Europe, though these working classes are

(Continued on Page 15)

Two views of Death Wish Street crime & sexism

by A. M. Eisenson

In its fourth week at two New York City theatres, *Death Wish* grossed \$92,696. The advertising copy for the film reads "Paul Kersey is going to kill three muggers tonight. One for his murdered wife, one for his raped daughter, and one for you." The advertising is a pretty fair synopsis of the picture.

Kersey, as played by Charles Bronson, responds to the murder of his wife and the maiming of his daughter's mind by traveling around Manhattan as an inviting target for muggers, shooting those who attempt to mug him without regard for race, creed, or national origin. The rate of street crime in New York drops, the police want to find him, the D.A. doesn't want to prosecute. As Red Skelton said after the funeral of Harry Cohn, "If you give people what they want, they'll come and see it."

The presence of a star and some foreknowledge of what a story is about can be sufficient to get people to see a movie. Once people are sitting in rows in a dark room receiving series of images and sounds from the screen, the manipulations of the film makers are worth considering, and *Death Wish*, the story of an urban vigilante, is a very manipulative film. Because it is successful in terms of the number of people paying to see it and the applause at each dispatch of a mugger by Bronson, *Death Wish* should be a disturbing film for those concerned with building a rational and humane society. *Death Wish* incorporates the real fear of violent street crime, acknowledges the personal and financial consequences of assault to the immediate victims and those who care for them, and makes references to the decay of urban existence and the need for space for living.

Yet *Death Wish* is not a disturbing film; even the cheers of the audience may not be disturbing, because of the very manipulations of the film makers. The design of the film is that of a polemical cartoon, not an attempt to approximate reality.

The effect is not real or realistic, as in the manner of *The Battle of Algiers*, but closer to surreal, yet not quite as surreal as the rape and murder sequence of *A Clockwork Orange*. The effect of the visual style of *Death Wish* is almost comfortable. An audience can watch it and know the world does not look like that, realize that *Death Wish* is only a movie, and not be disturbed by the images and sounds. We watch the film without believing it is really about the world outside the movie house.

The script is written and performed in such a way that we know we are in the presence of characters, that actors are reading lines that drive the plot and set up the attitudes of the story, but we never feel we are watching people. The cast, Charles Bronson, Hope Lange, Stuart Margolin, and Vincent Gardenia, among others, are not lazy or incompetent in their unconvincing readings. Just the reverse, for more is demanded of an actor who has to make a cartoon-like role believable without violating the style and intent of the script. Again, this is comfortable

for an audience. We know we're in a movie house watching Charles Bronson on a dressed set firing blanks at another actor, not Paul Kersey in Riverside Park shooting a .32 round into another human being.

If *Death Wish* is not a disturbing film it is probably not a dangerous one. If the story were told in a realistic manner, it might have been a dangerous tale. So the Left, which tends to slap adjectives like revolutionary or fascist on films, doesn't have to worry much about the mass appeal of *Death Wish*. However, it may be time to respond in a programmatic way to the fear of street crime that forms the premise of *Death Wish*. An explanation of the causes of street crime is necessary, certainly, but not sufficient in a world in which there are real muggers.

The Right is already responding.

by Elayne Rapping
Pittsburgh NAM

There is virtually nothing in *Death Wish* that isn't morally or politically repulsive, so I'll restrict myself to a few of the most glaring obscenities. First, this is a film by, for, and about men, in which women are treated or, more accurately, used in the most exploitative ways. Although urban muggings and rapes are a problem of obvious and particular concern to women, only the first crime against the hero's family—his wife and daughter are respectively killed and raped by three hoodlums—is a specifically sexual assault on a female victim. We are expected to understand that grief and anger motivate Kersey to commit mass murder, yet no time or energy is spent developing this. No tears are shed for his dead wife and no

day of work. He is respected and admired by his associates, in striking contrast to his son-in-law whose somewhat more believable show of misery and helplessness is met with contempt by his he-man father-in-law. At first, Kesey seems almost as demented as his daughter, only coming to emotional life with his first act of violence.

The film's ideological message is communicated not through logic but through emotional manipulation. The issue of urban crime is not presented in a social or economic context, but in explicitly racist, implicitly fascist stereotypes designed to fill the audience with hateful fear of all Black men and young or "freaky" white men. Kersey's victims are either Black muggers motivated by greed for the white man's dollar, or young, bizarrely-dressed, scraggly-haired whites behaving like homicidal maniacs driven by sheer love of violence. The barest hint of hostility and disrespect for one's elders is interwoven to remind people of their own rebellious children or those who caused all that trouble in the sixties.

The film creates the assumption that what all these criminals need is a good, stiff bullet through their brains. Economic and physical need are not recognized as the cause of urban crime. No, no, it's just viciousness and greed. And it would all be stopped if we could just knock some good old fashioned fear of punishment into their devilish heads. That's just what our hero does. New York muggings drop fifty percent and, in a thoroughly confused and ambiguous ending, the police let him go on the condition that he leave New York. Kersey just picks up and moves to Chicago, gun and all.

Why are there no witnesses to his crimes? Why does he suddenly get mugged every day of his life when he had previously lived a perfectly ordinary life as a successful architect on Riverside Drive? Why, why, why? It doesn't really matter, or it wouldn't if people weren't "cheering *Death Wish* everywhere." But they are cheering it, at least in Pittsburgh, and it was this aspect of the film that most disturbed me. It's able to win audience approval of a zombie-like hero who, in real life, would seem a moron, a maniac, an emotionless, humorless bore, void of responses to preposterous events. The audience was mostly casually-dressed youth who would be shot down on the spot if they were unlucky enough to bump into someone like him on a dark street one night. Yet they seemed to love the Bronson character, if one can judge by the laughter and applause that greeted each new killing.

The laughter wasn't really malicious, though. To those laughing and applauding it was just a movie, just a contemporary, urbanized version of the classic western we all grew up on. There were good guys and bad guys and they settled their differences in the good old American way of individual brute force. This American way in business, in politics, in personal relations is certainly not news. Nor is it news that the ideological foundations of bourgeois society are crumbling every day all around us. And so, it should come as no surprise that the owners and controllers of the mass media use every means possible—lies, distortions, emotional manipulation—to defend their shaky hegemony. It is their historical role to grow vicious and reactionary in proportion to the threat they feel.

SHREWDLY MADE

When Charles Bronson begins to shoot the bad guys... At first, the fact that he is physically ill with disgust... actively seek out the... NEW YORK... IT A!

'DEATH WISH' IS MURDER AT THE BOX-OFFICE!

ABRILUNT, EXPERT THRILLER!

Wednesday	\$10,168 (House Record)	\$9,250 (House Record Incl. "Godfather" & "Sting")
Thursday	9,816 (House Record)	8,342 (House Record Incl. "Godfather" & "Sting")
Friday	10,166 (House Record)	10,379 (House Record Incl. "Godfather" & "Sting")
Saturday	20,258 (House Record)	12,675 (House Record Incl. "Godfather" & "Sting")
Sunday	21,617 (House Record)	14,788 (House Record Incl. "Godfather" & "Sting")
Monday	9,065 (House Record)	7,890 (House Record Incl. "Godfather" & "Sting")

2 THEATRE TOTAL - 1st 6 DAYS

\$150,435

CHARLES BRONSON

'DEATH WISH'

FIRST-RATE SUSPENSER!

AN AD IN VARIETY-JULY 31, 1974.

Attorney General William Saxbe wants legislation that will put repeating arrestees at the top of court date lists. The Right is pressing for imprisoning habitual criminals, as well as their perennial demand for more police with more equipment and more license. If the success of *Death Wish* at the box office is to be taken seriously, it means that street crime is perceived as an issue at least to the movie-goers in this country.

sympathy shown for his permanently catatonic daughter. However she is dragged onstage periodically throughout the film as a mechanical reminder of the "moral" justification for the sadism and violence which are the film's real subjects.

The hero's lack of expressed feeling is more than a matter of sloppy film making or incompetent acting. It is very much a part of the image of masculinity that is crucial to the film's purposes. Kersey never mourns, never speaks of his wife or daughter, never misses a

Letters

Dear Friends,

... A comment about the Matles book review in your September issue:

The thing that struck me in reading the book was first what Steve Early said, the shabbiness of not mentioning the CP. But then I was struck by the fact that the exclusion of the CP didn't matter. It left nothing really unexplained because the CP acted simply as trade union militants. Since it never put forth a politics any different from the left-wing New Dealers who shared power in the union, the absence of the CP from the history is unfair only in the sense that it doesn't give credit to the Party for its hard work. But politically it is the same as if there had never been a CP.

Jim Weinstein

Dear NAM,

At an age where I should be more concerned with S.S. and Medicare, I find my interests drawn to such movements as NAM.

I have been obtaining your publication through my association with a local youth collective (The People's Town Hall), but I feel I should become a subscriber of record. Enclosed find subscription application and remittance.

Commenting on your publication, I find the articles well researched, well written, and rational—the best approach to changes this sad society needs. What is surprising: there isn't an active NAM Chapter on Long Island.

Ray Tallman
Cold Springs Harbor
New York

Puerto Rico: A History of U.S. Domination

by Johathan Brandow
and Nancy Meacham
Middlesex NAM

HUNDREDS OF YEARS after the introduction of European domination of its economic and political life, Puerto Rico continues to struggle for independence. The latest action on behalf of liberation from colonial rule, the Oct. 27 rally in Madison Square Garden in New York City, will address the plight of Puerto Rico yesterday and today, while promoting the final victory of its people.

Under Spain, the colony served as a mining and agricultural center, as well as a military wedge against thrusts into Latin America from competing imperial powers. The combination of economic super-exploitation and manipulation as a military base larger than Guantánamo [Cuba] continues today under U.S. rule.

National currents have always flowed strongly in Puerto Rico. Although political parties of the 19th century quickly fell under the domain of the ruling classes, the final decades of the century witnessed the beginnings of open conflict between the "assimilationists" and "independentistas" within the Liberal-Reformist party. Radical liberationist trends were quickly smothered first by the Spanish and then the U.S. apologists on the island.

At the conclusion of the Spanish-American-Cuban War in 1898, Puerto Rico was ceded to the United States as booty. Two years later, the Foraker Act relegated Puerto Rico to the status of a classical colony: its governor was to be appointed by the U.S. president; its legislature was subjected to congressional veto; and its social needs were evaluated on a par with the single distant city of Boston, whose circuit court was granted jurisdiction over all judicial matters. The use of Spanish in schools and the study of Latin artists were discouraged.

By 1917, the U.S. Congress decided that Puerto Ricans living inside the continental U.S. should have the right to vote—their price was the liability of all Puerto Ricans for U.S. military service. (Fifty thousand were coerced into defending imperialism in Vietnam.)

In 1922, the frustrations with U.S. "democracy" reached a breaking point. The Nationalist Party, an outgrowth of the radical movement of Jose de Diego, coalesced around the national issue. Emerging as the undisputed Nationalist leader, Pedro Albizu Campos reached into the hearts of the Puerto Rican masses and tapped a well of sentiment against the Yanquis and a desire for the institution of a free Puerto Rico.

Sadly Albizu Campos and the Nationalists, for all their energy and oratorical skills, failed to integrate their movement into the daily lives of the Puerto Rican working class. Their platform was devoid of any socialist content to such an extent that, faced with repression during the Ponce massacre (following the exile and imprisonment of Albizu Campos), the most massive political movement in Puerto Rico history crumbled—stripped of its leadership, lacking in a broad political program, and vilified and distorted in the bourgeois press here and abroad.

For the next twenty years, Munoz Rivera and his son, Luis Munos Marin, ruled the dominant Union Party, lending lip service to autonomist sentiments while stressing the supposed advantages of continued contact between corporate U.S. and the Puerto Rican people. Imbued with Yanqui culture and riches, they installed assimilationist intelligentsia in the seats of university and other institutional power.

Concomitantly, the Unionists, with generous financial and political support from U.S. capital, jumped eagerly at the "opportunity" of Puerto Rican industrialization—a feat accomplished at the expense of 2.5 million immigrants to the U.S. mainland and the direct control of virtually the entire Puerto Rican economy by U.S. corporations (whose profits on the island trebled those available on the continent).

As a corollary to U.S. economic hegemony, Puerto Rican cultural life suffered severely. The result, as one Puerto Rican historian has put it, was the creation of a "nation of stammerers" torn by conflicting native and enforced foreign cultures, which produced a general crisis of identity and alienation from traditional culture. Thus, Puerto Rican social and cultural pride was nearly demolished. Santa Claus permeated the streets of San Juan.

The Nationalists experienced a brief revival in 1950. First Albizu Campos was released from prison. Soon after, spurred by popular Nationalist resistance, Lolita Lebron led four other Nationalist militants into the U.S. Congress, wounding a number of officials with gunfire. Albizu Campos was jailed again and the flaring movement died.

The second Nationalist upsurge reflected general dissatisfaction with the liberal reform policies of the Populares (Unionists). Learning from past organizing experiences, radical Puerto Ricans slowly integrated concepts of mass struggle and class unity into their analyses. This led to the founding of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP, ~~Partido Socialista Puertorriqueno~~) in 1971, now the major liberation organization both on the island and on the mainland.

In 1974, Puerto Rico continues to be plagued by a multitude of social problems induced by American control of the island. The colony's political and economic life is manipulated through the power of U.S. capital and governmental intervention. By virtue of its status as a "commonwealth," Puerto Rico is still subject to the legislative, judicial, and executive authority of the U.S. government. At the same time, the island is not even provided with the

meager protection against monopoly control offered other states. A particularly noxious outgrowth of imperialism has been the attempted repression of Puerto Rican culture whose art in all fields remains in part crippled by the pervasion of North American commercial influences.

Puerto Rico's economy is characterized by the absolute domination of U.S. multinational corporations. Today, these ruling enterprises exercise immediate control over 85% of the island's industry. Operation Bootstrap and other imperialist attempts to augment Puerto Rican productivity make U.S. investments in the colony immensely profitable—and popular. Whether personal or corporate, investments emanating from the States are tax-exempted for periods of 10-17 years. As a result, U.S. investments have climbed to \$1 billion. Most catastrophic for Puerto Rico, the growth of petrochemical, chemical, and pharmaceutical subsidiary corporations, which today comprise the largest block of investment, demand a relatively small work force and are environmentally destructive.

Both factors naturally lead to soaring unemployment, conservatively estimated at one-third of the population even excluding the 40% of all Puerto Ricans who have fled their island to search for an illusory economic sanctuary in New York, Chicago, and other large eastern cities.

Two American corporations, American Metals Climax and Kennecott Copper (of Chilean notoriety and Rockefeller interest), have created an explosive national issue with their plans for

extensive mining on the central-western tract of the island. This projected enterprise engendering further ecological devastation, has become symbolic to Puerto Ricans of U.S. exploitation of the island. To provide storage and refining facilities for minerals and resources grabbed from Puerto Rico and Africa, U.S. conglomerates are scheduling the construction of a superport which would expropriate a huge land mass and ravage Puerto Rican waters and countryside for the convenience of Yanqui financial interests.

Employed Puerto Ricans receive one-third of parallel American wages, but are forced to cope with a cost of living 25% higher than that in the U.S.—a direct result of forced Puerto Rican trade with U.S. corporate interests. Only one-fourth of the working class is organized, and many of these belong to North American unions which have characteristically reinforced the stereotype of the patronizing U.S. instructor and the Puerto Rican worker lacking in initiative. The unions have consistently acted to limit effective collective bargaining.

Economic control is coupled with political repression designed to crush revolutionary activity and independence-oriented movements in Puerto Rico. Government court cases against unions, dangerous political organizers, and students are conducted as a matter of course, a modus operandi of harassment. Plans are afoot to rewrite the penal code devoid of the usual constitutional restrictions imposed on the U.S. bourgeoisie domestically. Firebombings routinely wreak havoc on leftist political centers, including vicious attacks on the offices of *Claridad* (PSP-sponsored newspaper) on three separate occasions.

POTENTIALLY, THE struggle for Puerto Rican independence might influence millions of workers in the U.S. Even if the battle were not taken beyond the confines of the Puerto Rican population, a minimum of 75% of this country's 2.5 million Puerto Ricans will be touched by the struggle. Many of them will be radicalized by the spectre, unique in the Americas, of a colonized people living inside the imperialist oppressor even while the battle for liberation is fought by their brothers and sisters at home.

Although it is inopportune, however tempting, to speculate on a revolutionary force of Puerto Ricans in factories across the U.S. bringing the Puerto Rican revolution to the U.S., it is an often expressed vision of the PSP. The reality of a mass of socialist workers activated in one or more organizations presents a real chance over the next few years to create a socialist alternative within the daily context of the American working class.

Capitalism has trapped itself by the importation of cheap Puerto Rican labor. It has developed a force within the continental United States which will most assuredly become radicalized as the fight for Puerto Rican independence continues.

NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

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e family;
usually husbands and wives have their own salaries and grandparents (who still live with their children) have their own pensions. Divorce is easily obtainable but we talked to no one who had actually been divorced and knew of no one who had, so we assume it is rare. Usually couples are reconciled with help from other workers, political comrades, or neighbors. We wondered about this extremely high rate of reconciliation since we assume that in the majority of cases it would be the woman who wants a divorce.

This is all accompanied by what we in the West can only call a lack of sexual freedom. Abortion and contraception, while widely available are "not necessary" for single women. Couples are expected to wait until aged 25-28 before marriage and then it is assumed that everyone will marry and have one or two children. There is no cultural provision for remaining single as a way of life; both Chinese

women and men thought our (somewhat insistent) questions about this topic were rather odd. They always answered our questions about single people who did not live at home as questions referring to the situation before marriage rather than as needs that would stem from choosing not to marry. We must stress, though, that Chinese youth do not appear to be constrained or repressed by this situation, and that everyone we talked to accepted it as natural.

Before the tour we had heard from previous visitors that homosexuality is treated as a mental illness. When some of the members of the tour asked the guides about this, the guides had to get out their dictionaries, and they still had no information even after translation. In China, things are encouraged or eliminated by mass participation. That most people don't know what homosexuality is leads us to conclude that there are not campaigns against it. The Chinese are extremely reticent about sexual matters and we believe it is possible that most of the population simply doesn't know what homosexuality or lesbianism are. China is different from Cuba, where the population is on the lookout for gay people. While we are critical that lesbianism is not a possible lifestyle for Chinese women, we have no evidence that there are Chinese women who want it to be possible.

Another factor is that a lot of things that get labeled homosexual here in the west are acceptable normal behavior in China. There is much physical affection among men and men or women and women. It is a common sight to see two twenty-year-old men or two teenage women walking down the street with arms about one another. We never saw a couple (male and female) like that. Our guides

treated us the same way and it was catching—by the end of the trip we noticed two sixty-year-old American men from our tour walking with arms about each other. But physical contact among friends (and this kind of closeness was also used to increase communication) does not have sexual overtones for the Chinese. This constant physical affection also means China's adolescents don't go through a period of no physical contact with anyone between childhood and dating.

We think it's a mistake to label these sexual attitudes "Puritan." The other side of Victorian propriety was mistresses and prostitution; in China the lack of sexual freedom hits both sexes equally. China has eliminated the sexual objectification of women as no other society has; it remains to be seen if a human society can combine this great advance with more sexual freedom for both sexes. The Chinese, women and men, do not appear at this time to see this as a goal.

We should also mention that the general supportiveness of a society where everyone is trying to "serve the people" and the good, friendly vibes in daily life meet a great many needs for the Chinese that Americans try to fulfill through sexual relationships.

NEWSPAPER STAFF

- Del Griffin
- Dan Marschall
- Tim Nesbitt
- Jean Pauline
- Nick Rabkin
- Jain Simmons

of sexuality. Sexuality seems to play a much smaller part in the lives of Chinese people than it does here in the U.S. We found some aspects of Chinese sexual life admirable; we are critical of others.

To say that women are not viewed as sex objects, ever, is to understate the case. Women are glad to be freed of Confucius' dictum that they be "docile sexual tools" for men. A few years after liberation all prostitutes were given job training and had consciousness-raising sessions where they learned it was no crime to have been a victim of the old society. Today there is no prostitution in China. We never saw a dance of play that had any connotations of sexuality. Wolf-whistling and other such street activities are non-existent, and rape is a thing of the past. Women are viewed as comrades and it seemed to make relationships at work that we observed much smoother than they would be here in the U.S. There

SELTZER'S LEFT CROSS

ACROSS

- 1 French trade union federation
- 4 and Revolution
- 8 Mid-level Watergater
- 12 Vehicle builders' union
- 14 An electronic meter used in audio equipment
- 15 Dialectically related to its parts
- 17 Non-material prize given to the student who competes the best
- 18 Has a dialectical relationship with the outside
- 20 To shake or quake with fear or awe, like capitalists faced with a united working class
- 21 Popular flick about Greek fascism
- 22 A fuss, often about nothing
- 24 The ability to communicate using methods beyond physical detection
- 25 J.E. Hoover was this kind of man

- 26 Practical education
- 31 Between ready and go
- 32 . . . give up.
- 33 This country recently had a military coup against an imperialist-fascist gov't.
- 37 A Muslim athlete who refused to fight in Vietnam
- 39 The sound of milk production
- 40 A tribe of Native Americans
- 41 The relationship between theory and the New American Movement
- 43 Hither and
- 45 The first jewels on the moon
- 47 A Marxist-Leninist organization dedicated to the liberation of Puerto Rico
- 49 A technique of silent assassination
- 52 A company competing with the U.S. Gov't. Postal Service

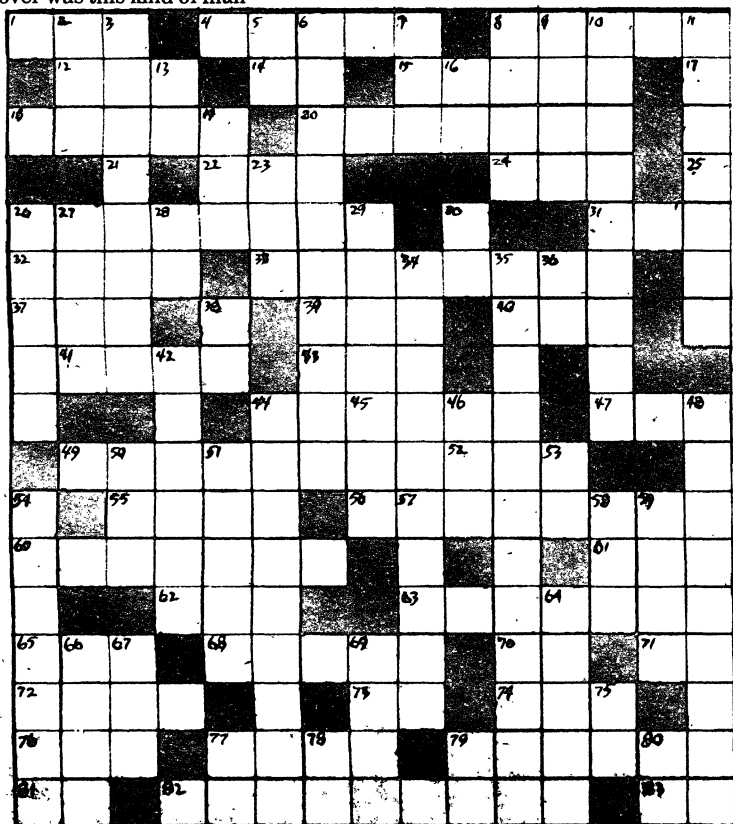
- 55 Necessary for either revolution or economic production under capitalism
- 56 Rapists and muggers often do it. See 49 across
- 60 Headquarters for the first communist revolution ever made
- 61 All Hail Marx and Lennon! (If you can do 45 across or 81 across, you can do this—they connect.)
- 62 Formal acronym for the Common Market
- 63 Leader of the junta in 33 across
- 65 When you're underground, you're on it (i.e., SLA, Weather underground, etc.)
- 68 We really ought to struggle until all our racist, sexist, and classist tendencies have been with.
- 70 French reflexive pronoun
- 71 Freebie: LR
- 72 A Pentagon spokesperson
- 73 A relatively progressive labor union
- 74 An imperialist nation does it to a colonized nation
- 76 What one does as a result of incorrect or uneducated political thinking
- 77 After one has been arrested, money paid as collateral for freedom
- 79 To be, or not to be? That is the question!
- 81 Cornless Cobb; a leader in the diamond field
- 82 Nowadays being rapped in China, he was famous for what he said.
- 83 Prior spouse

- 19 What we did when outnumbered, sometimes
- 23 A downturn, either in a road or an economy
- 26 A plan prepared for use on college campuses in response to an escalation of the Vietnam War
- 27 To steal from an unconscious person
- 28 Androgynous pronoun
- 29 We often lead our life in them; a feature of a record
- 30 It's nauseating.
- 34 Pitch
- 35 Despite the assassination of this nation's leader, it recently won liberation.
- 36 A friendly little word we see from time to time, and here and there
- 38 Adequate
- 42 Internationalist minded citizens and dockworkers forbid its import
- 44 Working-class person employed as agent of ruling class violence
- 46 Reading Railroad
- 48 The largest meeting at a NAM convention
- 50 What the whale did to Noah, but most folks never did it enough.
- 51 When collection agency comes around, or the garbage collectors, don't you get .

DOWN

- 2 A fundamental implement of warfare
- 3 This socialist African country doesn't get along well with Uganda
- 5 Modality of capitalist cultural manipulation; it's electric.
- 6 NAM says racial and sexual minorities can keep it.
- 7 A wooly female, probably oppressed
- 8 Aural protuberance
- 9 They beset us all
- 10 A natural state of unconsciousness
- 11 A river in People's China
- 12 Country club in Manhattan
- 13 You and I
- 16 Begins the formal title of a British Military Vessel

- 53 Indicating one thing that begins with a vowel
- 54 Implement of women's oppression
- 57 Ruling class people really feel we have had
- 58 U.S. governmental agency that provides us with various documents
- 59 A quiet period between battles
- 64 If the FTA-IPC singer were twins, they would be the
- 66 Having a feeling of freedom and light
- 67 To mark a surface finish
- 69 A woman's name; also a whopper or generally any superlative event or thing
- 75 Number 109 was J.F.K.'s assignment
- 77 A popular Diddle
- 78 Often the first word in a sentence, expressing wishful thinking
- 79 The ratio of a circle's circumference to its diameter
- 80 Hear



Whether NAM

(Continued from Page 11)

barely mentioned in *Prairie Fire*.

THE FAILURE OF NAM

If there are such wonderful opportunities in the present period, why haven't they been developed by the Left? It is useless to blame the Weather underground; it falls squarely on those of us who have been calling for an above-ground mass movement. NAM, for instance, must be seriously

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PRE-CHAPTERS

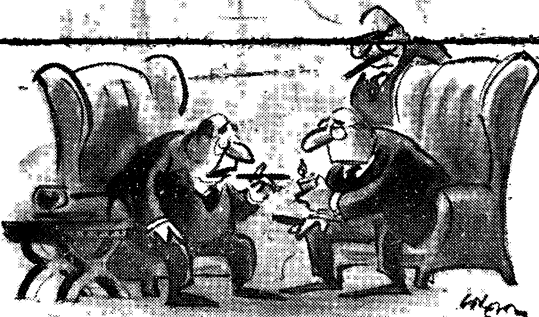
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criticized for its failure in this period. Formed to be just this kind of catalyst for a mass movement around the developing economic crisis of capitalism, it has completely failed to reach or stir the imagination, frustration, or radical potential of the American people.

There are two sets of excuses typically offered, both unacceptable. Some people have argued NAM didn't have any clear idea of what to do, and is only now developing programmatic ideas. This is false. At its founding convention the founders proposed that all chapters work in a unified way around a program of economic crisis. That program called for NAM to publicly lead the struggle against the ruling class' attempt to place the burden on the working class. NAM was urged to lead demonstrations at supermarkets against the rise in prices (1 1/2 years later a national meat boycott developed spontaneously, but in the absence of a coherent national organization to give it leadership or direction, it quickly sputtered out). Another part of the program called for NAM to demonstrate and disrupt at meetings of the Wage/Price Board, thereby creating attention for NAM as the spokesperson for those who were not content with the national charade.

Had NAM done that, it would have been in the position this year to call (in its own name, and by itself, and around the explicitly socialist demand of socialization of the oil companies) and organize national demonstrations around the oil crisis. By now, NAM could have established itself as the organization for opposition to bourgeois economic policies, comparable to the Mobilization Committee in the 60's, but with a more coherent political analysis and program than the Mobe ever allowed itself.

Others have argued that NAM couldn't do it



"As Bob Dylan said, you don't have to be a weather man to tell which way the wind is blowing."

because it was too small and insignificant. False. Just as the nucleus of the anti-war movement was extremely small at first, but built itself by engaging in action and program that called attention to its political analysis, so NAM could have become significant by taking itself seriously and acting accordingly. The fact is that NAM's growth has been retarded by its failure to act publicly, loudly, and coherently on a national level. Hence, three years after these proposals were made, NAM still claims to be too weak, and even now eschews any coherent national program to mobilize and speak for those sectors of the working class fed up both with the politicians and with sellout union leadership. NAM's position is self-fulfilling: it will never be strong enough, because it does not engage in the kinds of actions or programs that would call it to the attention of those who are potentially its constituency. Further, NAM will never transcend its present class composition and become more representative of the working class as a whole as long as it refuses to create a national program that reaches the attention of those sectors: they will not be recruited by NAM newspapers or leaflets, but only when they start to hear about NAM and NAM's activity from non-movement sources.

It is not the strategy that is lacking, not the vision of what needs to be done, not the absence of objective conditions or subjective awareness of the problem on the part of the proletariat; it is the willingness of NAM or any other Left group to play a rational, national, confrontational, and politically intelligent role. Such a force could create a serious mass movement in two to three years.

It is the failure of NAM and other leftists to act that gives renewed credence to the Weather underground: at least they have the courage of their convictions. Yet, on a deeper level, we may find an essential affinity between the spirit of



1b Ohlsson

PG&E

[Continued from Page 5]

PG&E's efforts to defeat the initiative will also be hampered by a campaign spending law that limits their expenditures to \$7,500. They've challenged this law in the courts and have obtained a preliminary injunction that allows them several weeks of unlimited spending to argue against the initiative. They've used the time to place numerous ads in local newspapers comparing PG&E rates favorably to those in other cities.

The initiative is being sponsored by the Committee for Public Power, a group that includes members of Berkeley NAM. This Committee has already won an important victory in its campaign: it pressured the Berkeley City Council into dropping a proposed ballot initiative that would have confused the issue of municipalization. That initiative would have said that if voters favor municipalization, it would have to be financed either by a decrease in city services or by a rise in taxes.

The municipalization campaign in Berkeley is one part of a national movement against utility companies that has grown dramatically since the energy crisis. On May 31, residents of Massena, New York, a small upstate town of 14,000, approved a bond issue to take over the local facilities of the Niagara Mohawk Power Corporation. In other cities, a wide variety of organizations are fighting rate increases or demanding a complete restructuring of the rating system. In the future, this utility movement could develop a national strategy focusing on a demand for public ownership and democratic control of the entire energy industry.

NAM and the spirit of the authors of *Prairie Fire*. The Weathermen became popular because they expressed the feelings of powerlessness and frustration widespread in the Left, a feeling that has been shown to be irrational in its core. In 1969 the Left was having an enormous impact on the consciousness of the country at every level: on the campuses it was reaching hegemonic proportions, and in the rest of the country it was creating incredible turmoil and re-evaluation of attitudes. At the very moment of our power, we felt ourselves to be most powerless. The Weather underground, NAM, and the rest of the Left share this pathology: an inability to see deep tendencies and possibilities, an inability to transcend the given, an immersion in empiricism at its worst; and a deep conviction that they will always be powerless. Whether we give a psychological or a class analysis of this deep sense of powerlessness, it is pervasive and is the single most important immobilizing factor in the Left. Instead of seeing the potential of the moment, they become buried in the actual of the moment, hence overly impressed with their failures—"After all, we haven't yet stopped the war in '69, much less made the revolution yet," or "We haven't yet developed a working class movement in 1974."

I do not mean to deny the reality of powerlessness. In every situation up till the moment we have actually taken state power it will be possible to look at our reality from that perspective and correctly point out that we don't yet have real power. Rather, I mean to suggest that a dialectical method requires the ability to see how powerlessness can be transcended. And revolution requires revolutionaries who are capable of making that transcendence. It is that lack of vision that still keeps the Weather underground from seeing how an American working class could be a creative and central part in the revolutionary struggle ("After all, they're not in motion now") and it is this same kind of lack of vision that keeps NAM and other Left groups from emerging as a serious political force in the national political arena.

UMWA

(Continued from Page 1)

Eastover, a subsidiary of Duke Power Company, the nation's sixth largest utility corporation (and a growing corporate empire in certain southeastern states).

In its strike settlement concessions, the company agreed to reinstate 59 strikers who had been fired in mid-summer. In addition, the company agreed to terms of the UMWA's current national contract for the 180 workers at Brookside and nearby Bailey's Creek mines. And the company agreed to sign the union's national contract at its other operations where workers vote to join the UMWA.

Eastover also agreed to sign the 1974 national UMWA contract when it is completed, and conceded to the Union on local mine safety issues.

The UMWA conceded to continue Brookside and Bailey's Creek mine operations, even in the event of a national UMWA strike this Nov. 12, when the current national contract expires. However, in "Bloody Harlan"—a name earned from fierce miner organizing struggles in the 30's—the historical militancy of local rank and file leaves their participation in the event of a national strike in November an open question. And UMWA vice-president Mike Trbovich told the somewhat dubious new Local 1974 that, "This is in no way to be interpreted as a no-strike clause."

It is significant that the so-called "no-strike" agreement was the only concession that Duke Power insisted upon in settling a strike which had closed down their operation for 13 months and which had become extremely damaging to their public image as well as to their financial operations.

As the United Mine Workers strike date approaches, big coal users, mainly electric utilities, are frantically trying to build up coal stockpiles. There is widespread corporate fear of the impending strike since utilities are not the only users of coal. "A coal strike would shut down the steel industry overnight," bemoans Frederick C. Jaicks, chairman of Inland Steel Co. and head of the American Iron and Steel Institute. Some major producers have less than 20 days of metallurgical coal on hand.

The auto industry would also suffer badly. General Motors, for instance, has coal-fired power houses at 40 of its 110 domestic plants.

YEAR OF THE COAL MINER

UMWA president Arnold Miler, as well as tens of thousands of the union miners working in the Appalachian soft coal fields, know that 1974—an appropriately symbolic local union number for Brookside miners to take—is "the year of the coal miner." In the words of a 25-year-old mine mechanic at Nema-colin, Pa., "We'll never get another chance like this in my lifetime. If we don't get it this year, we'll never get it."

The Brookside strike was the longest strike ever in Harlan, although that county has lived through some of the most militant struggles in American labor history. The strike began when Brookside miners voted out the company union, the Southern Labor Union, and voted in the UMWA on July 26, 1973.

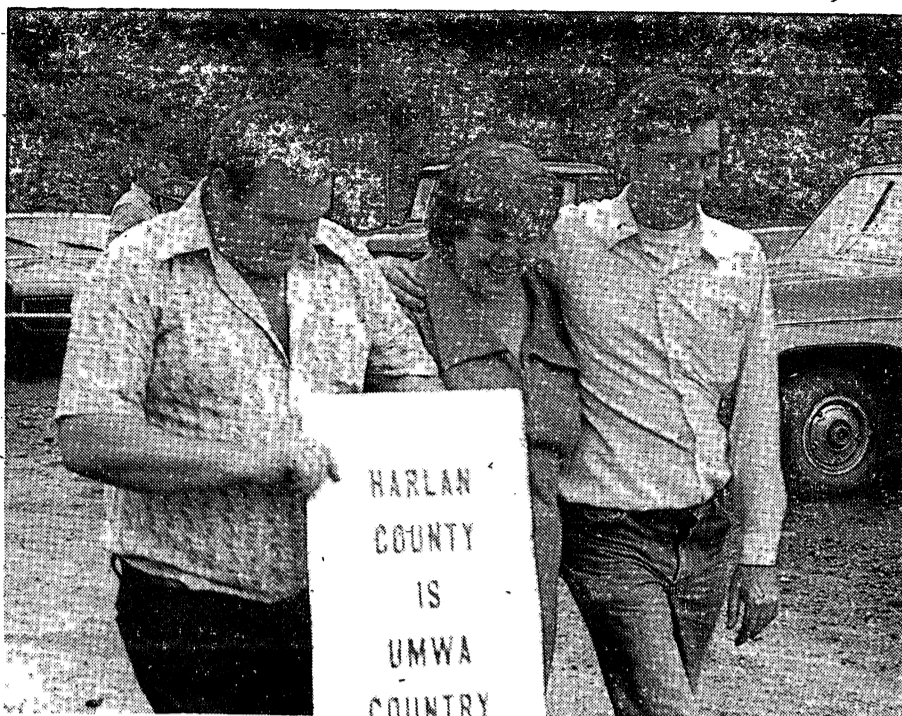
The agreement reached Aug. 29 was hailed as a major victory by UMWA president Miller, who has considered Brookside the key to unionization of coal-rich Harlan County. Eight weeks earlier, miners at Highsplint, another Eastover Mine in Harlan, went out on strike in sympathy with the Brookside strikers.

VIOLENCE AND DEATH

In recent months, Duke Power, through its Eastover subsidiary, escalated its attacks on the strikers by calling in Kentucky state police to break picket lines and by hiring a contingent of 50 armed thugs. These scabs were reported in the *Harlan Labor News* to have been ~~murdered~~ hired by the company for this job. They broke through pickets by forming armed car caravans and speeding through the line with a volley of machine gun fire.

Highsplint and Brookside miners had been sleeping on the floor for two months because of a series of midnight raids. On Aug. 8, the home of the local union president, Mickey Messer, was riddled with nearly 100 rounds of ammunition.

Brookside miner Lawrence Jones, 22, was shot and critically wounded by



a Highsplint company foreman, Bill Brummer, who fired a shotgun into Jones' head at close range. Jones suffered extensive brain damage and never recovered consciousness before he died Aug. 28. Jones' death started the chain of events which led to the settlement on Aug. 29. The shooting occurred the week before and the public outrage it aroused prompted Duke president, Carl Horn, to finally agree to meet in Washington, D.C. with UMWA representatives and federal mediators on Aug. 28.

CLASS UNITY

In spite of the tragedy, or perhaps as an aspect of its unifying qualities, the militancy and unity which characterized the Brookside strike was an inspiration to working men and women everywhere. The women of Harlan—the wives, daughters, sisters, and mothers, the co-producers and co-workers in this struggle—took over the picket lines last year when a court injunction had limited the number of pickets. They were able to keep the mine closed despite jail sentences and court contempt charges. Again this year at Highsplint the women were able to keep the picket lines closed when the 50-man good squads started their second week of terror. "If this strike lost, we'd all have to leave

Harlan County," explained one woman in the Harlan struggle.

An Aug. 22 Brookside support rally was in itself an inspiring example of working class solidarity. One spokesperson from the Defend the Right to Strike Committee, a group of rank-and-file steelworkers from Chicago-Gary steel mills, asserted, "We're waging a struggle against the steel companies just like you're waging a struggle against Duke Power."

In addition, there have been major leafleting, publicity, education, and organizing campaigns in most Appalachian states, particularly North Carolina, where Duke Power operates most of its utilities. Successful community organizing campaigns supported the striking miners and forced the State Utilities Commission to refuse a Duke Power rate increase of 17%. It was the first time the company had ever been refused. Members of the two North Carolina NAM chapters, C.P. Gilman and Margaret Sanger, were both integrally involved in organizing community-based groups and coalitions for the rate increase fights, in generating tremendous strike support and publicity, in building communications networks, and in organizing several busloads of North Carolina people to attend a mass hearing and support rally in Harlan last February. It was a people's victory and a worker's victory.

Pardon my blooper

(Continued from Page 1)

Rhodesia can enter the country through intermediary countries. He gave a presidential endorsement of the Equal Rights Amendment. His offer of partial amnesty to deserters and draft resisters was designed to defuse what's left of anti-war sentiment. (See story, p. 3.)

The pardon for Nixon was also designed to sooth the conservative wing of the ruling class. They have been embittered by Nixon's defeat and Ford's gestures to the liberals, and they have implied the possibility of withdrawing their support in 1976.

Nixon's pardon would probably have been enough to satisfy the conservatives, but Ford was also motivated by the same impulses that led Nixon to begin the coverup. Next to the Vietnam war, Watergate has been the most divisive political event of the last forty years. By preventing Nixon's trial Ford hoped finally to move Watergate from center state. Then time could heal the wounds.

But a pardon for Nixon would not stop the trials of top aides Erlichman, Haldeman, and Mitchell. They would certainly turn the spotlight back to Nixon and Watergate again. So Ford tested public sentiment for their pardons.

He has uncovered the tip of an iceberg of popular opposition. Ford was

met by an angry and militant crowd in Pittsburgh at his first public appearance after the pardon announcement. Ruling class opposition to the pardon was quickly voiced through liberal Democrats and Republicans who would prefer to save the system by letting Nixon "swing slowly in the wind" and show that there is equality under the law in this land of liberty.

SYMBOLIC GESTURES will not be enough to unite the country politically behind any element of the ruling class. The basic problems of inflation and recession are not addressed by Ford's program for unity. Watergate will not be forgotten as long as working people here remain trapped economically and are dubious that the government cares about their problems.

Ford, of course, has no genuine remedy for the economy. Though he promises to lick inflation by the Bicentennial, his program so far is wait and hope. Meanwhile, he resists wage and price controls because they hurt some elements of the business community—not because they hurt working people.

Without a program designed to meet people's real needs, Ford was forced to choose between Jaworski's justice and renewing the coverup. In either case the crud would rise to the surface again. It was only a matter of time.



"Ah. Fresh meat."

Sanders, Milwaukee Journal