

year of the coal miner

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Congress cuts bait and goes fishing

Will Rocky take a demotion?

by Mike Rotkin
Santa Cruz NAM

THE NOMINATION of Nelson Rockefeller, one of the richest men in the world, to the vice-presidency raises the issue of the relationship of the government to the corporate economy with new clarity and urgency. Rockefeller's wealth is not the result of some recent investment fluke, newly-exploited invention, or cost-plus swindle. Nelson Rockefeller shares with his family a position at the helm of one of the largest and most powerful financial empires in world history.

His personal wealth—which seems to grow faster than either he or congressional investigators can keep track of—is securely buttressed by the proper family, school social, and corporate ties necessary to ensure him an indisputable place in the ruling class which controls the U.S.-dominated world economy.

Rockefeller's nomination for Vice-President is significant not because he buys friends with \$50,000 "neckties," not because he has a history of paying for his own elections cash on the barrel head (\$7 million in his last election for governor of New York). His confirmation would represent the extent to which the traditional separation between the state and civil society has broken down under American monopoly capitalism.

A FLEXIBLE RELATIONSHIP

The relationship between the state and the "private" world of business has been flexible throughout U.S. history. In the early years following the American Revolution, presidents were recognized members of the national ruling class. Beginning with Andrew Jackson and the age of "Laissez Faire," the relationship between the state and business became more indirect. The "robber baron" mentality of rising industrial capitalists like John D. Rockefeller at the same time as presidents whose names no one can remember, was characteristic of the minimal, formal role played by the government during this period.

But, starting about the turn of the century, and in a more serious way since the New Deal and the second world war, the state has begun to play an increasingly important role in the regulation and direction of the economy. This tendency has meant that the ruling class owners of the largest corporations and financial institutions have taken more of a direct role in the formation of state policy and the day-to-day operation of the government.

Not since the 1920's when Andrew Mellon and his friends controlled the

presidency, have the ties between the corporate sector and the government been so direct. Kennedy was clearly of the upper social class, but unlike Rockefeller, his personal wealth and position did not rise and fall in relation to the rate of profit of the leading U.S. corporations. Kennedy was quite capable of defending a wide variety of interest groups (especially the poor and unorganized labor) within the framework of maintaining basic productive relations.

The Rockefeller nomination, however, comes at a time when the domestic and world economy is virtually out of control. Falling rates of productivity in relation to other capitalist countries, as well as the expansion of unproductive sectors of the economy like the military, has thrown the U.S. into inflation of serious proportions.

The only way the U.S. can restore its leadership position in the capitalist world market is through increasing profitability and the generation of larger surpluses for new investments necessary to increase productivity. And the easiest, if not the only way to finance this new expansion is at the expense of the standard of living of the working class.

ROCKY: A QUALIFIED QUARTERBACK

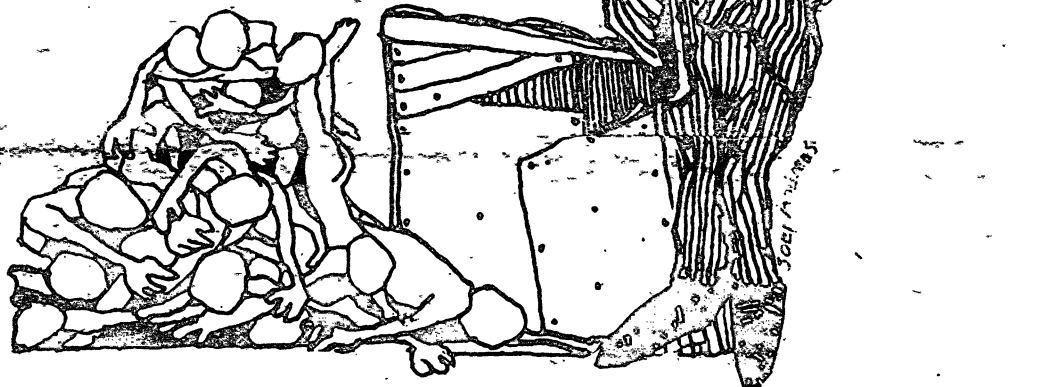
Jerry Ford, with his WIN buttons and empty promises of impending "upturn," has amply demonstrated his inability to conceive and execute a strategy to get the economy back on its feet. His contradictory demands for consumers to buy cautiously and for companies to sell vigorously underlie the bankruptcy of his leadership even in terms of the needs of the American ruling class.

To borrow a Nixon metaphor, Jerry Ford is a fine center but the ruling class is in desperate need of a qualified quarterback. In Nelson Rockefeller they have a leader flexible enough to roll in both directions while never leaving the pocket—Rocky knows exactly whom he can pass to on his own team and, if necessary, he can run with the ball himself.

During his 15 years as Governor of New York, Rockefeller demonstrated that he can work with big labor leaders at the same time that he lowers corporate taxes, raises taxes on the poor, and cuts social services to working people in general. In his recent role as "law-and-order" advocate in N.Y., he is responsible for "stop and frisk," "no knock," and the heaviest drug laws in the country. As the Butcher of Attica, he showed his willingness to use the full repressive powers of government to smash opposition to state policies. In his experience in the State Department, on the President's Cabinet, and on the National Security Council, Rockefeller demonstrated his

command of similar virtues in the international context.

THE CRISIS OF American capitalism has created an emergency situation demanding the direct, rather than indirect, control of the ruling class over the executive branch. Beyond all else, the nomination of Nelson Rockefeller to the vice-presidency argues that the Left must see the question of state power as primary, even in the struggles of the working class to maintain a basic standard of living.



Palestinians at Crossroads

by Peter Johnson (MERIP)

THE OCTOBER WAR and its consequences have radically changed the prospects for the Palestinian liberation movement, and have led it to change its major focus from the military arena to that of politics and diplomacy. This alteration in strategy was recently capped by the landmark UN invitation to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to participate in a debate on the Palestine question.

The Palestinian movement has not been unified in its acceptance of the new political course taken by the leadership of the PLO, and on September 26 the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), led by George Habash, withdrew from the leadership organs of the LO. The PFLP cited alleged meetings between PLO representatives and US government officials as a sign that the PLO was abandoning its revolutionary goal of liberating all of Palestine through popular struggle. The PFLP was rapidly joined in a so-called "rejection front" by the Iraqi-supported Arab Liberation Front (ALF), the military-oriented Popular Front-General Command (PF-GG), and the tiny Popular Struggle Command (PSC). The ALF and the PF-GG have nevertheless remained in the PLO; the PSC was not a member.

Habash and the "rejection front" have been attempting since early Oc-

tober to organize an alternative to the PLO but so far have met no success. At the Rabat conference of Arab leaders October 25-26, the PLO was reaffirmed as the legitimate representative of all the Palestinian people, opening the road for possible PLO participation in negotiations about the future of Palestine. Since then there have been hints that the ALF and the PF-GG will leave the PLO as well.

SPLIT OVER TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM

The current split among groups in the PLO has roots dating back as early as 1968, when the largest Palestinian resistance organization, Fateh, gained control of the PLO. For several years the PFLP stayed out of the PLO, not joining until after the massacres of September 1970 had imposed a new demand for unity on the shattered movement.

The differences in the earlier period had to do with strategy towards the Arab countries, with Fateh taking a general policy of non-interference and the PFLP advocating a policy of non-cooperation. The PFLP has used a Marxist analysis to underpin its policies and revolutionary strategy. The other Marxist group, The Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP), essentially took on united front policies and joined in the

(Continued on back page)

Bernadette Devlin Speaks

Organizing Irish Women; Sex or Class?

by Deborah Hertz and Diane Wiley

On November 9, 1974, Bernadette Devlin spoke at the University of Minnesota. The Socialist Workers' Party sponsored her visit and gave us permission to speak with Devlin. We arrived at their office and met Devlin waiting at the elevator. What follows is taken from our hectic half hour with her. Our discussion centered on women in the struggle in Northern Ireland, women in left organizations (Devlin is a member of the Official Marxist IRA), and the organizational forms women develop during different periods of struggle.

Devlin clearly sees that there are three central kinds of oppression—class, racial, and sexual. In this excerpt from her interview she explains why she feels that in the context of her work in Northern Ireland, women oppressed by both class and sex can most easily be organized to see all of these dimensions through radicalization around class oppression first.

* * * * *

Q. How did you work to politicize women and draw them into the struggle in Northern Ireland? How were you able to overcome the sex-role stereotypes which prevent women from becoming involved?

A. Well, at the beginning the people who went to prison were men because they were generally the most actively involved. We did have some cases, however, when men went to prison because their wives were politically active—when the British army came for them they naturally assumed it was the man they were looking for. Now, of course, it's very different—now the British army is quite willing to imprison women, interrogate them without trial, and shoot them in the streets—which is a measure of our political involvement.

When internment was introduced it affected the whole community. One night the army arrived and arrested over 300 people in the community, most of them men. So we encouraged the wives of these men and other women to come out to the meetings. I could speak, and lots of other people could speak, but, you know, they were the people who'd been involved in the situation. So we got them [the women] to come out to the meetings. At the first meeting they stuttered and stammered and quite a lot of them broke down and cried. Then when it came to the second and third meetings, they discovered they could do things they never really thought they could do.

Q. How did the men accept this expanded participation by the women in a traditionally male sphere of activity?

A. Many of the men who were arrested during the first wave of internment came out a year, maybe two years later and found that the women they thought they had married no longer existed. And that is actually a big problem still—that the man coming back into the family finds it very hard to cope. He doesn't know this person; he never knew she existed. Many of the men saw it as a challenge that they couldn't cope with. It took an effort to politically educate them, essentially through counseling and struggle within the organizations, so that they could say: "You know, that's a good idea. That makes two of us instead of only one," rather than saying: "Well, she ought to be at home."

Q. Do you think the women see themselves in struggle as women? Do they think they have made gains as women?

A. ...at this stage you find that the woman in Northern Ireland is much more prepared to establish her position. She is not liberated, because we are all oppressed. But she is fighting the harassment and oppression of the army and the legal system, and she is trying to keep her kids out of jail; therefore, just within herself she is less likely to take oppression from whatever quarters. She takes less oppression from her husband and can see what she didn't see about ten years ago—that she was getting pushed about and didn't know it. This is not because of the women's movement, but because of the political situation.

Q. Do women organize as women within the class struggle in Northern Ireland?

A. Women essentially don't organize as women in Northern Ireland. The women are in all the political organizations depending on its political stance and its strategy and tactics—whichever organization they agree with.



Q. Then how are women's issues dealt with?

A. We don't really have formal means.

Q. Then how are women organized?

A. We find that we don't need women's organizations because the whole thrust is on the class conflict and the fight against imperialism. We [women] fight where we are, and organize where we are. But we don't have a formal women's movement or women's caucus across the political movements.

I'm not saying that struggle against sexism just doesn't exist. I'm not saying that we don't have it; but it isn't formalized. Sexism is fought on an individual basis. If the women in a particular group or organization are getting put down, they refuse to be put down.

Q. In other revolutionary struggles, women have made strides during the most active periods, but slipped back in subsequent stages. Do you think that in order to prevent this, the sexual struggle within the class struggle has to be institutionalized, made permanent in some way?

A. Yes, I think that has to be done at some stage. I agree that after the revolution there will be a tendency to say, "Women, back to the kitchen," because it has gone on for so long. There will be creches and nurseries and equal pay for the woman, but the man will still have the attitude that he'd like his dinner cooked for him because that consciousness hasn't been challenged.

But, working with working class women, I find that it is easier to talk about the economic question and class conflict, and then, through the concepts of class analysis, to re-evaluate her position as a woman, than it is to take a woman's issue first. This is because the working class woman is doubly oppressed, but she feels that the fact that she is a woman is the least of her oppression. It is not the least, but she feels it is the least.

It would have been very nice for you to have met my young sister-in-law who is not political. She is a very good person, but she is not by any means radical or revolutionary. Her attitude is "Why are all these women trying to get me to go out to work? I don't want to go out and work in the factories." She has worked in a factory and she has worked as a secretary, and she has worked for me. When she got married she went home and she much prefers it. And if I say, "Well look, I'm not attempting to take away your right to stay at home, but is it a choice? You must really look at it and see, is it not in fact because of the conditions in which you worked in the factory? And you got such low wages because you are a woman," she relates to that. She relates to that much quicker than she relates to "I am oppressed by men." She relates better to the identification of the factory owner as oppressor.

It's a difficult struggle because the two aspects have to be brought out, but I maintain that you make more ground by beginning with the economic issues. The working class woman may not understand the woman's position, but she knows that she has to

make the household money go about. She knows she doesn't own anything and she knows (at home—I don't know what the situation is here) she doesn't sign the mortgages, but she has to do the management so that the payments can be made. And if you are dealing with issues like that, she can then relate to the women's struggle from that position better than she can to a low- to middle-class woman telling her about rights that she hasn't the time to exercise.

Q. Do you agree with the traditional Marxist position that women can only be organized insofar as they work outside the home?

A. Well, I don't know what Marx and Engels said on the position of women, I must confess. But I do know that people can be organized wherever they are. That might be a bad Marxist statement, but I believe it. You can organize people wherever they are, and there is no point in disregarding them because they are not where they "should" be. The text book Marxist drives me mad when he says, "He ought to be there so we can make him a revolutionary." Well, hard luck, he's not. He is over there and she is over here and we have to organize people where they are.

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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Hollow victories & economic woes

Unity strained in two parties

by John Katz and Nick Rabkin
Bay Area NAM

SEVERAL WEEKS after the 1974 mid-term elections, it is already evident that the decisive victory of the Democrats will mean little to the beleaguered working people of the country. Even though they gained almost complete dominance in both houses of Congress, the Democrats will not come up with any unified program to deal effectively with the economic woes of the country. The elections were mainly a vote of no confidence for the two capitalist parties. Several tentative conclusions and predictions can be drawn from them.

(1) With only one third of those eligible to register and vote actually going to the polls, it seems clear that the vast majority of people see little that is different or positive in either major party.

(2) The election strengthens the liberal-moderate wing of the Republican Party at the expense of the conservative wing. Liberal Republican Senators Shweicker, Mathias, Packwood, and Javits—all on Nixon's enemies list—survived nicely, as did their House counterparts. This can be explained by their ability to disassociate themselves from Watergate and the Ford-Nixon economic policies. Conservative Republicans, as exemplified by the four Nixon defenders on the House Judiciary Committee who lost, could not do this and bore the brunt of the Nixon backlash.

(3) All wings of the Democratic Party were strengthened, but particularly the centrist faction backed by big labor and led by Senator Henry Jackson. Labor's goal of a veto-proof Congress (i.e., a Congress so heavily Democratic that it will be capable of overriding Presidential vetoes) was just about met. And although not all Democrats in Congress will be absolutely reliable, it is clear that the Democrats owe Meany's organization some big favors.

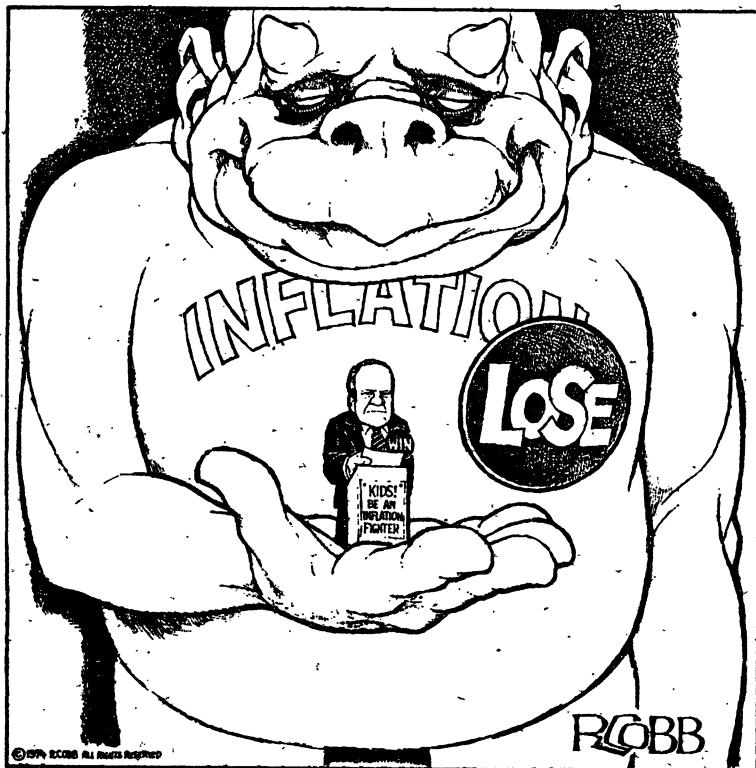
(4) Liberal Democratic victories in the heretofore Republican strongholds of Vermont and Colorado suggest that population shifts of young, ecology-minded people to those areas are having a political effect.

(5) Significant elements of the ruling class, sensing the hegemony of liberal ideas in hard times and the unviability of law-and-order ideology in the post-Nixon period, have adopted a strategy of support and co-optation for liberal politicians. This is evidenced by conservative big-city newspaper endorsements of liberal Democrats that they violently opposed two years ago, and the financial desertion of right-wing Republicans in favor of moderates of both parties.

(6) The new Congress will probably make significant changes in its internal structure by passing reforms on seniority and committee chairmen's power. These changes will destabilize power balances in the Congress, swinging it away from long-term conservative Democrats to younger, more liberal Democrats.

(7) The Democrats will probably push for and win some form of national health insurance in the next session.

(8) The current situation in the two capitalist parties is the most fluid and unstable since 1948. In December the Democrats will hold their first mid-term convention in Kansas City. If the so-called "reform" faction loses floor fights for quotas on delegates to the 1976 convention, significant defections on the left of the party will become a serious possibility. And if a centrist candidate like Henry Jackson gets the presidential nomination, a serious left-liberal third party effort will in all probability be mounted behind an effete intellectual like Eugene Mc-



Carthy, or neo-populist Fred Harris.

The Republicans, defeated and isolated, could also split with the formation of a new conservative third party. This is a growing possibility, particularly if Ford cannot regain his stature with the right-wing of his party.

POLITICAL INSTABILITY

The political instability that threatens the Republican Party stems most directly from Nixon and Watergate. And the tensions that wrack the Democrats are manifested through ideological and political power struggles within the party. But behind Watergate and the taming of the Democrats' jeffries a deeper problem that is at the root of

both parties' difficulties.

The politico-economic crisis that the Republicans and the Democrats both face is the fulcrum upon which the intra-party strife turns. They face a situation in which the needs of capitalism contradict themselves: the recession imposed by the Nixon and Ford administrations has created a need for profit relief for the corporations and economic expansion; the rising tide of labor militancy sparked by continued inflation, however, demand recessionary policies to stem inflation and discipline the work force.

This is much the same situation that Nixon found himself in 1970 (though the problems are sharper now). The level of unemployment that would have been necessary to halt inflation then

was judged as politically unacceptable by Nixon who was afraid of losing the election in 1972. His solution was to combine the New Economic Policy with the political techniques of the Plumbers. Needless to say, both of these were dismal failures.

In the face of these contradictory problems of capitalism the Democrats seem absolutely unable to arrive at any party unity. Ford has indicated that he is more concerned with fighting inflation than recession, but his decision is half-hearted and ineffective so far. His austere fiscal policy has pushed unemployment to the highest level in years and the strike wave that began earlier this year continues to rise with national strikes in coal and transportation (Greyhound).

The Federal Reserve has lowered interest rates slightly to stimulate investment, but is being very cautious about this because making more money available will feed the inflation and aggravate the labor situation.

It is quite possible that the official unemployment rate will reach 10% by the 1976 elections.

The Democrats, meanwhile, will balk at further recessionary policies in Congress, mostly to maintain a popular image. If they had a high level of party unity they might be capable of forcing through less restrictive economic policies. They might have a general tendency toward more spending to stimulate the economy, but that tendency will be tempered by the need to reverse inflation and to improve the position of capital-starved sectors like housing, small business, and utilities.

With intra-party tension high enough to split the party in 1976, the Democrats will be incapable of a coherent position on the economy in 1975. To the degree that they encourage deficit spending they will be blamed by Republicans for fostering inflation. In the absence of a plan of their own, the Democrats will try to capitalize on the deterioration of the economy under

As any capitalist can tell you, however, it's bad business to have no plan.

S. Africa gets boot in UN assembly

THE UNITED NATIONS General Assembly voted on November-12 to oust South Africa from the remainder of this session, which extends to December 16. This rallying by Third World forces in support of the South African people followed a vote in the Security Council last month in which the United States, England, and France vetoed a proposal to expel South Africa permanently.

Within the forum of the UN the balance of powers in the world is becoming more and more explicit, and the conflict between the interests of Third World countries and imperialism is being spelled out. Recent Third World victories have included recognition of the Organization of African Unity (OAU); the expulsion of South Africa; recognition of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) as representatives of the Palestinians; and limitation of the debate on the Palestinian question, a move opposed by both Israel and the U.S.

South Africa's apartheid regime, representing the interests of the 4 million white minority at the expense of the 17 million Third World people, has consistently failed to represent the interest of its peoples domestically and internationally. Both previous regimes, and current Prime Minister Vorster, who was interned during World War II for his pro-Nazi activities, have consistently violated the UN Charter of Human Rights by their racist policies and their illegal mandate of Narubia. They have ignored numerous UN rulings such as that of the International Convention for the Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid instituted by the General Assembly in December 1973. It was on these grounds that the

General Assembly rejected the credentials of the South African delegation as representative of its people.

Duna Nokwe, a representative of the African National Congress which, together with the Pan African Congress, has observer status at the UN, explained to *New American Movement* the impact of the General Assembly vote on South Africa. Although South Africa tries to insulate itself from world opinion by calling apartheid a "domestic issue," it is threatened with increasing political and economic isolation from the rest of the world. Its colonial buffer zones are vanishing as Third

World forces, such as Frelimo in Mozambique as well as the continuing struggles in Angola and Namibia move ever closer. South Africa's response has been to rely even more heavily on support from the Western nations, and to attempt to salvage its public image by a show of accommodation with its opponents. Earlier this year it included in its UN delegation three stooge representatives of S.A.'s Third World peoples: a "colored" school principal, an Indian professor, and a Bantustan leader. These three left after being exposed and denounced by the OAU.

While attempting to spruce up its
(Continued on page 18)



Black South African miners in training. LNS

Football: A Holiday Ritual

Gridiron Gladiators

by Paul Hoch*

"The football bowl games," declared the TV commentator, "are now America's most popular show. They are watched by more than a hundred million Americans. They help to unite the country. They are rapidly becoming one of our most important and significant national traditions."

In this sense, one might claim that national spectacles like the football bowl games, the World Series, the Stanley Cup hockey playoffs, and the Olympics correspond quite closely with the tribal festivals of primitive peoples. The idea is for the whole tribe to whoop it up at the established rituals, with established chiefs (like state governors and generals) in attendance to greet the crowds and bask in the aura of tribal solidarity and potency.

But if events like the holiday bowl games unite the country, what are the values these spectacles unite us around? The sight of twenty-two colliding super jocks (each one looking like Superman minus his cape) battering one another for control of turf is certainly a far cry from a peaceful Indian rain festival. The values stressed in our modern technological society's rituals would thus seem to place a heavy premium on violence and competition, rather than intra-tribal solidarity and cooperation. As such, rather than resembling the more passive rituals of those we call primitives, events like the bowl games seem to correspond much more closely with the bread-n-circuses gladiator spectacles of the ancient Roman coliseum which provided a heady opium for the "rabble" in the early days of what is called the Christian era.

COLLEGE FOOTBALL: FOR MONEY AND AMERICA (AND OLD PURDUE)

College football in America has always thrived most in the Southeast, Southwest, and Midwest—in short, in what might be called the more tradition-minded sections of the country. But the connection between college football, tradition, and myths of college or national greatness was not something invented by right-wing fanatics. Rather it was something created and nurtured along every step of the way by the administrators and top alumni of many of America's leading universities. For most of the past century, college football, as the college's most visible and public activity beyond the walls of academe, has been used more or less as the main channel of college public relations at many leading institutions. For example, who would ever have heard of Notre Dame without its

Fighting Irish football team? And, of course, along with a good PR program, there comes hopefully a booming bounty of alumni donations. A survey taken at Ohio State in the mid-sixties showed that the difference between a winning and losing Buckeye football team was at least a half million dollars in cold cash.

The college football big game ritual has long been, among other things, the key to the cash collection. Basically, the idea has been that if you could get the old grads to come back for the big games, perfume them a bit with the fragrance of college tradition, douse them in a few fraternity boozes, etc., the building fund would be sure to boom. If some of the alumni were organized in a fraternity or a military unit, it was just that much easier to get them to come out together. And so what if you threw in a little patriotism with the half-time show (for example, in the late sixties the usual Air Force jets over the stadium and a moment of silence for our prisoners in North Vietnam). College nationalism is just one of the socializing units for American nationalism, for Americanism.

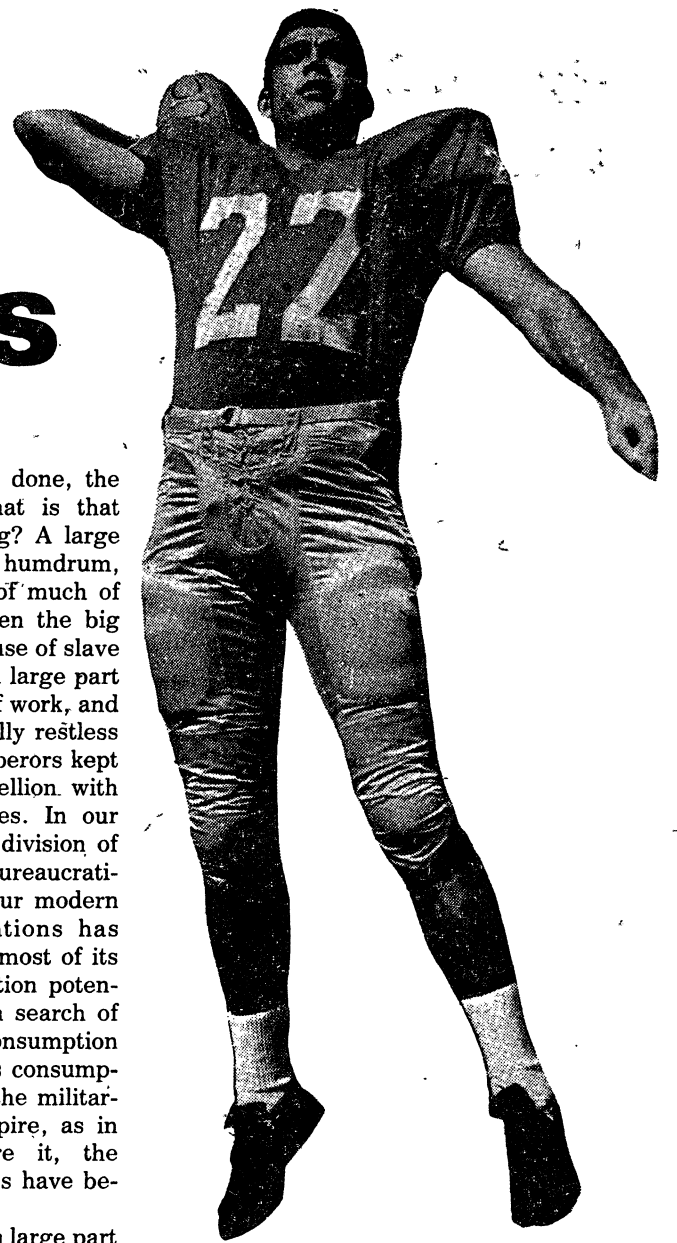
If the students and the old grads could be steered to identify with the college and its traditions, it would be that much easier to identify with the country and its (properly whitewashed) traditions. And vice versa. If you could convince the old grads that college football, and college tradition generally, was Americanism, then the college coffers were sure to swell. At this point the college presidents and alumni seemed to go into partnership with the politicians and generals in the galleries of the big games, all trying to cash in on the big spectacles and boost their own version of super-patriotism.

There is nothing uniquely American about all this. The Roman caesars were well aware of the importance of their attendance at the big gladiator and olympic games as a symbol and confirmation of their power. Then too it was quite clear to the decadent Greek monarchy in 1896 that it would be useful to the throne to be present to give out the medals at the first modern olympic games. The Governor General of Canada is always on hand to give out the Grey Cup to the winner of the annual Canadian pro-football championship. Queen Elizabeth, or another member of the British royal family, is present to award the trophy to the Wimbledon tennis champion. Adolph Hitler and his leading generals were careful to insert themselves into the center of the award ceremonies at the 1936 Olympics in Berlin. And even our own President Nixon rarely failed to get into the act, usually with a pre-game play suggestion or a call to the winning team's dressing room.

But when all is said and done, the question remains: just what is that makes the big games so big? A large part of the answer lies in the humdrum, and even boring character of much of our working lives in between the big games. In Roman days, the use of slave labor on the latifundia put a large part of the Roman citizenry out of work, and turned them into a potentially restless urban rabble, which the emperors kept diverted from political rebellion with bread and gladiator circuses. In our own day, the very marked division of labor, fragmentation, and bureaucratization entailed in most of our modern technological work operations has drained productive work of most of its creativity and self-actualization potential, and has set workers in search of fulfillment through mass consumption and, in particular, the mass consumption of public spectacle. In the militarized modern American Empire, as in the Roman Empire before it, the militarized gladiator circuses have become the key public ritual.

Furthermore, in America a large part of the military impetus for both football and war has always come from repressed, and hence diverted, sexual energy. Repressed sexuality has always been one of the biggest things that has made the big game so big. The big homecoming game, the bowl game bashes, and the big winter weekend football booze-up have been the officially recognized occasions when our sexually repressed collegians and alumni have gotten together to blow off a little steam. Alcohol has always flowed freely at the parties (and in the stands). Like New Year's Eve—and culminating in the big college bowl games on New Year's Day—these were the few officially sanctified rituals in which the barriers of sexual repression came down. Sex was o.k. if enjoyed in the proper spirit—combined with alcohol, fraternity parties, spending money. And the whole thing has been sold to the citizens of the modern empire as tradition and Americanism. It was, and is, a big seller.

Former Congressman Emanuel Celler has said that "today pro football provides the circus for the hordes." New York University Professor Roscoe Brown calls these mass spectator sports "the new opium of the people." Perhaps "opium" seems too strong a word for all this. But what else can you call it when a hundred million Americans profess more interest in who will win the Super Bowl than the continuing war in Vietnam? What else can you call it when the nation's enthusiasm for the big game allows it to ignore the tanks in the streets of Athens and Santiago? The poisoning by industrial pollution of our very air and water? What else can you call it when American industrial



workers are often so rabidly involved in the fates of their sports heroes that they're largely oblivious to the approximately three million serious injuries that occur every year in their own factories?

THE PROLETARIAN BASE

In this connection it's perhaps useful to recall to what extent North American pro sports have traditionally been aimed at potentially restless or disadvantaged minority groups and factory workers. Football, for example, grew up in the mining and factory towns of Pennsylvania and Ohio, and still gets many of its best players from there. Hockey grew up in the industrial towns of Canada and still recruits its players and fans from there. Indeed, the watching of their professional hockey heroes still provides the main pseudo-identity for Quebec's French-speaking working population. Likewise, British soccer grew up in the shadows of the factories. These sports were generally considered by factory owners as a fitting outlet for their workers job-produced tensions, an outlet far more suitable—at least from the owners' point of view—than militant trade unionism.

American basketball, too, has long been the sport of the big city ghettos, with a sizable portion of the top pros coming New York's Harlem ghetto. The same holds true for boxing, which for a hundred years has been dominated by whatever ethnic or racial group happened to be at the bottom of the social pyramid. Today black "fans" are permitted the outlet of vicariously acting out their societally-created aggressions against whites by cheering on the black "super-masculine menials" (the term is Eldridge Cleaver's). However, all the cheering does nothing whatever to deal with the social causes of all this frustration and aggression.

In general, the trouble with the entertainment and escapism of bigtime sports is that it provides no escape at all. The problems of one's workday and community life go on just as before. The only difference is that so much time and energy is absorbed in watching sports, cheering, and boning up on the fine points of the game, that it almost ensures that little or no time is available for solving the real problems.

* Dr. Hoch, a humanities lecturer at Montreal's Dawson College, is the author of *Rip Off the Big Game*, a study of the political and social aspects of bigtime sport.



Joy of Sex: Reformism and Heterosexual Bias

The Naked Liberal

by Karen Rotkin

A review of *The Joy of Sex* (N.Y., Simon & Schuster, c1972) and *More Joy* (N.Y., Crown Publishers, ©1973, 1974), edited by Alex Comfort, illustrated by Charles Raymond & Christopher Foss.

THE JOY OF SEX (an illustrated heterosexual technique catalogue) and *More Joy*, its "companion volume" (an illustrated manual for creating the relationship(s) in which to use the techniques) suffer from a number of problems, the least of which are bad writing style and organization. The second volume spares the nauseatingly "cute" cookbook metaphor of the first volume (with chapters titled "Main Courses" and "Sauces and Pickles").

Both volumes are organized by alphabetical sequence of unrelated topics under the main chapters, making the work as a whole incohesive (this is not a serious problem in JoS, but it contributes greatly to a difficulty in getting a clear sense of the sexual world view laid out in MJ).

The style is frequently incoherent, confusing, and boring. Even the attempts at witticism are often more embarrassingly painful to read than amusing. And of course there is the problem of sexist language—e.g., "...being stronger than a man on occasion lets girls try a part of the male role for size." (MJ, p. 98; my emphasis). Humanity is referred to as "Man." Etc.

The content and message of JoS and MJ are good and bad in the same way that liberalism is better and worse than conservatism—and for the same reasons.

First the good news: of the popular quasi-scientific sex books JoS and MJ do the most to validate more kinds of sexual experience/expression and to challenge traditional religious/moral/social taboos against a variety of sexual activities we've either been doing with residual feelings of guilt or been wanting to do but were afraid to try.

The anonymous authors (Comfort claims only to have edited the volumes) have a refreshingly non-preachy and relatively non-condescending attitude toward adolescent sexual expression and satisfaction. They are also to be commended for their encouragement of geriatric sexual activity and their encouraging and helpful suggestions about sexual activity for physically disabled people.

In contrast to David Reuben (*Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Sex but Were Afraid to Ask*), for example, who in his discussion of homosexuality shares the tone and sentiments of the Grand Inquisitor, the discussion of homosexuality in MJ appears at first glance as the triumph of enlightenment. It is, after all, a momentous occasion to be told in print in a straight, establishment publication that gay sex is not perverse, abnormal, sinful, anti-social, unnatural, and/or pathological.

It is also a breath of fresh air to see in a popular sex book a serious attempt to overcome male oppression of females in heterosexual relationships and the encouragement of full, equal, and respectful participation of both people involved in heterosexual partnerships.

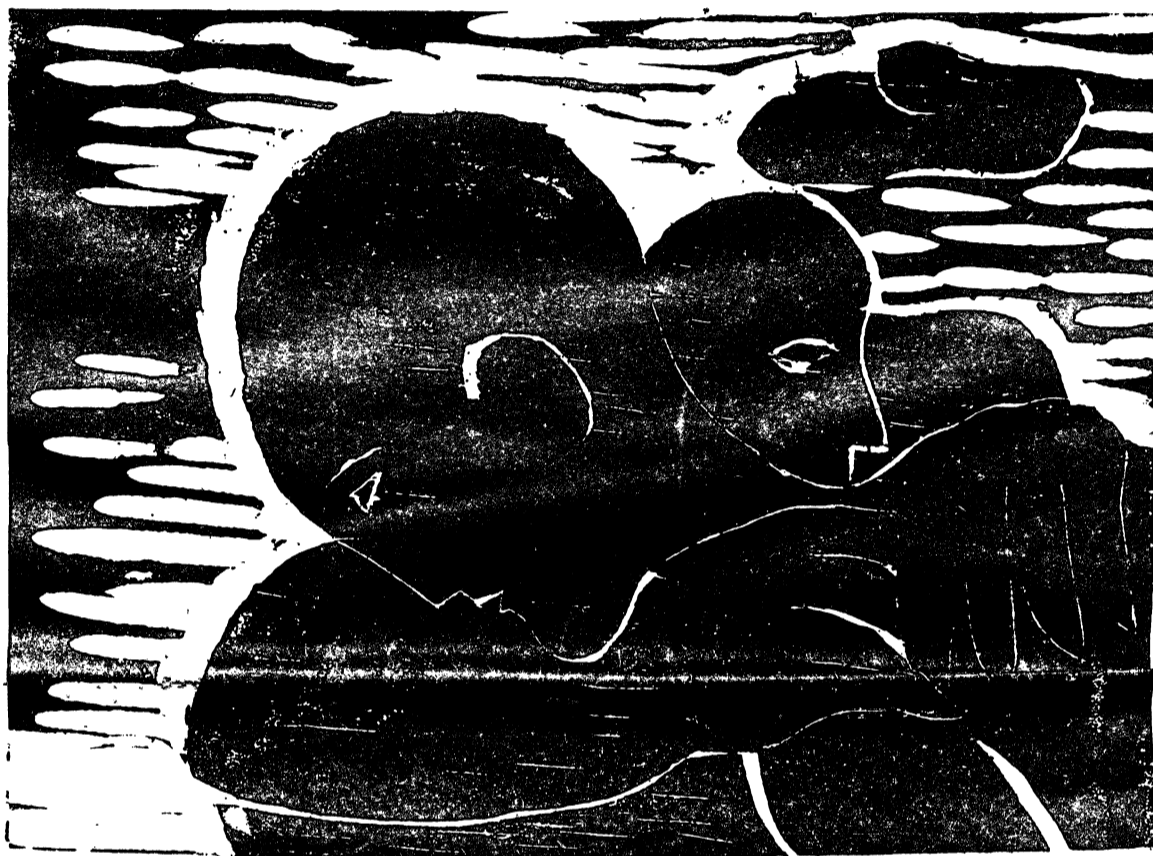
A LIBERAL FRAMEWORK

Now the bad news: the discussion of sexuality and sexual relationships in JoS and MJ includes all the errors of liberalism. I should mention here that I have conversed with quite a number of feminist/socialist/Marxist/materialists whose politics stop short of the bedroom. They seem to think that the realm of sexual experience alone may be left legitimately to the domain of metaphysical and/or biological determinism (or positivistic "science" at the other extreme)—that sexuality alone among all the aspects of our experience should be immune from an essentially social/political/material analysis.

I think it is crucial for us to realize that the *sexual is political* in all its aspects, just as the personal is political, and for us to avoid dealing with the implications of that is to accept by default a concretely liberal (or reactionary) framework for our sexual attitudes and activity. In dealing with the purveyors of sexual ideology we should recognize that a liberal with her/his clothes off is still a liberal and that liberal ideology pertaining to sexuality is as dangerous to true sexual liberation as uncritical liberalism is to any other aspect of the revolutionary struggle.

Some of the typically liberal errors that characterize JoS and MJ are:

1) Naive obliviousness about the existence and causes of the alienating sexual attitudes and behavior that are characteristic of an alienating, competitive, sexist social structure. Although the authors make a few vague references to cultural sources of such interpersonal problems as defensiveness, insecurity, jealousy, and possessiveness, for the most part they make it clear that the burden for these "hang-ups" rests squarely on the individual, not on the conditions that force such uncomfortable responses.



Woodcut by Perry Brass

In spite of the fact that it doesn't work, the process of psychologizing interpersonal problems into personal "hang-ups" and then wishing/analyzing them away is clung to by liberals, probably because it sounds a lot easier and less threatening to the status quo than the process of revolutionizing the society and relationships in which jealousy, possessiveness, etc. are the only possible responses. To borrow a formula from Marx: the call to abolish jealousy and possessiveness is the call to abolish the conditions that require jealousy and possessiveness.

Rather than clarifying the social conditions underlying problematic intimate relationships, the authors of JoS and MJ most often naively foist the full responsibility on Victorian morality. And, as if this tautological non-explanation didn't serve sufficiently to obscure the real roots of sexual difficulties, they further trivialize the problem and hinder its solution by personifying the ideology of sexual repression in "garbage people." Having thus identified the perpetrators of our "hang-ups," the authors seem to suggest that learning to ignore them is all that really stands between us and ultimate sexual liberation.

2) Limited and selective challenge in bourgeois sexual ideology. Only those attitudes that the authors have compelling reason to quarrel with are attributed to "cultural miseducation." Those features of the status quo which aren't offensive to the authors are attributed to some sort of psycho-biological determinism and are therefore taken to be unalterable. For example, they point out that traditional male domination in heterosexual relationships is the result of cultural values of male dominance and female submissiveness, and they approvingly (and grossly overoptimistically) observe that "Women's Lib" (sic) is rapidly balancing power in the social realm and consequently in the personal realm.

But they imply that a balance of power—with occasional detente—should be enough to make us happy, for a large part of the joy promised to loving couples is inevitable hostility, violence, aggression (as distinct from initiative) and antagonism. The authors dwell on these themes at great length, which obviously suggests that they get off on combat. The justification is that combativeness is inevitable, so

we all may as well dig it. "Both sexes need to realize that there is a healthy streak of hostility in all lasting adult love..." (MJ, p. 53). We "cowards" who prefer to struggle with the causes of hostility in our relationships rather than to express it in "healthy" combat are "afraid of our own emotions."

3) Failure to challenge the fundamental assumptions underlying the sexual ideology which they criticize on a superficial level. For example, they want us to make love with our "whole bodies" rather than just with our genitals, and they want women to be as satisfied as men. But they make it implicitly clear throughout both volumes that coitus alone is "real sex," the primarily important sexual activity, in

spite of the fact that coitus is not only irrelevant to homosexuals, but has also been shown by every major sex survey to be far less satisfying for a large majority of heterosexual women than clitoral stimulation.

4) Mystification. For example, the authors tell us that we are biologically "programmed" to perceive the phallus as a dominance signal. It probably hasn't occurred to them that male dominance in society could be the source of the notion that power resides in the erect penis.

5) Contradiction: Most of what they say about sex roles involves either blatant or subtle contradiction. For example, they tell us that rape is not okay (unless it's being "simulated" according to his or her rape (fantasy), and they tell us that "being penetrated" entails "being overpowered" (MJ, p. 104). But we're supposed to dig that and not get hung up about it.

They seem to be absolutely committed to the premise that a crucial ingredient of heterosexual encounter is that one person is manifestly stronger and the other is manifestly weaker. You can guess who is usually which (though the woman is occasionally allowed to "play" at being stronger). And this is supposed to be an interaction between equals.

6) Confusion. Their style doesn't help here at all, and it's probably no coincidence that the more fundamental the issue, the more incoherent they are. Their discussion of "Vaginal Orgasm" is less elucidating than the sterile debate between the Freudians and Masters and Johnson. Their few coherent statements come down on the Freudian side. After telling us that "...most admonitory writing about sex is hogwash," they state, "Of course a mature female enjoys deep intercourse..." (MJ, p. 138). "Being deeply penetrated by a man you love and trust...is about the best of all feminine experiences..." (MJ, p. 125). Better than orgasm with a man or woman you love and trust?

7) Simplistic, "band-aid" and/or reformist solutions. They give us lots of these for interpersonal problems, but the most outrageous example is a simplified Reichian suggestion that an eroticization of our existence would automatically end war, ex-

(Continued on page 19)

Book Review

Small Changes

by Fluffy Golod
Twin Cities Women's Union

(Writer's Note: This piece was written after a discussion by a Women's Literature Collective. The writing is mine, but much of the criticism is a collective effort.)

Small Changes, by Marge Piercy. Fawcett, \$1.75.

WHEN *SMALL CHANGES* by Marge Piercy first appeared, over a year ago, feminist critic Lucy Rosenthal described it as an unwieldy mixture of fiction and politics, badly formed as a novel, and ineffectual as political statement.irate defenders such as Phyllis Chesler insisted that the book is the first "female-cast" novel and therefore threatening to Rosenthal's male-dominated critical orientation. Martha Shelley defended the digressing, repetitive narrative as "the first women's proletarian novel" and justified the self-conscious dialogue as "the language of women who are conscious of their situation and articulate about it."

Now that the proletarian novel is available in paperback at a slightly inflated people's price, I've finally read it, and am inclined to agree with Rosenthal's original criticisms which carefully distinguish the attempt (noble) from the result (a tedious novel). Certainly, we must admire and pay attention to any work which tries to describe the lives of young women, their youth, their romances, the work they do, their manners, habits, and conversations, and write about them with some of the clarity and direction which the Women's Movement has provided. Already, the last few years and the influence of

new feminist theory have produced a whole rash of novels which feature female characters, but usually in the context of deadly bourgeois boredom. These descriptions quickly become as tedious as the phenomenon.

Piercy's novel offered hope of something more than a depressingly graphic account of kinds and varieties of oppression. It seemed as though we might find variation and liveliness in women's lives. Perhaps a novel about women who work out new patterns of behavior, healthier psychological centers. Not a "Wonder Woman" fable, but a story about conscious, active women which wouldn't minimize the damage and confusion we each sustain in our growth as feminists.

The very title indicates a theory of feminist development which emphasizes the political importance of daily life and fails to find conversion stories authentic. I agree, but I think Piercy over-simplifies, failing her own theory. Life is complicated and people's growth is often uneven. The Left, new and old, certainly has problems dealing with the incredible pace and complexity of change in American life. Radicals tend to reduce problems, to over-simplify them in order to offer a solution.

MAPS OF FEMALE EXPERIENCE

Piercy falls into a peculiar form of this reductionism as she catalogues, one after another, almost every kind of modern female experience every discussed or analyzed. We recognize many of our own experiences in her female characters, but the recognition is more embarrassing than enlightening. The book is a kind of popular sociology rather than fiction of any depth.



The characters are mostly one-dimensional, prototypical. There's Beth, the "genetic feminist" who seems always to have known that being female involved a special struggle. In the first pages of the book, Beth gazes at herself in the mirror on her wedding day. Already, she looks unconvinced, apathetic, and a bit cynical. But she is shy and unskilled so that her sudden flight from her oppressive marriage to a cell-like boarding room in Boston where she paints Zen-graffiti on the walls and cooks rather ascetic-sounding vegetarian meals on her hot plate seems a big abrupt.

Soon Beth joins a consciousness-raising group which she criticizes because the members are mostly young, college women whose problems aren't particularly parallel to those of working-class, isolated women. There's nothing wrong with her analysis but it is an analysis, external and rather cold. We are never allowed to experience with her the dialogue and situations which led to this conclusion, and the conclusion itself implies some political sophistication and ability to articulate which Beth hasn't demonstrated so far.

Miriam, the other main character in the book, represents the opposite pole of female experience, a woman whose ego is deeply invested in the cult of true

womanhood. Miriam is smart, ambitious, and politically conscious—the daughter of a radical musician, she's been this way since childhood. But her beauty and sexual energy are the post-adolescent rewards of a homely and insecure child. She devotes her young adult life to loving difficult and demanding men and to precarious balancing acts between them and her work.

Piercy's book seems predicated on the something-for-everyone theory of character development. This smorgasbord of lives, an insistence on representing practically every type of female oppression, from rape to job discrimination to intellectual bad-mouthing by hip, political men, means that we are offered maps of experience rather than the focused and complex development of experiences and the social environments which help create them.

The characters talk their way too glibly through their heartaches and victories. Beth, especially in her later political phase, is described rather like a specimen of the modern feminist. She behaves in a mechanically logical way, progressing towards an increasingly devoted woman-identified sensibility. Piercy short-circuits the difficult reflection, the erratic personal rhythms which characterize personal and political development.

The book tries to humanize politics by fleshing out the details of certain common social patterns. Experience is documented, often with humor and insight, but the book remains a barely fictionalized popularization of feminist ideology. Because Piercy doesn't rework the raw data of experience into something more textured, more, insightful and thorough, there is a quality of soap opera (where every conceivable complication in life arises but is always worked out in the end)—"The Days of Our Lives" for young, political women.

PIERCY'S BOOK might be seen as the first step towards a credible and deeper feminist novel. She does lots of things right. Work is a major factor in each woman's life. In fact, the attention paid to work-identity is often much more passionate than that given to sex. The men are selfish and arrogant but they are not written off as genetically flawed humans. One of the men, Phil, emerges as an interesting, complicated character, finally able to adjust and re-think his life habits so he can give and take love without controlling the relationship.

People who like the book can reel off myriads of instances where women, children, sex, work, and politics are presented with a quality never found in fiction before. They see themselves and their personal histories aptly, insightfully reflected. My objection is only that such sociological accuracy results in a kind of documentary which is easy to read and gratifying in a superficial way, but finally very hollow. Perhaps *Small Changes* will break ground for a more intense, subtle, and imaginative portrayal of women's lives.

All ye chumps hail Ali

by Jain Simmons

SPORTS FANS CROWDED closed-circuit TV centers on October 29 to view the Ali-Foreman bout in Zaire, Africa. Those \$15 ticket holders were not disappointed—after 8 dancing rounds, the underdog, Ali, lambasted Foreman and regained the World Boxing Title.

Ali and Foreman both walked off with \$15 million, but indeed Ali took more than the title and the money. Two unsuccessful attempts by the former Champ taunted the Sports World into placing "sure bets" on Foreman, the Associations' "boy." Howard Kossel spoke of the fight as Ali's last and offered confidence to conservative America's hope for the defeat of uppity Muhammad. Ali's poetic ramblings were listened to by few experts, and even die-hard Ali fans had second thoughts. And then, there were those more courageous souls who revealed, "I want him to win, but I know he won't." Seemingly, almost everyone had given up on the 32-year-old athlete. But he showed them all and reinstated the fury of his ego to the boxing arena.

This sideline sports fan salutes Ali's victory as a "slap in the face" of the draft board that took Ali's title because of his refusal to serve in Uncle Sam's army. Muhammad has finally secured what was rightfully his years ago. Of course, it still remains absurd that the military sphere of society could so strongly influence a decision of the boxing world, especially since Ali's draft fight centered around his C.O. stance as a member of the Muslim religion.

Appropriately, the Muslim Church celebrated the victory of Brother Muhammad with an award presented by the grandson of founder, Elijah Muhammad. It was a jubilant event for these loyal supporters.

Pleasure over Ali's success aside, it's discouraging to realize the amount of money invested in this flashy competition of the muscle and the foot-step. Already Ali, public relations men, and hopeful sponsors are talking of the follow-up \$10 million fight. Where will it end?

Super-sports-heroes are skyrocketing to wealth and dragging with them the tight funds of the naive fan who will pay nearly any amount to sing the

praises of "Did you see it? Man, that fourth round was rough..." The carousel of capitalism is forever spinning and receiving momentum from the followers of the heavyweights. One might expect today's recession to deter such wild spending. Alas, the boxing ring continues to provide an aggressive outlet from the ugly reality of inflation.

On another note, the Ali syndrome needs to be criticized for its reinforcement and encouragement of the typical male role of almighty power and strength. One might choose to admire his overly-confident nature in terms of uplifting the identity of the black male. However, the sex-role reconstruction era of the '60s and '70s must touch all cultures if societal change is to be considered a reachable goal.

So although the Ali win does good to the hearts of underdog loyalists and creates a positive attitude toward overcoming struggles, Muhammad's WBA title remains an achievement of the Sports World of capitalists and sexists. All ye chumps hail the Champ!

Opposition mounting to Franco's reign in Spain

by David Moberg
Chicago NAM

A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

THE RIGID ROCOCO architecture of Spanish politics, with 81-year-old Generalissimo Francisco Franco ruling from its pinnacle, is crumbling. The imminent collapse stems not only from age, but also from a crack in its foundations and the persistent battering of democratic forces within the country.

Within the past few months, Spanish political life has changed dramatically. In July, a broad Spanish Democratic Alliance surfaced, linking such diverse forces as expansive capitalists and the illegal Communist Party. Later this winter, if an expected general strike takes place, the 35-year-old Franco dictatorship may give way to a transitional government promising political freedoms and a general election for the first time since the fascist forces won power in one of the most turbulent, epochal social dramas of the thirties, the Spanish civil war.

Although the recent downfall of the dictatorship in Portugal sent shock waves through Spain, the transformation of politics there will undoubtedly take a different course. But the outcome may be similar. Two influential representatives of the Spanish Democratic Alliance, lawyer Juan Aguirre (34), and Professor Carmen Alvarez (32), visited Chicago recently, offering their vision of the birth of a new Spain.

Having lived under Franco all their lives, Aguirre and Alvarez represent the new opposition in Spain, uniting with an older generation which kept a resistance alive throughout the decades under Franco's Falangist Party. (Sponsors of their public visit to Chicago—including a speech at Chicago's Midland Hotel on November 9—reflect the old and new American interests in Spain's fate: veterans of the American volunteer units who fought against Franco, and the three-year-old New American Movement.)

After talks last spring, the Alliance was formed by a mind-boggling assortment of political parties, personalities, and social groups—bankers and industrialists, landowners, Roman Catholic groups (including members of the long-powerful Catholic lay organization Opus Dei), members of two monarchist parties, representatives of various socialist parties, members of the underground movement, organized women, and leaders from the Spanish Communist Party, which has taken a political stance increasingly independent of the Soviet Union.

The program that unites this otherwise contradictory melange of political tendencies is a call for democracy and freedom in a country which has seen little of either in over three decades. Above all, they want a provisional government, which would declare amnesty for political prisoners, legalization of all political parties, recognition of rights to independent trade union activity and the right to strike, assemble and peaceably demonstrate, freedom of the press, separation of Church and state, and the recognition of the special ethnic character of the regions of Euzkadi (the Basques), Galicia (northwestern Spain) and Catalonia. Within 12 to 18 months, the government would hold elections and begin efforts to join the Common Market, which has excluded Spain as undemocratic. The military would be neutral.

Aguirre and Alvarez are confident that such changes are coming one way or another since Franco's support has withered. "The impression we have," Aguirre said, "is that the Franco government's only aim is to survive. It has no long-term or middle-term program."

When Admiral Carrero Blanco was killed by a bomb last December, Franco lost the leader who was picked to assure a smooth transition after Franco dies or departs. In response to the ensuing crisis, several liberal, reformist ministers were named to the cabinet, but recently one of them, the minister of information, was dismissed and the finance minister quit in sympathy.

With the more progressive elements gone, the base of the Franco government has shrunk, according to Aguirre, to "the fascist apparatus of the Falange (Franco's party holding government bureaucratic posts), and part of the big capitalists. The government is still there because the army hasn't announced itself against what is going on, and the army has always been a support of Franco's regime."

The Alliance sees some army officers favoring democracy, others a right-wing coup. They think a move from the right has been discouraged by changes in public opinion after the fall of Franco's counterpart, Caetano, in Portugal. "Society is changing and the army is not insensitive to these changes," Aguirre said. "The army is very unpopular. Seeing that the Portuguese army has been the protagonist of changes and seeing their admiration and respect in their country has obliged the army to think. We don't think the army is going to initiate democratic changes in Spain. At this moment the army would support Juan Carlos (the Bourbon prince Franco favors as successor, but in the future, if the alliance becomes stronger, we think the army's position will change. The Democratic Alliance program expresses the interests of the whole of the Spanish people, and with time the army will realize these changes must take place; and if they do not support the program of the Alliance, they will at least realize they must stay neutral. We say in Spain there can be changes without the army."

(Continued on page 18)



Generalissimo Franco

CP out of govt.—for now

Italy on the brink?

by Marco Ponti*

After a month-long crisis, Italy has a new center-left government under the leadership of Aldo Moro. The government does not include the Communist Party, although the Communists had negotiated for some time with Moro's party, the Christian Democrats, for a role in the government.

The formation of the Moro government does not close the door on these negotiations, which continue now on an unofficial basis. And the selection of Moro (a figure more acceptable to the Communists than, say, Amintore Fanfani) indicates that the communists' long struggle to enter the government has merely begun a new phase.

Although the Italian Communist Party is the second largest party in the country, it has never been part of the ruling coalition of the country. The political affair that it has pursued with the Christian Democrats is the logical extension of policies that the Communists adopted after World War II and the severe crisis that has gripped the Italian economy and generated by several factors: the low productivity of agriculture, trade, and the public sector; the weakness of an industrial sector with a low level of technological content and low rate of reinvestment (its growth having been based primarily on the availability of cheap labor) which was nevertheless the cornerstone of the Italian economy; the oil crisis which had the effect of deepening and accelerating a crisis of profits that had been primarily caused by the first two factors.

The crisis and the political courtship can be fully understood only within the context of capitalism and politics in Italy—a very special case.

In Italy the private monopolistic sector of the economy (auto, rubber, textile-chemical) shares economic power with the "publicly-owned" sector (steel, petro-chemical, credit, and finance). Of course, the behavior of the "public" sector is far out of public control—they are autonomous centers of power whose goals are a mix of economics and politics (social control).

The "competitive" sector of Italian industry is very weak organizationally and in terms of productivity, but employs most Italian workers.

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Public employment amounts to an enormous bureaucratic machine designed by the Christian Democrats to control large sectors of the electorate.

POLITICAL PARTIES

Italian political parties roughly reflect the Italian socio-economic structure. The largest party is the Christian Democrats (35-40% of the electorate). They represent the interests of the semi-public and private capitalist sectors. Their social base is the agricultural world, the lower middle class (commerce and public employees), and some sectors of the less organized working class.

The fascist party (MSI) has a solid base in the armed forces, the reactionary sectors of industry and landowners, and the unemployed and underemployed masses of southern Italy. Its electoral support ranges from 6-9%.

The Socialist Party (PSI—10-15% of the electorate) has been co-opted since 1960 in center-left governments led by the Christian Democrats. Its base comes mostly from liberal intellectuals and parts of the working class.

The Communist Party (PCI—25-30% of the electorate) is the party of the Italian working class. However, it has made inroads among voters from the lower middle class since its turn toward a classic social-democratic strategy of evolutionary socialism. This turn toward social democracy has been a long and difficult one for the PCI. Its roots are in the foreign policy of the

Soviet Union after World War II, which has seen the institutional role of other communist parties as more important than their revolutionary role. This line was consistent with the direct interests of the Soviet Union and is justified by an insistence that its interests are those of the working class around the world.

The Italian unions are very powerful and very well organized. They are dominated by the Communist and Socialist Parties. In the last five years, however, the workers' movement has become somewhat more autonomous through new organizations at the workplace (plant councils, area meetings, etc.). The role of the groups to the left of the Communist Party was very important in developing these trends. The most important of these groups are Il Manifesto, Lotta Continua, Avanguardia Operaia. After a period of total division and rigid dogmatism these groups now operate on a more collaborative basis.

CAPITALIST SOLUTIONS TO CRISIS

The power of the workers' movement, and the spectrum of political forces in Italy has left the Italian capitalist class with only two potential "solutions" to the economic crisis. The first of these social projects is a coup d'etat from the right. There have already been two serious attempts at a coup—one in 1970 and one last summer. Both were military attempts and

(Continued on page 18)



Workers in Turin demonstrate against layoffs.

Demystifying the economy

our long march

by Barbara and John Ehrenreich
Metropolis NAM

THERE'S A STORY told about the early days of the Cuban revolutionary government. Fidel got together a group of revolutionary leaders to set up the new government. At one point he asked, "Is anyone here a good economist?" Che Guevara raised his hand. "Okay," said Fidel, "you'll be Minister of Industry, then, Che." After the meeting Fidel approached Che and said, "Che, I didn't know you were an economist." "Economist!" Che replied with surprise; "I thought you asked if anyone was a good Communist!"

The story is probably not true, but there's a lesson in it anyway. For many of us the economy is so confusing that when we have to deal with it we forget we are socialists and instead feel helpless because we are not economists.

Economics is a total mystery for most of us. We hear phrases like "liquidity crisis," "recycling petrodollars," "special drawing rights," and "cost-push inflation" and we panic. We cloak the economy in such mystery that sometimes it seems to us almost like some capricious and powerful organism—"The Economy." Cutting down the rate of industrial growth to halt pollution is impossible, we are told; think about what it would do to *The Economy*. Lick your plate clean, President Ford tells us, for the sake of *The Economy*.

What's going on here? Do we all really have to

—Auto companies spend half a billion dollars a year on advertising their products;

Economy without a graduate education? What we think we have to do, to start with, is to stop talking about *The Economy* and start asking what is really going on. What are prices paying for? What are wages paying for? What are we actually doing and making in this society? And these central issues are easily understood by anyone.

There is an honorable tradition for taking this approach. It was Karl Marx who pointed out that underneath all the mystification of the economy—the numbers and the cash flows and the profit and loss statements—lies the reality of human labor, of production and distribution of real goods and services. And underneath the numbers and the jargon, too, lies the reality of inequality, of exploitation, of waste.

THE COSTS OF CAPITALISM

Take the case of inflation. We all know that the price of something is "simply" its cost (including labor costs, raw material costs, and costs of distribution) plus a profit for the manufacturer, the retailer, and all the middlemen. When the companies say

they have to raise prices because their own costs are up, we tend to believe them, and we search relentlessly for excess profits as the "real" source of inflation. But the real "profits" are often not in the company's annual report labeled "profits," but in the "costs" the company incurs. Let's look at one case in more detail.

Automobiles are expensive, and prices have gone up sharply in the last few years. Rising raw material costs, labor costs, and costs of pollution control and safety equipment bear part of the blame. But remember some of the other "costs" of a new car:

— Auto companies spend half a billion dollars a year on advertising their products;

— Top auto executives earn close to half a million a year each in salaries and bonuses;

— The direct costs of annual model changes added up to some \$1 billion a year even fifteen years ago;

— Cars are obviously bigger, heavier (and thus use more gas), more powerful, and use much more chrome, plastic, steel, glass, copper, and other materials than they have to;

— And cars are made to break down ("planned obsolescence") so that we have to spend our hard-earned money on all that chrome, executive salaries, advertising, etc. perhaps twice as often as would be necessary if cars were built to last.

We have, of course, not even examined the possibility that cars are not the most efficient, cheap, safe, or even comfortable means of transportation under any circumstances. But the point is, in car production, the notion of "costs" is a fraud. Or more accurately, the cost of producing something in a capitalist society is a capitalist cost. The price we pay for commodities simply bears no relation to the socially necessary cost of producing that commodity or of filling that need. Instead it reflects the entire fabric of capitalist exploitation, power, waste, etc.

More generally, we could say that the entire U.S. economy is based firmly on waste and junk:

- \$88 billion for "defense;"
- \$31 billion for tobacco and alcoholic beverages;
- \$15 billion for expenses and profits of insurance companies;
- \$23 billion for advertising;
- \$4 billion for farmers not to grow crops;
- \$4 billion for cosmetics, hairsprays, etc.;
- \$3 billion for jewelry.

Now if all of these socially unnecessary expenditures were eliminated, the average family of four would have some \$3,000 a year added to its purchasing power! That would take a lot of sting out of "inflation." This is, if anything, a low estimate. For instance, it has been estimated that about 30% of

the energy used by the industry is wasted. Companies spend millions of dollars for "research" on such vital problems as how to produce yet one more variety of hairspray or cold breakfast cereal. The design and production of packaging, primarily for sales purposes, and the waste of retail store space due to the proliferation of more or less identical products, adds up to an appreciable part of the cost of food and many other products. And so on. (And, lest anyone charge us with neglecting the well-being of the millions of workers employed in producing all this waste, let us only recall that in 1972 there were over \$100 billion in business profits and over \$65 billion in family incomes greater than \$25,000 a year. These funds could easily be used to set the displaced workers to work producing something useful.)

The second general point is, that in an economy based on profits, things which meet human needs are only by-products. The way things that are really vital to human beings tend to get lost in capitalism comes out particularly clearly in the case of the big conglomerates:

— Much of our pharmaceuticals are made by conglomerates which also make such things as pet foods, napalm, and hair straighteners. To the conglomerate, drugs are just another "profit center."

— Or take meat: the big meatpacking companies are part of conglomerates or holding companies such as Greyhound Corporation or LTV. In these companies, food itself is just another "profit center."

All this waste and irrationality of capitalism would be merely absurd and amusing if all that was involved was only "cash flows." But people are involved too. To take one example, part of the U.S. economy is a multi-million-dollar diet industry. At the same time, 14 million Americans are malnourished—not fat, but hungry. It gets worse when you look at U.S. capitalism from a world perspective. Thousands of children in Africa are dying with their bellies puffed out from Kwashiorkor (protein malnutrition) while at the same time, two-thirds of the canned fish produced in the U.S. is eaten every year—by pet cats! Whole families in India commit suicide rather than watch each other starve to death. Meanwhile, India's entire current shortage of fertilizer could be met by the amount of fertilizer used in the U.S. in one year for golf courses, lawns, and cemeteries!

THE LESSONS ARE CLEAR. The only kind of economy which can meet human needs is one which is set up to do that and nothing else. Capitalism—in crisis or not, with inflation or without, with unemployment or without, can't and doesn't do the job. There are no administrative solutions within the framework of capitalism to the crisis which capitalism has created for the human race. We have to stop playing the capitalist game of looking for how to "solve" inflation or unemployment. We have to keep asking not just how much are we paying, but what we are paying for; not just how many people are employed, but what are they employed doing? The economists can help us understand the details of how and why capitalism is in crisis. But all of us can understand and explain the depths of that crisis.

More less for Christmas

by Michael Burke

AS WE ENTER the 1974 Christmas season, it's hard to ignore the fact that something else is going up besides the decorations at Macy's, and faster—prices. No one will be surprised when inflation turns out to be the largest item under everyone's tree. Nor will we be surprised when, unlike Macy's decorations, the prices fail to come down in 1975.

Unfortunately, there will be a surprise under the national Christmas tree this year. And though official Washington seems determined to preserve this little holiday secret, the news is leaking out.

What can it be? Economists, like children, have been busy poking and measuring the current dimensions of this surprise package, and they tell us that while it's of modest proportions now, it will get bigger—a dynamic surprise! The politicians, in a style that fits both Christmas and politics—as-usual, are saying that there's nothing under the tree but inflation.

But there really is something else under the tree (Ron Nessen can't keep a secret). It's an old-fashioned capitalist habit called recession, which really means six million Americans will be eating a Christmas dinner pur-

chased with food stamps.

To economists, finding both inflation and recession under the same tree is a little bit like discovering there is no Santa Claus. In capitalistic economies, or so the experts tell us, the twin evils of inflation and recession never appear simultaneously. So much for the experts. But they also tell us that prices respond to supply and demand, that is, prices go up and down. Even the casual observer knows that prices go up and some prices go up faster than others. (Obviously, the executives of Standard Oil paid little attention to the idea that prices go down—Christmas will be lavish for some this year with or without Santa Claus.)

One wonders what Gerald Ford's advice will be on how to cure recession. But the mind boggles when you recall that in the face of the worst sustained inflation in our history, or, to bend a phrase from the 1930's, The Great Inflation, Gerald Ford has asked us to "clean our plates!" Apparently, the so-called new economic does not penetrate football helmets.

The real question, of course, is whether our capitalistic Christmas, 1974 is the best we can expect or has the time finally come to consider real alternatives to fine tuning and homiletic nonsense.



"All I know, Harrison, is that I've been on the board forty years and have yet to see an excess profit."

Strike and Settlement in Coal: A NAM Special Report

As New American Movement goes to press, members of the United Mine Workers of America are voting on a settlement of their strike against the coal industry recommended by their president, Arnold Miller. It is likely that the results of this vote will be known by the time you see this paper.

The settlement comes after the UMWA bargaining council had sent Miller back to the negotiating table to improve portions of an earlier settlement. The wage package and vacation time were renegotiated in those sessions. Other critical issues, such as mine safety and local right to strike, were not renegotiated, and considerable criticism of the pact by the rank and file has been raised over these issues.

The bargaining sessions that led to the tentative pact included top government mediator William Usery who, it is reported, threatened the imposition of a Taft-Hartley injunction in the event that the pact is not accepted by the big union. Usery's sabre rattling apparently had some effect on the bargaining council which reversed initial votes of 22-11 approving the contract.

President Miller and other top union leadership went to the coal fields to sell the pact before the vote, and though he has promised to heed the miners' mandate, it is not likely that Miller could lead an effective strike in the event of a rejection by the rank and file. The union's suspension of a representative delegate convention in Pittsburgh previously scheduled to precede the vote, has effectively limited the ability of the opposition to organize against the pact.

This article discusses the terms of the original agreement only. But it provides crucial insights into the process that led to the present situation.

by Anne Lawrence
Philadelphia Coalition to Support
the Mineworkers' Strike

On Thursday, November 14, two days into the nationwide coal strike which has left two-thirds of all mines idled and 110,000 miners out of work, Arnold Miller, president of the United Mine Workers of America, announced the negotiation of a tentative settlement. "This is a good contract," he told the press. "It is one we can sell to the membership."

But Miller never got a chance to sell that pact to the membership. It was rejected by the union's bargaining council and he was sent back to the negotiating table amid a chorus of rank-and-file criticism of the contract.

The settlement which has provoked this controversy, is something of a paradox. As Miller has pointed out, the proposed contract is the most costly package won by labor yet this year and contains many provisions which mark real break-throughs for the miners. As such, it reflects the strength of the recent reform movement in the union, this summer's spirited organizing victory in Harlan County, and the ever-present threat of a rank-and-file rejection which backed up the negotiations.

At the same time, however, on several key issues, the contract falls far short of the demands originally proposed by the UMWA, demands which might have been won through an effective use of the strike weapon.

Opposition to the pact on the bargaining council was based on an understanding that the rank and file would vote to press the strike on and get more concessions. The oppositionists in the council were, in other respects, strange political bedfellows. Thrown into the same camp by their disagreements with Miller were old Boyle hold-overs anxious to discredit Miller and his reform leadership, sheer opportunists eager to advance their own careers in the union hierarchy, and finally, reform-



ers closely tied to the rank-and-file movement and responding to pressures from below.

The contract issues with which this patched-together majority found the most fault were, according to press reports, chiefly economic ones.

Assuming that inflation continues to clip along at 12% per year, the council figured, the entire gain in real wages over the course of the contract would amount to little more than 3-4%. At worst, with even higher inflation rates, the gains of the contract would be wiped out altogether. The council thus instructed Miller to bargain for more in the wage section of the contract.

In addition, the bargaining council was unhappy with the vacation provisions. In the '71 contract, miners had one two-week vacation in July. It was customary, however, for miners to wildcat during the week between Christmas and New Year's, thus in reality enjoying three weeks vacation time.

The proposed contract only specified two one-week vacations, one in July and the other during Christmas week. The bargaining council, expecting that miners would see this as a cut in their total vacation time, called for a return to the old policy.

RANK-AND-FILE RESPONSE

From the welter of conflicting reports from the coal fields, however, it seems that the contract issues with which the miners are finding fault are often not the ones which the bargaining council singled out for criticism.

Most galling to many miners is Miller's failure to win the right to strike over local grievances. Since the mid-'60s, the incidence of wildcat strikes in the coal fields has soared, far surpass-

ing the rate for any other industry. These work stoppages usually involve issues specific to the local mine—often unresolved grievances in which the men want immediate action.

The operators use these wildcats as an excuse to harass local militants, by pinning them down with court actions, fines, and even imprisonment in the wage of job actions. "They're harassing us boys right out of business," was how one militant put it. "How can we keep ourselves organized if half of us are in jail and the other half's got more fines than they can pay?"

A right-to-strike clause in the contract would give local militants some legal protection against the legal harassment that results from their walk-outs.

The miners are also angered that the union did not win the right of an entire shift to walk out in the case of a safety hazard. The union has explained this by pointing to what they did win—the right of an individual to walk away from imminent danger. "But that doesn't mean anything," was how one miner responded. "Anyone knows that we work as a team down here—not as individuals."

Another point of contention concerns pay differentials. In the 1971 contract, Boyle negotiated an increase in the gap in wages between the highest and lowest paid miners. Opposition to this clause was one of the main motivations behind the wildcat strikes of '71. This time around, some miners plan to vote against the contract because Miller failed to correct this error.

RANK-AND-FILE ORGANIZATION

Unfortunately, there does not exist at the present time a nationwide organized opposition within the rank and file

capable of assuming decisive leadership in the event of a contract crisis.

Following the election of the reform slate of 1972, the Miners For Democracy, the national rank-and-file organization which nominated and elected Miller and his running mates, was dismantled. Many MFDers were brought into secondary levels of the bureaucracy, and the organization was allowed to fall apart.

The Black Lung Association branches, another source of independent rank-and-file activity, were largely assimilated into the union bureaucracy as offices for processing black lung claims.

In the absence of such national organization, the opposition to the present settlement, although it appears to share a broad consensus on the issues, is localized and fragmented.

The one possible exception to this localism is the Miners' Right to Strike Committee. Based in District 29 in southern West Virginia, the committee circulated petitions throughout the coal fields stating the intent not to return to work under any contract that did not contain a "right-to-strike" provision. To date, these petitions have garnered as many as 4,000 signatures throughout the central coal fields.

Just because the opposition is still diffused, however, does not rule out the possibility of the emergence of a national network. The nationwide MFD was built from local fragments. This process can, furthermore, occur extremely rapidly under the right conditions. A national network emerged within a matter of weeks to lead the wildcats which broke out in the wake of Boyle's sellout contract of '71.

One possibility that has been frustrated by the union would have been the convention of delegates from some 800 local unions in Pittsburgh—step two in the ratification process—which would have provided the occasion for such an organization to develop. Many of the delegates represent presently localized oppositionist forces and their assembly in Pittsburgh might have led to the formation of a national opposition.

A number of movement forces in the coal fields are attempting to play a catalytic role in the synthesis of local efforts. The Mountain Community Union in Morgantown, W. Va., for instance, may attempt to arrange district-wide meetings for oppositionists during the ratification process. The Council of Southern Mountains may be able to play a similar role in southwestern Virginia.

CLOUDY FUTURE

Right now, the future of the coal strike and the miners' movement remains in doubt. The strike could mark a defeat for the workers' movement. The contract could provide the occasion for the destruction of the Miller reform leadership and the resumption of power by the union's right-wing faction. It could be the occasion for a combined offensive by the industry and the government which could force the miners to accept the present contract, or worse.

But it need not. In the last analysis, the outcome of this strike rests most heavily on the response of the miners themselves to the contract crisis. A resurgence of rank-and-file organization on a national scale could press the strike forward, force Miller and the operators back to the negotiating table, and wrest from the beleaguered industry all that the miners originally demanded. Such a victory would strengthen the entire working class movement.

Struggle of Brookside Women Grows with Union Victory



Gussie Mills, a member of the Brookside Women's Club

by Lucia Gattone and Sue Ann Salmon

*The Brookside Strike is over
after many months of strife.
It's back to the pits for the miner
and back to the kitchen for the wife.*
—Junior Deaton

ON OUR WAY TO the coal camps, we always stopped for gas at Junior Deaton's store which is right next to the mine and is covered with UMWA stickers. The two of us went back to Harlan to visit the women we'd met over the past year during the struggle for a contract at Brookside. We wanted to find out what the end of the strike has meant to these women. And from talking with them we feel Junior Deaton's poem misses something: for many Brookside women, it seems to be just the beginning.

The women, 50 strong, joined the picket lines on September 28, 1973, two months after the strike began. They were wives, widows, and relatives of striking miners, attempting to get around a court order limiting pickets to three at each door of the mine. That same day they also marched through Harlan to picket company headquarters, and collected money from passersby for the miners' strike fund.

THE BROOKSIDE WOMEN'S CLUB

Soon they organized themselves into the Brookside Women's Club, and in the 11 remaining months of the strike, shifts of women were out all day, every day. They put up a Christmas tree on the picket line in December and hung a scab in effigy in March; they turned over cars or lay down in front of them to block the entrance to the mine; they "whipped" a state policeman, and turned back scabs with broomsticks and switches (these included the mine president: He used to walk home for lunch," said Frieda Armes. "The women scared him. Now he's got a bodyguard to drive him. One of these days I'm going to throw him in the damn river."). When indictments were filed against them, some of the women wore disguises on the lines. One said, "I was out in a black wig one day, head tied in a big scarf the next, and hiding behind the railroad ties the next."

They closed down not only the mine, but the company store as well. They wrote letters, spoke at rallies, and brought public attention to the living conditions in company houses during the public hearings in March. At their suggestion, a car caravan of supporters from Dayton, Lexington, Louisville, and Cincinnati was organized. Some women traveled to Pikeville to support the women hospital

workers on strike there; some challenged the local newspaper's editorial policy and class alliance. And when the union showed "Salt of the Earth," they immediately took the cue from the movie and began to plan how to thwart any moves the company might make on its then recent eviction notices. The company never took any action.

Their houses were shot into, they were physically assaulted on the picket lines, they were indicted, fined, and jailed (taking their children with them). Their overwhelming feeling about the whole experience perhaps was put best by Gussie Mills: "I never had so much fun... I wouldn't have missed a day out there for anything."

Not that the women weren't afraid—fear is not new to them. During the last 15 years, on the average of one miner per working day has died in the nation's mines. These women have waited fearfully and helplessly most of their lives. Maybe Gussie was experiencing the elation that comes from finally being able to take some control over her life.

WOMEN'S HERITAGE

Before the September picketing, few of these women had had any personal experience on the picket lines, though they share in a heritage of women agitators, organizers, as well as song writers from whom came some of our country's finest labor songs. In the early 1900's Mother Jones was in the coal fields telling the mountain women, "No strike was ever won without the support of the women-folk." In the bloody '20s and '30s, there was Aunt Molly Jackson from Clay County, "a revolutionary, a folk singer, and a prolific labor song writer." Her half sister, Sara Ogan Gunning, gave us among others, "I Am a Girl of Constant Sorrow," "Come All You Coal Miners," and "I Hate the Company bosses." In the late '50s, 60-year-old Granny Hager was at the forefront of the UMWA's roving pickets in Perry County, and helped organize the Appalachian Commission for Full Employment.

Florence Reese was an organizer and married to an organizer in Harlan in the '30s. In the midst of the struggle she wrote on the back of an old calendar, "Which Side Are You On?" the song Pete Seeger was to make famous in the '40s. Gussie Mills sang all 8 verses of the Harlan 1974 version of Florence's song for us. One of them goes like this:

When miners strike in Harlan town
They are not by themselves
'Cause students down in Charlotte town
Will give old Carl Horn hell.

Gussie met Florence when the latter came down to Harlan to see some of the women in jail, and "To let the young people know what we used to go

through." Gussie, a miner's widow who's been crippled with a bone disease and on crutches since she was 17, was out on the pickets every day with the rest of the women. She and Florence, now 73, hit it off immediately: "That's how I got acquainted with her, Gussie told us. "When these women was in jail, I said, 'There's got to be something done. This has got to get out of Harlan.' So I went over there to where Florence was at and said, 'You're the woman I want to meet up with.' I laid my arm around her neck and her and me have been friends ever since. You know, if we hadn't have gotten the publicity, we wouldn't have done half as good as we did."

Minnie Lundsford's experience bears Gussie out. At 70, she's the oldest woman in the club and one of most active. She described her experiences during the violent '30s when she was a young mother and wife of a striking miner: "The women didn't get out then... We had no organization, no group... and there wasn't publicity then like there is now... They was real careful not to let no news out of the camp. They kept it right in the county with them... It was like looking out through a dark hole. It was awful rough. I told my children then, if this ever happens anymore, mama would just as soon be dead."

Yet it was Minnie who boasted of her participation last June: "I whipped one [scab] and it was the best thing that ever happened to me." Now Minnie has quit the club, though. We learned that membership has always been fluid—12 to 15 regulars, and 30 to 40 women they could call out on a moment's notice. The club continues, but many of the "regulars" have left. We talked to three of them, Minnie, Sue, and Frieda, about what could have caused them to leave only a week before the contract was won. They told us of differences both among the women, and between some of the women and the union local.

TENSIONS WITH THE UNION

For a long time some of the women had felt distressed by a few of the most vocal and politically more radical women in the club. "They'd go over our head and do things," said Sue. "It was supposed to be brought to a vote on any move we'd made and everybody agreed. But they'd do what they wanted and we'd all have to pay for it." Neither Sue nor the rest of the women seemed certain about whether there was a connection between radical politics and what to them was an overbearing style.

All the women remained in spite of internal tensions in the club until recently. Confusion and disagreement with the union local over use of funds the women had collected finally convinced some of them to quit. "[They] said we was cheating; that it was fraud for us to keep half the money [for the prescription fund] and give half of it to the miners." The women were insulted and hurt.

Gussie sympathizes with the women who left, but still has high hopes for the club. "Just as one bunch drops it another will pick it up... If they come out on strike in November and all those places tries to keep scabbing, they'll have to be shut down. I know Minnie and Sue would be out there tomorrow if there was a strike. They all would."

Gussie could very well be right. Kentucky is number one in the nation in coal production and the women know that "King Coal" runs Kentucky. The injustices of this last year in the courts and on the picket lines are deeply felt.

"The most I've learned is how dirty the courts are... The State Police is crooked, the county laws are crooked, the lawyers are crooked, and the judges can be bought off," said Gussie. "If you ain't a coal operator, you needn't get in that Harlan court. They really lay it to you." The women have seen the man who shot and killed Lawrence Jones go free: "They couldn't get an indictment against him. It's on account of the [coal] operator's men behind him." Sue has seen her husband shot at, the culprit identified, and no action taken. "We don't have any law or justice, either one. It makes you want to fight." So it's likely that soon these women may be back in the club again. For the club is still going strong, and from all indications, still fighting.

Dorothy Johnson, who took her three girls with her when she went to jail, is one of the women who has stayed in the club. "We got black and white in it right now." She sounded as excited about it as she was during the strike: "You know at the other mines they're black men and black women too—black families. None of these is miner's families. They're supporters. But there will be miners' families when we go into the other mines organizing."



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Mineworkers Speak Out

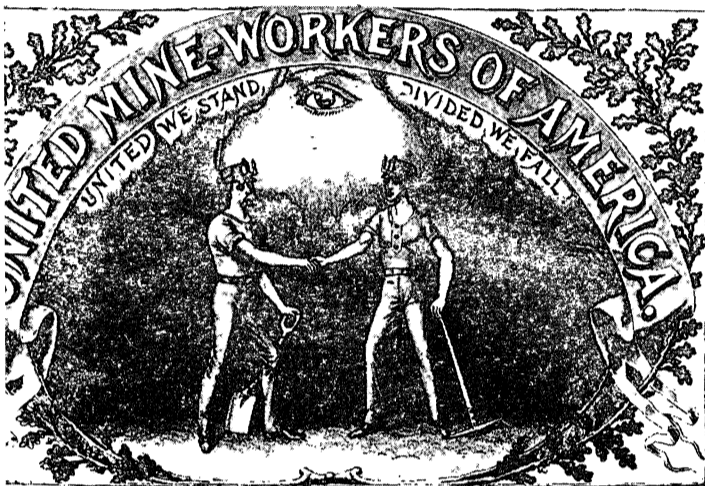
DISTRICT FIVE of the United Mine Workers. Yablonski country. The miners are reputed to be very militant here in the Allegheny-Kiski Valley, outside of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. It's November 15, two days after the provisions of the contract negotiated by Arnold Miller and his team have been in the papers. So far, it's the only version the miners have seen, and they are skeptical.

"The chances of this contract being accepted are zero, at least around here," says a miner at the Miners' Clinic in New Kensington. "The biggest problem is the pensions. You just can't live on \$250 a month any more. We need a good pension, so a lot of these guys can retire. They're just hangin' on now, workin' as long as they can."

Another miner agrees and adds, "How many guys live very long after they're pensioned? Hell, you work 15 years in the mines, you got black lung for sure, even the government says that. They die in a year after they retire; wouldn't have retired if they coulda kept it up."

J. G. is a young miner in the Russellton mine. He's only been working for seven months and had tried hard to get into the mines for months before that. In a way he feels lucky to have gotten in. Still, when asked about the contract, he replies, "It sucks."

"It's not quite what everybody expected," he adds. No one he knows is pleased with what they've heard of the contract. "What's wrong is the retirement, sick time; basically the benefits."



ough the unorganized mines are their first
ity now, that's not the only struggle they see.
August, some of the women helped put
her the Harlan Labor News, a paper "by and
the workers and honest people of Harlan
ity." Included in the first issue is an expose of
ensive new federally funded Health Mainte-
Organization with an office in Harlan, as well
rticles on discrimination at the food stamp
s, police brutality, strip mining, and local gov-
ent complicity in bootlegging. Of special
est to Dorothy was an article on "working
en," which cites "the serious lack of jobs for
en in the county" and the poor pay for what
is available. No women work in the coal mines
rlan County. But Dorothy informed us that she
e of 12 women in the club who have applied for
at Eastover. "They gave us the run-around...
is to the Coal Operators' Association. That guy
eally shocked. He didn't know what to think."
during the strike, organizers had poured into
n from every branch and offshoot of the old and
Left. Dorothy seemed to miss the opportunity
mmunication. "Everybody'd come and tell us
they believed in... We don't have many people
ng in lately since we got the contract. But we
ts of mail...all-kinds of papers and books, too,
about everywhere."

rothy says she's learned a lot since the strike,
he isn't adverse to using what she's learned at
: "Used to be I wouldn't come out and tell [her
nd] not to do this or not to do that. He said I
changed...you know, telling him."
eems very important to all the women we spoke
hat they maintain an identity separate from the
nd separate from the union "so they can't tell
at to do." "Besides," said Gussie, "Men and
n ought to meet separately. They can't agree.
n would give up twice before a woman would
p once."

omen's perseverance is still being tested.
first target of their organizing efforts, a
entation election at High Splint, was lost by a
w margin—probably due to the 70 or '80
s" that were transferred there during the
hen efforts to open Brookside failed. Taking
mple of the miners seriously, three wait-
in Harlan went out on strike for better wages.
lost their jobs and now are facing a court in-
p. And only this week, five of the women in
b were sentenced to jail for up to six months
tempt of court.

on't be simply "back to the kitchen" for any of
omen. For they've extended the issues from
ining and striking to all areas where control
heir lives is at stake. And as Gussie said, "We
give up a-trying. We just keep on and on."

J. G. wants to see the pension at \$350 to \$400 a month, and says of the sick time, "You can have a cold for five days. Five days isn't really that much time." As for safety measures, the papers haven't made clear enough exactly what the contract says. "But from what we've heard of everything else, it's questionable, also. We'll just have to go over it carefully."

I asked J. G. what he thought of the contract trading the right to strike over local issues for the wage and benefit package. "I haven't heard of that, but if it's so, I can guarantee you that the contract will be 'no,' just on that issue. They won't go for it at all."

J. G. is prepared for a long strike. "If we turn this one down, the big people just have to go back to the table, that's all. We get what we want; it's just a matter of time. Miners have faced strikes a lot longer than several months before, so I'm sure they'll do it again."

What would happen if the President ordered the miners back to work in the event of a long strike? "Well, they tried it before, and they didn't go back, so they'll probably try it again, but nobody will go back at all. No contract, no work."

J. G. can face the prospect of a long strike more easily than many miners—his wife works full time at the Miners' Clinic. She commented, "This area is known as a big coal mining area, the whole Allegheny-Kiski Valley. I'm sure that everyone around will be backing them." For her a very important problem is the compensation for injuries in the mine. "If my husband would get hurt in the mine, I think right now this contract they're talking about would only provide for us \$150 which, you know, monthly, isn't a very good sum at all."

What are the chances of this contract being ratified? "Slim," says J. G., "very slim."

The steep hills of the valley are brown now. The strike coincided with the first days of hunting season, and miners joked about staying out at least for the first week. Some, like D. L. and R. B., brothers-in-law who live near Apollo, PA, are using hunting season to store up food for the long strike they anticipate. Earlier, in September, the families did a lot of canning.

D. L. sums up the contract: "It doesn't look like we're going to get too much." On safety, he would like to see a clause in the contract that required a full crew. "Havin' one man short, some of the things get neglected 'cause a man wasn't down there to do it. It sits there, then it's unsafe for the next crew comin' in."

R. B. is not too impressed with the inspection clause, which would have company-paid inspectors four times a year. "Federal mine inspectors come in now, and they overlook quite a bit. Myself, I don't know too much about the mining laws, but I can look around and I can see lots of things that they overlooked."

They see no way that miners will give up the right to strike on local safety issues. "That'll never go over. That's the only leg the miner has to stand on,

is the strike, on safety. And safety is the biggest thing down there. It would just take one or two more guys down there, to take down some of the possibility of fires and explosion. And the companies just don't want to put another guy on the payroll."

Both are aware that the press and coal companies are playing up the agreement as inflationary. R. B. points out, "Last year you could buy a ton of coal for \$13 right outside the mine I work at; this year it's doubled but the wages for the coal miner hasn't increased nothin'."

"Companies are making 160% profit over last year, but the coal miners are still getting the same basic pay they were three, four, even five years ago," adds D. L. "Why should a man have to go down there, do that kind of work—mines are muddy, wet, cold, dark, rat-infested, and, well, not the most suitable working conditions—go through what he does down there? You don't have to work down there, but if it's the only job you can get nowadays, 'cause I think unemployment's up to 7½% and you have a family and you gotta make some money so you have to work; why shouldn't you go for more money? Why shouldn't you want to enjoy life instead of just barely makin' ends meet and not be able to do anything in your spare time? Why shouldn't you have some time to go out and enjoy life?"

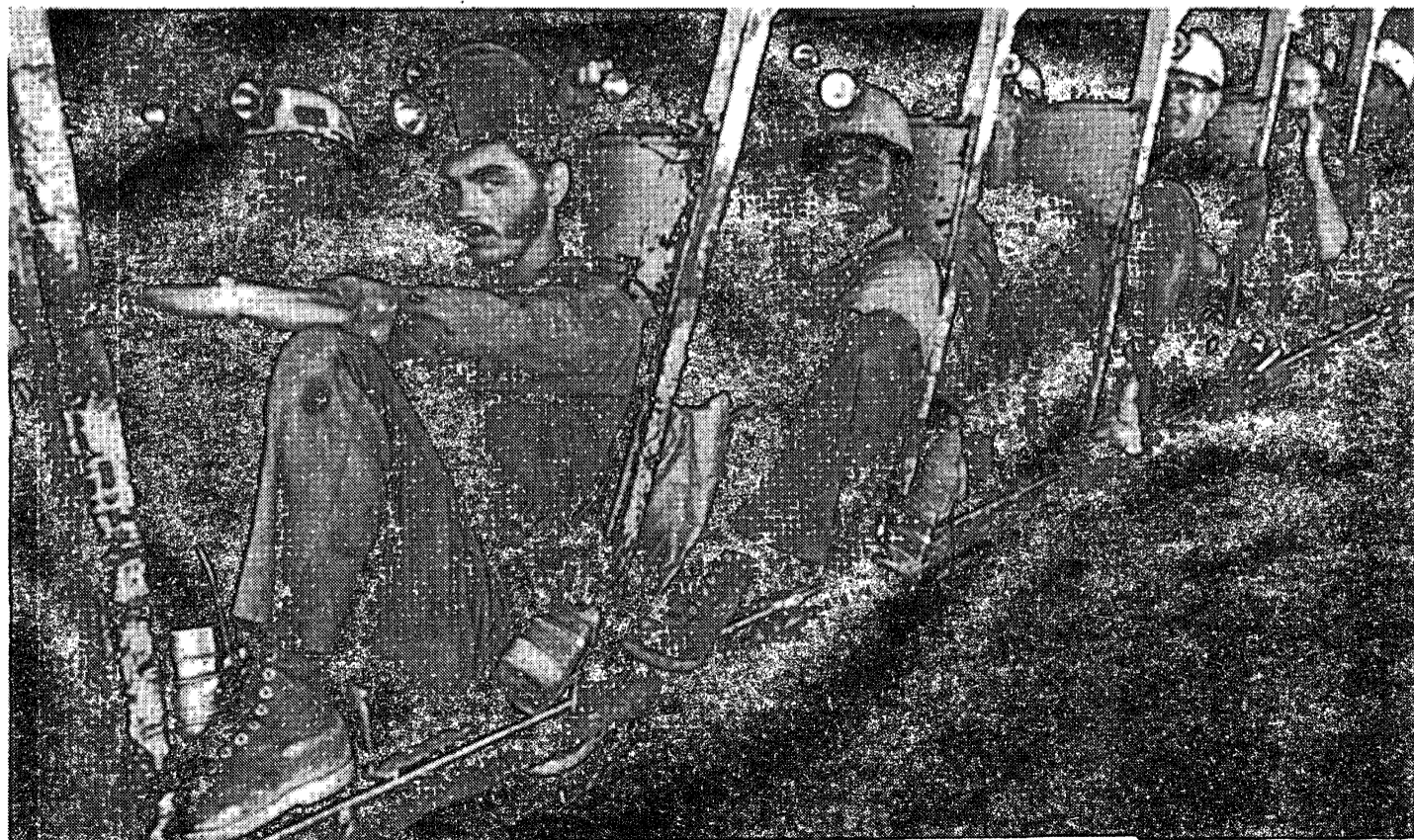
If the President were to order the coalminers back to work, D. L. said, "I'm not saying it will happen, but I'm pretty sure that production would really be cut down, there'd be a lot more breakdowns, and probably a lot more power cuts, and baloney cable ran over, and a lot more flat tires, probably a lot more buggies going down, probably the feeder hittin' the belt, and things like that, that would really shut the whole section down. And a good section, if you don't run into any trouble, gets out about 70 cars—that'd be about 140 tons; but if you run into all these problems, the coal company's going to be paying the coal miner but the coal company isn't going to be getting any coal, and they're not going to be any further ahead."

A. L., married to D. L., says the most important things she would like to see are "More money and more safety. 'Cause he comes home all the time, big gashes on his back, and everything, and it was only about four weeks ago they went on strike for more safety—a kid got electrocuted down there: a roof bolter."

"You know," says D. L., "I never thought I'd end up in the mines. My dad was killed in the mines, and an uncle, too. Never thought I'd be there."

"They say we don't have to work there," continues R. B., "but there's 120,000 coal miners now and they say by 1980 they'll need 300,000. So someone's got to do it."

"No, I never thought it." D. L. looks wistfully at R. B. "I was going to Community College, remember? Was going to be a conservationist. A conservationist!" He smiles. "Don't talk to me now about being no conservationist. No, I never thought I'd end up in the mines."



Our Socialist Heritage

1919: UMWA for Nationalization

The article below focuses entirely on the fate of a demand in the United Mine Workers for nationalization of the coal industry, 1919-1927. A brief note on what was happening to UMW in those years helps place the issue in its historical context.

Socialists constituted a powerful force in the UMW before 1919. At the 1912 AFL convention, for instance, six of the seven UMW delegates voted for Max Hayes, the Socialist challenger to incumbent AFL president Samuel Gompers. "The Collective ownership and democratic management...of all large-scale industries" had been a staple demand of the Socialist Party.

The year 1919, when the UMW officially endorsed the nationalization program, was marked by a high tide of labor militancy and radicalism, exemplified in such phenomena as the great steel strike, the Seattle general strike, and a significant movement for a labor party.

In that same year the UMW struck the entire coal industry. The Federal government countered with a sweeping injunction. The strike received a mortal blow when John L. Lewis, acting president of the UMW [he was to assume the official mantle in 1920],

announced: "We are Americans. We cannot fight our government." From then on the position and strength of the UMW were steadily eroded despite many displays of great militancy, courage, and stubborn resistance by the miners.

After a series of isolated strikes, marked by armed clashes and bloodshed in West Virginia and Illinois, the UMW retained contracts only in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois by 1922. Such vast soft-coal regions as Western Pennsylvania and West Virginia were left without a union contract. By 1930, UMW membership had declined to 150,000 from its 1919 peak of close to 500,000. Paralleling the union's decline was the ascendancy of Lewis' total control and his promulgation of ever more conservative policies.

During the 1920s, John Brophy, a leader of the nationalization campaign, also emerged as the standard-bearer of a progressive coalition, including the Communists in the UMW, to challenge Lewis and his program. Heading a "Save the Union" ticket, Brophy opposed Lewis for the UMW presidency in 1926, and later charged he was beaten by gross frauds in the official count that gave him 60,661 votes to 173,323 for Lewis.

In 1928 the Communists broke with the Brophy progressive group to form the Independent National Miners Union. Simultaneously Lewis conducted a sweeping purge of his opponents, including Brophy, from the UMW.

In 1935, after Lewis launched the Committee for Industrial Organization, he brought Brophy in as his adjutant with the title, Director of CIO. It was a dramatic stroke, signifying Lewis' readiness for reconciliation with former enemies, including Communists and assorted progressives, in a common endeavor to organize workers in the basic industries. Lewis' "open-door" policy applied only to the CIO; he never extended it to the UMW, where he continued his exclusionist and autocratic regime.

Initially Brophy worked closely with the Left in his CIO post. His demotion by Lewis in 1939 was part of a general move to trim Left strength. Later on, especially post-World War II, when divisions within the CIO sharpened, Brophy was among the more rabid "anti-Communists" and became another conduit for a growing Catholic Church intervention in CIO affairs.

by David Walls
Lexington NAM

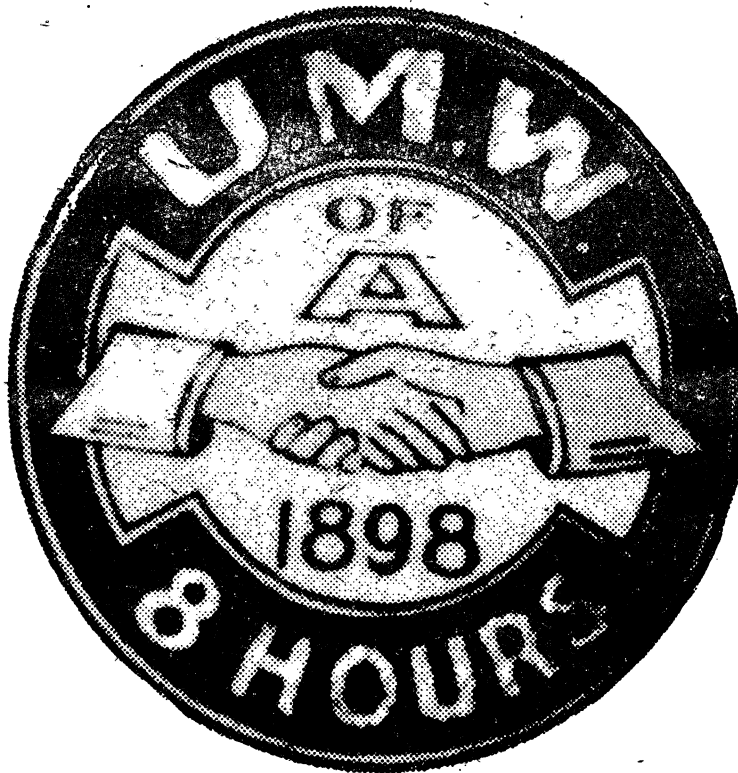
THE CLEVELAND CONVENTION of the UMWA in 1919 endorsed a program calling for the nationalization of the coal industry. UMWA President Frank Hayes and the statistician Robert Harlin had traveled to Europe in the wake of World War I to urge countries short of coal to purchase some of the U.S. surplus. While in England they met with officials of the British miners' union, which was campaigning for nationalization of the coal mines. Impressed with the arguments for public ownership, Hayes and Harlin worked to give nationalization equal attention with the wage and hour demands at the 1919 convention. The fate of the UMWA nationalization program is traced by social democratic reform leader John Brophy in chapters 12 and 13 of his autobiography, *A Miner's Wife*.

John L. Lewis presided over the 1919 convention, as Hayes was ill. Lewis was known to be unsympathetic to the nationalization demand being pushed by the socialists, but he did not oppose it as he was building support for his eventual succession to the UMWA presidency, which followed Hayes' resignation in 1920. A plan for the nationalization of the railroads was being supported by the rail unions at the time, and a proposed alliance between the rail and coal workers was enthusiastically received at the UMWA convention.

Post-war wage disputes and Lewis' lack of interest in the nationalization program led to no action taken on the resolution following the convention. Brophy, feeling that the nationalization mandate has been silently sabotaged by the UMWA headquarters for nearly two years, brought the issue before a special convention of UMWA District 2, of which he was president, in western Pennsylvania in February, 1921. A statement titled "The Miners' Program" was endorsed by the district convention, a stronghold of the socialists within the union. The program, which called for government and worker control of the coal industry, presented the 1919 convention resolution on nationalization as founded on the preamble to the constitution of the UMWA, which proclaimed that miners are entitled to "the full social value of their product."

A section of the District 2 statement read:

Our challenge to the present basis of the coal industry is this: The private ownership of the great natural resource of coal is morally indefensible and economically unsound. It means that coal is mined for the profit of a comparatively few "owners," instead of for the use and service of the public. It results in chronic mismanagement of the mines. It results in exploitation of the miner, through overwork, underpay, inadequate safeguards, bad housing, accidents, and, then, long and unnecessary periods of enforced idleness. It results in unemployment when millions of consumers need coal. It results in high prices for coal when democratic methods of production would reduce the cost, increase the production, and give a good American life to the miners.



Later in the year, at the 1921 AFL convention in Denver, John L. Lewis decided to challenge Samuel Gompers for the presidency of the AFL. Hoping to win the support of the socialist-led unions, Lewis announced a platform endorsing nationalization of the mines. A number of progressives within the UMWA persisted in their distrust of Lewis and failed to support him. Their defection contributed to Lewis' defeat by Gompers. The October 1921 convention of the UMWA followed so closely the Denver AFL convention that Lewis had to reaffirm his support for the nationalization program.

Brophy and the other District 2 officials had come to the convention with a statement, "The Government of Coal," that elaborated the material in "The Miners' Program." The pamphlet summarized its program as "Coal for the people, the mines for the public, production for use." It went on to make the argument that coal should be treated as a public utility:

Coal is a necessity. It is a public utility... Business enterprise, pivoted on profits, mismanages a public utility... Firmly embedded in our American institutions is this idea that a public necessity must come under public authority... A public utility exists for the use of the public and not for the creation of an American leisure class."

The resolutions committee of the 1921 UMWA convention reaffirmed the nationalization stand, and Lewis appointed a Nationalization Research Committee headed by Brophy. In 1922 the committee issued its report, titled "How to Run Coal: Suggestions for a Plan of Public Ownership, Public Control and Democratic Management in the Coal Industry."

The heart of the report was a mechanism through which three interests—the public, the miners, and the technical and managerial specialists—could share in the control and administration of the coal industry. The plan proposed the creation of a Federal Commission of Mines, to be headed by a Secretary of Mines as a member of the President's Cabinet. The Federal Commission of Mines would collect statistics of energy needs, output, and stocks; determine overall budgets; fix prices; and conduct research. The day-to-day administration of the mines would be in the hands of a National Mining Council, composed of three kinds of members: miners, coal consumers, and administrative staff—the financial, technical, and managerial employees. Sub-units of the National Mining Council would include regional councils for the various coalfields, and mine committees at the local level. Collective bargaining would be conducted through a Joint Wage Scale Committee, composed of representatives of the UMWA and the National Mining Council. The proposal concluded with an estimate that \$4½ billion would be a sufficient estimate of the cost to the federal government of purchasing the private coal industry at a fair price.

Brophy's hopes to push the "How to Run Coal" plan worked out by the Nationalization Research Committee were undercut by John L. Lewis. The editor of the *UMW Journal* denounced the work of the committee, and Lewis refused to support Brophy. Testifying before a congressional committee investigating the mismanagement of the coal industry, Lewis stated that he felt government ownership of coal to be an impossibility. Lewis' report to the next UMWA convention in 1924 was silent on the question of nationalization. A resolution reaffirming the UMWA's stand on nationalization was adopted, but no more action was taken by the national headquarters.

In 1925 Lewis authored *The Miners' Struggle for American Standards* in which he advocated the "free play of natural economic laws" and a *laissez-faire* opposition to government intervention. The 1927 convention of the UMWA passed an amendment to the preamble of the UMWA constitution which replaced the phrase that said the miners were due "the full social value of their product" by a weaker "an equitable share of the fruits of their labor," reflecting Lewis' business unionism. The 1932 UMWA convention witnessed an unsuccessful attempt to reverse the preamble amendment.

Brophy wrote that the action of the 1924 convention reaffirming the nationalization stand was "an epitaph over the grave of the nationalization idea. I kept hoping that we could reform our lines and resume the campaign, but that hope was never realized."





Coal power

The Hidden Giant

by Tim Nesbitt
Bay Area NAM

LONG AFTER ALL the oil in the world has bubbled down to the much of the deepest, most inaccessible wells, there will still be plenty of coal. By most estimates, there's enough of it to keep the world supplied at current rates of consumption for some 1,400 years. Even now, with nuclear power failing to deliver its promised miracle of safe or even cheap new energy, and with the new high price of oil panicking governments and economists alike, coal is beginning to look like a most reassuring resource to have around.

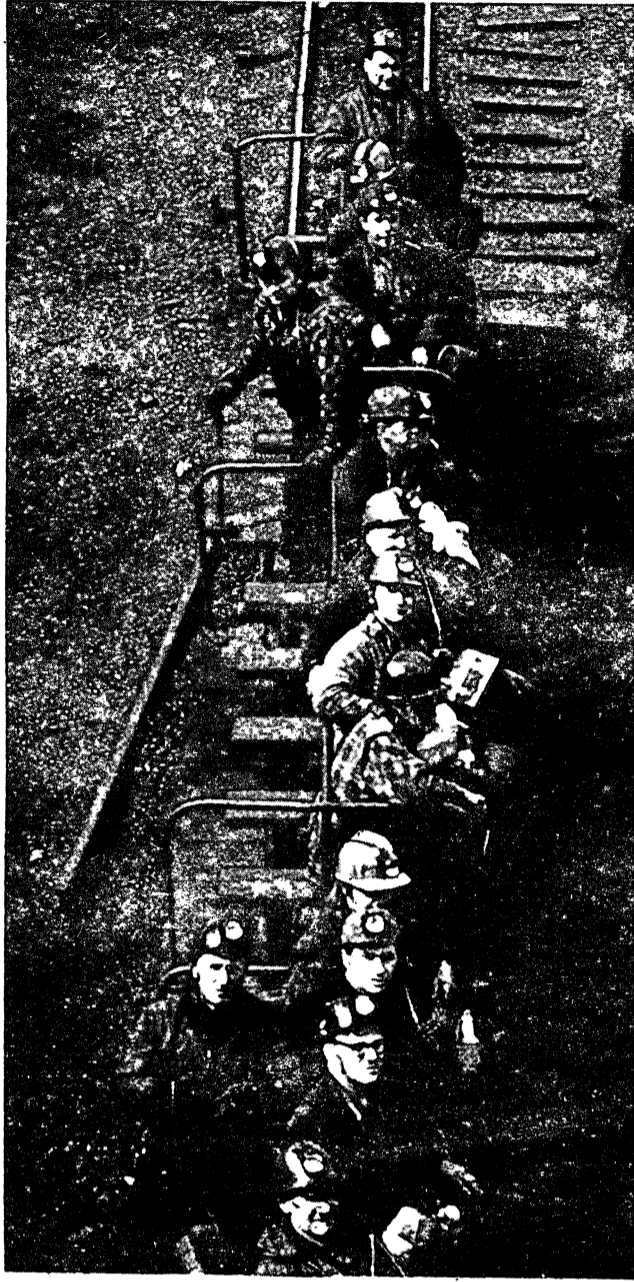
In the U.S. we tend not to think much of coal. Its uses, like the men and women who mine it, are usually invisible. Coal has nothing to do with gassing cars or fueling airplanes. Even in terms of statistics, coal's share of the national energy economy is now just 18% down from 70% in 1910. It took the UMW strike to make the point: Without coal, some 45% of U.S. electrical generating capacity would be deprived of fuel. The entire steel industry would shut down. And railroads would be left without their biggest source of revenue.

The U.S. is the world's largest producer of coal. If an Organization of Coal Exporting Countries were formed, this country would be the new Saudi Arabia. We've been producing more coal than we consume ever since the 19th century. One tenth of it goes abroad, mostly to Japan. Thus we hear of Japanese businessmen hustling around the plains of the Dakotas trying to line up long-term contracts in an area that is now considered the new Persian Gulf of coal.

All told, U.S. coal reserves total some 1.6 trillion tons. That's the amount considered eventually recoverable. In terms of energy, that coal is worth many times more than all the oil reserves even guessed at by the most optimistic geologists. Even Texas has more of a resource in coal than it ever had in oil and gas, and Texas is only a third-rate coal area compared to Appalachia and the Northern Plains.

The U.S. Department of the Interior once described the great coal reserves of Appalachia, stretching from western Pennsylvania through West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, and into Alabama, as the single most valuable mineral deposit on earth. This is where all the dirty deep mining is done, where strip mining on a large scale first began, and where most U.S. production still takes place. The coal that's hauled from these mines, and from the secondary deposits of Illinois and Indiana, is the exclusive source of coke for the U.S. steel industry and a prime source of fuel for the utilities of the Midwest.

Still, when executives and economists gather to plot the new future of coal, they now look to the West. The new economies of strip mining, together with recent environmental restrictions on sulfur emissions, have transformed the low-grade, low-sulfur bituminous and lignite deposits of the Northern Great Plains into a promised land for the U.S. energy economy. The Fort Union Formation, spreading through eastern Montana, Wyoming, and the western Dakotas, is now said to contain "the most valuable coal reserves in the world."



"Most valuable" means cheapest. The Fort Union Formation offers some 100 billion tons of low-sulfur coal in seams 20 to 250 feet thick and close enough to the surface to be a prime target for the industry's new strip-mining machinery. Monstrous power shovels called GEMS (Giant Earth Movers) are already ripping this coal from the land at a rate of return per worker hour that is five to ten times greater than that achieved in deep mines.

Ten years ago the energy industries started betting heavily on this new reserve of coal. Some three-quarters of a million acres of federally-owned western coal land were leased to companies like Kennecott Copper, Shell, Atlantic Richfield, and Exxon. As one official of Exxon explained it to Congress, the oil companies saw the energy crisis coming (an interesting admission!) and concluded that the mining and marketing of coal would be its best solution. Their motives, however, were not exactly public-spirited.

The plan of the new oil-coal industry is to shift production from the underground, labor-intensive mines of Appalachia to the technology-dominant strip mines of the West. But they are not just planning to strip the coal and send it east. Transportation has always been the limiting factor with coal. The job of moving a \$3 ton from Montana to Cleveland can cost another \$9. For this reason, the energy industry's planned move west has been padded with extensive blueprints for on-site generating plants, coal gratification plants, and the new technology for turning coal into a liquid fuel competitive with gasoline.

Already, mine-mouth power plants are an ugly fact of life in the Southwest. The 2,075-megawatt station at Four Corners, N.M., burns 15,000 tons of stripped coal daily, blackening the sky for hundreds of miles above the desert. Burning coal, the science texts tell us, produces not only oxides of sulfur and nitrogen, but carbon dioxide, mercury, and even small quantities of radioactive thorium and radium as well.

Coal gasification and liquefaction plants will also take their toll on the environment. Both processes require huge amounts of water. The National Petroleum Council estimates that 5.3 barrels of water will be needed for every barrel of coal-based synthetic crude. For this technology to succeed in the West, the water will have to come from, and be removed from, a region already short in its supply.

On these grounds, environmentalists and local residents have launched a tough attack on coal's new promised land. A bill passed by the Senate last fall would ban strip-mining on 35% of the western reserves. A House version passed this summer threatens strict reclamation standards that may be impossible to meet in the arid Southwest and Northern Plains.

All this will hardly stop the development of western coal. But it will slow it down. The proportion of strip-mined coal in the U.S., which increased from less than a third in the early '60s to a full 50% last year, will certainly peak in the '70s. Then, it's back to the pits.

Fortune magazine is already trumpeting the news: "In the new world of costly energy, deep-mined coal is a bargain. Even coal from a brand-new mine, developed at today's high capital costs, could be sold profitably at a cost of \$18 to \$22 a ton under a long-term contract... Even a price of \$18 a ton works out to only 75 cents per million BTU, half the cost of energy contained in Persian Gulf crude oil..."

For the men and women in the mines, that's little consolation. Still, the new profitability of coal has already given them a stronger hand at the bargaining table. As coal begins to recoup its place in the energy economy, the importance of the miner is already on the rise.

That rise will be unsteady. If the price of oil dips, so too will the demand for coal. And the oil industry's domination of coal production is unlikely to allow competitive development. However, oil can only become more and more expensive as it recedes deeper and deeper beneath the surface of the earth and farther out to sea. Coal will be more resistant to this trend, if only because there's more of it.

There's consolation in that. Drilling for oil and refining it need little human labor. The nuclear power industry gets by with even less. Only coal mining requires anything like a labor force. It's encouraging to know that, as the coal industry once again begins to expand, more power will depend on human hands.

Minneapolis Rent Strike



by Ann Norton and Bruce Rubenstein

ONE NASTY WINTER afternoon in 1964, some young men were sitting in the Triangle bar. Someone opened a Minnesota Daily and read a letter to the editor, aloud. It was from a Social Science professor named Cooperman. He wrote about the West Bank, and what a shame it was that students weren't relating to the area. There were references to its ethnic flavor, and the interesting sense of history one felt there.

REDEVELOPMENT FOR PROFIT

Ten years have passed. A bunch of speculators banding together under the title Cedar Riverside Associates, Inc., bought the West Bank. Dr. Cooperman signed on as their chief ideologist, the expert in charge of sociological jive talk, and one of the leading cheerlead-

ers for CRA's vision of the future. As an adjunct to realizing their high-profit pipe dreams, the good Doctor and his friends have attempted to eradicate the neighborhood he spoke of so fondly long ago.

They haven't succeeded. Heeding Cooperman's advice circa 1964, students and other people moved into the West Bank. They were attracted by low rents and the generally human scale of things around Cedar and Riverside. CRA is now landlord to its natural enemies.

Everything that has made residents move to the West Bank is limped together under the category "unredeveloped" according to the corporate view of reality. Unredeveloped places are currently in "the planning stages." Planning doesn't include the people who live there.

By last summer the plan had come unraveled so badly that CRA's management was stampeded into a major blun-

der. They attempted to raise the rent on 483 "unredeveloped units" at once, increases averaging 35% and ranging up to 50%. In one stroke they managed to unite an opposition that had been scattered up to then.

How CRA came to the crossroads is a long story. It involves a land grab in the grand tradition of the Florida coast, southern California, and the Yukon gold rush, perpetrated by people whose motives are buried under the special kind of bullshit craned out by high-priced planners, hired social scientists, and former public officials.

PUT ON THE SQUEEZE

All their expensively produced paper is designed to do just one thing: attract capital in the form of tax money. When the tax money doesn't come directly from the government, it is routed through investors in the form of tax shelters. Even now, as the corporation

crumbles, CRA's new mouthpiece is spouting the new-jargon in a final desperate pitch for tax money.

President Finley, whose last gig was promoting a huge roller rink in Miami, is quoted in the Minneapolis Star as wanting to "get housing to the people" because "that's the name of the game." Having failed to identify the profit motive as the name of the game it is easy to see how he fails to explain why so much tax money is being spent for so little.

Last spring CFA was faced with the problem of improving its cash flow. H.U.D., the main funnel for public money, was disillusioned. As CRA's losses accumulated, someone in the middle reaches of government put on the squeeze. The corporate answer was to raise the rent. Although the piddling \$50,000 or so more they would collect each month could barely pay the price

(Continued on page 16)

CIA's Colby Confronted at Harvard

by Peter S. Hogness
Radcliffe/Harvard NAM

WILLIAM COLBY, director of the CIA, came to Harvard in early November for a quiet dinner and dignified discussion with Harvard's Nieman Fellows. The peace of his evening was disturbed, though, by about 150 students who chanted and marched in the rain outside for an hour and a half.

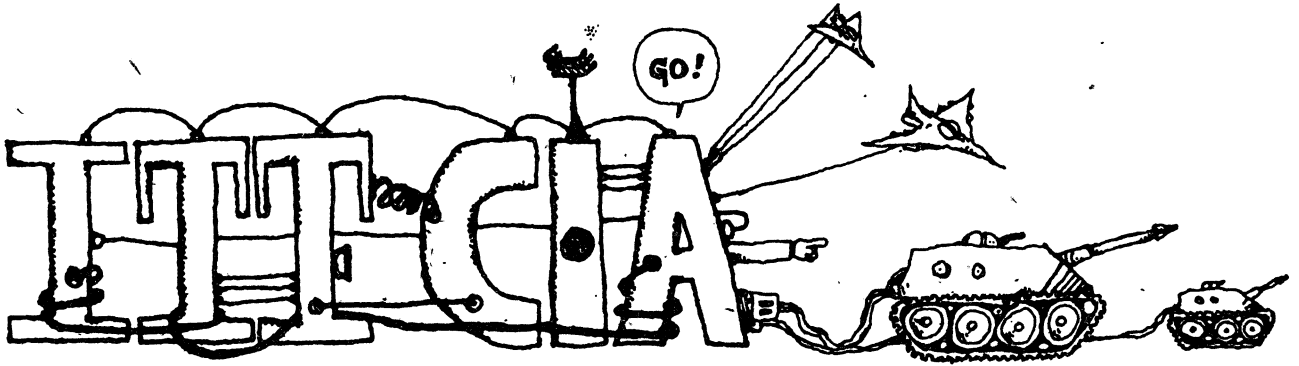
The demonstrators chanted lines like, "Hey, hey, what d'ya say, lets destabilize the CIA," and carried signs with such slogans as "CIA out of everywhere." They were joined by Daniel Ellsberg, the person who released the Pentagon Papers to the public. The day before, Ellsberg had spoken to the Nieman Fellows, a group of journalists taking courses at Harvard for a year. He said he would not have done so if he had known his appearance would be used to legitimize Colby's.

Walter Locke of Radcliffe/Harvard NAM spoke to the crowd about CIA subversion of Salvador Allende's socialist government in Chile. Locke lived in Chile while Allende was in power, working with American Filmmaker Charles Horman who was killed during the coup.

After Locke spoke, a delegation of six protesters went inside the Faculty Club to demand that Colby come outside and face questions. Colby refused, explaining, "I've been invited to a private party." Nieman Curator James C. Thompson supported Colby's refusal, asserting that Colby had spoken often to the public. "He's the most open CIA director ever invented," said Thompson.

When Colby moved to the Club's eating area, the students outside moved with him and circled beneath a window through which he could be seen. The demonstrators chanted, "Colby, killer, Colby, killer," at him, and were clearly heard by those inside. They also chanted Chilean slogans, in both Spanish and English, such as "Obreros... unidos... jamas seran vencidos/The workers... united... will never be defeated."

The November 5 protest was organized by Radcliffe/Harvard NAM which had learned about Colby's visit only 20 hours before he was scheduled



to arrive. The chapter moved into high gear to prepare for the demonstration, which turned out to be the largest at Harvard since last spring's rallies in support of the University Printers' strike.

MORE THAN INTELLIGENCE GATHERING

Colby is an important symbol not only because he is head of the CIA. He has been with the Agency's covert operations division since it was founded, and his career makes clear that the CIA's most important functions go far beyond "intelligence-gathering."

Colby went to Saigon in 1959, officially as a State Department "political officer" working in the U.S. Embassy. By his departure in 1962 he had become "first secretary of the Embassy." Actually he did nothing but CIA work all this time, and in this period became the Agency's Saigon station chief. This is a common practice—a large number of U.S. Embassy staff in Santiago have been exposed as CIA agents. It is a cover that the Agency uses throughout the world.

In 1968 Colby returned to Vietnam to head the pacification and Phoenix programs. Phoenix was a CIA-organized campaign of assassination, arrests, and torture designed to destroy the National Liberation Front's "infrastructure." According to Colby's own testimony before a House subcommittee in 1971, the Phoenix program killed 20,587 people and added 28,978 prisoners to Thieu's jails.

According to other testimony before the same subcommittee, torture was regularly used in Phoenix interrogations. Methods included applying severe electrical shocks to prisoners' genitals, pounding a six-inch dowel into a prisoner's ear, until they talked or died, pushing one prisoner out of a helicopter to encourage another to talk, and so on.

Colby presided over the Phoenix program for a few years, and then returned to the CIA's main office in Langley, Virginia. In 1973 he became Deputy Director in charge of the Operations Division of the Agency's clandestine operations. Some months later, Director Richard Helms found it wise to resign as a result of questions that were being asked about his role in the Watergate scandals, and Nixon nominated Colby to take his place (Helms was named Ambassador to Iran).

SO COLBY CAME to the pinnacle at which he now sits. But his power and the power of the CIA no longer command the respect in this country that they once did. More and more Americans are coming to understand what the Agency actually does, and are calling for an end to its interventions abroad. According to a recent poll, 68% of all Americans think that the CIA's intervention in Chile was wrong. Trade unionists are demanding that the AFL-CIO sever its links with the CIA (*New American Movement* newspaper, October 1974). Opposition to the CIA is growing, and there is nothing on the horizon that looks likely to diminish it.

Workers Organize Durham Hospital

by Durham Health Collective

"ALL WORKERS at Duke—men and women, Blacks and whites—will come together in our mutual struggle to gain control of our work."

This quote symbolized the enthusiasm and spirit expressed when workers gathered together on October 20 for a union rally to organize health workers at Duke Hospital, Durham, NC. This campaign is important not only because of Duke's impact on Durham, but because of what Duke's empire symbolizes to the South.

Duke is the largest employer in Durham, controlling well over 10% of the work force, and is the largest hospital in the Southeast. Members of several local NAM chapters helped to organize and publicize the union rally for Local 77 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees. The rally, which was the first major unionizing effort at Duke since the NLRA was amended to cover non-profit institutions, brought together Black and white workers with a program of speakers and entertainment.

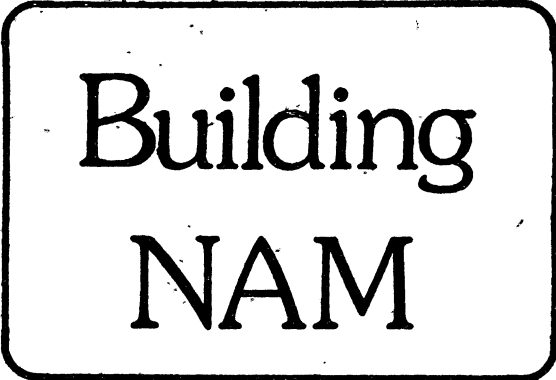
Two of the speakers were members of other local unions in Durham. Mary Martin, a representative of the Durham Central Labor Union, spoke of how workers must come together and gather strength from one another through unionizing. Ms. Martin told of her day-to-day struggles and how "from the day I was born until the day I die my life is controlled politically." She stressed that not only is it important for workers to get together as a union, but that they have to actively build rank-and-file control of the union—"I am the union and the union is me."

The second keynote speech was by William Edwards, a Black worker at American Tobacco Company. He told of how he had helped organize his union, and stressed the necessity for all workers to participate in the organizing drive. He spoke of the hiring freeze at Duke and described the management as "using you [the workers] like slaughter horses—getting as much and anything they can get out of you."

Mr. Williams also pointed out that the organizing

workers can take advantage of the fact that Terry Sanford, president of Duke University, is an undeclared candidate for president of the U.S. and, therefore, Sanford is particularly concerned with his public image. The class conflict was made clear with Mr. Williams statement: "You've got the thing they've got to have—that hospital can't run without you."

Owusu Sadauki, the organizer for Local 77, was even more explicit when he described the relationship between workers and management at Duke as a "struggle relationship..., a class struggle..., and ultimately the goal of our struggle is to run Duke!" He expressed how Local 77 would be a "fighting union" and stressed the importance of Black and white, men



and women workers fighting together against Duke. A major focus of Mr. Sadauki's talk was that workers should fight together as a union, but ultimately it is the workers that are most important, and a union is a weapon which must be used effectively and controlled by the workers.

NAM had a table of literature including the newspaper and back issues of *Tell It Like It Is*, a newsletter of Durham Health Workers and Patients published weekly by the NAM Durham Health Collective. Members of the local NAM chapters are also involved in the Local 77 organizing committee.

NAM hits Duke Power!

by Bob McMahon
Chapel Hill NAM

Twenty pickets bearing signs reading "Disconnect Ma Bell" and "Don't Let UNC Sell Us Into Duke's Power," marched outside the October 11 meeting of the University of North Carolina (UNC) Board of Trustees.

The demonstration, called by the newly-organized UNC chapter of the New American Movement, was to protest a decision by UNC to sell the water, power, and telephone utilities in Chapel Hill to Duke Power and Southern Bell. The University, which has owned these services in Chapel Hill for the past forty years, has decided to sell them to private corporations. The Board of Trustees meeting was scheduled to ratify that decision.

A publicly-owned, non-profit corporation, Consumers' Utility Corporation had been established by local residents to bid for the utilities. Support for the public corporation and opposition to the private bid-

ders was very strongly expressed, both by community residents and the utility employees. Nevertheless, a special study commission set up to handle the sale decided to recommend awarding the water and power to Duke and the phones to Bell.

A local consumers' organization Orange County Citizens for Alternative Power (OCCAP), has charged that this decision totally ignored the interests of consumers. OCCAP also pointed to a number of possible conflicts of interest linking members of the study commission and the UNC trustees to both Duke and Bell.

Members of the UNC NAM chapter have also become active in the defense efforts for Joanne Little, a Black woman prisoner who is charged with murder for killing in self-defense a guard who raped her. UNC NAM is working with the Duke University chapters of NAM and the National Lawyers Guild to organize a demonstration at a talk by William Colby, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, scheduled at Duke November 19.

NEW AMERICAN MUSIC

by Brian Doherty
Bread and Roses Community Music Center
Bread and Roses NAM

PART OF THE TASK of making a revolution is building a revolutionary culture. That includes a "people's music" and revolutionary songs—songs which either raise consciousness through their overt political content or through the sheer sense of liberation experienced when listening.

For those on the Left, "people's music" has traditionally meant folk songs. The mistake many radicals of all ages have made has been to confine their concept of political music to a few scratchy Pete Seeger records, with a couple of Phil Ochs thrown in here and there. But if we choose to define folk music as music from the people, or "people's music," we have to broaden our conceptions, keeping in mind Woody Guthrie's analysis of an emergent Dylan. "Pete Seeger is a singer of folk songs," Guthrie said, "but Dylan is a folk singer."

Dylan's songs reflect the feeling of a people, particularly young people, whether he is singing "Blowin' in the Wind" or "Like a Rolling Stone." And who is to say which song is more political. "Blowin' in the Wind" is a classic protest song in the folk tradition, while the real electrification of "Like a Rolling Stone" engenders a sense of liberation and, once heard, is not easily forgotten. Who can measure the political impact of "Rainy Day Women #12 and #35," with its final, triumphant refrain, "Well I would not feel so all alone, everybody must get stoned."

Recent studies have indicated that many of the social and political values that were thought to be held solely by the college-educated elite of the 1960's are now reflected in the young, non-college-educated part of the working class. The real cultural barriers that have blocked college-educated radicals from even speaking the same language as their age peers have been transcended, in part, by popular music.

There are drawbacks, though. Most of the music being put out by the music conglomerates these days is atrocious, and the political effect is often counter-revolutionary.

On the less widely distributed labels, there are a number of exceptions to the schlock music sputtered out of the corporate machines. The labels are hard to find in most record stores because they usually can't afford ads in *Rolling Stone*; hence, no demand. When the big record companies have a supply of records by their artists, they can create the demand within weeks—nuff said about the notion of a "free market."

THE RECORDS listed below have all been released recently, so if your record store doesn't have them, put some pressure on them to start carrying



them. Better yet, start your own anti-capitalist, collectively run record store! You can order them singly or in bulk from the sources listed below. Selling them is a great way to make money for a political project. At Bread and Roses Community Music we've found that once people have a chance to hear them, they go like hotcakes.

Virgo Rising: The Once and Future Woman
Thunderbird Records LP 7037

A collection of women's songs sung by a wide variety of people. It includes "Talking Want Ad," "Housewife's Lament," and the nearly twenty-year-old "We Don't Need the Men" by labor balladeer, Malvina Reynolds.

Available from Thunderbird Records
325 Flint Street
Reno, Nevada 89501

It Ain't Exactly Entertainment (Gerry Goffin)
Adelphi AD 4102

Includes a song about the whole notion of an "honorable peace" after a genocidal war as well as "Rainy Day Flying," the story of an American bomber pilot in Indochina.

Available from Adelphi Records
P.O. Box 288, Silver Spring, MD 20907

Force of Life (Red Star Singers)
Paredon 1023

The Red Star Singers are a group of four people who "came together to unify and share and socialize our personal experiences as musicians and revolutionaries." Songs include "Belly of the Monster," "Vietnam Will Win," "Can't Be Free 'Til Every-

body Else Is," and "Sunshine Silver Mine." It's provocative, rockin', and engaging all at once, not to mention being a superb musical/political mix.

Available from Paredon Records
Box 809, Brooklyn, NY 11202

At the Present Moment (Peggy Seeger and Ewan MacColl)
Rounder 4003

A fine collection of anti-imperialist songs, especially "Big Cigars," a piece about the Cuban revolution. "I'm Gonna Be An Engineer," has been called one of the finest songs to come out of the modern feminist movement.

Available from the Rounder Collective
186 Willow Ave., Somerville, MA 02144

Hang In There (Holly Near)
Redwood Records

A woman with a tremendous voice, fine politics, and friendly stage presence, Holly Near has become well known on the Left as a result of her travels with the Indochina Peace Campaign, as well as by performing for a large number of movement benefits. Again, a fine album of anti-imperialist songs as well as a good song about growing up in America.

Available through Redwood Records
565 Doolin Canyon, Ukiah, CA

Honor Thy Womanself (Arlington Street Woman's Caucus)
Rounder 4006

Songs of liberation by a women's group in Massachusetts. They emphasize that the album is a product "not of a singing group, but of a woman's group."

Full Count (Willow Tyson)
Lima Beans Records

Excellent, excellent, excellent. You've really got to hear it to believe it. Tyson combines great phrasing with a strong delivery for an album that is lyrically soaring, politically powerful and musically enjoyable. It is the first release on a women's label, Lima Beans, located in Columbia, DC. Lima Beans is one of the growing number of all-women owned and operated record companies attempting to counter the "macho and roll" style that has spewed out of the big record companies for years.

Available from Lima Bean Records
217 11th St. NE, Columbia, DC 20003

I Hate The Capitalist System (Barbara Dane)
Paredon P-1014

Just from the title, can't you tell that you want to hear this record? And can you figure out why it isn't displayed, or even carried, at most record stores?

Available from Paredon
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PRE-CHAPTERS

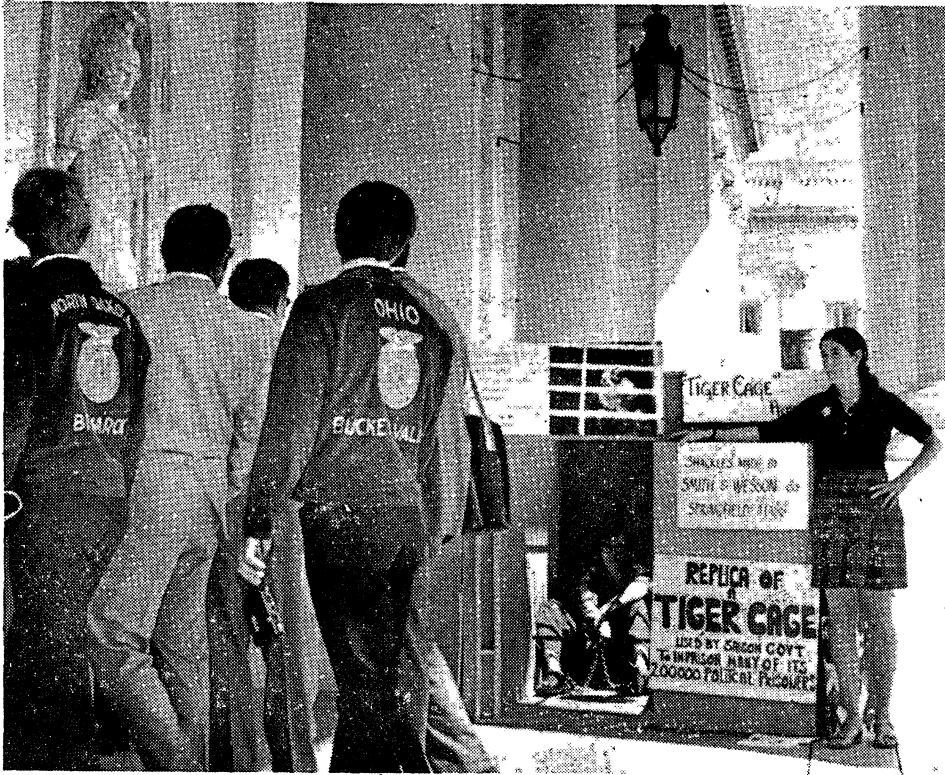
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United Campaign: Cutting U.S. Aid to Thieu & Lon Nol



by Jim Miller

Cleveland Indochina Education Project
Indochina Peace Campaign

In this past year, the U.S. antiwar movement has gained new experience and maturity, while marking up some significant victories. In spite of the demoralization and general uncertainty which followed the collapse of the "old" antiwar movement, a core of activists has continued to work against U.S. intervention in Indochina by mobilizing a broad base of concerned individuals and organizations.

This so-called "remnant of the peace movement" has grown stronger, smarter, and tighter organizationally over the past year. It is made up of three allied and overlapping elements:

(1) *Indochina Peace Campaign*. Started in 1972 on an *ad hoc* basis, it now has 26 functioning chapters, a twice monthly newspaper *Indochina Focal Point*, some excellent educational material, a defined political direction and program, and some nationally recognized spokespersons.

(2) *United Campaign to End the War*. Fifteen organizations—ranging from the American Friends Service Committee and Clergy and Laity Concerned, to the Union of Vietnamese in the U.S. and IPC—are united around freeing Saigon's 200,000 political prisoners and ending U.S. aid to the Thieu and Lon Nol regimes. This broad front of progressive groups was formed at the Germantown, Ohio, conference of antiwar activists in October, 1973.

(3) *Coalition to Stop Funding the War*. A lobbying organization with paid Washington, D.C. staff founded originally to work for the Cambodia bombing cut-off. It is backed by a wide constituency of unions (AFSCME, AFT), churches, and liberal organizations. It has worked hand-in-hand with IPC and the United Campaign in the effort to end aid to Thieu and Lon Nol.

The sustained activities of these organizations over the last year have had a measurable effect on public opinion, the media, and Congress. In the words of David Barton of AFSC, "the campaign has kept a billion

dollars out of Thieu's bloody paws." This figure doesn't include the \$300 million that Congress recently cut from Saigon's military aid. Current newspaper accounts indicate much of Thieu's large air force has been grounded at least temporarily because of these aid cuts.

Given the hot debates and close votes, which are seldom seen in the traditional bi-partisan "ratification" of foreign policy in Congress, it is safe to say it's the Campaign's national grass-roots efforts which have tipped the balance, thus bring the Peace Agreement that much closer to implementation.

For example, the United Campaign created the issue of Saigon's political prisoners by displaying tiger cages in every major city, by distributing thousands of leaflets, and by informing and pressuring nearly every member of Congress.

A key advantage of the United Campaign is that resources are produced in a coordinated manner and

used mutually by all the participating groups. Such cooperation results in greater impact for the resources since they receive wider distribution and are of higher quality generally. Avoiding duplication also saves considerable time and money.

The United Campaign's most important political tool is the "Indochina Peace Pledge/Resolution." The pledge and resolution are identically worded statements which commit the signer to support the spirit and letter of the key provisions of the Peace Agreement—provisions whose implementation would result in the end of U.S. intervention. The pledge is to be signed by members of Congress since they have a direct role in insuring implementation of the Agreements; the resolution is signed by national, state, and community leaders and organizations.

The intent behind the pledge/resolution campaign is to pyramid support for the Peace Agreement in a conscious, systematic, public way at every level of American society. This effort hasn't yet realized its full potential, but much has been accomplished since it was mandated in October, 1973. Over forty members of Congress have signed the peace pledge. Many of these have been active floorleaders in the aid cut fights.

Hundreds of organizations and individuals have endorsed the peace resolution, including the United Automobile Workers union, the National Council of Churches, the city councils of Cleveland, Minneapolis, and Gary, the United Methodist Church, the Youngstown, Ohio, district council of the AFL-CIO, Mayor Thomas Bradley of Los Angeles, Patrick Gorman, secretary of the Meatcutters union, the National Women's Political Caucus, the California Democratic Council, etc.

The peace resolution campaign has facilitated invaluable educational work among local community leaders and organizations. It is an advantage, in this regard, that the resolution is being used in a national effort and has already won the endorsement of national organizations and individuals.

The United Campaign has also put together a national schedule of actions and demonstrations over the past year. The most important events have been the International Days of concern for Saigon's political prisoners in the fall of 1973, the week of actions marking the first anniversary of the Peace Agreement last January, the May 4 Kent State-Cambodia rally which drew 10,000 participants, the two-month-long Fast and Tiger Cage Vigil on the steps of the Capitol this summer, and the International Days of Concern this fall. It is significant that this fall's Days of Concern was far more widespread than last fall's. It was observed in such unlikely places as South Carolina, as well as in nearly every major city in the country.

Larry Levin, staff member of the

Coalition to Stop Funding, calls the UC's mass effort "literally unprecedented" in the area of foreign policy. He comments that it is extremely rare for a major foreign policy issue to be created from the grass-roots up, rather than down to the people from the media and opinion-makers on high. (Actually, UC is "re-creating" an issue which the government is calling dead and gone. And of course, in the final analysis, it is the political and military resistance of the Indochinese peoples which "keeps the issue alive.")

This, the campaign has begun to break the back of the U.S. post-Agreement strategy of the "averted gaze," the carrying out of the Nixon Doctrine for Indochina through lulling the American people to sleep. It has become more difficult for the Nixon/Ford administrations to keep silent the news of continuing war in Indochina which claimed over 60,000 lives last year (nearly ten times the number who died in the Mideast war).

Evidence of concern in high places is not hard to come by. A State memorandum which was distributed to members of Congress warned of a "sophisticated, long-term campaign to cut aid." The widely syndicated Evans and Novak column red-baited the IPC several months ago.

More important, Saigon and the administration have publicly acknowledged that the efforts of the campaign are striking home. Said Nguyen Van Thieu, "now we have to negotiate with our ally, the United States, but they have to deal with their own problems. They are having domestic difficulties—they have their antiwar people and unenlightened people to deal with."

Finally, Gerald Ford sounded this note of despair: "This Congress, by a majority of both houses, has forced our country to let down a small, brave ally, fighting alone for survival...I am fearful that it may well be a sign of the times..." (*Washington Post*, May 12, 1974.)

IPC activists see the national liberation struggles of the peoples of Indochina and of Southeast Asia as the central drama of the post-World War II period—although not by any means the only drama, as the struggle of the Puerto Rican people and the recent upheavals in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, and Greece have demonstrated again.

Furthermore, the IPC sees the outcome of the struggles in Indochina in an internationalist light, knowing that this outcome will have a very large bearing on the possibility of future social change in the U.S. and elsewhere.

We Americans are tied very closely to the peoples of Indochina by this historical logic. For activists on the Left in the U.S. these ties reflect both opportunity and obligation. To ignore them is really to ignore the very process of history which we repeatedly claim to understand.

Mpls. Rent

(Continued from page 13)

of their "management specialists," this would be a symbolic gesture in the direction of breaking even. Moreover, if they got away with it, the character of the neighborhood would change. High rents would bring an influx of new tenants with higher incomes—a new class to occupy units presently housing the opposition. Simple economics would dictate the change. No one else could afford to live there.

TENANTS' RESPONSE

On June 30, 1974, 400 tenants of CRA voted to form the West Bank Tenants' Union. Such action was in response to the rent increases announced three days earlier. The formation of the Tenants' Union is now accurately seen as a major step toward community control of the West Bank.

Within a week after its formation,

the Union offered to negotiate a settlement of the controversy with CRA. A volunteer negotiation committee of five members presented the demands—three in number: recognition of the Union as the collective bargaining agent of the tenants, rescission of the rent increases while negotiations were in progress, and release of the financial data that CRA claimed validated the need for such substantial increases. Not unexpectedly, the demands were rejected by the corporation.

The rejection and refusal to negotiate prompted the decision by the Union to withhold rent until a settlement was negotiated between the Union and the corporation. The rent strike began August 1. By the time a settlement was reached two months later, more than 200 tenants had paid to the Union rents in excess of \$38,000.

When the rent strike had been in progress for nearly a month, CRA agreed to negotiate rent levels with the Union. Negotiations continued until September 27 when CRA agreed to the proposal offered by the Union. September 29 the agreement was accepted and

ratified by the Union membership and the rent strike officially ended.

BEYOND RENT CONTROL

In spite of the fact that a settlement concerning rent levels was effected October 1, the West Bank Tenants' Union continues to survive and grow in strength. In all aspects of the property relationship, be it maintenance, tenancy, or rent level, the Union continues to act as the negotiating agent for the tenants in disputes with the landlord. Highly significant of its growth and viability is the fact that Union meetings are now attended by residents of the Stage 1, the "redeveloped" property.

Within the last month the Tenants' Union has joined forces with the Cedar-Riverside Environmental Defense Fund in the formation of a Community Development Corporation. This further development toward community control appears likely to become a reality on the West Bank and with it the end of inhuman profiteering by monopolistic corporations such as CRA.

Prairie Fire: Anti-imperialism & socialism

Problems with bringing it back home

Prairie Fire: The Political Statement of the Weather Underground. (Prairie Fire Distributing Comm., Box 411 Times Plaza Sta., Brooklyn 11217, or Box 40614, Sta. C, San Francisco 94110) \$1.50 plus 25 cents for mailing.

by John Ehrenreich

PRAIRIE FIRE* the new political statement of the Weather underground, has captured the imaginations of many people on the Left. Its poetry, its revolutionary fervor, its sense of confidence and strength, its identification with the world revolution, its moral purity—all transport us back in spirit to the heady days of 1968 and 1969. But *Prairie Fire* is more than a statement of faith. It is an attempt to analyze the present situation and to lay out a revolutionary strategy for the American Left. And as a political statement, it has shortcomings.

It is impossible to do *Prairie Fire* justice in a short review. The range of subjects it touches on is immense: American history, women, Blacks, violence, the world food crisis, American class structure, to name just a few. In this review I will restrict myself to one aspect of Weather ideology only—the problem of reconciling anti-imperialism to domestic self-interest.

AMERICA'S REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL

The original power of Weather ideology (and the principal problem with it, too) was its clear identification of the central dilemma of American socialism—the apparent contradiction between the immediate self-interest of the majority of the American working class and the anti-imperialist and anti-racist movements of the Third World. It was over this conflict that the New Left split and has continued to fragment itself.

The original Weathermen confronted the contradiction and concluded that a majoritarian socialist revolution was impossible in the U.S. They chose their side—that of the revolutionary peoples of the world—and thus came to see themselves as the army of the world revolution within the imperialist mother country. The Progressive Labor Party and, later, many of the current "Leninist" sects (the descendents of the "RYM II" faction in SDS) took the opposite position: they argued that by focusing on domestic self-interest issues (e.g., oppression at the point of production, inflation, "sell-out" unions, etc.), rather than on anti-imperialism, the U.S. working class could be organized for a mass socialist struggle.

In *Prairie Fire*, the Weather Underground attempts to come in from the cold. They still keep anti-imperialism at the center of their politics; but now they affirm a belief in the possibility of building a majoritarian socialist movement here.*

If they had confronted the apparent contradiction in this position and re-

solved it, *Prairie Fire* would be reason for celebration, indeed. But, in fact, they have not resolved the contradiction; they have only fuzzed it over.

The starting point of the new analysis is the same as that of the old. *Prairie Fire* still defines the central thrust of an American revolutionary movement as anti-imperialism: "Our intention is to disrupt the empire... to attack from the inside..." (p. 1). And *Prairie Fire* also reiterates the potential conflict between building an anti-imperialist movement and the immediate self-interest of the majority of Americans:

It is difficult to synthesize militant anti-imperialism with a mass base among oppressor-nation people because of the whole fabric of relative social/material white-skin privilege. (p. 9)

"It is difficult"—not "it is impossi-

been no time in the last sixty years when leftists could not, and did not, make projections of the coming crisis of capitalism similar to those of *Prairie Fire*. And they were right: crisis has indeed followed crisis—two world wars, the greatest depression in history, dozens of recessions, etc. But crises in the industrialized capitalist nations have not produced successful revolutionary socialist movements, and have not produced sustained opposition to imperialism.

The reason is, of course, that socialism and anti-imperialism are not the only nor, indeed, the most likely popular response to crises in imperialist countries. There are alternatives, ranging from reformist varieties of socialism on the Left to resurgent national chauvinism and fascism on the Right. *Prairie Fire* underestimates the power of nationalism and of the self-interest of the majority of the people in an

as a massive shift toward socialist solutions.

What reason does *Prairie Fire* offer, then, for thinking that a socialist response is more likely than a nationalist or fascist one? Basically the Weather people are banking on the role of women's consciousness, youth consciousness, and above all, Third World consciousness, to shape the responses of the majority of the working class:

The great mass of the white collar workers, clericals, service workers, teachers, and professionals are underpaid, exploited, and profoundly bored by the daily dullness of their routines. They comprise the majority of the U.S. workforce at home... Their consciousness must be changed. The interpenetration of women's consciousness, youth consciousness, and Third World national identity are great channels through which their class consciousness—as workers opposing their class enemy—can be irrigated and made fertile. (p. 117)

Militance around a particular form of oppression bears no simple or necessary relation to more general opposition to the whole society—class consciousness or socialist consciousness—and even less relation to anti-imperialist consciousness. *Prairie Fire* uses the notions of "militance," "class consciousness," and "anti-imperialist" more or less interchangeably—and hence is unable to extricate itself from this kind of confusion.

NOW I AM NOT ARGUING that there are not solutions to these problems, that it is impossible to build a mass revolutionary socialist and anti-imperialist movement. To the contrary, I think that the very existence of the Weather underground and, on a much larger scale, much of the New Left of the sixties, proves that people can and do think and act against their immediate material self-interest. I think, too, that there are many grounds for thinking a synthesis of domestic material and cultural needs with consistent anti-imperialism is possible, both intellectually and as a basis of a mass working class movement.

But *Prairie Fire* does not provide any key to those solutions. This is the central failure of the book, for without any solution, the Weather "strategy" ends up as mere exhortation, a repeated plea to the remains of the New Left to "win a base of support for prison struggles," to organize people "to oppose imperialist war and aggression," and to "oppose racism in practice," to "build international class consciousness."

I have been critical of *Prairie Fire*. But the really depressing thing about the Left in the last few years is how quickly many people have been ready to drop their anti-imperialism because it gets in the way, or because it simply seems irrelevant to day-to-day organizing. We have to rediscover the sense of moral outrage from which our politics came and which *Prairie Fire* states better than any other recent writings on the Left.

But commitment is no substitute for strategy, willpower no substitute for patience; and militance no substitute for identification with our people's needs and dreams. The romanticism of the Weather people makes for good poetry and heroic day dreams. But the problem which the Weather people, more than anyone else, set for us five years ago—the problem of how to build a mass anti-imperialist, socialist movement in the imperialist mother country—remains essential to solve—and unsolved.



ble." And this is the central point of the new analysis: a solution to the contradiction is now possible because conditions have changed since 1969.

The 70s bring inflation, recession, unemployment, the chance of war and crisis after crisis in the lives of millions here. We can foresee a time of food riots, unemployment councils, tenants' anti-eviction associations, neighborhood groups, anti-war organizations... (p. 146)

The decline in imperialism's fortunes is not, of course, simply a result of internal tendencies toward collapse, but of the rising struggles of Third World peoples. Drawing on the experience of the Vietnam war period, *Prairie Fire* argues that the rising Third World anti-imperialist struggles produce war and economic crisis in the U.S., and limit the possibilities for capitalism to respond to the growing discontent these produce.

The major weakness in this argument is its assumption that crisis in capitalism necessarily leads to mass socialist and mass anti-imperialist consciousness. Historically, *Prairie Fire* is on weak ground. There is nothing new in capitalist crisis. There has probably

imperialist nation in retaining the imperialist system. Instead, it presumes that socialist consciousness will be the natural or spontaneous response of most Americans to the crisis in the system.

My point is not to return to Weather politics circa 1970 and argue that the majority of Americans are, indeed, hopeless cases as far as the world revolution is concerned. But I simply want to emphasize the depth of the dilemma: the majority of the American people, including most Blacks and other Third World people in the U.S., are the short-run beneficiaries of American imperialism. That is, as a result of imperialism past and present they enjoy a relatively high (on a world scale) standard of living and relative economic stability.

This relative prosperity has traditionally formed a major barrier to the emergence of revolutionary movements here. And in-times of crisis in capitalism, produced by crises in the maintenance of imperialism, it implies that a large number, if not a majority of Americans would have a strong interest in the restoration of imperialist relationships. There is no absolute necessity that this kind of nationalist response occur: But it is at least as likely

* *Prairie Fire*, like much of the left since Lenin, uses "imperialism" in a double sense. It means the economic, political, and military exploitation of the rest of the world's resources and peoples; and it is a synonym for "monopoly capitalism" in all of its aspects, domestic, and foreign. In this article we shall use "imperialism" in the former sense only. The double use is, at best, confusing. At worst it leads to serious errors in analysis and strategy. In 1969, for instance, it was clearly possible to create mass opposition to the course of U.S. foreign policy, especially with respect to Vietnam; equally clear, doing so was not identical to creating a mass anti-capitalist movement. Weatherman at the time underestimated the first possibility; it may not have underestimated the second. But since it identified the two, its conclusion on the second cut it off from the important work of building an anti-war movement.

S. Africa Spain

(Continued from page 3)

image internationally, S.A.'s policies of racial and political repression continue at home. Frelimo supporters were recently arrested, as were members of South African Student Organization (SASU). A newly passed Defense Bill imposes a fine of \$14,000 or ten years for anyone encouraging draft resistance.

The three imperialist powers claim that their veto in the Security Council had nothing to do with supporting South Africa's policies. They insist that South Africa is more likely to change its policies if it remains in the UN, where it will be under the "pressure of dialogue." In fact all three do support South Africa, economically, militarily, and politically. This summer Britain sent a naval fleet to Simonstown; France continues to supply military aid; and the US maintains a policy in favor of the white regime as revealed in the expose by Tad Szulc (*Esquire*, Oct. 1974) of "Operation Tar Baby."

"Tar Baby" was developed by Henry Kissinger at a National Security Council meeting in December 1969 and approved by Richard Nixon in February 1970. The policy recognized that public support of South Africa is politically impractical "given the sensitivities of the Black American community and church and liberal groups." In order to continue to protect U.S. interests in South Africa, the policy calls for public condemnation of South African apartheid, and increased military aid and economic support.

The most significant recommendation by "Tar Baby" was the gradual relaxation of military sanctions. The initial step was to "relax the arms embargo against South Africa with liberal treatments of equipment which could serve either civilian or military purposes or which could serve the common defense." U.S. helicopters, Lear jets, and herbicides and defoliants of the type used in Vietnam, are being sold to South Africa. After the victory of Frelimo in Mozambique, high level talks were held between South African Admiral Hugo Biermann, and U.S. Admiral Moorer of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Acting Secretary of the Navy J. William Middendorf II. The U.S. also maintains a guided missile tracking station and a NASA space tracking station in South Africa. The CIA and South African secret service cooperate closely, according to the Szulc article.

A long-term strategic reason for U.S. support is South Africa's location on the Indian Ocean, which is the scene of Russian naval activities and is also particularly important as a route to the East since the closing of the Suez Canal.

The U.S. has profitable interests in South Africa. There are 375 U.S. companies there which reap a 20% profit margin, guaranteed by the South African system of migrant labor. Its rich natural resources of gold, uranium, diamonds, and coal have attracted capitalist exploitation by the U.S. and Britain particularly.

A precedent has been set by South Africa's expulsion from the General Assembly. Currently there is a petition being circulated to rally mass support to expel South Africa permanently from the UN. Workers have supported the South African people through the recent coal boycott and strike at the Southern Power Company in Atlanta, Georgia, which was supported by the Longshoremen.

These events will make South Africa's position in the UN increasingly tenuous, and the revelations of "Tar Baby" will make it impossible for the U.S. to use the facade of non-support. The South African government is becoming further isolated as its people are gaining support from the people of the world.

(Continued from page 7)

but there cannot be changes against the army."

The provisional government would not permanently settle questions of political power in Spain but would open up debate as the parties within the Alliance contended for their own viewpoints in the general elections.

According to one member of the Spanish underground interviewed by NAM in Pittsburgh, the Communist Party is part of the Alliance because it "will agree with the entry [of Spain into the Common Market] if it is in the interests of the working class. The point is that Spain is part of Europe and the Spanish Communist Party, as the Italian Communist Party, is trying to organize the working class in all countries of Europe to unify the fight of the working class not only in one country but in all of Europe. The Communists say that Europe is an economic community and therefore the working class must take united action among the workers of different countries."

Furthermore, the Communist Party of Spain wants to organize Spanish workers who work in other countries in Europe. The position of the Communist Party is that workers of foreign origin should have the same rights as the native citizens. The Party says: "If workers can produce surplus in another country then they should enjoy the same rights as the nationals of that country. That is a key issue facing the working class today."

That both communists and capitalists can agree on replacing Franco and calling elections indicates how deeply Franco's regime goes against the grain of a developing Spain. During the past 35 years, the country has changed from a rural, peasant society, dominated by aristocratic landowners and the Church, to an industrial society with concentrations of factory workers, clerks, and bureaucrats in big cities.

After decades of worsening poverty, the peasants-turned-workers began to demand a larger share in the burgeoning wealth accumulated by the new financial and industrial oligarchy. "In

the fight for economic demands (in the sixties)," Aguirre said, "the workers found they did not have the freedom to strike, to meet, to choose their leaders, and they realized the lack of freedom was a political issue."

SPAIN'S AWAKENING

Spain's awakening was spurred by the influx of tourists and the experience of emigrant Spanish workers—a fifth of the labor force—in more democratic western European countries. Also, Aguirre said, "the business community, or a part of it, realized that for development it was necessary to enter Europe and the Common Market, but they also realized it was not possible because of the lack of freedom, the existence of the dictatorship, which was no longer useful to them."

Even the Church, long a Franco bastion, urged more democracy. Worker-priests took part in organizing worker commissions—the unique, unofficial unions which have led strikes against employers and challenged the government-controlled unions. One priest was among the "Carabanchel Ten," the leaders of the commissions who were given long jail terms last winter for their illegal political activity. Many priests, and even the Bishop of Bilba, have called for greater rights and autonomy for the Basques, Catalans, and other distinct ethnic groups in Spain.

The greatest strike wave in recent history was sparked this year by the soaring cost of living, up 20 per cent on all goods and as much as 40 per cent on staples. There have been three general strikes in the textile manufacturing town of Alcoy and two general strikes, touched off by autoworkers, in the city of Valladolid. Nationalist groups of Euzkadi, Galicia, and Catalonia have intensified pressure on Franco: the blast which killed Carrero Blanco was claimed by the underground Basque organization, ETA, and was set off on the eve of the trial of the Carabanchel Ten union leaders—a symbol of the conflict in Spain as well as a manifestation of it.

Worker commissions have often been able to use official union offices and equipment, Aguirre said, partly because they have real power and organization, partly because "when everyone can see a change is going to

take place very soon in the country, even the trade union officials realize this, and they fear they will be victims of the change, so they would rather collaborate in some way with the workers."

The teetering regime has responded with what Aguirre and Alvarez describe as escalating repression: 20,000 people jailed, heavily fined, arrested without charges, or fired for political reasons in the past year. Many opponents of Franco are sent to prison without trial under a 1971 Code of Public Order which established a virtual continuous state of emergency.

The Democratic Alliance criticizes the United States as the only foreign country supporting Franco, partly because of the military bases for which the U.S. pays Franco \$400 million a year. Ford Motor Company and many other American corporations have established close ties with Franco as they have set up factories in Spain, lured as *Business Week* described it, by the prevailing wages for skilled labor, half that of England, and a third that of West Germany. Democratic opponents of Franco worry over recent reports that the CIA has named Spain their number two concern in Europe.

The Democratic Alliance thinks the showdown may come soon, and they hope it will not be violent. Within a few months, they plan to launch a nationwide general strike against the declining standard of living. Since Franco appears weak, isolated, near the end of his life, and lacking the plans and power to guarantee the continuation of his dictatorship, this crisis could be his last, if the generals do not try to seize power and the United States resists temptations to prop up Franco.

Handsome, intelligent, politically experienced, Alvarez and Aguirre both laughed when asked how confident they were the Democratic Alliance could wrest the reins of power out of Franco's hands. "Totally, absolutely confident," the professor and lawyer responded. "Perhaps we are wrong. However, we are confident the changes are coming, although we don't know when."

Italy (Continued from page 7)

lacked substantial political support from the capitalists. Nevertheless, the fascist threat remains a real one in Italy. (The Christian Democrats never tire of emphasizing this point in order to counterbalance the threat from the Left. In fact, they actively collaborate and may support fascists in order to maintain this balance.)

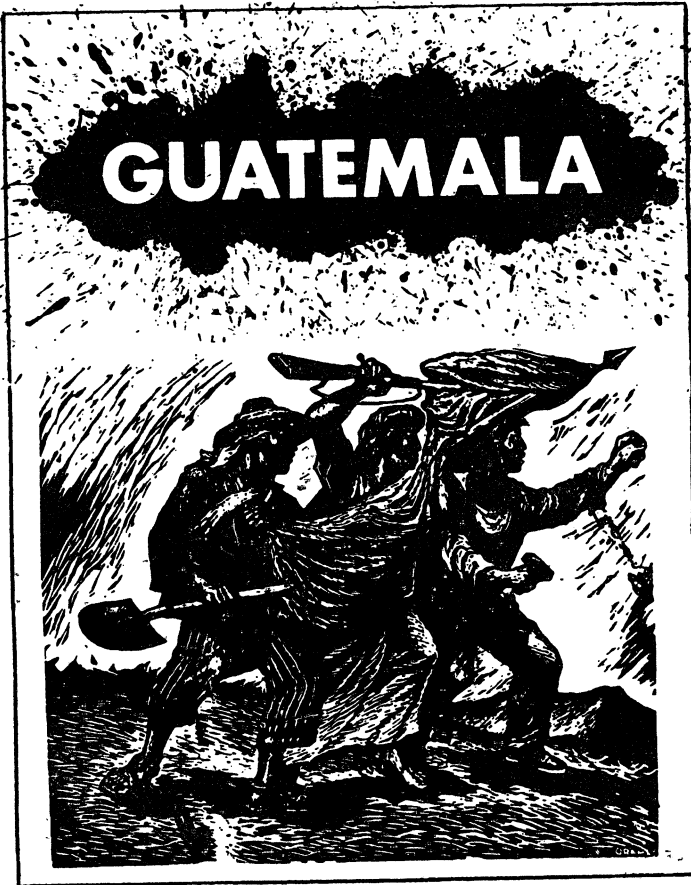
The second project is more favorable to the more advanced capitalist sectors which need a profitable consumer market and an open international trade structure. It consists mainly of allowing the Communist Party into the government after a very long negotiation, in which Communist positions will be slowly weakened. The political price that the Communists will have to pay will be social peace and labor discipline—the "Americanization" of the unions.

One thing in this picture remains blurry—the role of the U.S. (which opposes PCI entering the government). In my opinion, however, this is a problem with the word "communist." The Party itself is and will continue to develop as a social democratic party.

The cost for the Italian capitalist system will be a trivial one—a larger part of the economy under the control of joint public-private ownership. In this way the state will be a better guarantor of profits than before.

The negotiations will be long, as I have said, but during this phase the CPI will have to demonstrate its good faith by controlling the unions during the deep recession.

The project is well conceived from the point of view of Italian capital. The only factor not taken into account is the potential of the working class to take independent action. And time is working in this direction, so that a real alternative to capitalism in Italy is taking shape with increasing force.



Published 20 years after the U.S. intervention in Guatemala, this 264-page book is the most comprehensive radical analysis in English of Guatemalan society and politics. It is useful not only to those with a special interest in Guatemala and Central America, but more generally as a case study for all Latin America. GUATEMALA aims to document the workings of U.S. imperialist strategy for Guatemala, as well as to analyze the changing nature of the class struggle there. **Single copies:** \$5 each (plus 50¢ for postage), **bulk orders:** 10-49 copies, \$4 each; 50 or more copies, \$3 each (plus 5% for postage). Order from NACLA: Box 226, Berkeley CA 94701; or Box 57, Cathedral Station, New York NY 10025. Please include payment in orders.

letters

poem

Dear NAM News Folk,

I was really surprised by the naivete of one sentence in Judy MacLean's and Saralee Hamilton's October piece about China. "While we are critical (of the fact) that lesbianism is not a possible lifestyle for Chinese women," they say, "we have no evidence there are Chinese women who want it to be possible."

There are something over 800 million people in China. I cannot believe that *none* of them are gay. Thus, when the Chinese government denies the existence of homosexuality in China, it must, I think, be taken as an indication of state repression. A repressive policy need not be embodied in a mass campaign. As North American experience shows, it can be very effective even if silent and unspoken.

Peter Hogness
Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Editors,

I was really glad to see Bob McMahon's article, "Roots of the New Stalinism." These are key, essential issues to be dealt with. NAM must define itself in relationship to these issues (democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat, Stalin, the USSR today), or else be constantly suspected by some of being Stalinist, and by others of being bourgeois-democratic. This definition will take time and work, and unfold with work, but should always be sought after.

It appears that much of the "new communist movement" thinks that since bourgeois democracy is a sham, democracy in general is a sham. In their writings there is a great deal of talk about the dictatorship of the proletariat crushing the enemies of the people, but little about the form this dictatorship will take. The key problem here is: who is in the dictatorship and who is not? Who enjoys democracy and who is dictated to?

If the party, in a dialectic relationship with the masses, exercises the dictatorship, it will have to define who is progressive and who is reactionary, who is an ally and who is an enemy. This is not an easy task, but the new communists see it as simple, if they see it at all. Can there be a socialist opposition under a dictatorship of the proletariat? The new communists think not, and love to threaten their critics with what they'll do to them after the revolution.

The new communists have a conspiracy theory about revolution and society: small groups compete for political power and the winner annihilates the others and proceeds to socialize the economy and crush the opposition. In their idealist view of society they see differing opinions among socialists as the result of anti-socialist conspiracy or capitalist treachery, and not as the result of concrete conditions and experience. They mechanically apply the idea of the correct

line to eliminate disagreement. In fact, a correct line can only be developed through practice and the synthesis of disagreement, and even then is subject to change as its implementation changes the conditions it was to deal with. The whole tendency of the thought of the new communists is towards political and economic dictatorship by a small group over the whole society.

It is definitely about time that the Chinese view of Soviet history were challenged. I think the most important point McMahon makes is that Stalin "guaranteed the triumph of the bureaucracy by depoliticizing the Soviet working class." This point leads to the main question, namely, what is the goal of a socialist society and how is it to be reached? For if the goal is only state ownership of the means of production and lessening of work hours, who could dispute Stalin? But the goal is far more than that. It is a complete restructuring of society, from the ground up. The goal is the ending of classes and the withering away of the state.

Stalin's actions seem to say "socialize the economy and damn the people," as if the social relations would change automatically as the economy was socialized. The ending of politics first requires the politicization of everyday life—in order to make the politics clear and to overcome them. Stalin's mechanical materialism depoliticized the society, thereby reifying the political situation as he wanted it—and the current leaders persist in this: it is part of the way they stay in power.

Current Soviet political propaganda is based on the reality that Stalin created. The rulers say they have eliminated classes because production is socialized, when in fact there are the workers, and there are the managers and the bureaucrats. The managers and the bureaucrats control the means of production, and the profit goes to the State.

The Soviet workers are offered material incentives to work harder. They are in fact related to the Soviet state as the American workers is related to the capitalist. They receive wages and benefits in exchange for their labor. However, they have no control over the fruits of their labor—it is still not theirs. The managers and the state receive far more from the workers' work than the workers do—the bureaucracy receives the ability to perpetuate itself through the continued exploitation of the workers, while the worker is kept alive and trained in order that he can continue to perpetuate the regime of his exploiters. This is not socialism.

I have gone to this length because of the importance I place upon these issues. We must strongly criticize Stalinism, not only to make NAM credible to large numbers of people, but because the issue is really Stalinism or Socialism.

Andy Friedman
San Francisco, Calif.

between women, in part *precisely because* of its contrast to their very real and frequently oppressive experiences with "options like reproduction, marriage, and straight sexual experience?"

Many other people "foreclose on an option" because they have good reasons for not being interested in being or having a "piece of property" in the first place. Most important, being gay is a *positive choice*, a choice which is its own sufficient reason. Exclusive homosexuality need not be a "settlement," a "foreclosure," a negative reaction against heterosexuality. That the authors of MJ describe it that way betrays their fundamental assumption that heterosexuality within the nuclear family structure is the most valid norm of sexual relationships.

While they allow heterosexuals to "get in touch" with erotic feelings for the same sex, they are not terribly upset about the "foreclosure" on gay sexual experience entailed by exclusive heterosexuality. Indeed, it would be incongruous with the total picture presented in both volumes if they were to be so upset. It is clear throughout both volumes that sex is supposed to be primarily and focally heterosexual coitus. In the discussion of "Threesomes" in MJ it is assumed that only two people in any threesome will be the same gender.

With very few exceptions, homosexual activity and relationships are not acknowledged outside the five pages under the heading "Gay or Straight" (even the two two-page illustrations in the middle of that section are of heterosexual couples). The clear message in the other 215 pages is: couples are heterosexual couples; relationships are heterosexual relationships; sex is heterosexual intercourse (or "non-coital extras"); sexual problems are heterosexual problems; and sexual illustrations are white heterosexual illustrations.

It might have been okay if they had explicitly addressed themselves to a heterosexual audience and if they had admitted their heterosexual bias and their ignorance about homosexual love. But no such acknowledgement is expressed or implied and the authors seem to be suggesting that homosexual rela-

On Long Island it is a wet November night
Winter has come to the Eastern United States.
It is 10 pm Eastern Standard Time
and a small woman faces many people
and tells them about her country
and about theirs.
She speaks of thought, and of how
fear inhibits it;

five hundred miles to the south
they are burning books, and people's thoughts.
We are here
trying to think
about her country
and her husband,
Salvador Allende. He trusted too many,
hoped for much, and finally
died in inevitable circumstances: she buried
what may have been
his body
in an anonymous grave.

She tells us:
If workers thought about property
where would the wealthy be;
If boys and girls thought freely about sex
where would morality be;
If soldiers thought about war,
where would military discipline be;
she tells us.

And if the people with power
had not been frightened of such thought
where would Salvador Allende be?
The audience is gifted, wealthy, part of
the middle class consciousness
that thinks, considers,
but when finally confronted,
remains afraid
and like their Chilean counterpart, reverts.
Tonight they listen and consider -
Italy may be next,
and for much the same reason.
What can they do? Nothing.

Only the people who have nothing
will do something. It is to be;
she brought to us a prophecy
and we must do our best to keep it.

Gillian Booth

Give, for socialism's sake:

Can you imagine what a non-sectarian socialist newspaper could mean for the growth of socialist consciousness in the United States? Please help make *New American Movement* that dream. Send us a check for Christmas.

The Collective: Del Griffin, Dan Marschall, Martie Meckel, Jerry Morgan, Tim Nesbitt, Jean Pauline, Nick Rabkin, Jain Simmons.

sex

(Continued from page 5)

ploitation, pollution, elitism, and alienation (MJ, pp. 133-134). And it should be pointed out that if we follow their plan for eroticization, it would be a matter of bringing the war back home. Instead of bombing Southeast Asia, we'd be fighting it out in our bedrooms with batacas (plastic-foam bats) or hand-to-hand (genital-to-genital?) combat.

8) Bourgeois individualism, or do-you-own-thing. They quote Frederick Perls who, they say, "put it best: 'I am I and you are you, and neither of us is here to live up to the other one's expectations. But if we meet it's beautiful.'" (MJ, p. 107) For god's sake, whatever you do, *don't* make any kind of commitment to anyone else, and *don't* let anybody bum your trip with suggestions that you change your oppressive behavior.

A HETEROSEXUAL BIAS

Space limitations don't permit a thorough critique of the inadequacy of JoS and MJ on a host of important questions, but I want to concentrate a bit on homosexuality because it is on this issue that the authors' liberal contradictions are most pervasive and insidious, and because this issue has been the least adequately dealt with by left politics.

In MJ the authors make emphatic statements in validation and support of homosexuality, and while they criticize social sanctions against homosexual activity, they condemn *exclusive* homosexuality on the grounds that "if you settle to be gay you're foreclosing on options like reproduction, marriage, and straight sexual experience..." (MJ, p. 115) Can the authors be so out of it as not to realize that increasing numbers of women—gay, bi and heterosexual—have come to appreciate the validity of love

tionships are simply variations/deviations on the heterosexual theme.

We are warned in JoS not to "take on a partner with a major sex problem such as homosexuality..." (JoS, p. 235) Elsewhere it is suggested that "frigid" women should relate sexually to (read: exploit, rip off) other women, "...if this doesn't frighten you or turn you off," to develop response for heterosexual use. The authors add a hasty reassurance that, "That doesn't make you a lesbian." (JoS, p. 239)

I suspect that criticism of the blatant heterosexist attitude of the first volume led to a defensive attitude in the second volume, where we read: "We didn't include gay sex in *The Joy of Sex*. Then to make up for this deficiency they have one sentence each on gay male and female sexual technique.

There is a nudging reminder in the same paragraph that "if you want your other-sex responses boosted for any reason, behavior therapy can help—but that is learning a new skill, not treating a disease." (MJ, p. 116) They don't recommend behavior therapy for heterosexuals who might want their same-sex responses "boosted."

In short, while they strongly condemn the blatant social oppression of homosexuals and the prejudices against homosexual activity, their attitude toward homosexuality is clearly one of condescending and patronizing tolerance and manifests a deep-seated heterosexual/coital bias.

I can't see any value in either volume for anyone this side of sexual fascism and/or reactionism. Despite being the best in the sex-manual genre, JoS and MJ convey more subtly, and therefore more dangerously, all the oppressive attitudes of bourgeois sexual ideology characteristic of the genre as a whole. This stuff is not worth the paper it's printed on, much less the price it's selling for. All JoS and MJ ultimately have going for them is legitimized titillation—the stuff of which contemporary best-sellers are made—and promises of liberation they can't keep since their timid steps forward are more than cancelled out by their giant steps backward.

NAM Initiates Economy Campaign

Since the end of World War II, succeeding administrations—from Truman's to Ford's—have used the federal budget and the Federal Reserve System to prevent the recurrence of a great depression. They have expanded or contracted federal spending and the money supply to maintain a mini-cycle of expansion and contraction, prosperity and recession that would replace the old boom-bust cycle. During periods of expansion, profits, production, prices, and wages would rise until rising wages threatened the continued growth of profits; then, as happened in 1953, 1957, and 1969, government officials would reduce federal spending, raise taxes, and tighten credit in order to create a recession. As unemployment rose, workers would find themselves on the defensive, real wages would go down, and as their projected rates of profit went up, corporations would begin investing in expanded production.

The Vietnam War, and Johnson's unwillingness to finance the war through higher taxes, distorted the course of this cycle. At a time when profits, prices, production, and wages were already increasing, the government introduced programs that created further expansion, driving up wages and prices still further. By 1969, corporate profits were endangered by rising wages; and rapid inflation, along with the massive outflow of American dollars to Vietnam, had eroded the international position of the American economy. Having postponed the cure, Nixon was faced with the prospect of having to use even

stronger medicine than his predecessors. But a serious recession would have endangered his reelection in 1972, and so after a gesture in that direction, Nixon returned to expansionary policies before the 1972 election and precipitated a new burst of inflation.

Ford inherits this situation. It is unclear how great a recession will be necessary to stem the current inflation; it is also unclear how other factors like the increasing debts of American corporations, the growing economic power of some Third World countries, and the crisis in the European capitalist countries will affect the outcome of a planned recession. More than ever before in the post-World War II period, the threat of a new depression looms large.

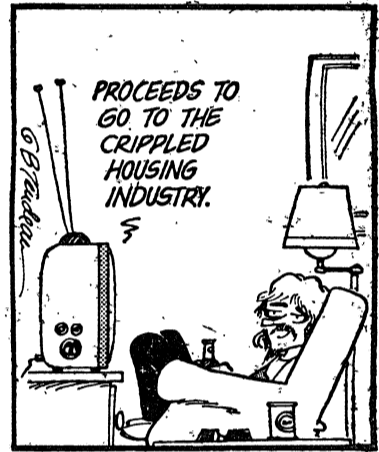
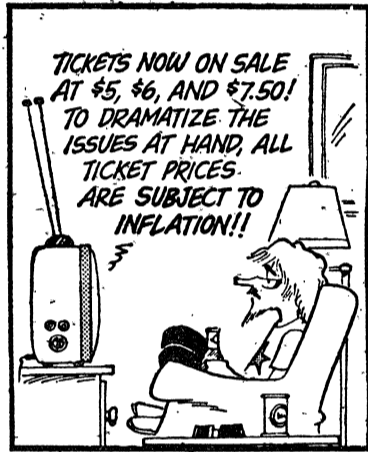
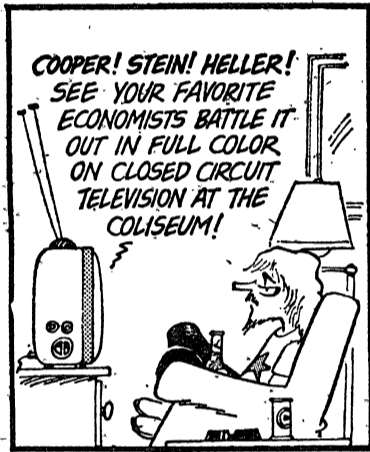
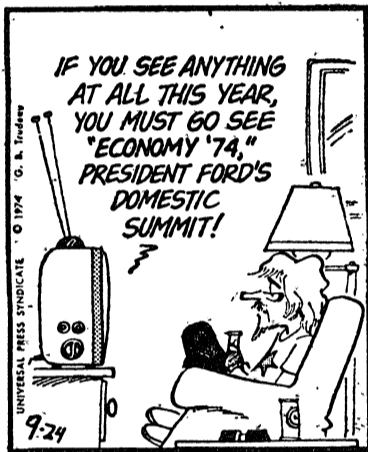
In pursuing recessionary policies, Ford has already encountered stiff political opposition, and the opposition can be expected to grow. It is no longer possible to concentrate the most severe effects of a recession among "marginal" workers—that is, Third World people and women workers—without facing organized political opposition. Within the labor movement, there will also be opposition as well as a fierce struggle among union leaders seeking to accommodate their own sector of the working class to the crisis through no-strike pledges and isolated escalator clauses and other labor leaders and rank-and-file groups who see the need for a classwide alliance and programs around such issues

as taxes and unemployment.

This means that the American Left will be faced with a new opportunity and a challenge: to play a significant role in struggles that speak the people's immediate needs while putting forth programs and analysis that demonstrate the viability of socialism as an alternative to a crisis-ridden capitalism. Already groups and individuals around the country are grappling with questions of what a socialist response to the current crisis should be. Fundamentally, one thing is clear: whatever local activities are undertaken, no serious response can be posed that is not national in scope and character.

At its October 11-13 meeting in Philadelphia, the National Interim Committee agreed that NAM should develop an action program that would address both national and local issues (e.g., taxes, unemployment, utilities rates, health insurance, rent control) and that would be the basis for national and local coalitions. As an initial step, we decided that the week of February 2 through 9 NAM should sponsor a nationwide series of community forums and teach-ins on the economy.

The forums and teach-ins would include speeches, panels, and workshops on topics such as the international roots of inflation, unemployment—why and what can be done—the role of unions today, the continuing energy crisis, the effect of recession on Third World people and women, and socialism as the alternative.



PLO

(Continued from page 1)
operation of the PLO.

In early 1973 the leader of the DPFLP, Nayef Hawatmeh, issued a call for the PLO to adopt a transitional program to replace the program for the complete liberation of Palestine. In the transitional program, a Palestinian national authority on any parts of Palestine which might be liberated from Israeli occupation through popular struggle, conventional military means, or negotiations, could serve as a base for the continuation of the Palestinian goal of complete liberation. The transitional program seemed to Hawatmeh to be a response to the imperialist and conservative Arab pressure to liquidate the Palestinian movement.

The call for a transitional program generated a fierce debate in Palestinian circles in the period prior to the October War. Many voices were skeptical of the plan because of the compromises it entailed for the ultimate success of the movement for creating a democratic secular state in all of Palestine. But despite skepticism, many came to accept the program as a possible road for the Palestinian movement to follow.

After the October War, the possibilities of implementing such a transitional program suddenly became much better. Arab armies had wrested back some of the territories occupied by Israel in 1967, although none of Palestine itself. The great powers, Israel, and the Arab states were formally committed to a series of negotiations which might free further territories. The majority in the PLO leadership, representing Fateh, the DPFLP, and Saika (the Syrian-supported organization), issued a "working paper" indicating cautious support for a transitional program. The majority was opposed in the PLO by the PFLP, the

PC-GG, and the AFL.

In early June, the Palestine National Council (PNC), the highest organ of the PLO, issued a program which essentially incorporated the majority's "working paper." It included a rejection of any negotiations based on UN Security Council resolutions which do not recognize the national rights of the Palestine people. Furthermore, the PNC insisted that any national authority created in any parts of Palestine should have full independence, including the right to arm itself. Members of the present "rejection front" accepted this PNC program.

STRATEGY OF IMPERIAL POWERS

The idea of a Palestinian state in part of Palestine was not new with Nayef Hawatmeh or the PLO. In fact, it has often in the past been advanced by imperialist powers as a means to "solve" the problem by offering the Palestinians something—essentially an

attempt to co-opt their full national demands. Such were the various plans advanced in the thirties and forties, and all were rejected by the Palestinians.

At present such a state would have to be created over the strident objections of Israel. If the United States has moved now to accept the necessity of some kind of Palestinian state, it must be in the hopes that this offer would stifle the turmoil that Palestinian demands have created in the Middle East.

The imperial powers, and some of the Arab and Palestinian leaders, hope that a moderate leadership with a comprador mentality can be found to lead a Palestinian state. A state with such a leadership, dependent on the US or conservative Arab countries, might fill the imperialist bill. In addition, the existence of a state to which dissident Palestinian militants in other countries could be sent, would relieve pressure against the regimes in Lebanon, Jordan, and the Gulf. In this case, Israel

might be brought to accept a Palestinian state.

THE PALESTINIAN organizations are fully aware of all the possible catches in the present moves they are taking. Some elements among the Palestinian bourgeoisie would like to join in the effort to co-opt the increasing radicalism of the movement. The majority of the PLO, however, has accepted the idea of a state to be offered through negotiations, calculating that the only hope for a continuation of the struggle is through this state. Otherwise they envisage only repression and possibly annihilation. Their strategy is to use the state, in fact to use anything they can get, as a base for continuing revolutionary combat.

The minority of the PLO sees the offer of a state or a settlement as a co-optation from which the revolutionary elements in the movement will be unable to recover. Thus the minority's plan for continuing the struggle is to advance outside the deliberations of great-power-sponsored manipulations. At present, the minority of the "rejection front" seems to have little in the way of an organized popular base, perhaps because of the success of the majority program in the UN and among the Arab rulers. But this could conceivably change, depending on the results of the present stage.

In any case, national authority or no, the best chances of success for the revolutionary currents in the Palestinian movement lie in their building more substantive alliances and closer working relationships with other revolutionary movements and classes in the Middle East. Certainly the imperialist offensive now unleashed in the Middle East conceives the Middle East as a region, and the revolutionary defense will have to develop on a regional basis. As the terms of the contradictions change through the development of bourgeois classes and imperialist policies, so the revolutionary movements and classes will adapt their strategies to the new realities.



ARAFAT AT THE U.N.