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Unemployment strikes Detroit

Auto decline shakes economy

by Jack Rush

THE IMAGES seem so familiar now: acres of snow-covered automotive inventory; sidewalks filled with folks stretching out of newly-opened unemployment offices; the breadlines of the 1970s. Huge freeway billboards tallying, unit by unit, the annual automotive production on six-foot-high odometers which, this winter, hardly turn at all. Detroit may once again be the vanguard of a wrenching contraction for the nation.

American auto corporations had their worst December since 1951. Production totaled 7.3 million cars for calendar 1974, down 23% from 1973 and the worst non-strike year in over a decade. Few expect next year will bring a rebound. Henry Ford II has spoken: "...the auto industry approaches the dimensions of depression."

By the end of January, 300,000 auto workers, well over one-third of the workforce, will have been placed on temporary or "indefinite" layoffs. Should current trends continue, more than 100,000 folks will be blown out of the plants for good. You can't get overtime unless you work Cadillacs. Second shifts are chopped every week. GM will eliminate shifts at many major factories and will close down ten



assembly plants for up to four weeks in January. In the metropolitan Detroit assembly and stamping plants for weeks in January and February.

Despite the winter production freeze, inventory still gluts the lots. Chrysler has enough cars now to last well into spring. GM and Ford are not much better off. Public woofing about mid-

year upswings aside, everything indicates that auto is preparing for a short-term basis. Chrysler has announced it will postpone a new subcompact and rely on the Japanese-built Colt. Even truck production, an increasingly important source of profits in recent years, is being cut back. At their

December meeting the GM leadership discussed the possibility of the industry contracting to 5.5 million sales in model 1975.

If the decline is severe it will shake the national economy. There are motor vehicle plants in thirty-six states. Workers in twenty-four states assemble cars and trucks. Automotive production and related industries contribute 17% of the GNP. Listen to one oracle of the bourgeoisie, a market researcher quoted in *Business Week*: "If confidence stays down for six months and there is no wage and price freeze, 400,000 production-line auto workers will be out of work. Another two million who supply them indirectly will also be out. And it spreads from there."

THE DETROIT CONNECTION

Although the auto industry dispersed nationally and internationally long ago, Detroit is still the home for much of Chrysler's especially hard hit operations. Thus the nation's fifth largest metropolitan area may preview what's coming.

Big Three and parts supplier's layoffs have pushed unemployment well above 10%, reduced tax revenues, severely strained city and state budgets and thus further eroded already poor social services. Buses, Detroit's only mass transit, are being cut back. Fifteen hundred city workers are already slated for layoffs and more will follow. The only growth industry in town is the dole. The Michigan Employment Security Commission, processing new claims by the tens of thousands each week, has added 1,000 new workers and opened twelve new branches. The number of citizens receiving food stamps has doubled.

Yet the full impact of the contraction lies ahead. That will come when and if the auto workers' supplementary unemployment benefits (SUB) funds collapse. The UAW won SUB in 1955, improved it in subsequent contracts, and have touted it as a major step toward an assured annual income.

The SUB mechanism is simple—and inadequate. For every man-hour worked the company pays seven to twelve cents into the fund. Workers with more than one year of seniority are entitled, in normal times, to from twenty-six to fifty-two weeks of benefits which supplement the regular state unemployment compensation. After some minor deductions, this brings an auto worker's down-time income to more than 90% of his or her regular wage.

But these are not normal times. The mass layoffs have put a steady drain on the SUB funds. With fewer folks in the shops the funds accumulate less rapidly. When the state compensation runs out after the thirty-ninth week, SUB must take up the slack. Under such

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Rocky heads CIA panel:

a new, improved coverup

by John Katz
Bay Area NAM

WHO'S WHO: THE CIA
CONNECTIONS

Nixon's inability to keep the Watergate affair effectively under wraps proved the old maxim that you can't fool all the people all the time. Successful coverups, like those of the Kennedys, King, and Malcolm X assassinations, require a measure of official confirmation of what was uncovered to begin with.

President Ford could not simply deny Seymour Hirsch's exposures of domestic operations by the CIA in the pages of the *New York Times* as Nixon did with Bernstein and Woodward's Watergate revelations. Instead he impaneled a group of the most partial men in the country to confirm the wrongdoings, reprimand the CIA, and leave the fundamental questions of human rights and corporate power untouched.

Certainly Ford would have preferred to follow Nixon's example and sweep the whole affair under the rug, but the world of America's rulers has been changed, perhaps permanently, by Watergate. The Watergate exposures destroyed some strong men. They certainly frightened many more. And in a time of tremendous power changes and dislocations in government, fear, personal ambition, and political disagreements among those in power lead to the kind of leaks that prompted the Hirsch stories. In spite of the panel's best efforts, we may see more leaks.

Panel members have had direct connections with the CIA in the recent past. Chairman Rockefeller himself sat for five years on the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, a direct policy link between the CIA and the White House. Rockefeller interests abroad have had close dealings with the CIA for many years, particularly in Latin American countries.

Who are the other members of the panel?

- C. Douglas Dillon, former treasury secretary and undersecretary of state, is a major figure in the Rockefeller wing of the ruling class. In 1968, Dillon participated in a Council for Foreign Relations panel that recommended increased domestic activities for the CIA. (The CFR is a major policy making organization outside the official government apparatus.)

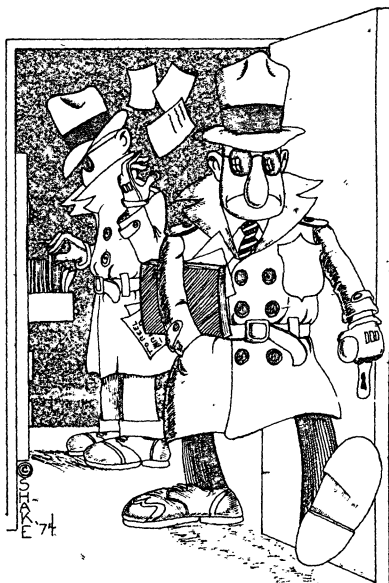
- Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO has been an important figure in the American Institute for Free Labor Development (see *New American Movement*, October 1974), a CIA front group that subverts progressive forces in Latin American labor movements. The AFLD was instrumental in the coup that overthrew the elected government of Allende in September 1973. In addition, Kirkland sits on several Rockefeller brothers' advisory panels, not-

ably Nelson's panel on "Critical choices."

- Edgar Shannon, former president of the University of Virginia and one of the panel's "liberals," worked closely with the CIA in campus recruitment. He is a close friend of the current secretary of defense, James Schlesinger, past director of the CIA.

- John Conner is the former secretary of commerce and president of Allied Chemical Co. When the CIA's Bay of Pigs operation proved a fiasco in

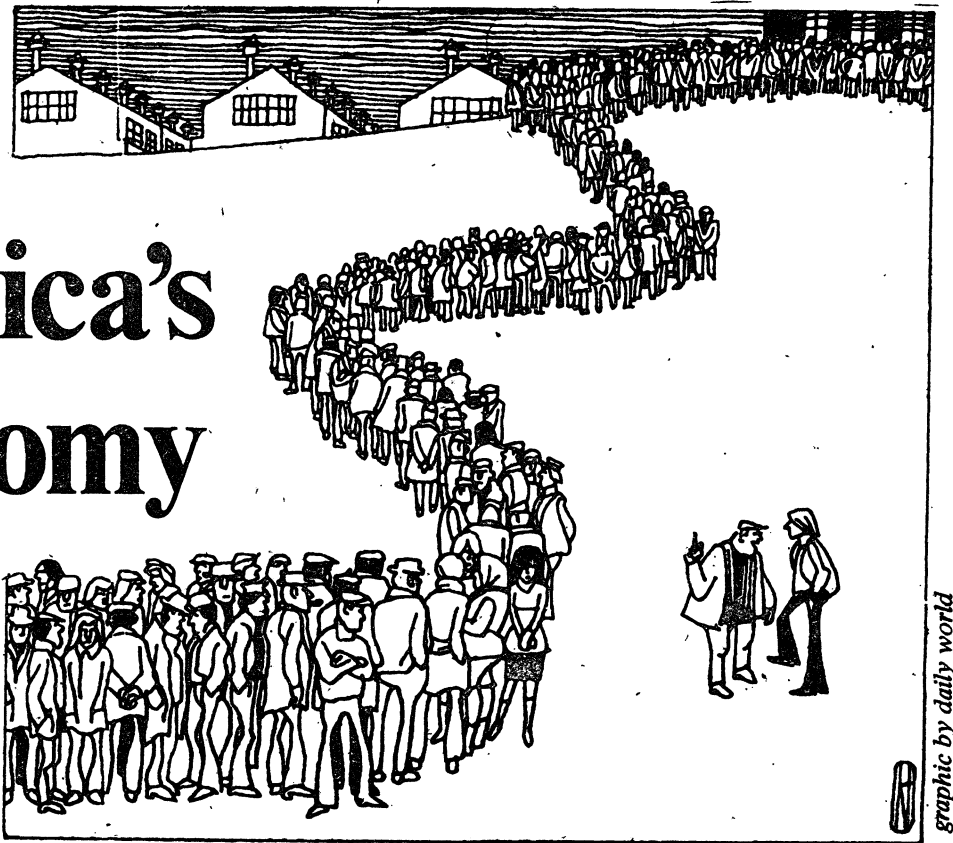
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NAM Editorial

Chasing America's Runaway Economy



graphic by daily world

The National Interim Committee voted at its November meeting to write an editorial each month, taking a position or outlining debate on important questions of interest to NAM members and readers. Future editorials will deal with such subjects as socialist feminism, busing, the Mideast and oil, and food, famine and population. Readers are encouraged to respond to the editorials or to send suggestions for what should go in them.

THE CLUTCH IS SLIPPING on the American economy—if, indeed, anyone is driving at all. Consumer prices are increasing by 12% a year. Real wages are below their 1965 level. According to official figures, which only count people actively looking for work, unemployment is now 7%. If "discouraged workers" are counted, unemployment is now as high as 14%. By any measure, we're in a recession.

Everyone but Ford has been saying as much for over a year—he has only recently admitted it. In denying its existence he has naturally opposed any measures that might have gotten production going again. The fact is that Ford has wanted a recession all along. He is doing what he thinks is best for business as a whole, even if it is not best for some businesses and certainly not for American workers. Capitalists need periodic recessions in order to discipline labor and stop inflation.

KEEPING LABOR FROM GETTING TOO AGGRESSIVE

A long period without a recession strengthens labor's bargaining position. In times of nearly full employment, workers are more ready to go out on strike. Other jobs are easy to get, while businesses find it too expensive to replace workers who leave. In economic expansions, workers strike more often than in recessions, and gain better contracts.

In fact, after a few years of expansion, wages usually start cutting into profits. In the late 1960s, for example, total profits reached a peak in 1966 and then declined, while total real wages continued to rise through 1969.

A recession ends all this. With unemployment rising, workers are worried about holding onto their jobs, less willing to strike, more cautious in their demands. Businesses are more able to resist labor demands, knowing it is easy to replace their workers.

The advantage for capitalists comes not during the recession, when profits as well as wages fall, but immediately afterward—after the government has stepped in to stimulate production through tax cuts, looser credit, and increased social spending. With labor newly disciplined by unemployment, wage demands are moderate, and profits rise faster than wages. Since unemployment usually remains high for a few years after production and profits have started to increase, the profitable situation of labor restraint survives well into the upturn of the cycle.

TRYING TO KEEP PRICES FROM GOING UP TOO FAST

Recessions are also supposed to help stop inflation. Though individual businesses profit from raising their own prices, rapid inflation is bad for business as a whole. It can threaten the American balance of trade with other countries. If prices rise faster in the U.S. than in other countries, U.S. exports will cost more than competing products, while foreign imports will cost less than domestic products. And unexpected inflation disrupts corporate planning. Rapid price increases change the real

value of outstanding debts and the costs of planned investments and raw materials.

Using a recession to stop inflation may seem humorous today, as we enjoy the best of both. But it remains an important part of government and business strategy. People buy less when they are unemployed; so a recession reduces the total demand for goods and services. This reduction in demand should ease inflation—when demand falls, prices should stop rising.

In the past the federal government has fairly smoothly manipulated the budget and monetary system to prevent wages or prices from going too high. Throughout the fifties and early sixties it was able to produce a regular cycle of mild recessions following periods of prosperity and expansion. But today the economy seems more and more out of control. Jerry Ford finds his job harder than he expected, Betty Ford recently confided to reporters. And it is not just because of his personal limitations. The worldwide crisis facing U.S. capitalism today makes smooth management of domestic problems increasingly difficult.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

In relations with third world countries, the Vietnam war was the end of an era. The U.S. failure after a decade of all-out military effort, and the domestic opposition aroused by the war, make future interventions nearly impossible. The change this produces in world power relations is immense: if the 1973 energy crisis had occurred in 1963, the U.S. would surely have invaded the Middle East. While the constant stream of anti-Arab propaganda may be an attempt to prepare us for such a war, any visible U.S. military activity abroad will be far more difficult and suspect in the future than in the past.

The oil producing countries have been able to gain control of substantial new income. Other raw-material-producing nations may follow their lead. This causes a real, though frequently exaggerated, inflationary push in the U.S. and other industrial capitalist countries, which clearly cannot be controlled by domestic economic policy.

The American oil companies have accepted the takeovers of their wells by the oil-producing nations and simply passed on 100% or more of the resulting costs to U.S. consumers. This preserves or even increases the companies' profits, while "blaming it on the Arabs"—an ever-more-popular explanation for inflations. All expropriations of U.S. business abroad will be at the expense of consumers, rather than the expropriated companies, unless more effective opposition to such practices emerges in this country.

The international problems of the U.S. economy include not only third world nationalism, but also competition with other developed countries. Before 1965 U.S. industry rarely worried about the "threat" of imports—the U.S. had a large and growing surplus of exports over imports. But the gradual reconstruction of European and Japanese industry, combined with the Vietnam war inflation (faster than inflation in other developed countries at that time),

allowed imports to capture a rising share of U.S. markets. The result was the monetary crisis of 1971 and the two devaluations of the dollar. Since the second devaluation in 1973, the U.S. has again held a surplus of exports over imports in all non-oil trade. But the threat of competition remains strong, particularly whenever prices rise faster here than abroad.

In other words, events in the third world add to inflationary pressures, while competition with industrial countries adds to the importance of controlling inflation.

THE NEW DOMESTIC PROBLEMS

Changes in the domestic economy are also reducing the effectiveness of government policy. The increasing concentration of business—the growing control of the economy by the few hundred largest corporations—expands the sector of the economy most resistant to the anti-inflationary pressures of recession.

A recession will stop price increases in the competitive sector of the economy, where businesses are most responsive to changes in supply and demand. When demand drops, construction companies, gas stations, cattle farmers, and independent truckers must lower their prices or go out of business. But recession has much less effect on price increases in the dominant monopoly sector of the economy, where businesses are partially able to resist the pressures of supply and demand. To take an extreme case, auto companies, faced with the worst sales slump in decades, raised prices this year.

In other words, a recession tries to stop inflation at the cost of labor and small business. If those sectors of the economy caused inflation, it would probably work. Even optimistic forecasters, however, expect that the current recession will only reduce inflation from 12% to 8%.

There are important forces opposing the use of recession to stop inflation. Some businessmen fear that the rising debt levels of many corporations, a product of the almost uninterrupted expansion since 1961, could lead during a prolonged recession to a series of corporate bankruptcies. Fear of bankruptcies among Chrysler, Lockheed, and other industrial giants helped force an early end to the 1970-71 recession.

Finally, political opposition to Ford's inaction mounts. The latest Harris poll shows only 11% of the electorate supporting his economic policies. Ford knows he cannot win in 1976 if the recession continues.

It seems likely that Ford will introduce measures like a tax cut designed to create a period of expansion before the 1976 elections. But such measures will only increase inflationary pressures and will make a new recession necessary immediately thereafter.

While total collapse is unlikely, the U.S. economy would seem to be starting a slow, sputtering decline. The long period of expansion that followed World War II seems to be drawing to a close. It will no

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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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What happened to the coal strike?

by Don Goldstein
Middlesex NAM

AS THE BEGINNING of November 1974 approached, the eyes of the nation were increasingly turned toward the negotiations and impending strike between the United Mine Workers (UMW) and the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association. For a variety of reasons, the outcome of the contract fight loomed as important for groups on all sides of the labor movement. First, the contract was to expire amid spreading realization of just how badly the economy was doing. The question of whose belts were to be tightened during the crunch had become paramount for working people, and the Miners' contract stance offered a possible challenge to the standard corporate answer.

Second, the 1974 negotiations were the first real test of strength and orientation for a union recently won over by organized, militant rank-and-file reformers. The rank-and-file movement and many on the Left were looking to the UMW in hope of seeing some of the fruits of militant reform work within the unions. And the specter of an "out-of-control" union, which showed signs of resisting integration into the flow of labor-corporate-government cooperation, was particularly disturbing to those whose boat was in danger of being rocked.

A final aspect of the contract struggle which lent it great importance, was the nature of many of the demands being raised by the miners. These demands, at least partially shaped by rank-and-file participation, included some which implied challenges to the coal operators' control over the workplace. The right to take direct action over grievances, the miners' final say over questions of safety, union participation in production plans—all of these struck at management prerogatives central to continued capitalist domination of the productive process. In addition, the miners' demands attacked divisions within the union, by opposing high pay differentials between upper and lower job classifications.

THE SETTLEMENT

Despite all the great expectations, the UMW strike and early-December settlement proved to be disappointing both for much of the union's membership and many of their supporters. Real improvements were made in some areas affecting miners' standards of living; yet the miners failed to win much of a real share of the coal industry's recent runaway profits.

The UMW rank and file was in no way in the driver's seat for the negotiations and strike, and the outcome failed to see any national grass-roots mobilization of miners—either against the companies, or against their union's handling of the struggle. And the contract made no break-through in terms of issues of control in the mines, though here again some gains were made.

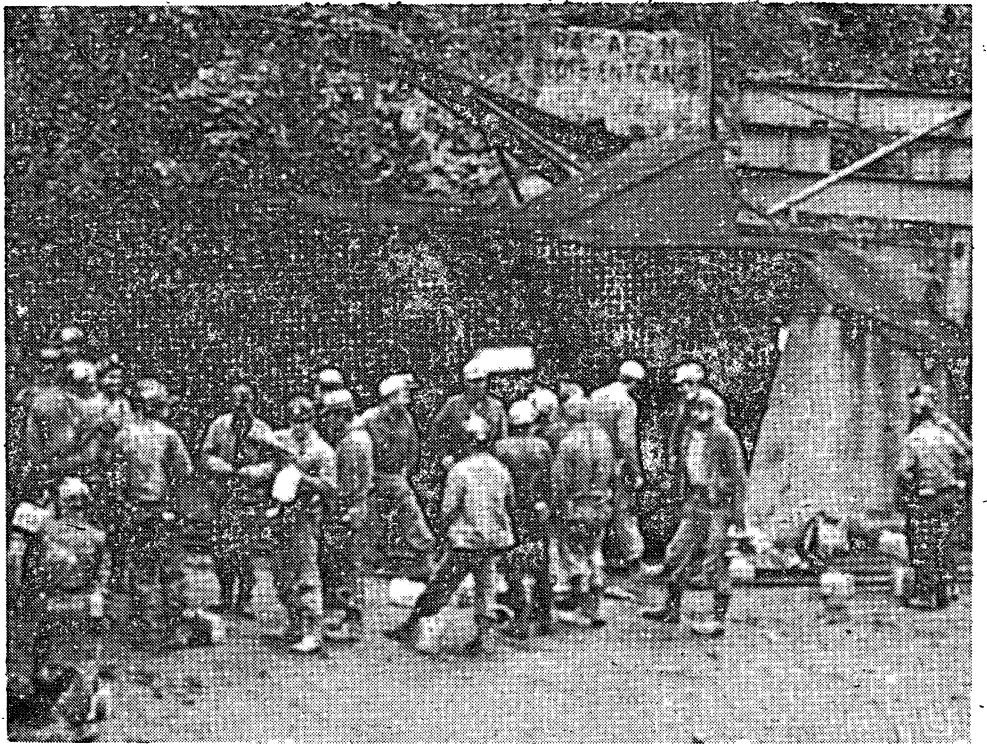
The wage settlement provided for a 17% increase over three years, plus a new cost-of-living allowance. The basic increase and the escalator combined will give most miners only a slight increase in real wages for three years at about the present rate of inflation. Wage differentials between the highest and lowest paid miners will, in addition,

be increased. In perhaps the contract's strongest area, sickness and accident insurance was substantially increased, and pensions took a big jump upward. But again differentials will increase: working miners' future pensions were upped about three times as much as those of current pensioners.

In the area of workplace disputes and conditions, the grievance procedure was shortened and rationalized, while the union won increased access to the mines for safety inspections. For both health and safety and general grievances, any substantial degree of control remained outside the miners' grasp; safety and grievance disputes both culminate in arbitration, without giving miners the right to strike between contracts over local issues.

A number of factors were important in pushing the UMW leadership headed by President Arnold Miller into signing such a mixed-bag contract. One was certainly intense government pressure. Federal mediator William Usery, who had gotten to know Miller during the Brookside strike, brought a great deal of pressure to bear on him. It appears that Miller then transmitted this pressure—combined patriotic appeals about the state of the economy and threats of harsh injunctive action—to the UMW's Bargaining Council composed of district presidents and International Executive Board members.

In addition, both Miller's willingness to take chances at the bargaining table and the union's negotiating unity were hurt by the deep, long-time divisions within the UMW leadership. The struggle around the contract at the international level generally pitted Miller's supporters against opposition forces, including strong conservative and opportunistic elements. Miller's inability to consolidate his power within the union contributed to the lack of communication between the negotiating team and the Bargaining Council (whose members should have been important channels for rank-and-file input) creating a climate of suspicion and division both on the Council and in the union as a whole.



So despite the Miller leadership's genuine commitment to an excellent contract dictated by the rank and file, they negotiated one which aroused a great deal of opposition within the UMW. At that point, rather than exposing the contract to full scrutiny and de-liberation, the leadership shortened the ratification process by cancelling the union-wide Pittsburgh conference on the pact and speeding up the elections.

This action removed the opportunity of rank and filers from all over (including oppositionists) to get together, discuss the contract, and make plans. It also meant that most miners had only a couple of days to look over the long, complex agreement; in fact, most district officials didn't understand it fully themselves. Whether Miller's motivation in this speed-up was a genuine if misguided concern for the U.S. economy, or was a desire to short-circuit a unified national rejection movement, the results were probably the same.

LESSONS FOR THE FUTURE

Though the miners' strike and settlement are surrounded with complex questions, it is possible to unravel the strands enough to draw some lessons

for the rank-and-file union movement. At the most superficial level, it is clear that a great deal of attention must be paid to structures and procedures for involving the membership in contract struggles. The process of rank-and-file ratification, while having its full extent and time absolutely guaranteed, must be structured to minimize the amount it detracts from full, unified use of the strike as a weapon against the employer.

In addition, this strike demonstrated some important benefits gained from the existence of a reform leadership put in power through militant grass-roots struggle. First, the educational work carried out through union publications during the period leading up to the strike, had a big impact in developing the miners' expectations, will to struggle, and knowledge of the economics of their situation. Second, the presence of a leadership which came to power with a genuine commitment to democratization, created more political openings otherwise have existed. Among other things, this allowed the surfacing and formulation of demands aimed at the balance of power in the workplace. And

Miners disturbed by contract, but not defiant

by Judy MacLean
Pittsburgh NAM

"YOU KNOW WHO'S the most pissed off? It's the old guys. To get the new pensions, they have to wait till 1976 to retire. A lot of 'em were just holding on, waitin' to retire the day after the contract was signed." D.L., a young miner who lives near Appolo, PA, thinks the buildup that newspapers and television gave the UMWA contract (signed in December) as a big victory for the miners is "a real joke."

A lot of miners would prefer not to talk about the contract. The feeling in the Allegheny-Kiski Valley in western Pennsylvania is that those who voted for the contract did so not because they liked it but because of the shaky economic situation in the U.S. and fear of a long strike. "The country is kind of going down hill right now, you know, with the recession and everything, and I think that's why most of the men voted for it," says R.B., brother-in-law of D.L. Both men are in locals where the majority vetoed the contract, yet there was no open opposition to resuming work. R.B. notices a difference in the attitude of the miners: "Around our place, you're supposed to go down right on the minute, you know, but now they wait five or ten minutes; they have to chase 'em down, practically. Everybody just kind of drags along, now."

J.G., a miner in the Russellton mine,

voted against the contract but his local went for it. He felt the main reasons were "to get back to work. Christmas was coming up and they needed the money," rather than real support of the provisions of the contract. J.G. had said of the first version of the contract, "It stinks," and says he doesn't feel too different now. He and the miners he works with, were most concerned about the no-strike clause. "It won't make any difference until something happens, but it's going to make a big difference then. People don't realize what they gave up."

D.L. and R.B. aren't as worried about that particular provision since they think it's unenforceable. "That hasn't been tested yet," comments R.B., "but I think it will be tested."

"No one's walked out yet, but I believe they will," says D.L., "as soon as they get a couple of pays under their belts. Right now, no one wants to miss work. I've noticed even some of the irregulars are regular."

For D.L. and R.B. the worst parts about the contract were the pay raise and the pensions. Many of the increases were deferred. "It's signed," says R.B., "but you can't collect till later. And with inflation bad as it is we're going to be behind where we started with this one when we're ready for the next contract."

On the job, there have been few

differences so far. One of the things R.B. had wanted to see in the contract that was included was extra people on each crew, which would mean more safety. "They posted for the jobs, but no one's down there yet. We might not hear about it for another sixty or ninety days." J.G. feels the worst part of the contract is "The safety part. They put down a lot of writing but I don't think it means too much."

ALL THE MINERS I spoke with feel skeptical and disappointed with the present contract, but do not predict organized rank-and-file opposition at this time. "I think it's going to have a big effect on the next election, though, when Miller runs again," says J.G. "I think he's going to have a lot of opposition." D.L. and R.B. also think UMWA president Arnold Miller will have a tough time getting reelected. "The thing that hurt the most was when Miller said he was going to sell the contract to the miners," says R.B. "It wouldn't have been so bad if he said he was going to explain it, tell 'em what was in it; but when he says 'sell it,' that made a lot of guys mad."

For a few weeks, miners felt their collective power through the strike, but that's already seeming distant as they return to their dangerous and often back-breaking jobs. "What can we say?" says R.B. "We're back to work."



John L. Lewis was jailed in 1948 when the UMW defied a Taft-Hartley injunction.

France

Abortion Becoming Legal

by Danielle Stewart
Paris, France

Date: 14 December 1974
Scene: The French Senate
On the stand: One woman
Facing her 271 men, 7 women
Debate topic: Legalization of abortion

THE SETTING had been just as dramatic, a week before, when the pro-abortion bill had been discussed at the French National Assembly. Everyone was keenly aware of the nervous strain endured by Simone Veil, the French Minister of Health, who was presenting the government's case for a pro-abortion bill to the mostly male

audience. By contrast, the public galleries were packed with women—mere on-lookers, powerless to make a decision which would affect their lives...

The debate was not new—the same arguments had been heard before, under Pompidou's government, when a bill to repeal the old 1920 law (which makes abortion a crime) had been proposed by Rep. Lucien Neuwirth, himself a Gaullist.

Clearly, the debate on abortion was going to cut across party lines—right-wing party lines, that is, for the present bill has passed thanks to massive support from the Communists and Socialists, who voted as a bloc (72 votes in the Senate), while the right and center divided roughly down the middle. (The vote was 182 to 91 with 5 abstentions.)

To make matters more complex, the bill was presented by Giscard's government, i.e., the "New Liberal" Gaullists, who left the old party liners breathless by going further than Neuwirth had ever tried to. The moot point, however, was the question of cost: would women still have to pay, or would abortion be considered a medical intervention, thus to cost next to nothing under the French social security system?

The Left rose to the occasion and graphically depicted the plight of working class women (notwithstanding their well known male chauvinist attitudes in everyday life—e.g., look at how many women sit on the Communist Party's National Bureau!). Predictably, the government was not going to budge an inch on the issue and only pointed out that the very poor would get it free.

THE LAW'S PROVISIONS

Before becoming law, the bill, as amended by the Senate, has to go back to the National Assembly and then be ratified by the government. But it seems the battle has been won. The main merit of the law is first to remove from abortion the stain of illegality: a woman can no longer be sued for having had an abortion (or rather, an "interruption of pregnancy," as it is now called).

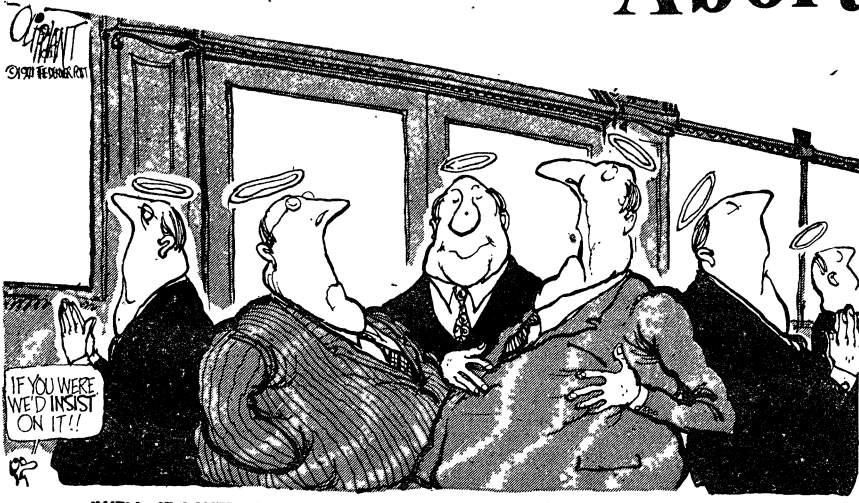
Secondly, the law attempts to eliminate quackery and financial exploitation by demanding that abortion be performed in hospitals by medically-trained personnel. (Doctors' attitudes on abortion are a whole story. Typically, the law takes care to leave each doctor his "freedom of conscience," i.e., a doctor may refuse to perform an abortion on ethical grounds. (In the Senate, 8 doctors voted for the bill and 5 against.)

The best thing about the law, if properly enforced, is that information on contraception will now be made widely available. Until now information has been obtainable but few know *where* to get it. There are Family Planning Centers, but who knows about them, and who knows what the word "orthogenic" means, unless she is already informed? Family doctors may or may not be helpful. And the media have spread so many scary stories about the pill that gynecologists tend to be overcautious and only prescribe the pill after a number of laboratory tests and for three months at a time—all for fear of having a scandal on their hands.

GRASSROOTS ORGANING

It would be grossly unfair to let all the credit go to the present government. Sponsoring the bill, as well as appointing Mme. Francoise Giroud to brand new Ministry of "The Female Condition," represents the shrewd response of a government bent on co-opting rather than repressing by force. Nothing would have been done if a number of grassroots organizations had

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Labor upsurge

Independence fight rising in Puerto Rico

THE RALLY in support of Puerto Rican independence held at Madison Square Garden on October 27 alerted many people to the struggle for independence and socialism in Puerto Rico. Since that rally this struggle has intensified with a confusing succession of dramatic and decisive events.

Just three days after the rally the workers of the Water Authority, a public corporation, walked off the job. This strike, led by the Authentic Independence Union, became a confrontation between the workers' movement and the Puerto Rican government when a judge, sentenced 11 union leaders to 30 days in jail for ignoring his back-to-work injunction.

A coalition of labor unions, led by the United Labor Movement (MOU), quickly began discussions about the possibility of staging a general strike. More than 100 unions representing over 100,000 workers and a major students organization, the Federation of University Students Pro-Independence (FUPI), all agreed to strike if the government did not back down and release the leaders. At the critical moment when the judge refused to reverse his original sentence, the colonial governor was forced to pardon the 11 men.

GROWING MILITANCE

However, the tensions created by the continuing strike and government repression did not dissolve when the leaders were released from jail. The Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) held a very successful rally shortly after the men were released from jail, and the 12,000 persons present clearly agreed with the AIU president that the struggle of the Puerto Rican working class for justice would be long and difficult. When PIP leader Ruben Berrios was elected party president he pledged full support to the striking water workers.

By this time the pressure on the workers was becoming very intense. Before the walkout began there had been widespread destruction of Water Authority equipment. Shortly after the PIP rally numerous bombs destroyed these facilities again leaving large areas of the island without water. Still, the public corporation refused to negotiate and the government insisted that arbitration was the only answer.

On Thanksgiving day, November 28, the colonial government activated more than 1,400 national guardsmen with statements suggesting that no solution could be reached until the union backed down on its demands. The presence of armed national guardsmen demonstrated the lengths to which the present ad-

ministration would go to crush the workers' movement. This was the second time in two years that the Puerto Rican national guard was used to break strikes.

These reactionary moves on the part of the government were coupled with an offensive by the entire press against the workers' movement. The mass media united in a red-baiting scare campaign against the strikers and their supporters.

However, just two days after the guard was mobilized, another voice joined the media struggle as *Claridad*, the newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, began daily publication. Called "the newspaper of the workers," the daily *Claridad* carried a responsible, sympathetic view of the workers' struggle.

The day after *Claridad* began daily publication and three days after the national guard was mobilized, 15 powerful bombs ripped through North American corporations all over the island. These bombings intensified the media smear campaign and led the government to escalate its repression. Many homes of workers and PSP members were searched by Commonwealth secret police.

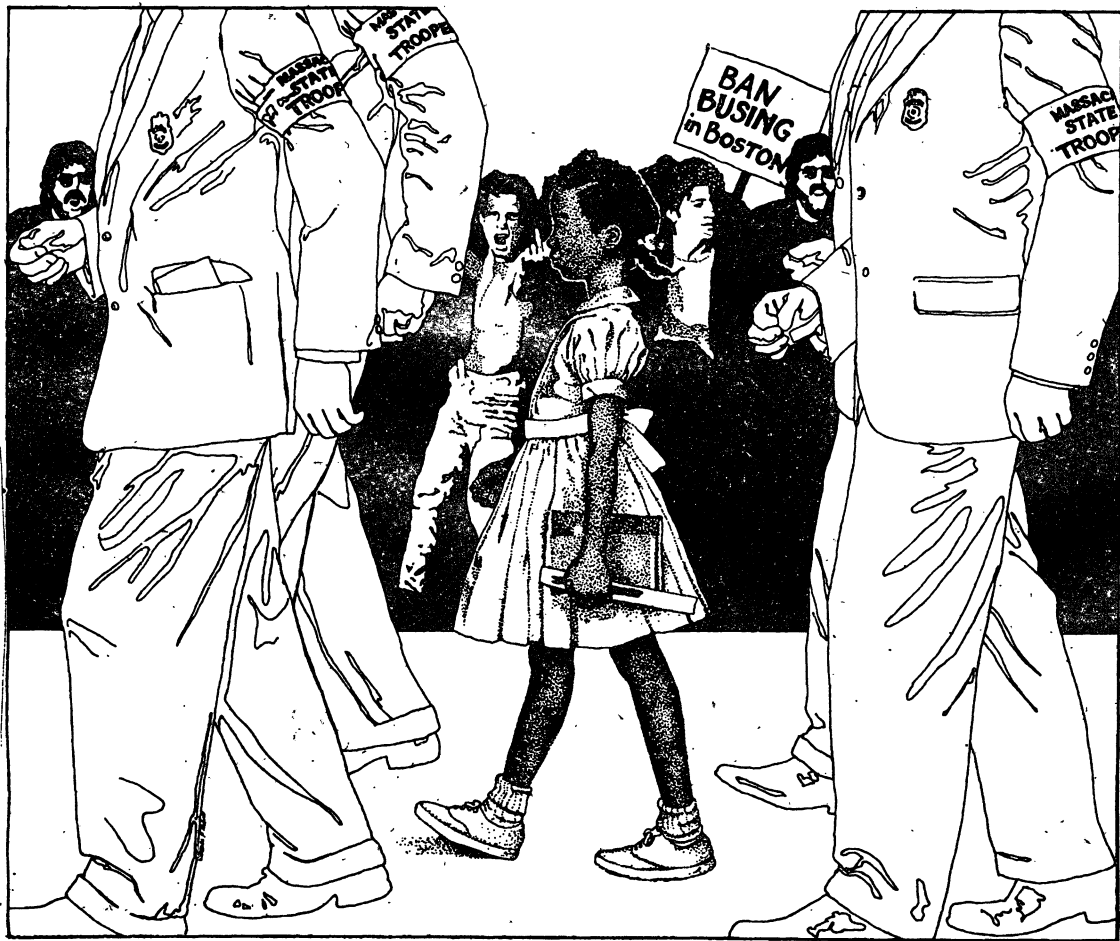
FAVORABLE SETTLEMENT

Amid the hysteria of the press and the military intimidation, the arbitrators in the water workers' strike returned a settlement that was somewhat



Independence rally in San Juan drew 20,000 on Dec. 12

Busing crisis splinters Boston



by John Viertel
with other members of Middlesex NAM

IN THE FINAL WEEK of the year 1974 three members of the Boston School Committee (they constitute a majority of the five-member committee) stood in the Federal Court at Boston to be found guilty of contempt by U.S. District Judge W. Arthur Garrity for defying his court order to approve and submit a new extended city-wide desegregation plan. The plan was to implement the second phase of court-ordered desegregation of Boston Public Schools, which had begun on a more limited scale last September, and over a period of months had brought on the most savage racial conflict and violence in the city's history.

Emerging from the court, where Judge Garrity had deferred sentencing after his finding of civil contempt, school committee chairman John Kerrigan stated that he would rather go to jail than vote for a plan incorporating "forced bussing," which in good conscience he opposed and which violated the basic rights of the parents whom he, as an elected official, was sworn to represent.

A DESEGREGATION CRISIS

The scene graphically illustrated the intentionally-created confusion and ambiguities of Boston's school desegregation crisis. Here we were shown a representative and spokesman of a community com-

posed largely of poor working people defying the coercive power of the courts, and the ruling "liberal" establishment, heroically risking imprisonment to defend the rights, the interests, and the fervently expressed will of these people.

So, too, the images the media conveyed during the preceding months aroused curiously mixed feelings as we watched the militant confrontations between "anti-bussing" forces in South Boston and the authority of the state: helmeted tactical police advancing with clubs against demonstrators; protesters being beaten and dragged bleeding through the streets to the paddy wagons; mounted cops riding their horses into crowds to break them up. All this reminded those of us who had participated in the anti-war movement of our own demonstrations and protest actions in an uncanny way. It was as if we were seeing the history of the late sixties replayed again in a strange distorting mirror.

But behind these surface phenomena there lay a more fundamental concern, for the first phase of court desegregation which began in September 1974 was confined mainly to the poorest districts of Boston. The all-white schools of South Boston to which Black children from Rosbury are being bussed are little better than the schools in their own neighborhood. They are far inferior to the schools in the more affluent white suburbs which surround the inner city. Zoning laws and the resultant housing costs prevent most Blacks from living in these suburbs. And last year the U.S. Supreme Court decision on

the Detroit plan blocked the integration of inner city and suburban schools.

The leaders of the "anti-bussing" movement has not been slow in exploiting this obvious injustice of a class society. They have inveighed against the wealthy liberals from the affluent suburbs—Judge Garrity himself resides in Wellesley, one of the richest of Boston's western suburbs—who would dictate to the working people of the inner city where their children are to go to school and with whom.

AN ETHNIC ENCLAVE

South Boston, from which the main resistance against integration has come, is a predominantly Irish enclave, though Italian and other ethnic neighborhoods have joined them with enthusiasm. Sympathy for the Irish comes naturally to all who are committed to human liberation, because of the heroic Irish struggle against British colonial rule. But this makes their resistance to the Black demands for equal rights all the more regrettable.

Bernadette Devlin, Socialist leader of the movement for civil rights in Northern Ireland, remarked during her visit to U Mass, Boston, last year that she could not understand how anyone who supported the struggle of the Irish people could fail to support the struggle of the Blacks in the U.S. The U.S. civil rights movement, she said, had been an inspiration to their movement in Northern Ireland, and had served as a model in tactics and methods of struggle. As a committed Socialist she pleaded for the solidarity of all exploited and oppressed people. Otherwise, she predicted, the situation in Boston could become very much like the situation in Northern Ireland where the destructive violence of murderous strife between different ethnic groups of workers prevents them from coming to grips with their real problems and confronting their real enemies.

But this is the deep tragedy of South Boston. What is happening here is not simply the result of some superficial manipulation, of dirty tricks which political demagogues are playing. The strong ethnic bond, the old patronage machine politics which arose out of it, have developed over centuries from the Irish immigrant experience, as confronted with the barriers of WASP upper class chauvinism. It is thus rooted in the history of tensions between classes, as a protective mechanism of immigrant workers in the absence of an indigenous working class culture.

Now it is turned, in a protective rearguard action, against the Blacks, against what... of being reduced to the abject "marginal" conditions of existence with respect to housing, jobs, and education that prevail in the Black ghettos. These are the sources of racism in the ethnic neighborhood, growing out of the increasingly precarious material basis of their lives.

It has been claimed repeatedly that the opponents of "forced bussing" are not racists. What they object to, they insist, is bussing their children out of their own neighborhood into alien and dangerous environments—the "high crime areas" of the Black ghetto. But the incidents of violence have occurred, almost without exception, in the white neighborhoods into which Black children have been bussed—in South Boston, in Hyde Park, in Roslindale.

A VICTORY FOR THE BLACK COMMUNITY?

Besides the images described earlier, there are others: white crowds stoning busses in which Black school children are riding, and white crowds in South Boston dragging a black motorist from his car and beating him savagely.

These are the images which haunt Black children

(Continued on Page 6)

Crisis provoked by School Comm.

In 1965 Massachusetts passed a Racial Imbalance Act which prohibited the concentration of Black and other minority students in the schools and ordered affirmative action to end segregation, whatever its cause. From that day on the main thrust of the Boston School Committee, with its solid electoral base in South Boston, has been opposition to the implementation of this act. Their drive (which finally gained support of a majority of the Democrats who control the state legislature) to have it repealed has failed so far only because of the betoes by the Republican governor and legal decisions.

Leaders of this drive have included Louise Day Hicks who chaired the School Committee during the middle sixties and thus launched a political career which gained her one term in the

U.S. House of Representatives. At present she sits on the nine-member Boston City Council. Mrs. Hicks' own children never attended Boston public schools, but went instead to parochial schools.

Due to the efforts of Mrs. Hicks and her colleagues and successors on the school committee, a clear pattern of segregation was developed in the Boston schools as the number of Black children entering the system grew. But unlike other large Eastern cities, Black students in Boston have remained a minority of those attending—no more than 30%.

Here Judge Garrity's findings in a decision which order the first phase of desegregation in 1974 provide striking evidence: "By a combination of seat assignments, preferences, and options... a dual system of secondary education

was created, one for each race. Black students generally entered high school upon completion of the eighth grade, and white students upon completion of the ninth." In addition, the school committee had converted largely Black schools into "middle schools," grades 6 to 8, while white elementary schools went through grade 6, after which white students entered junior high school, grades 7 to 9. The effect of this was that "white students were generally given options enabling them to escape from predominantly Black schools; Black students generally were without such options..."

This finding makes abundantly clear where the primary blame must lie for the situation which brought on the court order and made bussing necessary. Housing and job patterns—the basic expressions of racism in our soci-

ety—certainly have played their part. And, in fact, school segregation has increased segregation in housing.

But it is above all the planned and conscious actions of the Boston school committee, capitalizing on fears and tensions they themselves have done so much to evoke, which have brought on the present racial crisis in Boston.

The school committee refused to take "affirmative action," such as the construction of new schools at locations where they could serve both white and Black communities. (In view of the geography and demographic distribution of Boston this would not have been too difficult.) They also worked persistently during the past ten years to intensify and make more rigid patterns of racial segregation, and to heighten racial fears and hostilities.

Former official seeks to abolish CIA

by Rod Larsen

A former ranking official of the CIA has announced that he has begun a "campaign to fight the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency wherever it is operating." Philip B.F. Agee, formerly employed in the Latin American Department of "dirty tricks" of the agency, has released a statement through correspondents in the U.S., London, and Mexico City that states he intends to form and work with an "international committee to coordinate a campaign with two main functions: first to expose CIA officers and agents, and to take the measures necessary to drive them out of the countries where they are operating; secondly, to seek within the United States to have the CIA abolished."

Agee began his campaign to expose

and "neutralize" CIA station operatives by releasing the names, home addresses, and cover occupations of 37 operations officers and administrative employees "who together constitute the bulk of the CIA station under various covers in the U.S. embassy in Mexico City."

His statement added that he had trained a group of Mexican associates "to follow the comings and goings of CIA people" while he was in Mexico City.

Agee, whose credentials as a former ranking CIA officer were confirmed with "authoritative sources in Washington" by the *Washington Post* last July, is currently working in seclusion near London on a book detailing his experiences in the CIA during the period 1956-1969.

The Mexico City list included men-

tion of the current Mexican president, Luis Echeverria, a former minister of government in charge of internal security, who was said to have had a "close relationship with CIA station chief Winston Scott." Agee said that there were indications this relationship had been broken when Echeverria became president in 1970. All of the 37 people were said to be "full-time employees and U.S. citizens. Not included, therefore, are the hundreds of paid CIA agents and collaborators in Mexico, mostly Mexican citizens, whose work is directed by these on the list." Other agency operatives were said to be working "under non-official cover posing as students, professors, businessmen, journalists, retired people, or tourists."

The 39-year-old ex-CIA official added that he was forming an international

committee to cooperate on further exposures in other countries in a campaign to "destabilize" the agency because he now believes that more people are becoming aware of "the CIA's intervention on behalf of transnational corporations that for generations have been stealing the natural resources of underdeveloped countries and robbing workers of the product of their labor." The CIA, according to Agee, "can have no other task than to serve the interests of the business and financial elites who are the ruling minority of the U.S., the same ruling minority that struggles against real integration of Americans at home and that prolongs the misery of the thirty or forty million Americans who live in poverty."

Economy

(Continued from Page 2)

longer be possible to use short mild recessions to prepare the way for extended periods of growth. We can expect the new contradictory pressures for expansion and recession to lead to short booms repeatedly interrupted by new slumps.

THE MEANING FOR AMERICAN POLITICS

A period of continuing economic decline will pose new problems for capitalist politicians—both Democrat and Republican—and create new opportunities for American socialists. As long as capitalist politicians have been able to deliver on promises of a higher standard of living for American workers and of social programs to aid the poor and unemployed, American socialists have been unable to build support for a socialist alternative. As we enter a period of contraction and decline, the Democrats, the leading party since the 1930s, will find it increasingly difficult to hold together a coalition that has included organized labor, white ethnic groups, third world people, feminists, anti-war activists, and liberal capitalists. Such a coalition could only survive on the basis of programs that could satisfy all of these groups.

Increasingly, politicians and labor leaders with a working class constituency will be forced to move to the right or the left. Some like Wallace or Jackson have moved right—toward an alliance between white workers and capital that excludes Blacks, feminists, and the remains of the anti-war movement. Other politicians will move left—toward a classwide alliance against capital.

As the period of decline has set in, many American workers have been attracted to appeals from the right. As workers' insecurity has grown, politicians like Wallace have been able to pit whites against

Blacks, American workers against foreign workers, and raise the spectre of the disintegration of the family. They have been able to use pseudo-populist rhetoric—opposing "big government"—to oppose programs for third world people and the poor and unemployed in general.

It is important, in such a period, for socialists to offer a clear alternative. We have to oppose racism, sexism, and national chauvinism. Struggles around defending and expanding the social services will be particularly critical. In these struggles—around unemployment, health care, child care, welfare, and education—the issue of providing programs for the entire working class will be most clearly raised.

Initially, the development of a socialist movement will most likely be concentrated among those sectors of the working class most threatened by the move rightward of capitalist politicians—third world people struggling for equality, and workers in the public sector. But as capitalism continues to fail to make good on its promises, socialism will grow as an alternative within the entire working class. There is, however, no timetable for this. Factors like revolutions in European capitalist countries could accelerate this process, while other factors could retard it. But it is important to realize that just as continued American prosperity isolated socialists in the U.S., economic decline will in the long run strengthen the argument for socialism within the American working class.

Boston Busing

(Continued from Page 5)

and their parents: "Everyday I'm thinking about Zandra all day long, praying that nothing has happened to her," a Black mother says. "I have a feeling that war could break own any minute and she would be right in the middle of it."

On December 11, when a white student was stabbed in South Boston High, war did break out. The Black students were besieged in the school building by an enraged white crowd, and only by sending in a squadron of decoy busses, on which the whites vented their fury, could the Black children be removed, secretly, in another fleet of busses from the back of the building.

"The children couldn't even go to school for a while," another mother says. "The situation was so bad the city had to admit it couldn't protect the students, and advised parents of Black children to keep them home from school in South Boston and Hyde Park."

"I was so terrified to send her back to South Boston," another mother says of her daughter. "I just sat by the television hoping to God I wouldn't see Velma being wheeled into an ambulance. I just sat there. Then a police car drove up and I thought, 'Oh my God, my child is dead.' But they were bringing Velma (who had gotten glass from a broken bus window into her eye) home from the bus stop. And I thanked the Lord she wasn't hurt worse than she was."

Those Black children not injured physically return home to tell of whites of South Boston holding bananas and acting like monkeys, and of "Niggers go back to Africa" scrawled on the walls of the school.

IN SPITE OF THE HOSTILITY and the danger and the anxiety, most Black parents keep sending their children into the white schools. The decision of Judge Garrity came in response to a suit by the NAACP and it has been viewed as a major victory by



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the Black community, after so many years of legal and legislative battles, as well as demonstrations, school boycotts, and other forms of struggle. They feel that in spite of the violence and turmoil, desegregation has already brought noticeable improvements in the education of their children, especially in the schools that were predominantly Black: "Black parents have been screaming about the schools for years," a mother said. "But once the white parents complain about the schools they have teachers and aids down there cleaning up and painting." (Quotes from *Boston Phoenix*, Dec. 13, 1974.)

They may not be happy about the specific form in which the dismantling of racial segregation with its inferior education for Blacks is being implemented, but on the whole the Black community is committed to seeing this struggle through to the end.

Aronowitz economy column

A Crisis for Whom?

by Stanley Aronowitz
Metropolis NAM
New York City

HARDLY A DAY passes without a fresh series of "revelations" about the sagging economy. The latest, an admission by the Ford administration that year-end unemployment had climbed beyond the 7% rate, is bound to evoke no more than a chorus of "told you so's" from trade union, liberal, and left-wing sources. With the administration abandoning its 31-point "anti-inflation" program piece by piece, there can be no question of Ford's final acquiescence to the lib-labor program of achieving "full employment" through the tradition left-Keynesian policies. These are: public works, leaf raking jobs, lower bank interest rates to small business and working class consumers, a general rise of federal spending for a variety of social programs (including increased and extended unemployment benefits), a general tax cut, more federal aid to education, better welfare payments, and so on.

A WHOLE NEW GAME

Late in November, Henry Ford II gave the President his marching orders. Stop the crap about inflation, admonished the board chairman of Ford Motor Co. The WIN program has failed, he declared before a New York business group; the new name of the game is joblessness. His speech came on the heels of enormous layoffs in the auto industry, said to approach 200,00 by mid-October or about one-fourth of the auto payroll. Henry Ford was simply telling the federal government it must intervene to assume the social costs of the vast shifts underway in the shape of the American economy.

The age of ten million cars per year is over. 1974 fourth-quarter sales were down 30% from the same period in 1973, and unemployment began to reach back into industries that supply the car manufacturers—rubber, glass, electrical equipment and parts, and textiles. Emma Rothschild has predicted the end of the auto age. Indeed, the permanent layoff of more than 100,000 auto workers gives statistical credence to her claim. But the figures do not, in themselves, constitute proof that she is right.

It is possible, as some economists claim (including some "Marxists"), that the U.S. economy is simply experiencing the low point of a business cycle that may be longer and more onerous than the previous post-world war two recessions, but is to be considered essentially similar. If this is the case, then an economic revival to pre-1973 levels may be expected some time this year, probably in the third or fourth quarters.

The fundamental assumption behind this way of thinking is that international and domestic market forces are responsible for the crisis. In Marxist terms, the fundamental contradiction between the capacity of the productive forces to produce commodities and accumulate capital and the mass of workers to consume them has led to a partial and temporary breakdown in the self-expansion of the capitalist system. Terms such as "stagflation" describe the present situation from this perspective.

The new addition to the traditional Marxist analysis is to point to the growing competition between the U.S. and European capitalist countries on one hand, and the success of independence movements in third world countries on the other, as contributing factors to the downturn in economic activity that may spell a full-scale economic crisis. Indeed, some on the Left would like to ascribe the whole recession to the intra-capitalist rivalry and the withdrawal of third world nations from the U.S. orbit, particularly Vietnam and the OPEC countries.

THE INTERNATIONAL RUNAWAY SHOP

Such a conclusion assumes that OPEC operates autonomously from the supra-national corporations such as the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Aramco, and ITT. It further ignores the increasing domination of U.S.-based supra-nationals over larger proportions of European industry, particularly in the car industry, chemicals, and computers. The decline of the U.S. domestic market for automobiles does not signal an end to the auto age overseas. On the contrary, it is demonstrable that General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler have been systematically expanding overseas investments for the past fifteen years, not to provide capital for the expansion of the domestic car industry, but to exploit a whole new market in first and third world sectors. The "international runaway shop" is a characteristic feature of our era.

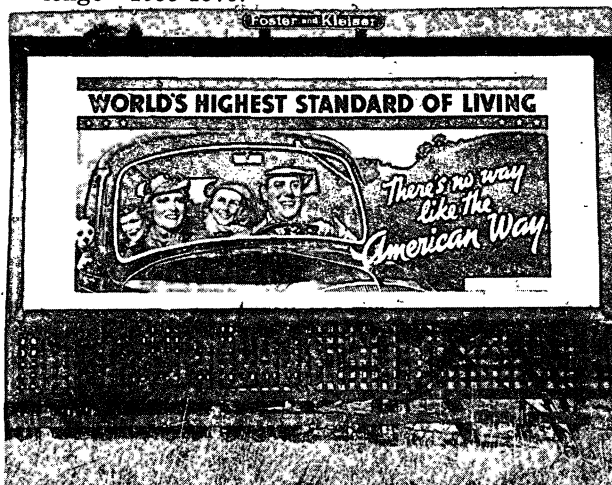
Not only has intra-capitalist rivalry been muted by

this pattern of supra-national investment, but the "energy crisis" itself helped to restore the sagging position of the U.S.-based supra-nationals in 1972-73. Capitalist powers challenging the dominance of American-based supra-nationals were set back by the rising oil levies imposed by the OPEC countries. The development plans of India, Pakistan, and others were also hurt.

Among the hardest hit "advanced" capitalist countries were Italy, France, and Japan who import more than 95% of their crude oil from abroad. Britain was somewhat spared by virtue of the importance of Anglo-Iranian in the Middle East, and the Scandinavian countries and Holland were helped by their willingness to become port storage areas for Middle East oil when it was being deliberately withheld by the major international corporations to jack prices up.

The OPEC countries' ruling classes have benefitted from the new arrangements. They were able to exact increased royalty payments from the big combines and have been using their capital to develop their own economies as well as penetrate others. It is ironic that Iran agreed to extend a loan to India barely six months after oil price rises had crippled the Indian industrial sector. Of course the loan carries the usual high interest rates.

The thesis that the U.S. economy is in "crisis" hinges on the question of whether and to what extent the third world and the advanced capitalist countries of Europe and Japan are truly independent of U.S. domination. I wish to argue that there is a lot of wishful thinking in the point of view of U.S. corporate eclipse. The evidence points in the direction of a remarkable recovery of the international strength of the dollar due to the capacity of U.S. corporations (with the government's assistance) to mobilize the enormous food and energy resources of this country, and of the Middle East to restore the U.S. balance of payments deficits incurred during the brief period of European challenge—1955-1970.



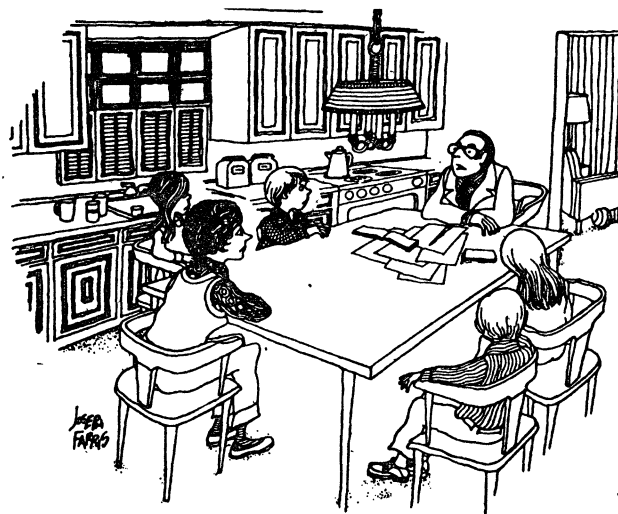
CONSUMER GOODS

Today, much of the capitalist world is flat on its back. Some, like Great Britain, are completely at the mercy of the supra-nationals, while others, like France, are struggling for the remnants of autonomy they still retain. It would be an error to argue that the recent Arab boycott and the subsequent negotiations are indications that the OPEC nations have broken from their former corporate masters.

Saudi Arabia took over 100% ownership of their own oil resources (*Wall Street Journal*, Dec. 6, 1974), but transfer of ownership does not signal a genuine transfer of power. Not only does Aramco retain management contracts with the Saudis, but part of the deal calls for payments of from 30 cents to 50 cents a barrel to Aramco as reparations for the takeover. Further, transportation and marketing control is still retained by the giant combine. Similar arrangements exist in other OPEC nations, especially Venezuela where U.S. influence is hardly diminished. It may be that "independence" has nothing to do with expropriation.

The supra-nationals have agreed to a harder bargaining posture by developing countries that have some important raw materials. The old days are ended to the extent that greater concessions must be made in order to retain control over supplies of these materials. But, the evils of neo-colonialism have not been surpassed. Instead, the international corporations will not invest capital in manufacturing and service industries within third world as well as advanced countries.

The new pattern of investment raises questions of the efficacy of the international division of labor in which the U.S. dominates in a score of industrial spheres while maintaining the third world as major



"I've called the family together to announce that, because of inflation, I'm going to have to let two of you go."

areas for the extraction of raw materials. With the growth of consumer goods industries in third world countries, U.S. consumer good industries are being phased out, or are confronted with cutting wages at home to remain competitive.

This is the basis of the sanguine posture of GM and other auto manufacturers with the decline of domestic car production. They have been diversifying to overseas markets for their capital (but not U.S.-made cars) for some time. Added to this strategy is the diversification into other industries, particularly arms and mass transit. Although the recent mass transit bill passed by congress and signed by the President may not result in much new construction in the near future, the basis has been established for some major new developments in this field. And GM, which produces 80% of all mass transit equipment in the U.S. is bound to be a major beneficiary of the trend.

As for other industries, there is no indication that the U.S. is about to yield in the most technologically advanced industries such as computers, electronics, machine production, or basic metals refining and fabricating. These industries are the basis of the power of the supra-nationals. But the workers in consumer goods are in for hard times.

THE LEFT'S STRATEGY

So far, the Left has offered no program to meet the assault on U.S. living standards that goes much beyond the AFL-CIO or the liberal Democrats' legislative program. Part of the problem is that the Left's analysis is encumbered by an orthodox Marxist view. But if we adopt the perspective that decisions are made in the corridors of corporate power that influence if not completely determine the shape of the world economy, then a whole set of new conclusions follow.

We must pay less attention to the market forces or the declining rate of profit or even of international competition than to the relationship between these factors and the means by which corporations are able to respond to the difficulties experienced in production, distribution, and consumption.

In the current economic situation, trade unions have either adopted the posture of the Steelworkers of complete cooperation with their bosses, or of the UAW whose plan for recovery is geared to providing more purchasing power for consumers in order to help them buy cars. Thus the concentration on fiscal matters, job-producing programs, etc. Unless a movement develops counter to the main liberal-trade union program on the economy, there can be no effective opposition to the international corporations.

The Left needs to advance a program of several parts. (1) It should encourage workers to refuse layoffs by maintaining production despite management's decisions to close plants or curtail work. Here the Left could give wide publicity to the results of the Clyde shipyard struggle in England and the LIP factory occupation in France where workers refused to permit the plants to close and their jobs be abolished. In both cases, the workers held their jobs by means of direct action—occupying the factories.

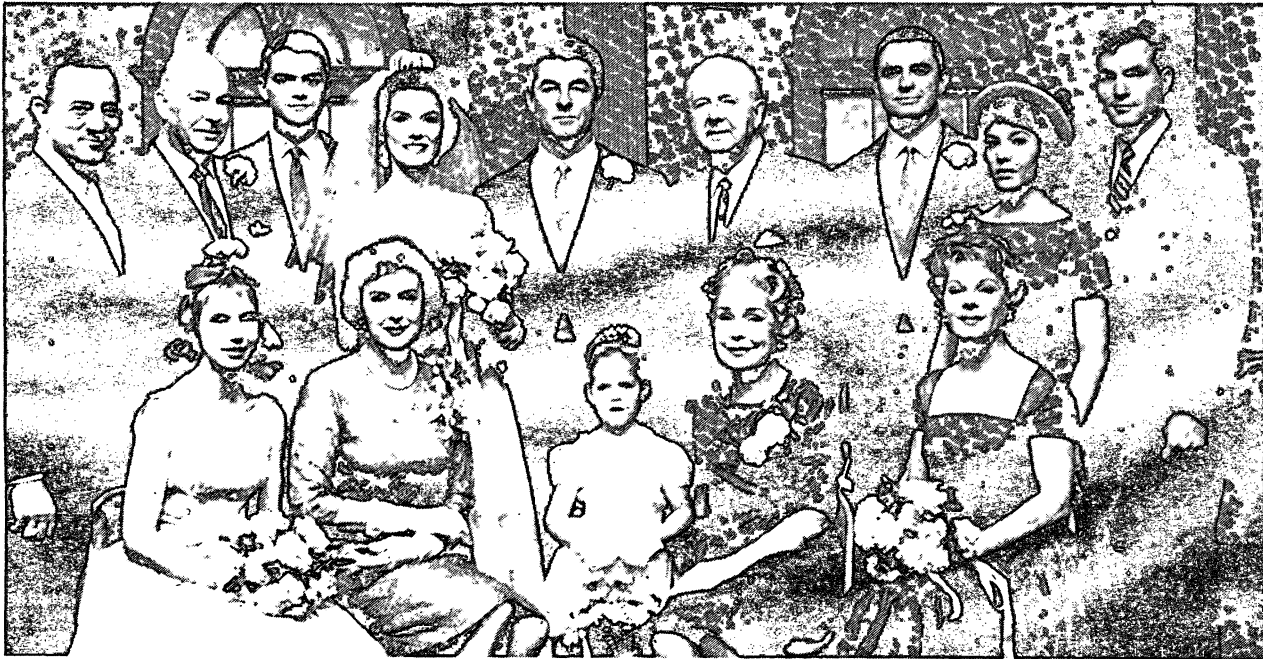
(2) The program should support legislation that limits the power of the employer to invest capital overseas while shutting down or curtailing operations within the U.S. Such social-democratic measures have been adopted in Britain, Sweden, and other neo-capitalist nations. In the U.S. the licensing of plant removal or shutdowns would require corporations to provide transfer options for workers, retraining for other jobs, show that the move would not cripple the economy of the community, and that the company is not "running away" from higher wages and union organization.

(3) It must demand that unemployment benefits pay at least 2/3 of wages as long as workers cannot find jobs.

(4) Finally, the program would impose a surplus profits tax for social programs and for the production of necessary goods. Surplus profits would be defined

(Continued on Page 15)

Daytime Soap Operas: where time stands still



by Elayne Rapping
Pittsburgh NAM

Anyone who has watched much prime time television this season is aware of the shift away from the white male-dominated middle class heroes and families to a more integrated, and at least superficially realistic view of American life. This attempt on the part of the mass media to keep up with the times and pay lip service to the demands of economic, ethnic, and sexually oppressed Americans is so apparent that it comes as something of a shock to tune into daytime TV and find it absolutely unchanged since the earliest days of daytime radio.

Those old enough to remember the tearful sighs and pregnant pauses of "Stella Dallas" and "One Man's Family" will feel that time has stood still watching shows like "As the World Turns" and "All My Children." Here, premarital virginity, the

nuclear family, and middle class affluence are still the only acceptable, rewarding life styles, and Watergate, inflation, and the civil rights, anti-war, and women's movements haven't happened.

But while it's easy enough to laugh at the soap operas, it's not so easy to explain away their popularity which cuts across age, class, and racial lines to include virtually every woman who has had to spend a lot of time at home. Students, secretaries, and grandmotherly babysitters are familiar with at least one or two of the nine "half-hour continuing dramas" aired between 12:30 and 3:30 on CBS and NBC.

Since none of these women would defend the social or psychological realism of the soaps, I've always been fascinated by their appeal and its possible political implications. For that reason, I spent a week following two or three of them and found myself increasingly and simultaneously enraged and intrigued.

THE SOAP'S WORLD VIEW

First the rage. Soap operas present the most blatant, heavy handed and continuous propaganda for the nuclear family imaginable. They are geared to a captive audience of housewives and they intend to keep it that way. Stories and commercials alike present family life as the most meaningful and rewarding thing since organized religion. And within that context, women's work—cooking, cleaning, nursing, and worrying—becomes the mainstay of western civilization.

How do soap operas manage to project such a patently false picture of feminine experience and still keep women glued to their sets? Well, they make women's concerns seem terribly important in a world which usually treats them as anything but. Every crucial event, decision, and conflict takes place at home, usually in the kitchen. Criminal lawyers rush from their courtrooms and business magnates leave multi-million-dollar negotiations in the hands of lackeys to hurry home and attend to the latest domestic crisis.

And the problems they rush home to are also geared to the real concerns of women. Sexual relationships are the dramatic staple, with characters rotating partners endlessly. And the reason is clear: since emotional fulfillment and family responsibility are the highest values of private, domestic life, the greatest crises naturally occur when these are threatened.

Illness is the next most popular crisis. There wasn't a single program of the nine in which a major character wasn't critically ill, and at least one other character a doctor or nurse. This is followed by crimes against individuals and natural catastrophes. What all these have in common is a view of crisis and tragedy as strictly personal or accidental matters, the causes and solutions of which never involve social or economic factors.

In this kind of world, the range of characters is limited. All the men are doctors and lawyers, with an

occasional police chief or millionaire thrown in for plot variety. And the women are wives and mothers. This is as true of the women doctors as the housewives. And why not? The hospitals of daytime TV are really just convenient settings to play out human dramas with the largest number of characters plausibly available to participate. No social or even professional issues ever come up. Sickle cell anemia, for example, would be as out of place in a soap opera conversation as socialized medicine.

Taken as a whole then, the world of soap operas projects a clear political message which is as simplistic as it is reactionary. First, there are no class differences. There are of course poor people and criminals, but they are defined not by their economic or social status but their moral condition. They are either "good" or "bad." In fact, all behavior is seen as morally motivated. The girl from the wrong side of the tracks who schemes, lies, and cheats to get a man is simply an evil person. On one show, for example, at least four different characters, within two or three days, said of a young woman seeing an older, wealthy man, "But doesn't he know what kind of person Rachel is?" Similarly, everyone lives in a spotless, elegant home, has a beautifully middle class life, and is always, even when vacuuming, groomed and dressed to the nines.

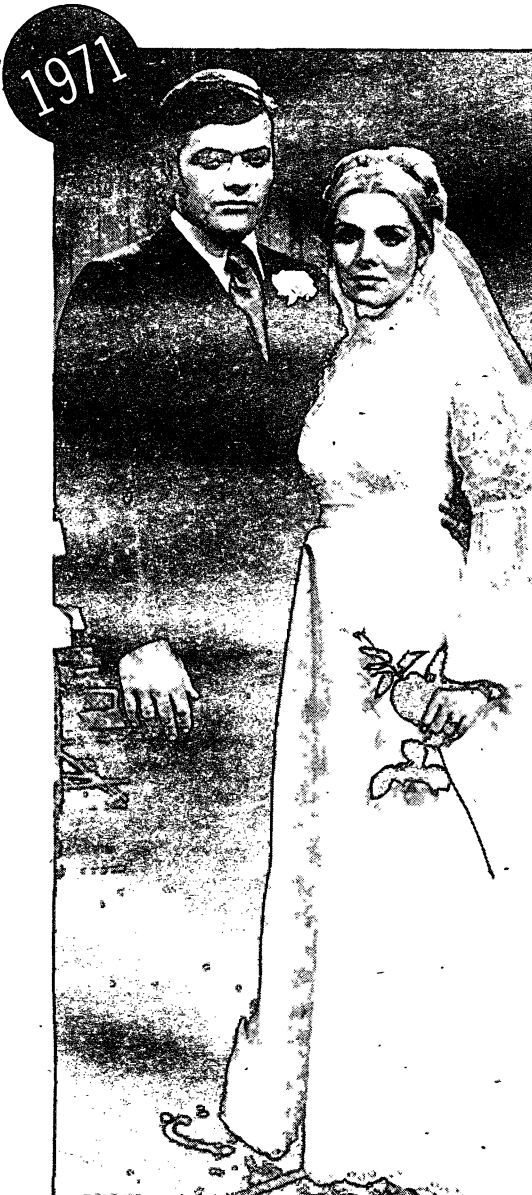
LOVE, LOVE, LOVE

But it's not what's left out that makes soap operas popular; it's what's put in. The main ingredient is love, love, love, and a very appealing kind of love at that. For soap operas are the fairy tales of capitalism. They are built on the need women have to be loved, appreciated, and rewarded for what they are and do. And the soap operas, unlike real life, fulfill this need. Every doctor, lawyer, and merchant chief thinks and acts solely for the benefit of a woman he loves. It is typical in a soap opera for a lawyer to look soulfully at a client and say, "I'm going to devote all my time to your case because I care about you so much."

Needless to say, this is a far cry from the reality of sexual relations under capitalism, and an even farther cry from most other popular art. In movies like *The Godfather* and *Death Wish*, for example, women are brutalized, lied to, ignored, and worse. And real life, even exemplary public real life isn't much better. No self-respecting soap opera politician would make the crass remark Rockefeller made about his wife's mastectomy, "Well, guys, you're not gonna believe this!" And Watergate, if it had been a soap opera, would never have allowed women to be kidnapped, drugged, or mysteriously killed in plane crashes without finding and punishing the wrong-doers. In fact, the entire drama would have been played out in the chambers of the wives and daughters.

As long as women's feelings, actions, and social contributions are not in their own names, not of their own choosing, and not acknowledged or rewarded, they will turn to soap operas, where women really have what we were all promised when we first heard "Cinderella."

It is the task of socialists and feminists to understand the justified needs that soap operas fulfill, and point out why they can never be attained in a society based on competition, greed, and sexual, racial, and class conflict.



Black Stereotypes on TV

25 years of 'Amos N Andy'

by Bob Ray Sanders

(Reprinted from *Iconoclast*, Dallas, Texas.)

Long before I had ever heard the word stereotype, I was laughing at Tim Moore deliver such lines as:

"Holy Ma'k'el, deah Andy."

"Sapphia, honey, I didn't mean t'say dat 'bout yo' mama."

"Calhoun, de lawya, gon' be heah in de mo'nin'."

He was speaking with an exaggerated Negro dialect at a time when television was young and everything was in black and white—mostly white, except for the characters of the "Amos 'N' Andy" show.

"Amos 'N' Andy" went on the air in 1951; 16 years later CBS was pressured by the NAACP to withdraw the show from syndication on the basis it stereotyped blacks.

Where's the NAACP now?

In reviewing the current weekly TV schedule and in viewing some of the top-rated shows on the tube, it would be an understatement to say that television—that demeaning, domineering cyclops—has changed very little since 1951. And, so far as black viewers (and performers) are concerned, television hasn't changed a bit.

A special Nielsen survey, comparing viewing in black households with viewing in all households, shows conclusively that blacks watch more television per day than the general audience. It was no surprise either that the number one show among black viewers is NBC's "Sanford and Son," a series about a black junk dealer and his son. (I can remember wondering before the show ever aired: "Would NBC really have a series about a black father-and-son dope pushing team? Everyone knows by now, of course, the show is not about dope *junk*, but about *junk* junk.")

Nightclub entertainer Redd Foxx, whose bawdy humor had already established him among black audiences, was the network drawing card for "Sanford and Son."

But NBC didn't dare let Foxx incorporate his nightclub style of humor into a prime-time family show. Instead, many of the antics employed by Foxx as Fred Sanford were made to resemble those of Kingfish in "Amos 'N' Andy" days.

Visualize the following scenes and ask yourself if there is a difference:

First, Sanford places his hands over his heart, looks to the heavens and says, "Oh, I think this is the big one. I'm comin', honey."

Second, Kingfish, rolling his eyes toward heaven, puts his hand on his forehead and says, "O' Lawd, I thank I gonna die, Andy."

As I see it, there isn't much difference between Kingfish and Sanford. I take that back... Kingfish had funnier lines.

And the shows in between "Amos 'N' Andy" and "Sanford and Son" which featured blacks were much the same, though usually worse. Willie, the black handyman in the "Life of Father" (later entitled "The New Stu Erwin Show"), spent years scratching his head, rolling his eyes and shuffling. Then, there was "Beulah" who looked as though she'd been taken off a package of pancake mix.

In the "Little Rascals" (or "Our Gang Comedy"), Stymie was constantly rubbing his "belly" and saying such things as, "I wished I hed a watermelon. I wished I hed a watermelon." However, that particular



Redd Foxx and Lynn Hamilton in a segment from "Sanford and Son"

show was integrated, and we often saw Buckwheat sitting in a classroom with Spanky, Darla and the rest of the gang.

Except for those very few programs, it was difficult to find a black face on television. There was always a rerun of a Steppin' Fetchit movie or a reasonable facsimile. And, there were a couple of isolated surprises, like watching a 12-year-old black girl spelling "antidisestablishmentarianism" before millions on "The Sixty-four Thousand Dollar Question."

Then came Bill Cosby in "I Spy," and for the first time that I can remember a black was on television without having been cast as a black. It was the first nationally broadcast show with no obvious reference to color. At the time, we all called it a breakthrough, but now I wonder if it were a breakthrough for the worse. "I Spy" certainly changed television and its treatment of blacks, but suddenly blacks went from stereotypes to "super spades" in three easy channels.

For example: Nurse Julia, a widow with a son, made it all alone in a lily white world; Sammy Davis, Jr., became the first black cowboy in a "Rifleman" episode, and superb he was, outdrawing everyone except Lucas McCane himself.

And there was Greg Morris—complete with coat and tie—as the electronics expert on the impossible mission force, literally screwing his way through every episode; Gail Fisher, a widow (of course) with a son, as the most competent private eye secretary in the world; and now Teresa Graves, who used to wiggle her painted body on "Laugh-In," doing her thing as a super female black cop in "Get Christie, Love."

In later years (which is to say more recently), blacks moved to Mayberry, RFD, and to unknown suburban towns in daytime serials. The Bunkers got black next door neighbors, and a black maid all but moved in with "Maude."

With blacks unable to make it in their own variety shows, and unable to make it as network news reporters (except for the brief riot era between 1965-1968), about the only TV avenues open to them were guest appearances on someone else's variety show, commercials or the more recent situation comedies.

"All in the Family" gave birth to "Maude" and from Maude came "Good Times." (Next season, "All in the Family" will bless us with a new offspring: "The Jeffersons," the Bunkers' black neighbors.)

Of all the shows in the past three years featuring blacks, "Good Times" is the best of the lot—but that's not saying much.

The CBS program is in its second season and it has a very talented cast, many of them former Broadway stars. Even the youngster who plays Michael (the "Militant Midget") starred as 11-year-old Travis Younger in the current Broadway musical hit, "Raisin."

Set in a Chicago ghetto, "Good Times" occasionally preaches on such subjects as busing, welfare and the bias of I.Q. tests. But, even though it's a step above its counterparts, the show still employs the same type one-line gags that have become trademarks of situation comedies and, again, which are less funny than those lines delivered by the Kingfish.

I wonder, too, if there is a difference in J.J. of "Good Times" snapping his fingers while shouting "DY-NO-MITE" and Kingfish slapping his forehead and declaring "Holy ma'k'el."

The only show I can think of which attempted to

deal with life—black, white and brown life—was East Side/West Side." In that short-lived, long-dead CBS show, social workers George C. Scott and Cicely Tyson (sporting a close-cropped Afro long before it was fashionable) were out dealing with unsolvable problems in New York slums. The show was a little too real for television.

Now, with the way television has dealt with blacks the past 25 years, it's no wonder that the second most watched TV show among metropolitan blacks (according to Nielsen) is a syndicated program brought to us by Johnson Products, the makers of Afro Sheen. It's the all-black version of American Bandstand complete with all-black teenage dancers, guest recording artists lip-syncing their latest hits and a soft spoken emcee.

The second most popular show based on surveys in Washington, Chicago and Detroit is a thing called "Soul Train."

"Soul Train?"
Yes, "Soul Train."
Holy ma'k'el!

'Kojak' Attacks El Comite on CBS

THE POLITICAL INTENT of television programs is not always subtle, as an episode of "Kojak" on CBS illustrated several months ago. Here the tough big-city cop was pitted against a terrorist Puerto Rican organization whose members were characterized as lunatics, violent fanatics, bombers, and assassins. The organization's name was "El Comite," which just happens to be the same as a Puerto Rican organization founded five years ago and committed to socialism in the U.S. and on the island.

This particular episode of "Kojak" was shown to a nationwide audience within weeks of important events related to Puerto Rican liberation: a rally of 20,000 people in Madison Square Garden (New York City) in solidarity with Puerto Rican independence, and the bombing of several N.Y. banks for which the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) took responsibility. The distortion by CBS of the independence struggle for Puerto Rico appears to be just one part of a mounting campaign of repression against revolutionary organizations working around that issue.

According to a press statement by El Comite: "The use of our organization's name in this program is a direct attack against us and the independence movement in general... The non-coincidental character of the show is illustrated by events that occurred this past week in which members of our organization, as well as other Puerto Rican revolutionary organizations, have been victims of harassment by agents of the FBI. These acts of harassment have included physical violations to our homes."

El Comite also stated at the time that the producers of "Kojak" were clearly aware that their organization existed, since one of the program's principal actors, the Puerto Rican actor Jaime Sanchez, was aware of their work. The timing of that specific program was certainly no coincidence.



Our Socialist Heritage

In his review of Alice and Staughton Lynd's Rank and File: Personal Histories of Working Class Organizers (NAM of June 1974), Al Richmond criticized one of the militants whose story was recounted in the book. Richmond argued that this person's support for the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, a union which barred Blacks from membership, in a jurisdictional dispute with the National Maritime Union, which had Black members, was racist. He implied that the record of Communist-led unions like the NMU was generally good with regard to the race question.

The American Left and the American

labor movement share in the history of American racism. And it has often been within the context of labor struggles that socialists have risen to fight racism within working class institutions or fallen into their own racism and opportunism.

The response to Richmond which follows is by Stan Weir, the unionist whom Richmond criticized for his position in that dispute of the thirties. Weir argues that the place to fight the Sailors' Union's racism was inside the union itself. Beyond this he contends that the racial policy of the NMU was

more subtly racist than the SUP's.

While we find truth in Richmond's argument, we also find some validity in Weir's perspective. The Communist Party's tendency during the Popular Front period of the late thirties, and especially after the beginning of WWII to suspend its anti-racist principles and to transform communism into "twentieth-century Americanism," resulted as much from the Party's uncritical loyalty to the Soviet revolution and its needs as from their sincere (and overdue) attempt to end the isolation of their movement and enter the mainstream of

working class struggles. Richmond's defense of C.P. labor practice in the 30s evaded these developments in C.P. policy in that period.

If the Weir-Richmond exchange proves anything it is that racism pervades American life and the success of a socialist movement depends upon an approach to it within the labor movement and elsewhere that can unite the working class. That, in turn, will require a socialist movement that is independent of the short-term needs of any other socialist movements—a real new American movement.

Stan Weir

I have recently learned of Al Richmond's strange attack on me and the Lynds, in his review of Alice and Staughton Lynd's book, Rank and File, in the June 1974 issue of *New American Movement*. It is the responsibility of reviewers to deal with a book first on its own terms. If this is not done, what they write too easily becomes self-serving. The Lynds, in their introduction, make clear the intent of the volume they put together. They feel that the long continuing isolation of rank-and-file labor militants from each other must be combated. There is no mass organization available to bring focus on the collective accomplishment of radical labor activists in order to provide them forum for an assessment of their life-work activity. The Lynds felt that publishing a book which brought the writings of a score of these isolated people together could become more than a collection of separate autobiographical stories registering the tragic apartness that exists everywhere. It could as well become a meeting place in bound printed pages, a clearer vision of the promise of what could be.

The review does not assess the book's stated purpose or implied idealism. Instead, its one detailed and focused criticism peaks with a sort of expose. It is alleged that the story by one of the book's two Trotskyists has negative value because it constitutes a devotion to "infighting on the Left." Richmond then accuses this person of racism, but does not name him. The mystery bigot is me.

In order of importance, the first response that must be made to the review is not to the reviewer, but to the publishers of *New American Movement*. There is no more serious epithet than "racist." The accusation was made in Kafkaesque manner in the publication of a respected organization and cannot therefore be ignored. The editors made no attempt beforehand to check on the accuracy of the allegations, to correct the method by which they were put forth, or to inform either myself or the Lynds so that the attack could be answered in the same or following issue of *New American Movement*.

Richmond's accusation is hackneyed. To him, the Lynds' book is "fairly clean," the "major exception" being my piece. He neither discusses my criticisms of Communist policies on their own merits nor gives recognition that the struggle against what I consider to be incorrect Communist policies were a daily fact of work life for me and others during the 30s and 40s. Neither then nor any time since, in my experience, have "Communists" or "their close associates" been willing to discuss criticisms of their policies with their critics. Instead they have answered the criticisms with accusations of "red baiter," "Hitler Agent," "police spy," "employer's stooge," or "racist." This diverted attention from the criticism, won the accusers recognition within the party, and temporarily helped them put aside their inner doubts.

Racism and labor organizing: an exchange

In the book I devote space to the racism in my own background as well as that in the union I was then a member of, the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP). There is not enough space here to repeat it and make clear the truths of the situation in their full complexity. I became a volunteer on-the-job organizer for my union during the middle of World War II. Via a series of dramatic incidents I was soon confronted with the full significance of racism within the SUP which contained Hawaiians, Asians, Latins, and West Indians, but which officially and systematically excluded Afro-Americans. I was also a critic of policies of its East Coast based competitor, the then Communist oriented National Maritime Union (NMU), including their treatment of the Black seamen in their membership.

By becoming an organizer for the SUP I had set in motion a process by which I was becoming identified with its officialdom. There is a distorted form of security in that identification. History and life circumstance forced on me the need to reverse the process. I went back all the way into the ranks of the SUP as an oppositionist. By distortion and avoidance of context, Richmond calls my action a "show of neutrality" that is "bogus" because, he says, I continued to support the SUP "in practice." He does not say how or why. I can only conclude that for him it was because I remained a member of the SUP and did not join the NMU. And what a lack of care to misquote me as saying, "I had not thought about the racial issue..."

To me, going to the ranks is not an attempt to find neutral ground. Rather, I took a third alternative independent of the two bureaucracies. The correct place for a member of a union to fight the reactionary policies of his or her union is inside that union. In this instance the NMU officials had no perspective for combatting the policies of the SUP that were reactionary any more than the SUP officials had a progressive program to counter reaction in the NMU. The two bureaucracies each lived largely off what was wrong with the other's ideas, thus diverting attention from their own failings. During World War II the NMU was telling black as well as white seamen to put aside their grievances and defense of goals of the 30s for the "duration." The one way they had of

hiding their super patriotic conservatism was to advertise the existence of blacks in their membership. These were the same people who had given full concentration to the slogan, "this is not the Negroes War," before Russia entered the war. The blacks were forced to put up with this because the doors of the SUP and its affiliates were closed to them.

As Richmond knows, the doors of the NMU were closed to me. I had been an activist in what its officials called a "fascist union." Too many of them knew of my criticism of many of their policies. But that aside, what of the rest of the SUP ranks for whom NMU membership was theoretically open? Should they have looked upon their union like the NMU officials did and left it as if it were a racist monolith, beyond redemption and all its members guilty by association? Would it have helped the fight to get jobs for blacks in the SUP if they had joined the NMU? Is Richmond aware that large numbers in the SUP were and are uneasy about their union's self-defeating exclusion of Afro-Americans? Does he believe the SUP ranks are forever unable to create change? The questions are rhetorical. Extend the logic of Richmond's attitudes to the rest of American whites and the struggle for radical change would have to be abandoned among the bulk of the nation's population. He might remember that when blacks excluded whites from full participation in the 1960's civil rights struggles, they told whites that their first responsibility was to go among whites where they could be most effective in the fight to achieve the ultimate goal of integration in an entirely new and fully democratic meaning of the term. The advice remains good right into the present.

To this moment there has never been a socialist organization in America that has developed a program on which blacks could develop a viable and protracted struggle. They have all been either too elitist, opportunistic, or isolated from the blacks to do so in conjunction with and taking leadership from the blacks. The emergence of the black liberation movement means this no longer need be the case, providing socialists are able to make a creative and critical evaluation of past and present relative to this issue.

Al Richmond

The reference to Stan Weir in my review of the Lynds' book was concerned with just one episode: an election contest between the Sailors' Union of the Pacific and the National Maritime Union to represent seamen on the Standard Oil of California tanker fleet.

The SUP excluded Afro-Americans. The NMU waged a persistent struggle, with considerable success, to shatter racist barriers aboard ships within its jurisdiction. In these circumstances, a SUP victory meant reinforcement of racist hiring patterns. Moreover, since appeals to anti-Black prejudice were a primary ingredient of the SUP campaign, it also served to fortify racist ideology. Weir campaigned for the SUP.

I did not delve into Weir's motivations and did not, as he notes, get into collateral issues of Communist trade union policy in the 1930s and 40s. I did take exception to his comment that he "couldn't give uncritical support to either (the SUP or NMU)." Whereas the SUP excluded Blacks, he explained; the NMU "used" them as "political footballs."

I still believe this show of neutrality was bogus because, in practice, Weir supported the SUP. From this he infers that I reproach him because he "remained a member of the SUP and did not join the NMU." This inference is false. The issue is not his SUP membership. There was a variety of ways to fight racism in the SUP (and Weir is right, of course, in saying such a fight had supreme merit), but the pro-SUP campaign on the Standard fleet was not one of them.

With respect to the issue of racism, I categorically disagree with his seeming plague-on-both-their-houses attitude. On this issue, at that time and in that context, the NMU was essentially right and the SUP was essentially wrong. It does no good to obscure this distinction with abstract generalizations about trade union bureaucracies.

In his narrative Weir noted the considerable militancy and influences of radicalism, principally of a syndicalist variety, in SUP ranks. If despite such influences, exclusion of Afro-Americans was maintained, this, it seems to me, highlights the tragic and tenacious grip of racism. In that same World War II period the companion union of the SUP on Pacific Coast merchant ships, the Marine Firemen, voted better than two to one in a referendum to reaffirm its ban on Blacks. That a Communist tactical blunder, marked by more zeal than wisdom in an effort to end racist exclusion, inadvertently gave racist officials an opening to put the issue on a referendum ballot does not alter the result or what it revealed. The most common racist appeal to the engine department seamen was, "The Commie rats want to put niggers in your fo'c'sle."

I mention this to illustrate the virulence of the racism then present and its exacerbation by exploiting the peculiar nature of the merchant marine, in

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OPINION

A dissenting view on the Middle East

by Barry Rubin

The "Jewish question" was a problem for the Left long before the establishment of the state of Israel. But the existence of a Jewish state in Palestine has sharpened the problem. The realities of anti-semitism in Europe and the Moslem countries and the Jewish oppression of the Palestinians are further complicated by great power aspirations in the Mideast as well as by the emotional aspects of the issue for a Left that has itself traditionally included many Jews.

The opinion column that follows is an attempt to unravel the tangle of contradictions that is the Mideast. Though it is not the official position of NAM on the situation there, we feel its publication here does represent NAM's willingness to reexamine the sacred cows of the Left, and our open and undogmatic approach to the difficult questions—international and domestic—which face us.

Twenty-five years ago the American Left was virtually unanimous in supporting the establishment of Israel; today it is virtually unanimous in calling for Israel's destruction. Has reality actually changed that much during these years?

I think not. Rather than developing an objective and rational view of the Arab-Israeli conflict, most progressives have simply changed the side they uncritically support. Once the world (and the U.S. Left) recognized only the rights of Israelis and ignored the Palestinians; now there has merely been a shift to the other extreme.

"The real conflict in the Middle East," Shimon Avneri, a Hebrew University professor known for his studies of Marxism, reminds us, "is not between the great powers, nor is it a conflict between imperialism and anti-colonialism, or between 'democracy' and 'communism.' Basically and ultimately it is a conflict between two movements for national liberation."

KEY ISSUES

It is difficult to even begin to discuss such a complex question in such limited space, but I hope to discuss some key issues, hopefully toward a reconsideration of the Left's stand on this issue. First, Zionism has been a legitimate nationalist movement (with all the strengths and weaknesses that implies) and Israel is as legitimate a state as any other in the world. Second, that the Arab-Israeli struggle is between local forces, with the outside activities of great powers being secondary. Third, that the Palestine Liberation Organization's (PLO) proposal of a "secular, democratic state" is impractical and misleading as a solution. Fourth, that the only long-term solution for the conflict is through mutual recognition of Palestinian Arab and Israeli Jewish national rights and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel. Finally, the duty of the Left is to support progressive forces on both sides. A just solution—with two separate states based on mutual recognition—would increase the chances of social progress and social revolution in the Middle East.

Zionism holds that Jews are a nation rather than a mere religious sect, that the "Jewish question" has resulted from this dispersion of this nation and its subsequent distorted class structure, and that the solution of the Jewish question could only come with the establishment of a Jewish state—Israel. The shortcomings of Zionism are similar to those of other nationalisms: playing down class questions, tendencies toward chauvinism, bourgeois leadership. These are not in themselves reasons for condemning nationalist movements. Socialists understand that national aspirations have to be realized before they can be transcended.

The point is that Zionism was a rational response to the conditions facing Jews and cannot be understood as some kind of front for imperialism. It was a mass-based movement with broad support among Jewish working people, with a significant left wing advocating joint Jewish-Arab class struggle. Further, Zionism was always a primarily secular movement, rejecting the religious definition of the Jewish people as did its nationalist competitor, the Jewish Bund.

If today Zionism represents the vast majority of the Jewish people it is due not only to the existence of Israel as a Jewish nation, but also to the historical failure of its two main competitors—the liberal assimilationist and revolutionary socialist approaches. The former, which took Germany as its model, aimed for Jewish assimilation in a secular democratic state. The latter, taking Soviet Russia as its model, aimed for Jewish assimilation in a socialist state. During the Holocaust, millions of Jews were killed as the Germans and their eastern European allies showed how precarious the situation of Jews was in other people's states. Equally traumatizing was the almost universal refusal of the western democracies to accept Jewish refugees, even when the Nazis tried to expel them.

Things were not much better under the Communists. Stalin carried out anti-semitic policies throughout the 1930s and 1940s, interrupted only during the war. Jewish cultural institutions were destroyed and Jewish leaders executed by the hundreds. Despite a revolution, Russia was still very much a land of anti-Semitism. "You Zionists do not believe in the future of east European Jewry and its peaceful development," said the Israeli Communist Party in the early 1930s. "You always tell them that the Poles will devour them." And indeed, the Communists were historically wrong and the Zionists right, not only about the reactionary Poles and Russians, but also about the Communists. Today, hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews, after 50 years of anti-Zionist propaganda, are trying to leave to go to Israel or somewhere else where they can have their rights.

Of this experience, Isaac Deutscher wrote, "Israelis who have known me as an anti-Zionist of long standing are curious to hear what I think about Zionism. I have of course long since abandoned my anti-Zionism, which was based on a confidence in the European labor movement... If instead of arguing against Zionism in the 1920s and 1930s I had urged European Jews to go to Palestine, I might have helped to save some of the lives that were later extinguished in Hitler's gas chambers." Given this history, I think that radicals should show a little more understanding of the reasons for Israel's creation and existence.

ISRAEL AND THE U.S.

The fashionable view on the Left today is that Israel has become a sort of Guantanamo Bay base in the Middle East for the U.S. and that Zionism succeeded only because it found imperialist allies. It is certainly true that both the movement and the state have allied themselves with great powers, but this is not so different from the actions of other nationalist movements from the Polish and Hungarian struggles of the nineteenth century to the Arab nationalists who aligned themselves first with the British against the Turks, then with the Nazis against the British and Jews, and today with the Soviet Union.

Ironically, both pro- and anti-Israel forces in this country have tried to paint a picture of a tight, long-term U.S.-Israel alliance, but this is contrary to the facts. Israel's victory in 1948 against the invading Arab armies was due not to the U.S. but to Soviet aid. Not only did Israel not receive arms from the West, the U.S. declared an arms embargo on shipments to the Middle East which objectively hurt Israel. While both the U.S. and USSR granted immediate diplomatic recognition to Israel, Soviet recognition was *de jure* while the U.S. only gave *de facto* recognition. The British record during the mandate period was hardly pro-Zionist. Far from wanting Israel as a base to protect the Suez Canal, the British threatened Israel when, during the 1948-49 war, Israeli troops penetrated into the Sinai, and five British fighters were shot down on that front. British officers also led the Jordanian Arab Legion against Israel. Later, as one contemporary British specialist wrote, the Eisenhower administration "regarded Israel as an intolerable nuisance getting in the way of good relations with the Arab states." The U.S. opposed Israel during its 1956 aggression against Egypt.

Since U.S. interests in the Arab world always have outweighed Israel's importance to this country, they have dictated that while the U.S. would support Israel's existence this support should not endanger the American position in the Arab world. Israel's victory in the 1967 war, however, persuaded U.S. policy-makers that it could play a major role in protecting American interests in the Middle East and changed the relationship. But the October 1973 war in and the new Arab oil power has begun to tip the balance back. Kissinger understands that if anyone will protect American imperial interests in the region over the long run it will be Sadat and Feisal rather than Rabin. Of course, the class in power in Israel has common interests with the U.S. as do its counterparts in other countries, but that is a matter whose redress requires internal political and class struggle to remedy rather than outside conquest.

Forces do exist in Israel that oppose the close alliance with the U.S., but as long as the issue remains one of survival the contradiction between the interests of the Israeli people and the aims of the U.S. government will not surface. Amos Kenan, an Israeli newspaper columnist, in an open letter to progressives around the world, writes, "The only ones who are prepared to defend me, for reasons I don't like at all, are the Americans... You are flinging me towards America, the bastion of democracy and the murderer of Vietnam, who tramples the downtrodden peoples and spares my life, who oppresses the Blacks and supplies me with arms to save myself. You leave me no

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The wages of imperialism

by John Farley
New York Westside NAM

IN HIS COMMENTS on the Weather Underground's *Prairie Fire* (Dec.-Jan *New American Movement*), John Ehrenreich makes an argument that seems to me seriously incorrect. "The central dilemma of American socialism," says he, is "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."

Emphasizing "the depth of the dilemma," he claims that "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." Consequently, "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."

It is true that American living standards are relatively high on a world scale. This is a result of centuries of capital accumulation. Worldwide looting has played—and still plays—a vital part in this process, but so has the extraction of surplus value from American workers. Once we realize this the question of "benefitting from imperialism" assumes a different character. We benefit from the involuntary sacrifices made by American and foreign workers in the past. We are fortunate in being born in *this* time and place rather than in the underdeveloped countries or 19th century U.S.

But the real question is whether or not American workers have an interest in maintaining the imperialist system. The existence of "benefits does not prove anything by itself. After all, any system (including slavery) provides some benefits to the oppressed (e.g., guaranteed lifetime employment). Nor does the existence of somebody worse off prove anything by itself—after all, there is always somebody worse off.

Any realistic view of imperialism has to consider the huge costs of maintain-

ing the empire. The 20th century has been a history of almost continuous warfare. The 50 million or so who died in the Second World War certainly did not get any net benefit from imperialism, although many lived in imperialist countries. On a less dramatic level, the propping up of authoritarian regimes around the world enables the giant corporations to make American workers unemployed by establishing runaway shops in cheap labor areas. And even if we disregard the psychological and cultural costs of fostering a cold-war mentality, we have to conclude that the arms budget of nearly \$100 billion a year is an enormous burden.

Imperialism has clearly involved global plunder, and a little calculation shows how much this loot would mean to the average American (if it were divided equally, which it certainly is not). Between 1950 and 1972, there was a \$50 billion outflow and a \$99 billion influx.* The U.S. benefitted by \$49 billion at the expense of the rest of the world. This works out to about \$2.2 billion annually, or roughly *ten dollars per person*. This hardly adds up to a good reason for the average American to support a bloody war.

But of course the average American does not make the basic decisions. In weighing the costs and benefits of imperialism, the question of whether or not imperialism "pays" is a class question. If you hold enormous amounts of stock in a multi-national corporation, you benefit significantly from imperialism. Otherwise you don't.

Let us take the example offered by Ehrenreich—the Vietnam war. According to Ehrenreich, "the very existence of the Weather underground and, on a much larger scale, most of the New Left of the sixties, proves that people can and do think and act against their immediate material self-interest." It seems to me that the anti-war movement demonstrated that millions of Americans could be convinced that the war was *not* in their interests. And it wasn't!

The pro-war arguments were about "repelling Communist aggression" and "defending freedom," not boosting U.S. living standards. The alleged Communist "threat" was to our freedom and military security, not to "our" investments. The only people in the U.S. who stand to benefit significantly from a victory for the right in Vietnam

are the managers and major stockholders in the giant multi-national corporations.

Even Paul Sweezy, who is generally, "Third-Worldist," wrote in 1971:

Wars like that in Indochina, which is literally tearing to pieces the fabric of U.S. society... [are] grim efforts of the capital-owning class to preserve at all costs the overseas markets and sources of raw materials which are increasingly vital elements in the profit-making potential of the giant corporations.**

The clear conflict of interest, then, is between the capital-owning class and the profits of the giant corporations on the one hand, and the general population forming the "social fabric" being torn apart on the other hand.

One more argument might be made in an attempt to show the interest American workers have in imperialism. Many multi-nationals make a quarter to a half of their profits abroad. Since profits are a key to prosperity, hasn't the exploitation of other countries helped U.S. capitalism to attain prosperity? And don't American workers share in this prosperity?

Undoubtedly it is better to be a worker under a prosperous capitalism than under a stagnant capitalism. But what about the socialist alternative? Since monopoly capitalism and imperialism are virtually identical today, asking whether American workers benefit from imperialism is like asking whether American workers benefit from capitalism. Is imperialism in the interests of American workers? Is capitalism in the interests of American workers? While we can point to some benefits of capitalism—living standards, literacy, health—the real question is: *what's the alternative?* There is, after all, a better way to live.

THIRD WORLDISM

It is important to realize that the "Third-Worldism" of Ehrenreich and *Prairie Fire* has a real basis in history. During the period of unchallenged U.S. imperial hegemony—roughly from the end of the Second World War to the collapse of the Bretton Woods agreement in 1971—the primary contradiction really *was* between the advanced imperial centers and the revolutionary national liberation movements of the Third World. During this period, the most important developments were the triumph of the Chinese and Cuban revolutions and the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia. Nothing that happened in the advanced countries was of comparable importance.

However, now because of the crisis

in capitalism, unprecedented since the 1930s, American workers are being hard hit by massive layoffs and huge price increases. The capitalists—who were supposedly pampering the workers (at least the white workers) with privileges, according to the original Weather analysis—are trying to make the workers pay the costs of the crisis.

It seems to me the Left should figure out how to relate to spontaneous struggles of people trying to defend their standard of living. We should not be fooled by reactionary propaganda telling workers not to strike for higher wages because they would be taking food from the mouths of the starving people of Bangladesh," etc. If we tighten our belts the imperialists will not send the savings to Bangladesh. "Imperialism gives no refunds."

* Paul M. Sweezy, "Growing Wealth, Declining Power," *Monthly Review*, March 1974, pp. 6-7.

** Paul M. Sweezy, "On the Theory of Monopoly Capitalism," in *Modern Capitalism*, MR Press, 1972, p. 37.



letters

SPORTS

Dear Friends,

I certainly agree with Paul Hoch (Dec-Jan. issue) that since TV football represents such a large factor in our culture we need to analyze it carefully. I found his article very disappointing, however, because it seemed to me merely to rehash a lot of clichés about the mass attraction of the game—for example, that the violence and uniforms represent the appropriate spectacle for our militarized society.

Look closely at football violence. It come in 10- to 30-second bursts, with 30- to 60-second rests. The violence, the physical contact, is turned on and off at will. If a fight breaks out, the participants are banished for the day. The lesson here is that violence is good if directed, controlled, orderly, sanctioned; bad if indulged in outside of the rules. This is fine socialization of individuals for our culture. Told when, how, and against whom, we have sanction to be violent. Otherwise, we must be controlled, law abiding citizens. Since the Nixons and Rockefeller don't have to play by those rules, it is necessary that they induce the rest of us to want to be "sportsmanlike," the better to keep us in line and maintain their power.

So the powerful like to encourage sports spectacles, but why do the rest of us love them so much. Not, I submit, because of the violence. If it were, the superstars would be offensive and defensive linemen, the biggest and most violent. But the superstars are just those players who are the objects of the violence—Joe Namath, O.J. Simpson, Paul Warfield—whose heroics entail evad-

ing the violent intensions of the "bruisers"—of outwitting or outrunning them in order to reach their goal and "score." (Thing about what the word score can mean for us—in drugs, in sex, in entertainment, in moneymaking, in theft.)

We all feel the daily pressures in our lives—in set plays, turned on and off like football violence—and want release from the many oppressions all working people and their families suffer, especially in our sinking economy. We live battered like interior linemen. Then how glorious the burst into freedom—O.J. drives through three or four tacklers and is suddenly in the open—he is free and he will score.

That is the moment of escape that makes football so popular—the fantasy of the silent majority, not of violence but of the sudden escape from the violence of their lives, not by dropping out or running away, but by breaking free and getting the goal—the American Dream—and scoring.

Of course, football was not created to fulfill a fantasy. It just happens to fit our current needs. I remember following Pro-Football in the late 40s and early 50s rarely was it on TV; Sunday sport pages covered only college games, barely mentioning the pros; and tickets were plentiful, sell-outs exceedingly rare. Then something clicked, or rather our fantasies changed, and football was right for the new way to the American dream. Once the myth had been individual vs. individual—pitcher against batter—a different sport had been king, had fit the

pattern.

Now the individual, faced with violence, surrounded, threatened with being overwhelmed, takes to the myth of flight—but has been convinced that is the loser's way, the coward's path. Better to be O.J. Simpson, big, quick, agile, cutting into the clear. Better to fly through than away from. When I was a kid, Leo Durocher put the myth of that time best, "Nice guys finish last." It was a beautiful capsule statement of our culture. Things have changed. Baseball is out, football in. With the times against us and the empire coming down around us, Vince Lombardi's philosophy has come to seem best, "Run for daylight."

Organized spectacle sport for profit and emotional release is central to our culture. As the pressures increase and the fantasies become more desperate, the ability of a form like pro-football to meet the need of most Americans will diminish. People's frustrations will seek new outlets—possibly even political outlets. Maybe an understanding of the immense popularity of sports will help NAM increase that possibility. That's why I'd like to see a more perceptive analysis than that of Hoch's "Gridiron Gladiators."

Rich Yurman
San Francisco

JOY

Have just finished reading your Dec.-Jan. edition.

Enjoyed most items, but Karen Rotkin's

review of *Joy of Sex* in particular.

I found her attack on the liberal "affection" for hostility right on target, and long overdue.

As she says, "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.'"

Should be sent to all victims of Freudian "shrinks" who are busy pounding pillows or each other to get rid of "hostility."

Her comments on Frederick Perls famous (infamous) "I am I, etc." are likewise long overdue and vitally necessary. Perls' statement is nothing but the liberal side of the fascist Ayn Rand's Virtue of Selfishness.

Jack Greenspan
Elizabeth, NJ

AFL-CIA

Editor,

The material you carried months ago on the use of the AFL-CIO as a front for international work by the State Dept., multi-nationals, and the CIA were a signal service to the labor movement. This type of material has been neglected in the radical press.

However, more is involved. Can we assume that the unions that have allowed themselves to become fronts for the CIA overseas are not involved in CIA penetration inside the U.S.? The recent disclosures of a massive CIA domestic operations program must cause us to ask what methods and personnel are used by the CIA to secure,

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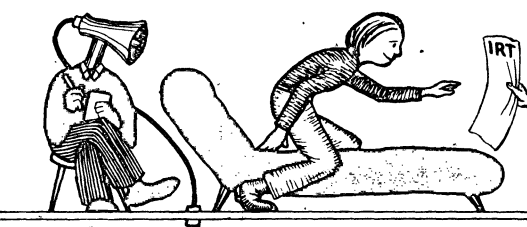
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letters

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their domestic base for overseas operations. If they financed and established, according to Hunt, the *NY Times*, and others a massive program of subsidizing publishers like Praeger, Fodor's books, and others would they do the same to ensure proper coverage of the CIA in international labor in the press of unions involved like the CWA, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, AFSCME, etc? Does the CIA use the same methods at home that they used in places like Chile?

Union members are becoming aware of the interconnections between the foreign operations of these unions and the domestic policies of the same... Who are the domestic equivalents of the Hunts, Barkers, etc. in the labor movement here?

Not long ago a new council was formed to co-opt the rising Chicano militancy in the labor movement—by the leaders of the AFL-CIO. This council of Latin Americans in the trade union movement in the S. has as a list vice-president one Jack Otero; a person who is in charge of one of the programs of the international trade secretariat work in Latin America that was used in Chile, Brazil, etc. He works, ostensibly, out of BRAC headquarters. This type of interdependence of personnel must be exposed in other unions by a systematic scrutiny of the roster of those involved in or supportive of the covert intelligence domination of AFL-CIO programs abroad. *The New American Movement* can help

richmond miners

(Continued from Page 10)

which men not only worked together, but lived together. An understanding of the unique obstacles that had to be overcome renders all the more impressive the principled fight waged by the NMU, with Communists in the van, to destroy racist employment patterns. Denigration of that achievement serves neither history nor reasoned dialogue on the Left.

I would also suggest that Weir think through all the implications of his remark about Blacks being used as "political footballs" in the NMU. Aside from what it implies about NMU officials, it also contains some implications about Blacks who allegedly allowed themselves to be so used.

Weir raises a host of other issues related to Communist behavior and policy. These were not discussed in my review because the Lynds' book did not strike me as the springboard for such a discussion. I refrain from going into them now for two reasons: (1) A serious discussion of these issues, which entails analysis of Communist merits as well as defects, would exceed the bounds of this space; (2) I have the uneasy feeling that all those other

(Continued from Page 3)

third, the very process of mobilization necessary to win power in the union helped create a struggle-oriented, organizationally experienced membership.

But the absence of an organized national rank-and-file network in the UMW capable of keeping the leadership on the right track, points to the crucial need for permanent, semi-autonomous rank-and-file organization. Militant reform organizations within unions, like the Miners for Democracy, should not be viewed simply as electoral machines. Only if these organizations maintain strong existences as the

abortion

(Continued from page 4)

not existed. More militant and certainly more visible that the Movement de Liberation des Femmes (MLF), they took the right to abortion as a specific goal.

The two best known are *Chosir*, a liberal, working-within-the-system organization (with Gisele Halimi, a well-known leftist barrister, who defended the accused women from Bobigny) and the *Mouvement pour la Liberte de l'Avortement et de la Contraception* (MLAC) which has used directly subversive methods by actually performing abortions (i.e., breaking the law) in storefront clinics, or collecting funds to send women to Holland or England (after four or six weeks of pregnancy).

Both organizations were open to men—MLAC needed M.D.'s, who are mostly male. MLAC managed to touch working class women, precisely because they were the ones who most needed free abortions and information on contraception. And its most remarkable innovation was group discussion before and after the abortion, so that the women who came could also discuss their problems and find solidarity.

As for publicity, it came, thanks to Pompidou's law-and-order government. After Bobigny, which brought the issue of legal abortion to all TV viewers, the next clash came when the Film Board of Censors clamped down on a remarkable documentary movie: *Histoires d'A.* ("A" stood for the forbidden Word!) This was a well-made montage of a number of discussions, demonstrations, etc., including a very undramatic abortion.

The film was banned and the idea

voice of the rank and file, not tied to or able to be disbanded by any particular slate of leaders, can an effective counterforce be created to the conservatizing pressures at work on any union leadership, however well-intentioned.

When all is said and done, it will be impossible for union leaderships to consistently withstand the co-opting and intimidating forces of the corporate rulers, and the federal government, in the absence of a strong socialist movement. Such a movement, independent from even the most liberal sectors of the Democratic and Republican Parties, will be necessary for building the unity and class consciousness of the rank-and-file labor movement to the point where the pitfalls of traditional American trade unionism can be avoided.

was to defy the law by staging a showing with the normal amount of publicity. The film would begin, only to be immediately interrupted by the police. There were the usual arrests and the event was publicized in the press as it would never have been otherwise. After this had happened quite a few times in major French cities, even the most obtuse enforcers of law and order had to see that it got nowhere. The demand was simply too strong, and forbidding private showings was not politically advisable.

From men on the banned film had an extraordinary career, with several reels circulating all across France, being shown by all kinds of political and non-political organizations.

WHAT NOW? France is the first Catholic country to legalize abortion, and this is an enormous step forward (the bill's opponents went as far as bringing a tape recording of a three-month-old fetus' heartbeats to "speak for itself" at the National Assembly). But in a country where most women work, then come home for their "second shift," much remains to be done. While "macho" attitudes prevail at all levels of society and will be difficult to eradicate, one must not get too heady with the first success.

But the main problem is the choice of a new strategy. Now that we have "our" minister and "our" law, we don't want to be told—just as with the vote—"What are you still complaining about?" Much depends on what grassroots organizations will choose to work on now, in a political context where both the right and the Left are shaky allies.

Realism and boldness

Making a socialist agenda

by Michael P. Lerner*

Harry Boyte's article, "Organizing Against Idealism" (*New American Movement*, Nov. 1974) is a perfect confirmation of my thesis (In "Weatherman, Whither NAM?," *New American Movement*, Oct. 1974) that psychological rather than political factors must be explored if we are to understand NAM's failures. I know Harry Boyte to be an intelligent and sensitive person; yet consider his response. A rational response to my criticism of NAM would have been to deny my assertion that NAM failed to reach out beyond its original constituency, or to demonstrate that the period in question (1972 through 1974) was a bad time to reach and speak to the American working class, or to argue that my goals were inappropriate (perhaps by claiming that having NAM as the home for old New Leftists that it has become is a good thing and the best that could be hoped for). He could have agreed with me about the past failures, but dispute my contention that this was a continuing trend by pointing out to me specific ways in which the organization was now going to play a major role (e.g., by pointing out to me projects it was initiating in its own name on the national level for which it was developing a strategy to get itself known to people outside the already-convinced).

Because he couldn't argue for any of the above, Boyte could have accepted my article as friendly but sharp criticism to be taken to heart. Instead, we get a wild flailing out that includes denying my role as a central founder of NAM (which would be irrelevant anyway to the truth of my criticisms), proposing a vulgar Marxist theory about idealism which he sees as the cause of the decline of the New Left and the central mistake in my approach, and counterposing getting national publicity for NAM to the real task of organizing which, he suggests, NAM did do in the past several years. Although all of these points are a diversion from the central issue, they should be quickly disposed of.

It would be absurd to suggest that a national organization could be formed single-handedly by one person. But some people can play a central role. Here was mine: In May 1971 I decided that a new national organization needed to be formed that would speak to working people, raise the issue of socialism, and avoid the irrationalities I had seen in much of the practice of the old New Left. In an article that appeared in *Ramparts* the next month, I called for the formation of such an organization. I then proceeded to write a long document entitled "New American Movement" which specifically laid out the politics of the organization, the organizational form, and the strategic focus for the first several years. After rewriting that document in light of discussions with Chip Marshall and Therrie Cook, Therrie and I formed a chapter of the New American Movement in Berkeley and Chip did the same in Seattle. The three of us then began to travel around the country and spent most of the next five months away from our homes, on the road throughout the country meeting with organizers and forming chapters. We were not simply spreading an idea, we were organizing an organization, and those who were interested were urged to join us and form chapters. We raised money to pay for our bus expenses and the printing of the first two editions of the NAM newspaper, and we simultaneously arranged for a democratic structure in which chapters already in formation would send representatives to a Chicago meeting to plan the

Davenport conference. Davenport and subsequent meetings confirmed the basic thrust of our underlying politics and organizational form, but it rejected the political strategy of placing primary emphasis on the developing economic crisis.

Now what is to be gained by denying my role in all this? Must I be subject to a Stalinist falsification of history and personal abuse so that my current criticisms of NAM can be dismissed as irrelevant?

IDEALISM

Next, Boyte revives the conception of materialism dominant in the Second and Third International, in which ideas are seen as a mere reflection of material reality. Hence, Boyte accuses me of idealism because in explaining collapse of the New Left and the failure of NAM I take the ideas and theories and people's self-conceptions to have been important factors. Boyte is simply reviving a vulgar form of Marxism which should not be tolerated in a Left now free to lay to rest Stalin's dogmatism. If people's self-understanding and their political conceptions were rigidly produced by their class position and economic conditions then political agitation and the concentration on consciousness would be irrelevant: people simply would come to the appropriate ideas at the right time. It is this kind of thinking that helps to make sense of NAM's unwillingness to provide leadership and direction in the past few years—if you think ideas will develop spontaneously in an appropriate way, then perhaps all you really need organizationally is a home for those who have seen the light.

On the other hand, if you agree with me that material conditions are not in and of themselves sufficient to determine what ideas people will hold, then the centrality of a party or organization that actively propagates its conceptions and approach to the world becomes evident. Hence, if that organization has mistaken ideas or a political self-conception that leads its members to feel essentially powerless, that fact will be a factor in causing others to feel that they too cannot act. Hence the snowballing effect: individuals look at the growing economic and political crisis of the society and they feel overwhelmed. When they look around for some form of collective response, they see organizations like NAM offering no really viable leadership. Or more likely, they look around and they don't even hear about NAM or any other left group. So they decide they can only work out personal solutions for themselves. Or else, like Boyte and others on the right wing of NAM, they wait for liberal Democrats to take the leadership hoping that new coalitions will form in which NAM can enter and push its politics from the sidelines like most traditional sect groups. It is not just people's ideas but what is critical is their own estimation of themselves and their potential power. It is my contention that the New Left was critically weakened by its own sense of powerlessness, its underestimation of its successes, and its influence on the thinking of millions people, and its conviction that it would be permanently unable to reach a majority of Americans.

To be sure, there was an objective correlate: the failure to end the war immediately. Nevertheless, the New Left was having tremendous impact in limiting the alternatives available to the war makers, in forcing them to de-escalate for political reasons precisely at a moment when they would have preferred to escalate for military reasons, and in calling into question the capitalist-imposed way of life that dominated American consciousness. That impact was felt in every corner of the society

vision then created a shrunken reality of who would really be interested in NAM qua sect group.

I was recently approached by some prominent members of the Congressional Black Caucus and by some well-known left-liberals who have been meeting to discuss the present crisis. They wanted to know if the Left was going to have any serious political organization with which they might work in 1976. Would that I could have told them of NAM's '76 strategy, or of a rational socialist grouping that these people might align with. Instead, these people will be forced to develop their own organizational form (which the Left can then piously attack as being too "liberal") or just sit out the period ahead entirely. If the Left had a serious mass national organization that was seeking to establish itself as the voice of the working people in this country, these liberals would have to join us and struggle to be our right wing. Instead, by leaving the vacuum until they act, we will have to join them and be their left wing. We will pay dearly in the future for refusing to create our own dynamic and instead waiting to join and influence their dynamic. For example, an organization that we create would certainly not have its primary emphasis on electoral work, though we might give that some attention. Whereas any organization that the authentic liberals' create will almost certainly be primarily electoral and we will have to struggle to get other kinds of political work in that context. And then we will be told by Boyte's vulgar materialism that "material conditions" prevented any alternative, so that we can feel good about our political irresponsibility.

I write all this because I still believe in the original political and organizational conception of NAM, and still believe NAM could play a role in creating a Socialist party that would be appropriate for the period ahead. Many of the people I know in NAM are among the most intelligent, dedicated, and politically sophisticated people I have met in any left political organization. Many of them share my criticisms of NAM nationally, but do not want to quit it because, quite correctly, they see no other national organization currently existing that provides much of an alternative. And there are a host of people like myself who would become more active in NAM should NAM ever begin to take itself seriously and begin to act like a political force. But I am increasingly convinced that the same irrational feelings of powerlessness that have crippled us in the past still have deep roots, and that any future political practice must have as one of its goals the development of a social-psychology that can directly address this problem. And I am deeply desirous of hearing from people who share my perspective and who wish to work together in the development of a political social-psychology appropriate for those of us who share the basic contours of NAM's socialist perspective. Please write to me c/o The Wright Institute, 2728 Durant Ave., Berkeley, CA.

* Michael Lerner is the author of *The New Socialist Revolution* (Dell, 1973), and a therapist in Oakland.

Aronowitz

(Continued from Page 7)

as those investments that are earmarked for unproductive or anti-social uses.

The American Left has failed historically to pay sufficient attention to agricultural questions. The current inflation in food prices should have persuaded us that this condition requires immediate rectification. Few radicals understand the relationship between agriculture and industrial production, and the historic role the food sector has played in international affairs and in relation to world famine and hunger. We should demand full release of farm lands that were retired under federal policies for the purposes of keeping prices up; a new approach to the question of capitalism in farming, processing, and food marketing, and an across-the-board roll back in retail and wholesale processing prices.

At the same time we should oppose public service jobs and public works that are low-paying, dead-end employment and are construed within the prevailing racist and sexist patterns of building trades and bureaucratic hierarchies. Public service employment is a wage-cutting program because it pays near to the minimum wage. For example, an auto worker who was paid \$5.60 an hour in 1974 might receive a job in Detroit General Hospital for something more than half the wage, or be given a job in the park department paying the minimum wage. Since wages are paid according to the amount of commodities needed to reproduce labor power and to supply future workers—and only incidentally according to degree of skill or danger—it should not matter whether the worker is employed in one place rather than another.

Finally, NAM and other groups should begin the campaign against the wage and price controls that are now in preparation by the administration. We should oppose the revival of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and a version of the National Recovery Act already under consideration. These institutions are examples of the friendly fascism that is the corporate answer to the new international situation.

In another column, I will discuss the details of the program and deal with the issue of inflation in relation to it.

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Middle East

(Continued from Page 11)

other alternative. You don't even offer me humiliating terms, to be admitted through the rear door into the progressive orgy. You don't even want me to overthrow my government. You only want me to surrender unconditionally, and to believe the spokesmen of the revolution that henceforth no Jewish doctors will be murdered, and that they will limit themselves to the declaration that Zionism is responsible for the riots in Warsaw."

Israel's alliance with the U.S. is a result, not a cause, of the Middle East conflict. This marriage of convenience parallels that of the Arab states with the Soviet Union, giving both great powers opportunities for exploiting the situation for their own ends.

One belief popular on the U.S. Left is that Israel constitutes a "settler colonial state" comparable to South Africa or Rhodesia. It seems to me that to have any meaning this term refers to a situation in which amorphous collections of westerners bent on pillage and profit have come to live in privilege and comfort on the backs of the "native" peoples of a country, among whom they compose a tiny minority. Whites in the latter countries compose less than 10 percent of the population and enjoy the highest standard of living in the world based on the exploitation of millions of Africans. Jews emigrated—and continue to go—to Israel, often at the cost of a lower living standard, to escape persecution and because there was nowhere else they could live. They do not compose a pitch-helmeted elite at the pinnacle of a social structure but have a complete class distribution. The majority of them are not European but come from the Middle East itself—almost 600,000 refugees from Arab countries, deprived of their property and livelihoods in those states.

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ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIANS

None of these arguments is meant to justify or deny the sufferings of the Palestinian people. For the problem of Zionist thought was that although it indeed started with a "people without a land," it did not come to a "land without a people," to paraphrase one of its famous slogans. The complex history of that struggle between two nationalisms is a story of warfare, mutual massacres, unyielding extremism and bitterness on both sides. The UN partition plan of 1947 sought to solve this conflict by giving both sides an opportunity for independence; if it had been accepted by the Arab states there probably would not have been any refugees.

During the following years the Israeli government refused to recognize Palestinian national rights while, rather than allowing a Palestinian state in the Arab-held areas of the country, Jordan took over the West Bank and Egypt took over the Gaza Strip.

The rise of an independent Palestinian movement offers a way out of this impasse. For the vast majority of Palestinians are more interested in building a national life, a culture, and a political-economic identity than in serving as a pawn for the jockeying of Arab states and leaders for more power. Thus the PLO has proposed establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. While many outsiders still are almost eager to stage a fight to the last, Arab and Israeli, such a proposal is an important step forward.

While the Israeli government should be strongly criticized for its refusal to recognize the Palestinians as a negotiating partner and to hold talks with the PLO, it is also reasonable for them to expect recognition for Israeli-Jewish national rights. A settlement would imply mutual pledges of non-belligerency, mutual demilitarized areas, and international border guarantees. Such a settlement would be the precondition for political struggles within Israel aimed at equal rights for national minorities and for social revolution. Israel would remain a preponderantly Jewish state, but a state much more integrated into the region.

In the past, the PLO and its supporters have used the slogan of a so-called "secular, democratic state" as a solution. This position has been relatively effective with many third world countries and eastern radicals although it has often been juggled with other positions, depending on the audience. Thus, the Palestine National Covenant, as amended by the Fourth Palestinian Council in Cairo in July 1968, only offers to allow Jews who were in Palestine in 1917 to remain in the country. More important, there is not in any way any recognition for Jewish national rights. The new state would clearly be Arab in every respect and Jews, no matter when they arrived, would be allowed to stay if they were willing to be a quiet minority.

The utopian nature of this plan is clear the instant one begins to consider its practical implementation. If the PLO destroyed Israel, who would govern the new state—certainly no former leaders of Zionist parties would be allowed to hold office, and PLO leaders have stated that even the Israeli Communist Party is "Zionist." Who would compose the army—certainly no former Israeli officers would be allowed to serve. Who would occupy any given house or farm any given field? The history of attempt to force conflicting nationalisms into a single state is not an encouraging one, the failure of Cyprus being only the latest example.

Commenting on this issue, Kenan writes, "A few years ago they called me a Jew and wanted to kill me; now they call me a Zionist and they still want to kill

me. I'm still the same person and I still want to live... They tell me they just fight against the 'Zionist structure' not the Jews, but what they call the 'Zionist structure' is my self-determination. They say they will respect the rights of Jews to practice their religion in the new Democratic Palestine. Do you think I will give back statehood for the right to belong to a religious sect? If there is no way for us to stay alive and preserve ourselves as a people, then the Jews have the same rights as Algerians and Black Panthers—we have to organize self-defense and fight back."

Israeli Jews unanimously agree with those sentiments. In fact, it is precisely those Jews from the Arab countries, who the PLO claim will eventually support them, who are the most nationalistic. They have already experienced being "Arab Jews" and living in Arab "secular democratic states" and they do not wish to repeat the experience.

SURVIVAL MEANS COMPROMISE

The fact that the PLO's leadership is not socialist does not encourage one to trust in their understanding of the national question or of class internationalism. But the class and ideological leadership of both the PLO and Israel do not hold their positions by accident—as long as national survival is the paramount question for both sides, class questions, and indeed all other political and social questions, will be shelved. This is why a just settlement based on two independent national homelands would be such a victory for progressive forces. With the end of the focus of Middle East politics on this nationalist conflict the ruling elites of all the countries involved could no longer tell their people that their living standards, their democratic rights, and their political allegiances must be put aside for the cause of total victory.

Yet neither side can win a military conflict. The 1967 war demonstrated to Israel that no matter how big a victory Israel gained the Palestinians and the Arabs would not go away, for only six years later another war broke out. The 1973 war demonstrated to the Arabs that even with the element of surprise, unique new military weapons, rare Arab unity, full-scale Soviet support, broad world backing, the oil boycott, and a lack of preparedness on the Israeli side that approached incompetency, the Arab states could not militarily win the war. The Palestinian guerrillas have been most ineffective.

Recognition of these facts has led to a growing movement on each side for a compromise settlement. Only long-term coexistence could lead to the possibility of transcending the current divisions. In this vein, Shafik al-Hout, one of Yassir Arafat's closest advisers, said recently, "We want to go home to Palestine, but we know that it is a practical impossibility to dismantle or liquidate Israel. I am sure that coming generations in a Palestine partitioned between Israel and the Arabs will be able to live in peace and love. This is the historical trend. Jews and Arabs have had enough of racism and discrimination." This approach, although still a minority in Israeli politics, is appealing to a growing peace movement which has expressed its position not only in protests but in the parliament and even in the Israeli cabinet.

It seems to me that the U.S. Left should support these elements on both sides, while not supporting either exclusive nationalism uncritically. There is something definitely wrong with the Left's current analysis in which, as Kenan puts it, "even an Israeli leftist is an imperialist. And an oil sheik is a socialist. Somebody has already decided to sacrifice us... At one time world revolution has been sacrificed on the altar of revolution in one country. Today the calculation is somewhat subtler. Today they try to explain to us that there is an Arab socialism. That there is an Egyptian socialism, and an Algerian socialism. There is a socialism of slave-traders and a socialism of oil magnates. There are all kinds of socialisms, all aiming really at one and the same thing—the overthrow of imperialism, which happens to be one and indivisible. Once there was only a single kind of socialism, which fed on principles, some of them moral. On the day the morality died there was born the particular, conventional socialism, changing from place to place and from time to time, for which I have no other name but National Socialism."

One would not have to agree with all of Kenan's conclusions to note that there has developed on the Left a certain cynical strategic sense which had tended to prohibit criticism of certain dictators because they are "our dictators, or certain terroristic acts because they are performed by organizations which call themselves liberation movements, and of certain countries, both China and the USSR particularly, because they call themselves socialist.

In the Middle East today nobody is likely to fool anybody else. The Arabs are not going to get Israel to give them a strengthened opportunity to destroy itself, no matter how much pressure is applied, and the Israelis are not going to get a solution leaving out the Palestinians or subjecting them to King Hussein. Whether or not a political settlement can take place without another war we do not know, but we should support a solution recognizing the rights of both nations in that land for which so much blood has already been shed.

Detroit

(Continued from Page 1)

circumstances, according to the contract, SUB credits are exhausted at an accelerated rate. Unless there is a substantial recall of auto-workers, there is a strong possibility the GM and Chrysler funds will collapse by spring. "This program," explains UAW vice-president Irving Bluestone, "was not designed to meet a disaster or crisis situation such as we have today."

Thousands of workers laid off by the energy panic last winter will have exhausted their resources by this spring. Thousands more of the low-seniority workers who lost their jobs this fall will face a similar plight. If these are joined by tens of thousands whom SUB has failed, Detroit may become so devastated that the political possibilities cannot yet be remotely calculated. Some of the actors in the drama can, however, be assessed.

In 1973 Detroit elected its first Black mayor, Coleman Young, a state senator with a radical past and a progressive record. Young has been a monumental disappointment to those who expected an aggressive reform administration. During the current crisis he has had little to say. He is under pressure from Chrysler to grant tax relief as the price for keeping the old Jefferson Assembly Plant open beyond model 1975 and he will probably cave in. Twenty million federal dollars are in the pipeline for unemployment relief extensions, but Young is apparently ready to stretch the law and good sense by using a substantial hunk of these funds to rehire discharged city workers, including police trainees. He is and will remain one more Black mayor presiding over the decay of a Black city.

Nor is anything but complicity with capital to be expected from the UAW bureaucrats at Solidarity House. Irving Bluestone's plea about the difficulties of SUB reflects the tone of the UAW brass and their considerable apparatus. They have bought the corporation's explanation of and program for the crisis and are pushing it full bore. Woodcock has called for a moratorium on federal auto health and safety standards, claims that the corporations can't contain prices, and has the union funding an advertising campaign to buy American and whip inflation.

But Woodcock's vice-presidents do him one better. Kenn Bannon, head of the Ford Department, has said that "people in Washington should keep their noses out of the auto industry" and stop bothering the companies and the UAW, which are "working hand-in-glove on solving the problems." And Bluestone has actually suggested that the still employed take a pay cut by donating their cost-of-living increases to the shrunken SUB fund at GM.

There has not been nor should one expect the slightest criticism of the social forces which have produced the current crisis and threaten to smash the lives of so many of their constituents from the leadership of America's supposedly most progressive major union.



CIA director, William Colby

Among the ranks of the auto workers there exist only the seeds of a possible organized resistance. The United National Caucus, a progressive opposition which dates back to the late 1960s and which is the source of some of the factory-colonizing Left, is attempting to organize unemployed councils at Detroit area locals. UNC has, predictably, advanced the "open the books" and "30 for 40—No Overtime" demands, and has called for an emergency UAW convention. Their capacity to extend their real influence beyond a few locals and to shed the image of the token opposition remains unclear. Many of the young white Left who entered the factories in the past three years have lost their jobs (probably permanently) and no grouping of the Left can claim any significant influence currently among the ranks of auto workers.

Given the opportunities which will exist, Detroit presents a frustrating prospect, especially when one grasps what the contraction in auto may well exemplify about the future of the American economy.

A SHORT-RUN PROBLEM?

Surveying the dismal sales figures recently, GM's new chairman, Thomas Murphy, lamented, "I keep scratching my head and asking myself, 'Why?'" Good question.

The official industry explanation is simple and simpleminded. During 1971-1973 car makers had three good years in a row, which means there is a large inventory of "undriven miles" out on the freeways. Then the price of raw materials inflated. The favored example is steel, up 35% since fall of 1973. Finally, large claims are made about the cost of the federal standards, an alleged average of \$615 per unit now and double this when model 1977 arrives.

The public wisdom of the managers is that it's a short-run problem which requires a redoubling of the sales effort. In the idiom of Ford president Lee Iacocca, "People want economy and they will pay any price for it."

CIA panel

(Continued from Page 1)

1961, Connor negotiated the agreement with Cuba to free captured *gusanos* in exchange for pharmaceuticals. Connor was an intelligence officer during World War II and later worked for the Navy Department.

- Erwin Griswald, former solicitor General, argued in court for the army's right to spy on anti-war demonstrators. He also represented the government against the *New York Times* during the Pentagon Papers dispute.

- The most openly right-wing member of the panel may be the only one not directly connected with the CIA, but surely no one can doubt Ronald Reagan's willingness to support the CIA's activities to the hilt.

- Lyman Lemnitzer was chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff during the Bay of Pigs invasion and is a member of the Committee of Forty which supervises CIA activities.

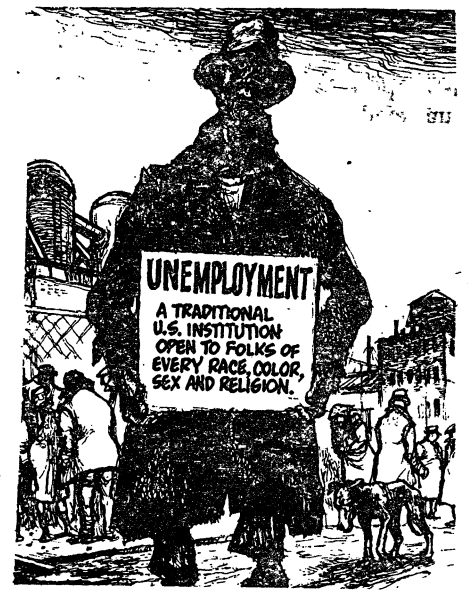
It's most likely that the Rockefeller panel will do nothing more than acknowledge the domestic spying stories that have already been published and recommend that the FBI rather than the CIA resume that role in the future. It's quite doubtful that congressional committees that have never before shown interest in CIA wrong-doings will suddenly probe fearlessly into the history of CIA subversion.

There's no reason to expect that the CIA's vast power will be decreased because of these new revelations. The strength of the CIA has enabled it to overthrow progressive governments in Guatemala, Iran, and Chile, as well as to participate in Watergate crimes at home.

Meanwhile, in the real world spendable income is now declining at more than 6%, nearly 7,000,000 are out of work, inflation is double digit and the wholesale price index was, in November 1974, increasing at a rate of over 20% annually.

Actually, there are more fundamental problems for auto. The post-World War II public investment decisions which gave us freeways and suburbia have, it is true, locked Americans into an auto-dominated existence. But there are cracks in the auto makers' golden egg: it is increasingly difficult to create genuinely new demand. There is now one car for every two Americans. This may be close to the point of ultimate saturation. The Big Three may in the future be selling to a market based totally on replacement. Even in good times the scrappage rate is less than eight million per year.

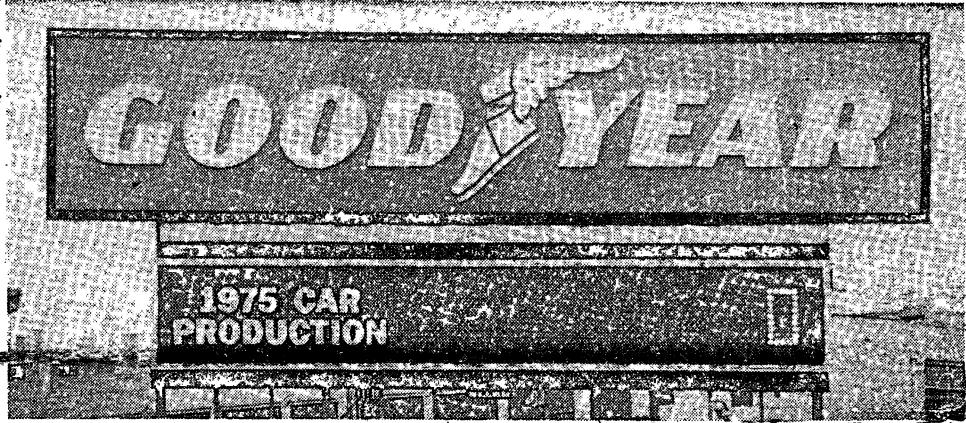
TO REALLY COMPREHEND the meaning of the auto contraction, however, one must go beyond even the long-term dynamics of the market. The signal feature of the world economy in the past decade is the rise and consolidation of the multinational corporations. Over 30% of total U.S. corporate profits now come from overseas operations. Still more significant, one-fourth of total investment was overseas last year and the top multinationals employed 25% of the workers outside of the U.S. Overseas production ac-



counted for 47% of Chrysler Corporation's earnings in 1973.

As productive investment goes elsewhere, the real capital base of the domestic economy shrinks and a classical inflationary pattern is established, complicated in turn by the consequences of the multinational's centralization and integration of agriculture, textiles, clothing, etc. When the average American family lays out over one-third of the budget to eat, sleep, and clothe itself, those who labor to produce consumer durables are in trouble.

Detroit's impending depression may be the most dramatic demonstration to date of the price the American working class will pay for the rise to hegemony of the supranational corporations.



A HISTORY OF SUBVERSION

Why is the CIA so sacrosanct? Since its inception in 1947, the CIA has been an indispensable part of American foreign policy. Leading American capitalists, when faced with the challenge of victorious revolutions, have used the CIA to protect their vital interests when more overt, military means appeared unfeasible. Since the CIA's budget is hidden and its activities known only to a select group of high officials, the CIA could engage in operations that could neither be traced nor supervised by the American Congress, much less by the American people.

With the growth of the anti-war and Black power movements during the mid-60s, the CIA began to engage in domestic surveillance to counter the impact of these groups on the government's ability to carry out its foreign policy, especially in Vietnam. In those years and until very recently, the CIA not only spied on American dissidents, but also infiltrated various student and Black organizations hoping to influence opinion in a direction favorable to the CIA. The best example of this kind of infiltration was the National Student Association which the CIA partially funded in the mid-60s.

When Nixon became president in 1968, the CIA expanded its domestic activities and infiltrated campus demonstrations. It also compiled extensive dossiers on U.S. citizens who actively opposed the Indochina war. These files are the basis of the most recent revelations by the *Times*.

ROOTS IN WATERGATE

Only in the last eight months have major news stories and books critical of the CIA been published and read widely by the American public. Watergate has been responsible for at least two developments which have helped to throw some light on the CIA. A

change in popular attitudes has made it difficult for scandals to be swept under the rug in the name of national security. At the same time, the Watergate investigations came close enough to the CIA that elements within the agency felt overexposed and began highly selective leaks to the press to protect and justify their particular positions.

This second outcome of Watergate has intensified an already existing personal and ideological factionalism within the CIA and throughout the larger intelligence establishment including the FBI and the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA). While there's no reason to believe that any of these factions desire more than a rearrangement of forces within the intelligence community, their competitive jockeying may lead farther than they wish.

Perhaps the most important change behind the new furor over the CIA is the fact that many of the CIA's most recent actions have failed, undermined other aspects of American foreign policy, or offended leaders of foreign governments. The CIA has thus become vulnerable to attack by State Department diplomats and liberal elements of the ruling class. That the *New York Times* published these revelations at all when similar stories were quashed in the past, is an indication that for those liberal elements there is no longer a necessary equation between the CIA and the nation's "best interests."

THESE DEVELOPMENTS will not of their own momentum lead to anything more than a rhetorical and legalistic assault on the fortress of the CIA. They do, however, provide a new opening for those who would like to destroy the CIA rather than just remodel it. Whether the crack in the CIA's powerful wall leads to an uprooting of the foundation will depend on the force of popular anger and the Left's ability to guide that anger on target.