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Big auto sets up shop in Chile; layoffs in U.S.

by Rod Larsen

NAM recently learned that Ford, GM, Chrysler, and six other firms have placed bids for a massive reorganization and expansion of the Chilean auto assembly industry. The effect of the move will be to improve the Chilean balance of payments and thus bolster the Junta of Gen. Augusto Pinochet.

A final decision on the details of the plan will be made in Santiago in April. The military dictatorship has been making strenuous efforts to attract new foreign capital in recent months. A part of the effort is a promise of a quiescent and cheap labor force. Nearly all of the Chilean trade unions have been abolished and most of the former leadership is either in exile, murdered, or in hiding. The junta has formed a labor front to direct labor affairs led by two graduates of training given by the AFL-CIO-sponsored American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). Several documented studies have been published in the last year that indicate the AIFLD was part of the CIA effort to destabilize the government of Dr. Salvador Allende.

Apparently no efforts are being made by any of the U.S. unions whose members may be affected by the shift of auto assembly work from the U.S. to Chile when the program is begun. There are approximately 260,000 auto workers unemployed in the U.S. alone at the present time.

A number of American unions, including the UAW, IUE, IBEW, Steelworkers, and Machinists, belong to the International Metalworkers Federation (IMF), an international trade secretariat based in Geneva, Switzerland. The IMF in the past has called for international trade union action to prevent the flight of capital and jobs to low-wage areas where basic trade union rights are ignored. The precedent for such action in the case of Chile exists but, as yet, no coordinated appeal for action has been made by officials of any of the unions involved.

Critics of the action of the three auto companies have pointed out that U.S. government support and guarantees of the investment would result in additional reasons for overt and covert support of the junta.

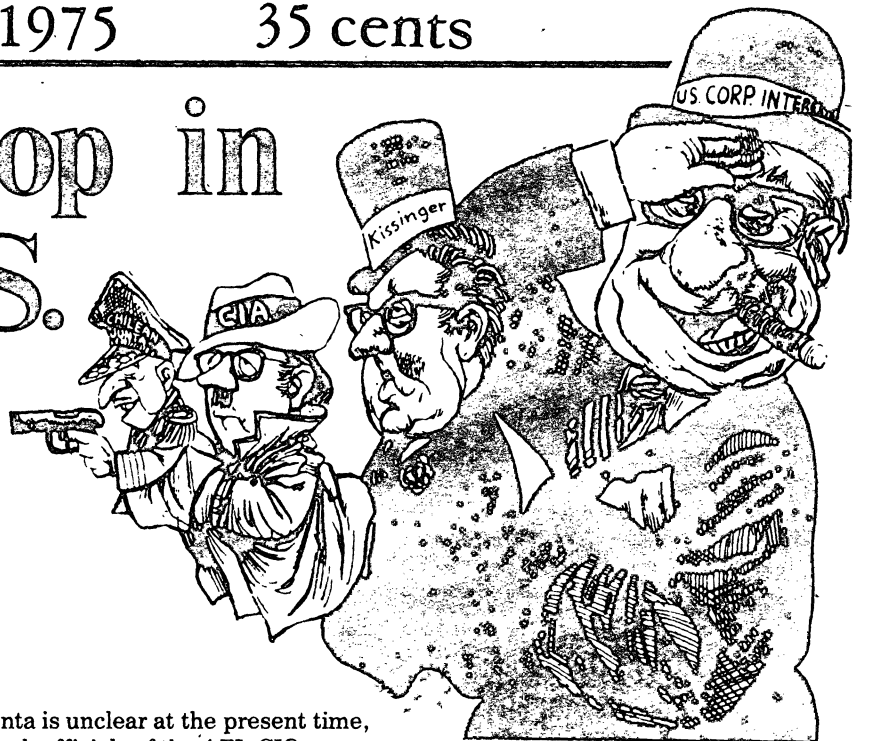
The Agency for International Development, Inter-American Development Bank, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and a number of private financial institutions have all been involved in extensive refinancing and guarantees of the current Chilean debt. The proposed plan to reorganize and expand the auto assembly industry in Chile would involve participation by a number of financial institutions and would strengthen the effort by transnational corporations and banks to stabilize the economic and financial base of the junta.

The nature of the AIFLD program in shaping Chilean worker cooperation for

the junta is unclear at the present time, although officials of the AFL-CIO group have admitted that the program of AIFLD in Chile has expanded since the coup and the outlawing of most Chilean unions. Although nominally directed by the AFL-CIO leadership, AIFLD is financed by a consortium of large corporations and the U.S. government (see *New American Movement*, Oct. 74).

Coordinated international trade union action on the question of Chile has been totally absent from the agendas of most American unions. This is a clear indication of the influence of the International Affairs Department of the AFL-CIO.

However, it is not true that union members in other countries are unaware of their power and responsibility in this area. The Australian Council of Trade Unions recently began a national port and transportation boycott that has delayed shipment of \$54 million of wheat to Chile until the completion of



an International Labor Organization (ILO) report of the condition of workers and unions in Chile. The ILO is an organization affiliated with the United Nations that is composed of government, worker, and employer representatives.

Also, in San Francisco a group called the Union Committee for an All-Labor AIFLD has called upon "the national officials of the labor movement to take action to disassociate AIFLD from the multinational corporations and all government agencies." A letter to this effect has been signed by over 300 persons in the U.S. labor movement, including Patrick Gorman, International Sec.-Treas. of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers.

Further information on the auto companies' plans in Chile can be obtained by writing to *New American Movement*.

Racism strikes again

Abortion of justice in Boston

by Health Care Collective
Middlesex NAM

To most people the guilty verdict came as a shock. After six weeks of generally favorable testimony for the defense, the predominantly male, Roman Catholic, and all-white jury found Dr. Kenneth Edelin guilty of manslaughter while performing a legal abortion. The charge carries a maximum sentence of 20 years in prison. Dr. Edelin, a black obstetrician, had performed the legal second trimester (3-6 months) abortion on a 17-year-old black woman at Boston City Hospital, a hospital which serves Boston's third world and poor white community.

A curious aspect of the trial was that the legality and medical soundness of the abortion was never questioned by the prosecution. The charge was manslaughter, and read: "...Kenneth Edelin did assault and beat a certain person, to wit, a male child, and by such assault and beating did kill the said person."

The prosecution's case against Edelin rested on their contention that the fetus could have lived outside the mother; that it was in the process of being born and was therefore a legal person. Dr. Edelin performed a routine hysterotomy (incision into the uterus



through the abdomen) on a woman judged to be from 20 to 24 weeks pregnant. The prosecution contended that Edelin intentionally "suffocated" the fetus by detaching it from the placenta, thereby cutting off its oxygen supply. The prosecution stated that this separa-

tion from the placenta was birth. The prosecution's star witness, Dr. Gimenez, stated that he saw Edelin open the uterus and then insert his whole hand inside to "suffocate" the fetus. Gimenez said that Edelin then remained motionless for three minutes with his entire hand in the uterus while watching a clock.

Judge James McGuire instructed the jury that a fetus was "not a person and not the subject of manslaughter," and that "birth is the process which causes the emergence of a new individual from inside its mother." Most observers felt this meant the jury would have to find that Edelin killed the fetus after birth and not in the three-minute wait during the abortion.

The defense's optimism stemmed from the obvious difference between the judge's instructions and the prosecution's reliance on only intra-uterine activity. Also adding to the defense's hopes was the fact that Dr. Gimenez proved to have a very poor memory, forgetting such things as the location of the clock Edelin supposedly looked at for three minutes, in which operating room the abortion took place, and who assisted Edelin in the operation. Other prosecution witnesses were members or founders of various Right To Life organizations. This raised questions of

their self interest in seeing a guilty verdict.

In October 1973, when the abortion was performed, there was no state law governing abortions. It wasn't until August 1974 that Massachusetts passed a bill completely outlawing abortions after the 24th week of pregnancy. However, the Supreme Court decision of January 1973 stated that abortion is legal until the fetus is viable, between 24 to 28 weeks. This resulted in much speculation as to the age of the aborted fetus, and whether or not it could have survived following the abortion. There was conflicting testimony as to its age, with estimates of various doctors and pathologists ranging from 18 to 28 weeks. Even if they could have pinpointed the age of the fetus, the question of its viability would have remained.

The history behind the indictment began in June 1973 when an anti-abortion group, Massachusetts Citizens For Life, started a campaign against drug research on aborted fetuses at Boston City Hospital. Investigators from the D.A.s office found two dead fetuses at the morgue, one of which was Edelin's abortee. This resulted in the indictment of four research doctors

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NAM editorial

Bus plan stirs white racism

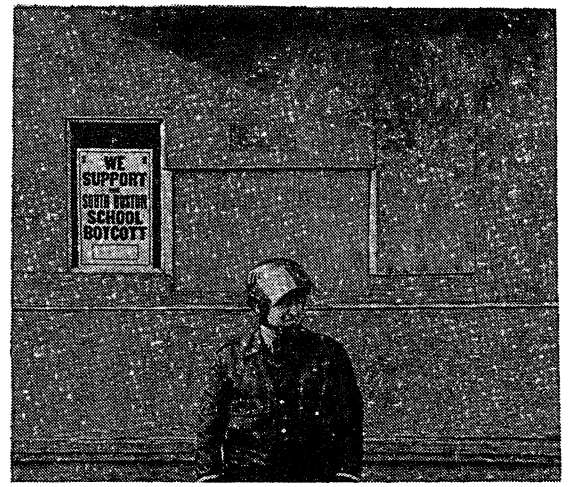
Twenty years after the Supreme Court outlawed school segregation, the news reached Boston. A court-ordered desegregation plan went into effect last fall. In response, the city witnessed massive white resistance, stoning of school buses carrying blacks, racial warfare in the high schools and, at time, gang attacks on individuals in the streets. What happened in the supposed capital of Northern liberalism? What forces caused this confrontation?

Much of the credit goes to Boston's politicians—John Kerrigan, the school committee chairman, Louise Day Hicks, Boston's imitation of George Wallace, and others like them. In carefully preparing the groundwork for the anti-busing movement, they stirred up white racism for years, organized the failure of the busing plan, and "proved" that integration will never work.

But the "limousine liberals," Boston's upper-

class supporters of busing, are far from blameless. Teddy Kennedy supports integration, surely; and Judge Garrity, a resident of the affluent suburb of Wellesley, the liberal hero of the year, issued the desegregation order. Kennedy, Garrity and the Boston *Globe* as well as the rest of the establishment pro-busing forces are backing a divisive plan while doing nothing to improve the quality of anyone's education, black or white.

The Boston plan requires the integration only of the poorest of the white sections of the metropolitan area; the ethnic neighborhoods such as South Boston that are closest to the black and Puerto Rican communities are included. Richer areas are less affected and, as required by recent Supreme Court decisions, the suburbs, where most middle and upper income people live, are not included at all. In essence, the plan desegregates the poorest



white neighborhoods and offers blacks the dubious advantage of being able to attend the likes of South Boston High.

Why, then, does the black community care about busing? Because the issue is not really busing. It is racism. Behind the legal forms, the busing plan is a ruling class concession to the ten-year struggle of the black community against racism and segregation in Boston schools. It is a very limited concession; to achieve real improvement in education, the struggle against segregated schools will have to go on to win the right of all students to attend any school. Nonetheless, for both sides of the conflict "anti-busing" has come to be a code word for racism. For this reason, whatever our doubts about this specific plan, we must oppose the anti-busing movement and support the right to choose to attend any school in safety, for the black and Puerto Rican communities.

While the anti-busing movement is purely racist, the fears and resentments on which it is built are far more complex. The Irish, Italian, and other ethnic communities of Boston have long been on the defensive, fighting the spreading skyscrapers, expressways, and airport runways of the "new Boston." Busing can easily be portrayed as one more ruling class attack on the cohesion of these communities. While we cannot support the present white community reaction, it is important to understand that these communities have often been, and will again be progressive forces for community control against the ruling class.

The only long-run solution to the problems of education and racism in Boston lies in building a united movement of the black and white working people of the city. Kennedy and Garrity will not improve education for blacks; Hicks and Kerrigan will not defend anything of real importance to whites. Racism channels whites into blaming blacks for their problems instead of joining together to fight for their common interests against the school system, the politicians, and the ruling class.

Education is lousy for everyone in the Boston school system; for blacks and Puerto Ricans it is worse than for the white communities that are fighting them. Instead of continuing to fight each other over legalisms, why not fight together for better schools? The demands of the fight should include:

1. Defend the safety and democratic rights of minorities, including the right to choose to attend any school and the right to defend against racist attacks.

2. Tax the rich to pay for schools for the poor. More money won't solve the schools' problems, but it's a start. Because of the oppression of blacks, the schools in black areas will need the most money, but South Boston and other white areas need funds also.

3. Give control of schools to the parents, teachers, and students involved, not to the school committee. This will provide the only long-run guarantee that education responds to community needs.



Last days of Lon Nol

Victory soon in Cambodia

Ten years ago we were warned that if the liberation struggle in South Vietnam were to succeed it would set off an international chain reaction that would eventually lead to a communist landing on the shores of California. This paranoid delusion accounted for part of the rationale for the massive U.S. aid that continues to prop up the Thieu regime in the sea of Vietnamese opposition.

Five years ago, the U.S. effort in South Vietnam took a dramatic turn. The government of Cambodia, led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, had been allowing National Liberation Front forces from South Vietnam and North Vietnamese troops to take shelter from American bombs in Cambodian jungles. Richard Nixon ordered the bombing and invasion of Cambodia to cut off these refuges. The CIA directed a coup that placed a military man friendly to American imperialism in power. That man was Lon Nol.

Today we are witnessing the death agony of Lon Nol's regime. And once again President Ford is using the domino theory of international politics to justify his effort to bludgeon Congress into appropriating almost a quarter of a billion dollars in emergency aid to keep Phnom Penh safe from communism. Fortunately, it appears that Phnom Penh will fall in any event, in the words of exiled Prince Sihanouk, "like rotten fruit from a tree."

The irony of all this is, of course, that it was the American invasion of Cambodia that precipitated the spectacular rise of the United Front of National Liberation (FUNK). Popular opposition to the invasion at home forced Nixon to rely on Lon Nol's

abilities to stop the use of Cambodian refuges by the Vietnamese. The Lon Nol corrupt and repressive regime bred the rebellion that is now about to drive him from power and bring in a coalition government in which communists will have a leading role.

FUNK's imminent victory is a tremendous step forward for the Cambodian people. Cambodians will soon begin the task of recovering from the long war, reconstructing their nation and transforming the social relations bred by American domination and imperialism into democratic and egalitarian forms.

The Cambodian victory is also a victory for the rest of Southeast Asia. Ford is clearly right when he contends that Thieu and his cohorts in South Vietnam will be demoralized by their neighbor's defeat. Thieu already seems to be reorienting his military strategy toward a more defensive design, by turning over key central highlands provinces to the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

All along, of course, it has been American imperialism, not the fear of a domino bridge to the U.S., that has motivated U.S. policy in Southeast Asia. American capitalism has depended since World War II on the growth of a fantastic military industry. It has depended on its image of power and brutality to keep the rest of the world in line. The war in Southeast Asia has been a critical theater in which these features of American imperialism have been played out. The defeat of Lon Nol is, in the last analysis, a defeat for American capitalism. Insofar as American capitalism is a failure for the American people, the defeat of Lon Nol is a victory for Americans.

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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.

UFW gains strength

12,000 march on Gallo

by Martie Meckel

It gave one a sense of déjà vu to see the long line of marchers stretching all the way down the street and around the corner. Flags were waving everywhere, and the chanting never stopped. 12,000 enthusiastic supporters of the United Farm Workers converged on the town of Modesto, California, home of Gallo wines, March 1, demanding that Gallo agree to supervised secret elections for its farmworkers.

The march had really begun the week before, when farmworkers and supporters set out from San Francisco, Fresno, and Stockton on foot, headed for the heart of Gallo country. For the last leg of the journey the ranks swelled to thousands, as people arrived by bus from all over California and parts of Arizona and New Mexico.

The march wound through Modesto for five miles, cutting through residential areas, as well as downtown. It passed the Gallo winery, unmarked except for a large banner reading, "73 Miles to Go. Gallo asks Farmworkers to Support NLRB-Type Legislation in Sacramento." The marchers kept on until they reached Graceada Park, where they sat on the lawn and waited for the rally to begin.

The program that followed was aimed at building support for the Gallo boycott and for legislation that would allow for supervised elections for farmworkers. The tone of the rally was both moralistic and optimistic, featuring several religious speakers, telegrams of support from labor leaders, the music of Joan Baez, and Assemblyperson Richard Alatorre (Dem. L.A.). The climax of the afternoon was a speech by Cesar Chavez in which he praised the nationwide success of the Gallo boycott and called for more of the same. He also expressed confidence that the result of a farmworker vote at Gallo would be favorable to the UFW, and pledged cessation of all boycott activities in the event the union lost the elections.

The rally represented a rebirth of mass farmworker activity since the strikes in the summer of 1973. The union has been in a desperate situation since the Teamsters took many of the UFW contracts, and it has only recently begun to recover. The present focus on legislation is an attempt to ensure that the union will not suffer similar setbacks in the future and will be able to protect what gains it makes.

HISTORIC STRATEGY

Historically, the UFW's strategy has had two main components: strikes in the fields and boycotts in urban areas. The increasing emphasis on boycott activities and other forms of mass support stems from the limitations placed on the effectiveness of agricultural strikes in this country by the seasonal nature of the work, by injunctions forbidding strikes at harvest time, and by the ease with which they are broken by scab labor. The boycott, on the other hand, can potentially inflict prolonged economic damage on the growers.

The union's tactics have aimed at reaching as many people as possible with a program that asks very little of each person, yet is extremely effective on a mass scale. This includes asking consumers to boycott lettuce, grapes, and Gallo, forcing stores to take non-UFW products off the shelves, sending letters to elected officials, contributing to food drives, etc. They have worked through existing institutions such as unions, churches, the Democratic Party, and mass media to argue their case.

Their approach is basically moralistic, rather than political. A moralistic approach emphasizes that the poverty and misery of the farmworkers is unfair

and unjust, but does not explain why this situation exists. Their moralism is partially due to the fact that more people will be supportive out of sympathy for the farmworkers than they would out of a political understanding of the situation. It is also true that the Catholic tradition of most farmworkers is more conducive to a good vs. evil outlook than a materialist perspective.

The Teamsters' offensive offered the growers an attractive alternative to the UFW. Teamster contracts do not deal with working conditions and are not threatening to the growers' control over production. UFW contracts, on the other hand, not only deal with economic matters, but also with issues such as union control over hiring and firing procedures, and the right to refuse work in the fields while pesticides are being sprayed. These questions are dangerous to the growers as they challenge their right of running their business without worker restrictions. The Teamsters' presence has changed the nature of the situation, obscuring the issue of the UFW's right to organize and making the struggle appear to be a dispute between the two unions. It has become harder to reach people on a simple mass level since more political understanding is needed to understand the dispute. The workers do have a union, and a strong one at that—the Teamsters—so the growers' basic humanity is no longer adequate to explain the UFW's position. The union's appeal has remained primarily at a moral level, but has necessarily become somewhat more political to explain such concepts as "sweetheart contracts" and Teamster-grower collusion.

The loss of the contracts forced the union to try to get them back. The boy-

cott had to be started up again, preventing the union from moving into new areas. This was a severe setback to the progress the union had made. It became obvious that some sort of procedural structure was needed to protect contracts and to have workers decide if they wanted them renewed, and to ensure that the boycott would not have

up for renewal. The union chose legislation as the way to protect and consolidate its gains. The UFW began to move into the political arena and work with the Democratic Party as the means to protective legislation. They

struggled to rekindle mass support for the boycott and to get a large enough base to be able to pressure the Democrats.

Again, large numbers of supporters have been needed, and getting them has been made harder because of the complexity of the issues. But the union has been slowly increasing its support. Their strategy now stresses passing protective legislation ensuring supervised secret elections, as well as increasing boycott activities.

The UFW has been criticized by many on the left for its liberal approach and analysis, and for its stand on various issues. Many of these criticisms are valid, but it must be kept in mind that the union's goal is contracts, and that the left does not have enough of a mass base in this country to be an effective alternative to liberalism in getting them. In fact, the situation now is such that a liberal base of support is the only practical way for the union to realize its goal.

Because of this there has been some friction between leftist support groups and the union, and the UFW has on occasion denounced radicals, particularly around the "illegals" issue. This issue represents a major contradiction of the UFW's liberal approach. The fact is that illegal aliens from Mexico are often used to break farmworkers strikes and the UFW's liberal perspective makes it logical for them to look to existing institutions like the border patrol for solutions. This position puts the union in conflict with socialists who oppose the national chauvinism that the UFW encourages.

Socialists must try to work with the union in a way that raises the political level of the struggle. The task is to create a mass socialist movement strong enough to be able to offer groups like the UFW a viable alternative outside of the existing political institutions.

Puerto Ricans fight for light

by Rich Cornish and Awilda Sanchez

Since March 1974 consumers of the Autoridad de las Fuentes Fluviales (AFF) in Puerto Rico have been waging a campaign against the island's major utility by calling for non-payment of all electricity bills. What began as a spontaneous reaction to the AFF's tripling of electric rates last year is now a growing political movement involving numerous community groups and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP).

When the AFF raised its rates last year, citing increased fuel prices and the need to "pass on" the added costs, most Puerto Rican consumers could not afford the increase and simply stopped paying their bills. The AFF threatened legal action against the delinquent consumers and began turning off their lights. Some consumers asked the PSP for legal assistance and began to organize.

The next step was the formation of boycott committees in *barrios* throughout the island. The boycott committees consisted of consumers, including the most politically conscious community leaders and many people who had never participated in any political struggle before. Committees in 40 *barrios* across the island are now loosely organized in a central metropolitan committee.

The metropolitan committee provides leadership for the struggle by organizing demonstrations, holding press conferences, and publishing a twice-monthly bulletin. The bulletin is distributed door-to-door by organizers in the *barrio* committees. The president of the metropolitan committee is Blanca N. Rosario, a Rio Pedras mother of six. One result of the boycott to date has been the recruiting of numerous boy-

cott activists, such as Rosario, into the PSP.

The AFF has responded to the boycott by having hundreds of families arrested for reconnecting their lights. It has also moved aggressively in the legislature, successfully backing a law that now makes it illegal to boycott any "public service" institution, like AFF.

Despite these measures, the boycott continues to grow with participation as high as 90% in some *barrios*. The committees receive outspoken support from at least one member of the legislature, PSP member Carlos Gallezar, and less vocal support from a few other independents.

Surprisingly, most of the San Juan dailies have been supportive of the boycott. These include: PSP's *Claridad*, the liberal, English-language *San Juan Star*, the right-wing *El Nuevo Dia*, and the sensationalist *El Vocero*. The right is using the boycott as an opportunist way of attacking the more liberal incumbents in the Popular Democratic Party.

The boycott is supported by the United Workers Movement (MOU), a national caucus of approximately 50 labor unions. The MOU includes the Union of Workers of the Electrical and Irrigation Industry (UTIER), which represents the AFF workers. Many PSP members in the AFF regularly turn the lights back on for consumers after the AFF has turned them off.

The UTIER is a major focus of political struggle around the boycott. Although the AFF has gone to great pains to divide them, the boycott committees and the rank and file of UTIER have come to an understanding of their common class interests. The UTIER president does not support the boycott, but his vice-president is a member of the boycott's metropolitan committee.

The boycotters are demanding:

- 1) An inverted rate structure, so that small users pay less per kilowatt hour than larger users;
- 2) An end of subsidies by the Commonwealth to the petrochemical companies;
- 3) That industries pay for electricity according to their impact on the Puerto Rican economy; (In this context, "impact" means the number of workers employed, the amount of taxes paid, and the percentage of profits reinvested in the local economy.)
- 4) That the government of Puerto Rico be given the power to purchase oil from any country it wants;
- 5) That the AFF be restructured to cut down on operating costs by eliminating bureaucratic salaries, etc.

The AFF is controlled not by Puerto Ricans, as the colonial government claims, but by a collection of North American banks and multi-national corporations such as the First National Bank of Boston (which controls all sales of AFF bonds). By AFF's own admission, the company charges residential consumers 2.77 cents per kilowatt hour, while charging a multi-national corporation like Union Carbide only .43 cent per kilowatt hour.

The fact is that a "public service" utility at the mercy of colonial domination cannot be solvent without gouging Puerto Rican workers for astronomical rates. To invert the rate structure and accede to the other boycott demands would necessitate tampering with the profits of the petroleum, petrochemical, and pharmaceutical monopolies, something the government is not likely to do. It would require a profound change in the economic and political structure of the island, something the PSP refers to as "la Alternativa Socialista."

The Long March

Goodby to all that

by Barbara and John Ehrenreich

Economists are still trying to figure out whether to call it a "serious recession" or a "mini-major depression." A leading dog food manufacturer is considering whether, in light of current consumption patterns, its product should be brought up to human-level standards of sanitation. Coca Cola, the national beverage, now costs more than French table wine. The Los Angeles police are preparing for food riots. All the indicators point the same way: the U.S. standard of living is as downwardly mobile as a stockbroker plummeting from the twentieth story window.

There can be two kinds of programmatic responses to the crisis: (1) those that aim to restore prosperity; or (2) those that challenge the very notion of "prosperity" under capitalism and point to a way out that is not a way back.

Before you make your choice, let's think back on what the Good Old Days were like—say, the late sixties, when the American Dream was still aglow in Technicolor and neon. Unemployment was down below five percent, and no one had ever heard of "double digit inflation." A skilled or educated white man could hope to accumulate a house, furniture, cars, wife, and children in a few years of working, and still have enough left in his pockets to cruise the shopping centers every Saturday. Tract housing, shopping malls, and junior colleges were springing up everywhere so that everyone could get in on the good life, the Dream Life.

It's hard to think of it now without a pang of nostalgia. Remember choosing jobs? Remember buying clothes because they were *stylish*? Remember the discussions of "post-scarcity" society?

Thus loaded, the question is easy enough to answer: of course, we don't just want to go back; we want to go

somewhere totally different. But what would a revolutionary program on the economy look like?

Any program—liberal or revolutionary—must address itself to the immediate problems people are experiencing in the present crisis. There is no question about that. But a revolutionary program must go beyond merely *defen-*



question of just what kind of a "standard of living" we really want. For too long the idea of the "good life" has been defined by the needs of the corporations, not by the needs of the people. They need sales, so we "need" aerosol deodorants, over-sized cars, and Big Whoppers. As socialists, we are certainly not peddling The American Dream warmed over (more Cadillacs, ranch houses, and color TVs).



This is precisely the time to begin to talk about the concrete improvements in people's lives that socialism can offer: job and income security, universal health and educational services, and, above all, democratic ways in which people in their communities and workplaces can determine their own needs, their own goals.

We're not saying it will be easy to develop a program that can deal concretely with the immediate crisis facing people and at the same time project a vision of the socialist alternative. It's far easier, in rough times, to retrench, to go on the defensive, to fall back on narrowly economic programs. And that, in fact, is exactly what the ruling class expects us to do. Hard times are calculated to "discipline" the rest of us, to corner us, to get us begging for the "good old days." As the old labor song goes, "I don't want your millions mister, I don't want your diamond rings... Give to me my old job back." But we do want the diamonds. Now more than ever, is the time to go on the offensive.

But now let's remember the other side of it. The Good Old Days were also a period of tremendous social unrest. Students were rebelling against an educational processing system that led only to meaningless or dishonorable jobs. Feminists announced that they couldn't be bought with a doll's house in Levittown and a charge account at Macy's. Black protest went beyond "discrimination" to include the whole plastic culture of white capitalism: "Who wants to integrate into a burning building?" militants asked.

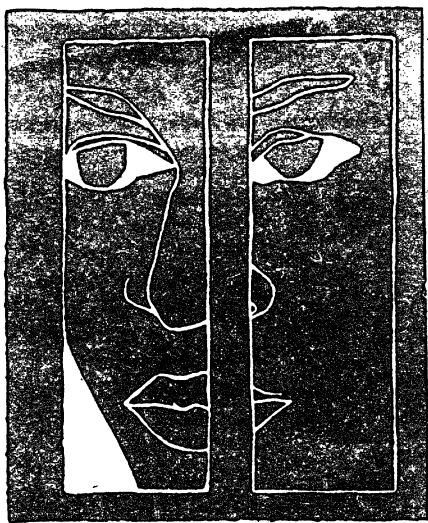
Altogether, the New Left raised a qualitative critique of capitalism—the purposelessness of work, the poverty of human relationships, the sexist vulgarity of mass culture, the deadening monotony of the suburbs. Most of us in the New Left didn't become radicals

because we weren't getting enough, but because we'd had enough. Here was capitalism in its last burst of glad-handed, expansive "prosperity"—and it stank.

And remember this, too. The Good Old Days were not so great for everyone. For large numbers of Black people, Latin people, rural people, old people—the American dream was just something you watched on TV. Their depression was ongoing. And it wasn't just a matter of "catching up." The fact of poverty—the existence of a large body of unemployed and semi-employed people is a permanent feature of advanced capitalism and no reforms, no programs for full and equal employment, will wave it away.

Then, too, prosperity here (such as it was) was only one side of a system of massive international inequality buttressed by U.S. imperialism. It took 35 percent of the world's energy supplies to keep us (who are less than six percent of the world's population) shuttling back and forth between the shopping centers, tract houses, and dead end jobs. U.S. corporations were pumping billions out of third world countries—robbing the poor to glut the rich. In the mid-sixties, with economic stagnation looming, the U.S. bought an additional half-decade of prosperity with stepped up military expenditures. Thanks to the war in Vietnam, we didn't have a depression in the sixties. Instead we had "The Great Society."

To go back to the choice we posed at the beginning. It's easy enough to design a program aimed solely at restoration. The obvious ingredients are price controls, government spending to maintain full employment, beefed up unemployment compensation, etc. But is this what we really want? Do we want to turn the business cycle back 180 degrees or do we want to end it altogether? Do we want to restore capitalism, circa 1967, or do we want to build toward socialism?



by Karen Rotkin
Santa Cruz NAM

The term "sexual revolution" commonly raises eyebrows, scorn, and suspicion among leftists—and it's obvious that this is not because all leftists lead hassle-free sex lives. The legitimate reason for the reaction is that the term is most often associated with liberal sexual reformism—e.g., more women available for more frequent use by straight men; "some of my best friends are homosexual (but I'm careful not to touch them);" "masturbation is an okay substitute if there's no partner available;" etc. ad nauseum. The non-legitimate reason for the leftist reaction is the reluctance to deal with sexual ideology, norms, and practice as political issues.

Frequently underlying this reluctance is a seldom-spoken assumption that concern with sexuality is symptomatic of bourgeois decadence and that serious revolutionaries have much heavier issues to be concerned with.

Sex and 'sexual revolution'

This stance reflects the view that sex is a luxury, a self-indulgence, that distracts us from our important work. This position is reminiscent of the resistance within the left that was originally counterposed to feminist insistence that the personal is political. While few leftists today would argue the value of abstinence from sexual activity, few would argue for the revolutionary importance of political struggle around issues of sexual norms, expectations, and activities (except in some special areas such as rape, prostitution, contraception, etc.).

In this respect we seem to be suffering from internalized residues of the Victorian/Freudian notion that productive activity results only from the rechanneling or sublimation of our erotic/sexual "energy." It's as if the energy we use in sexual activity is necessarily squandered—it is energy we could have used in socially productive activity but which was wasted instead on pleasures of the flesh (i.e., "just fucking off"). By extension, this model implies that theoretical and practical analysis of sexuality is a squandering of resources that ought to be spent in what may seem to be the more urgent demands for revolutionary activity in the social/political realm. Thus, ironically, we treat sex as if it were not an inherently social activity.

It is assumed then that there is an unavoidable conflict between the realm of individual desire for erotic gratification and the realm of social productivity (in much the same way that it was previously assumed that the personal and

political aspects of experience were in antagonistic mutual isolation). Since revolutionary change is seen in the social/political (and even personal) realm as the top priority, the failure to deal politically with sexual experience implies the expectation that a large measure of sexual/erotic denial is either a necessary evil or simply a given part of the "human condition."

Underlying this notion is the fear that if we allowed ourselves as much gratification as we could take, we would never have any time or motivation left for socially productive activity—crazed by a lust that would feed upon itself, we would spend all of our energy and creative resources in the frantic pursuit and consumption of physical pleasure. This fear does have a real basis in an alienating society where we have no opportunities for self-realizing productivity and where our sexual experience is advertised convincingly (albeit falsely) as the only realm of non-alienation. But this fear involves serious contradictions for people who are working to create an unalienating society in which we would be fulfilled in our humanness by our labor—in which we would be as self-motivated to produce and create as we would be to consume orgasms.

Since in a non-alienating society eroticism wouldn't necessarily be in competition with or preferred over productive activity, we shouldn't have to fear the weakness of the flesh and the temptation and distraction conjured up in the feverish imagination by thoughts of sexual liberation. (Anyway, sex

tends to be more of a preoccupation during continued absence than repeated occurrence.) In short, we can have our cake and eat it (the cake!) too. We can work toward a social/political revolution and a sexual revolution.

Not only can we have both—it is imperative that we do have both, unless, of course, we decide to avoid sexual activity and fantasy till "after the revolution." But if we are not going to abstain, we should recognize that our involvement as sexual beings with ourselves and others is dialectically related with the rest of who we are and what we do (unless we are successful schizophrenics). Our sexual attitudes and experience are not isolated from the rest of our experience any more than the economy is isolated from the state. We can't avoid the conscious politicization of sexuality while we struggle in other aspects of our intimate relationships without reproducing bourgeois ideology. If we don't redefine and reshape our sexuality in revolutionary ways, we will continue to live it as it has been defined and shaped by sexist and heterosexist ideological norms. We need a vision of socialist sexuality (and modes of struggle to reach it) as much as we need a vision of socialist production. In short, the issue of sexual liberation can't wait till "after the revolution" any more than the issue of women's liberation can wait, because along with women's liberation it is a necessarily integral issue in revolutionary change. And besides, "it doesn't cause cavities."

Behind mideast war talk

Rattling sabres over oil

by The Gulf Solidarity Committee

WHEN HENRY KISSINGER and Gerald Ford made known that U.S. military intervention in the Mid-East was a real possibility, they triggered images of American troops landing in Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Kuwait to take over the oil fields.

At a second glance, however, the whole thing appeared ridiculous. Both the Shah of Iran and Faisal of Saudi Arabia owe their power to CIA protection and intervention. The Gulf statelets of Kuwait, Abu Dhabi, Qatar, etc. were created by the oil companies. And yet Kissinger talked about invasion. What was going on in the high imperialist circles? Could it be that a revolt in the palace had really taken place and the Shah and Faisal were about to become the Ho Chi Minhs of Arabia?

Then came another mind-blower! The Pentagon hired a U.S. company to train Saudi Arabian troops to protect Arabian oil fields against a possible U.S. invasion. Was the U.S. really so "sporting" that it would help train the army of a future enemy? Was Kissinger going bananas? As it turns out, the answer is no. The American public can be assured that Professor Kissinger is still very sane, and unfortunately for us the ruling classes still know very well what they are up to. Yes, the threats of an oil war are still very real indeed and should be taken seriously. But the questions to be answered are: where? and when?



opf

THE TEN-YEAR WAR IN OMAN

Had the U.S. media presented the total picture instead of the usual half-truths, cliches, and hysterical racist coverage, the fact of the ten-year people's war in Dhofar-Oman would now become known to the public.

What does Oman have to do with the oil war? Apart from producing \$1 billion worth of oil annually, Oman lies at the southern entrance of the Persian-Arabian-Gulf and, what's more, almost 90% of the countryside of its chief province of Dhofar has been liberated by the Marxist guerrillas of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO).

The PFLO was born ten years ago to free the people of Oman from the rule of the tyrant Sultan "Said bin Taunur." In the land of Oman slavery was widespread and the economic condition of the great majority of the people was pitiful. Yet there were British-owned oil companies that found the political climate extremely to their liking and would have liked to keep things going that way.

To the chagrin of the British and the Sultan, Marxist guerrillas appeared one day in 1965 in the mountains of Dhofar to challenge the oppressive rulers and disturb the peaceful exploitation of the area's resources. The 1968 victory of the Marxist forces in the neighboring People's Republic of Yemen provided the insurgents of Dhofar with a revolutionary rear guard, similar to that North Vietnam provided for the NLF.

By August 1968, the western sector of Dhofar was liberated. The guerrillas of the PFLO waged a social and political struggle in the liberated areas to break down patriarchal tribalism, collectivize property, eradicate illiteracy, provide medical care, and

liberate women.

By 1971 over 90% of the rural areas of Dhofar and a few major cities were liberated. Guerrilla actions against the Shell Oil Company which owned almost all of the oil contracts in Oman was so successful that the company was forced to close its operation and leave the country.

A NEW VIETNAM?

By mid-1972 the momentum of the revolution in Dhofar brought about revolutionary stirrings as far north as the oil sheikdoms of Abu Dhabi and Bahrain. The struggle of Oman and Dhofar had all the earmarks of a new Vietnam—this time in the world's most strategic area, the Persian-Arabian gulf. Was the U.S. going to let that happen without putting up a fight?

Obviously not. In the Mid-East Kissinger had laboriously worked out his doctrine of "let Asians fight Asians" by surrounding the oil area with a strategic triangle: Israel in the north, Ethiopia in the south, and Iran in the east, all of whom were supposed to fight to contain the Arabs.

Of course the Arabs in the scheme are the fighters of the PFLO in Oman and the Palestinians further north. Arabs such as King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, King Hussein of Jordan, and more recently Sadat in Egypt fulfill the role of letting "Arabs fight Arabs."

In Oman, the U.S. and Britain at first tried to neutralize the revolution by replacing the old Sultan with his British-trained son, Qabus, the present Sultan of Oman. Qabus tried some elementary reforms to liberalize the old slave society, but acted too late. The people had no more tolerance for the new Sultan figurehead than they did for his father. British mercenaries were hired by Qabus and tried in vain for many years to pacify the area. In 1971 the British mercenaries were joined by King Hussein's crack troops and officers, with King Faisal footing the bill. But in 1972 the guerrillas were stronger than ever. The revolution continued to spread northward and eastward.

ENTER THE SHAH

At this point Kissinger decided to play his ace-in-the-hole: the Shah of Iran. By December 1973, 15,000 Iranian troops landed in Oman at the invitation of the Sultan and began an offensive against the guerrillas. One year later, the Iranians suffered severe military defeats at the hands of the PFLO. As *Le Monde* reported on December 12, 1974:

"A newly launched offensive by Iranian troops in Oman, designed to cut Dhofar guerrillas' supply lines to South Yemen and eliminate them from the province's western mountain region, may have been disrupted by a clash in which some 40 guerrillas repulsed a 200-man Iranian unit. The guerrillas killed 10 Iranians and captured one, while suffering no casualties themselves..."

Several days later, the *Washington Post* reported: "The defeat has reportedly badly shaken Iranian morale and raised serious questions about the fighting ability of the inexperienced troops of the

Shah. The performance of the Iranian troops in the first year of intervention in aid of the regime of Sultan Qabus is widely described as lackluster."

In January of this year the Iranian troops were to suffer even more serious defeats. As the number of casualties rose, 160 Iranian officers and soldiers were sent back to Iran to stand trial for refusing to fight. Oman had become the Vietnam-type graveyard of the sub-imperialist Shah.

At the same time, CIA director William Colby and former director Richard Helms, now ambassador to Iran, visited Oman and recommended increased U.S. involvement in the country. On January 15 Sultan Qabus jumped on a plane to Washington for urgent consultation with Henry Kissinger.

AND NOW THE U.S.

Kissinger feels the control of Oman and the Gulf is too vital for the U.S. to leave in the hands of local puppets and so the Sultan was asked to provide the U.S. with a military base on the Oman-owned island of Masirah. It was granted, of course. In addition, the U.S. is supplying Qabus' army with sophisticated military hardware, while American mercenaries are being recruited secretly by the Pentagon under the guise of the "Phoenix Association" to train and fight with the Sultan's troops (see advertisement).

This is only the beginning. The Shah is ready to bring his troops home to contend with numerous border and domestic problems. Pretty soon the U.S. will be left alone on the scene with the figurehead Sultan. It is inconceivable that the U.S. will allow a Marxist state to be created in Oman.

What are the alternatives? At present only one—direct U.S. military intervention in Oman. First through mercenaries and then more directly through bases in the area, the U.S. is establishing an irreversible military presence in Oman. A new Vietnam is in the making and Kissinger and Company know it.

Against this background of events, it is not surprising to hear the recent Kissinger-Ford threats. It is not surprising that U.S. battleships are cruising the Gulf area and that the U.S. is getting ready to move into the Masirah base. The question becomes will the American people allow another Vietnam to develop—in the Persian-Arabian Gulf?

Judging from the official barrage of anti-Arab hysteria in the national press, it looks like the American people are being psychologically prepared for some kind of open aggression. Although the U.S. Congress has recently shown itself to be dovish on the Indochina question, when it comes to the Mid-East, the same doves are transformed into hawks. So once more our last recourse has to be the American people themselves, in the hope they will not let the anti-Arab hysteria be transformed into an all-out U.S. attack on the PFLO.

For further information on the war in Oman and the developing situation in the Arabian-Persian Gulf, write to the Gulf Solidarity Committee, P.O. Box 40155, Station C, San Francisco, CA 94104. The Committee publishes a monthly newsletter, "Gulf Solidarity," and provides literature and films on the area.

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Once you're in the CIA,

by Rodney Larsen

Inside the Company: CIA Diary, by Philip B.F. Agee. (Penguin, London)

In 1969, a young CIA agent assigned to the Mexico City Olympics decided to leave the agency and go into business. He was emotionally alienated from his career with the government, in the midst of a marital breakup, involved with a young and moderately leftist woman, and toying with the idea of writing a book.

Philip Agee's reasons for leaving a promising career with a powerful and vengeful employer were complex and probably not fully understood by himself at the time. Nevertheless, he threw away an impending promotion and a lifetime of economic security and power for a chance at a very dubious career in business and writing. He was ill-equipped for the former, and it took him six years to finally bring out a volume of 640 pages on his experiences with the CIA. It was well worth it. Agee is not a professional writer. Some will say that he is not yet a particularly good one. But he does have something to say, and the reverberations from *CIA Diary* will be with us for years to come.

It seems that the market is now being flooded with

books on the intelligence community. Most of them fall into the categories of dull academic works, sensational and unreliable drivel, or those written with the sponsorship or cooperation of their subjects. Books written by current or "former" CIA agents have either been vigorously suppressed and censored, like *The CIA and the Cult of the Intelligence* by Marchetti and Marks, or promoted and pushed, like Richard Smith's *OSS, The Secret History of America's First CIA*. One can learn a lot from the reactions of officials when such books are published.

Agee's book is different. That is why it took so long to publish and why it will undergo some very serious legal obstacles before it hits the stands in the U.S. The reason for this is that Agee divulges a veritable almanac of the "nuts and bolts" of hard information concerning the career of a covert operative in three countries extending over a period of eight years. He names so many persons, places, dates, organizations, and techniques that the information becomes a serious problem for the reader. It is no less of a problem for the reviewer. The principal merit of the book emerges when one studies it for leads and facts that can be developed and expanded for further exposures.

There are three appendices: twenty-five pages of an alphabetical listing of several hundred agents,



Preserving disorder in S. Africa

by Ellen Shaffer
(Researched at Internews)

Henry Kissinger's State Department is apparently preparing once again to preserve disorder, this time in southern Africa. Four men who are either nominees for or have been appointed to key diplomatic posts in the region are widely believed to have CIA ties. All are veteran administrators of a U.S. "pacification" program in Guatemala that killed 20,000 Guatemalans. One was the U.S. ambassador and another director of AID during the "destabilization" of Chile.

The appointments are a sign of U.S. support for continued white rule in South Africa and possible neo-colonialist maneuvers in the rest of the area where the balance of power has changed dramatically since the victory of liberation forces in Angola and Mozambique.

President Ford refused to withdraw the nomination of Nathaniel Davis as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs despite strong protest from leaders of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) which represents 43 African nations. Davis was U.S. ambassador to Chile from 1971 to 1973 and coordinated U.S. support for the ouster of Salvador Allende. He oversaw the work of the CIA "coup team" there having had similar experience in Guatemala, where he served from 1968 until his appointment to Chile.

There is overwhelming evidence, including testimony from CIA director William Colby, that Davis knew of the coup in Chile ahead of time. He met with Kissinger on September 8, 1973 (three days before the coup) presumably to brief him on the plans. His embassy refused aid to victims of the junta after it had taken power and issued misleading information to relatives of a number of American victims.

Kissinger reacted angrily to the statement by the OAU Council of Ministers that they wanted no part of Davis' destabilization policies which have "brought untold harm to our brothers in Latin America." Calling Davis (who had no experience or background in African affairs) a "brilliant career officer in our foreign service," Kissinger castigated the OAU for daring to comment on "a purely domestic, internal affair" of the U.S. Davis' appointment was praised by South Africa.

Davis replaces Donald Easum, a more liberal diplomat who has clashed with Kissinger on several issues. Easum favored U.S. abstention on the UN motion last December to expel South Africa permanently, rather than the veto which was exercised. He recognized black African leaders' concern with decolonization and racial equality in southern Africa in contrast to Kissinger who based his policy of support for white regimes on the view that black leaders were interested mostly in their own economic problems. Easum will probably be given a top post in Nigeria.

The other officials assigned to southern Africa who have CIA links are:

- Dean Hinton who was appointed ambassador to Zaire in June 1974. He served as AID chief in Guatemala from 1967 to 1969 and thereafter in the same position in Chile. He is believed to have been a CIA agent using AID as a cover.

- William Bowdler who has been appointed ambassador to South Africa. He was Deputy Assistant Secretary for "special political problems" in the

Bureau for Inter-American Affairs. Having served in Cuba from 1956 to 1961, he became a member of the delegation to the Organization of American States (OAS) and deputy coordinator of Cuban affairs from 1964 to 1965. He then went to the White House to serve as a senior staff officer on the National Security Council on Latin America. He succeeded Davis as ambassador to Guatemala in 1971.

- Jeffrey Davidow, who is another veteran of the Davis years in Guatemala. He is already in South Africa, serving as first political officer in Pretoria.

None of these men has had any significant African experience; all have served a hard-line, anti-communist policy in Latin America.

WHY CIA OPERATIVES?

Southern Africa, always a valuable source of minerals such as diamonds and gold, became more important to the U.S. after the closing of the Suez canal when the Indian Ocean became a major trade and military route. Government policy has preserved U.S. interests there by shoring up the rule of white minority regimes in the former British colonies of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and South Africa and by supporting the Portuguese colonial wars in Angola and Mozambique.

After the coup in Portugal a year ago, and the takeover by the left-wing Armed Forces Movement in September, the new Portuguese government acknowledged the victory of the guerrilla forces in Angola and Mozambique, which will become fully independent later this year. Left with only Zimbabwe as a buffer between itself and the black African-ruled states, South Africa has been maneuvering to improve its relations with its neighbors by pushing for "detente" in the area. It fears that hostile bordering countries will support South African guerrilla groups.

This conciliation has mainly taken the form of pressuring the Smith regime in Zimbabwe to grant some measure of power to the black population, which has been totally disenfranchised and brutally repressed for years. Negotiations have been halting, however: leaders of a successful guerrilla war in Zimbabwe have been hesitant to buy diluted compromise solutions, and the ingrown racism of the white settler population has made them resistant to change.

Situations in transition that probably interest the CIA include:

- ZIMBABWE: The issue here is "majority rule" —the right of 5.5 million blacks to self-determination. Currently the 260,000 white population holds political and economic power. Prime Minister Ian Smith risks the loss of U.S. and South African support if he continues his politically embarrassing racial policies. The kind of government he is likely to try to establish through negotiations (as opposed to one that might come out of a future military victory by guerrilla forces) would be more moderate and sympathetic to South Africa. It would still have leave a sizable chunk of control to the whites by setting up a timetable for giving some power to blacks over a number of years, rather than granting them direct control immediately.

In December 1974, Smith released long-imprisoned black African leaders who met in Lusaka, Zambia, to determine their unified positions for a

proposed constitutional convention. However, early in March Smith jailed Ndabaningi Sithole, leader of ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union), for allegedly plotting against other African leaders. Smith had previously placed sole blame on ZANU for holding up the negotiations. The arrest was condemned by Bishop Abel Muzorewa of the African National Council and by the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), a rival liberation organization which has been less militant than ZANU in the negotiations.

South Africa, its own jails filled with the victims of political repression, also condemned Sithole's arrest, reflecting growing impatience with Smith's performance. Time is on the side of the people's movements, and South Africa does not want to have to finance and support a long costly war in Zimbabwe which it has little chance of winning.

- NAMIBIA: Standard Oil of California, Texaco, Getty Oil, and subsidiaries of Phillips Oil and Continental Oil have all terminated their exploratory off-shore drilling leases in Namibia. They cited pressure from shareholders to withdraw and the "unsettled political situation" there. Presumably stability of the right sort would better serve the interests of these companies.

Also known as South West Africa, Namibia has been administered since WWI by South Africa under a mandate from the old League of Nations. To no

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CIA, getting out is hell

collaborators and organizations; six pages dealing with technical abbreviations; and one appendix with an organizational chart of the structure of the CIA.

FROM NOTRE DAME TO THE CIA

Agee's book is written in the form of a diary and begins in South Bend, Indiana, in April of 1956. One has a distinct sense of *deja vu* in learning that he was recommended and initially recruited by an older woman, Virginia Pilgrim, who was a friend of the family and who occupied a prominent position in intelligence. It is almost like rereading the life of the Soviet spy Kim Philby who was recruited under similar circumstances in Britain in the 1930s and who also ended up plaguing his former employers in British intelligence. Agee, after going through some lengthy and rather irrelevant training and service with the U.S. Air Force and State Department, finally entered the inner sanctums of the CIA and was graduated to the field in December 1960. He was assigned to Quito, Ecuador. Later he served in Uruguay, Mexico, and the U.S. in some very important positions, and his information is supplemented by his access to data that affected many other areas.

At the time of Agee's recruitment he was full of adulation for a pantheon of patriots headed by General Curtis Lemay. He quotes from a Notre Dame speech made by the General at a meeting Agee chaired while still a student. He expressed admiration for a statement of Lemay's that concluded: "...if we maintain our faith in God, our love of freedom and superior global air power, I think we can look to the future with confidence." Agee's illusions were shattered. I don't think we know what happened to Lemay's.

It is important to note that by 1974 Agee believed that "reforms of the FBI and the CIA, even removal of the President from office, cannot remove the problem. American capitalism, based as it is on the exploitation of the poor, with its fundamental motivation is personal greed, simply cannot exist without force—without a secret police force. The argument is with capitalism and it is capitalism that must be opposed." The contrast between Agee in 1956 and Agee in 1974 cannot be explained without realizing at the outset that the guiding and motivating force in his life throughout that time was the CIA.

It is a little difficult to select examples that will give the reader an impression of the book and the events that brought Agee to these conclusions. Each of the many hundreds of incidents and facts in the volume are important and a large percentage deserve further study and checking with other sources. We know that his credentials are established—the CIA has gone to great lengths to frustrate his effort at publication and prominent officials have stated that his account is presented with "deadly accuracy." Therefore his information must be treated with great respect.

MURDER IN THE CARIBBEAN

One incident was particularly interesting to me. It was a reference to the rumored existence of a CIA-sponsored "Murder, Inc." group of Cuban exiles in the Caribbean. These "gusanos" have figured so prominently in so many deadly disasters like Watergate in the last few years that they have attracted the attention of thousands. Just a couple of years ago, Jack Andersen ran a column or two that said repeated attempts had been made to kill Fidel Castro in the 1960s and speculated about other activ-

ities of the rented assassins. The killing of Dominican dictator Trujillo, not to mention a Kennedy or two, was referred to, and Robert Maheu of the Hughes empire was rumored as a go-between in these macabre attempts to re-establish the CIA's version of orderly democracy in the Caribbean. Denials sprang forth. Former CIA director John McCone scoffed at the charges and personally guaranteed that if anything of the sort had been going on he would have known of it.

Now we learn some details of the group from Agee. His station chief, Ned F. Holman, informed him that the 1965 Dominican invasion "all goes back to the Agency's assassination of Trujillo. He was chief of the Caribbean branch in headquarters at the time and was deeply involved in planning the assassination, which was done by Cuban exiles from Miami using weapons we sent through the diplomatic pouch. The weapons were passed on to the assassins through a U.S. citizen who was an agent of the Santo Domingo station and owner of a supermarket."



Now this is just a couple of sentences in a 640-page volume. What is one to think of the statement? McCone is a liar. The murder squads existed. They were based in Florida. The striped pants image of the State Department gives way to a picture of a bunch of bag men and couriers for a corps of assassins. Holman is still around to be questioned about this group. Things like that make for an interesting book.

There are many who thought Trujillo could have graced the century by passing away earlier, but if anyone were to murder him I would have preferred that the job be done without U.S. training, equipping, and financing of a bunch of uncontrollable fanatics who might adopt other targets in their off hours. It makes me think of that mysterious Latin Raoul who controlled James Earl Ray from Hollywood Boulevard to New Orleans to Memphis.

SUBVERSION IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Moreover, Agee wondered about the purpose of this hit on the U.S.-financed Trujillo when just a

little while later Johnson was sending in our marines to steal the country from the elected government of Juan Bosch. Agee, sitting on the files and cables, knew that Bosch was originally elected partly due to the efforts of a talented agency organizer named Sacha Volman who specialized in the peasant vote and went around mobilizing peasants in support of democratic governments that other covert operators immediately subverted. Agee's conclusion at the time was, "they just don't want Bosch back in and the 'they' is probably U.S. sugar interests."

These are interesting facts, but the activations are a little obscure. Maybe there are several agencies within the CIA that sort of compete with each other—with other people's lives and countries.

Finally, we learn from Agee that there was a tremendous influx of agents into the Dominican Republic at that time. All were engaged in a frantic effort to find 58 Communists to support Johnson's claim that the government was being taken over by the Reds.

These samples illustrate the value of the book. It really boils down to a very long diary of murder, torture, telephone taps, room bugging, phony newspapers and leaflets used to confuse students and labor, bribery of nearly everyone who would take a bribe including presidents, politicians, labor leaders, military officers, and lay religious groups. There are some interesting examples of a few free-floating females for hire who were assigned to an assortment of targets that included chauffeurs, policemen, and others. You read this book with the growing realization that there is literally nothing in any criminal code that has not been resorted to by the CIA in a vague attempt to combat "communism."

This must be supplemented by a word or two about some of the private comments of Agee to correspondents in this country. He says that the bogey of communism is simply a convenient "go" signal for the black-bag operators and assorted Watergate trainees to go into action—and he doesn't see anything constructive in the results.

In October 1968, after a massacre of hundreds of students and laborers in Mexico City, Agee concluded "there's no use trying to change the system. What happened at the Plaza of the Three Cultures is happening all over the world to people trying to change the system. Life is too short and has too many delights that might be missed. At thirty-three I've got half a lifetime to enjoy them." He changed.

AGEE'S OWN STRUGGLE WITH THE CIA

Agee went on a five-year odyssey that included trips from Mexico to Canada, Cuba, France, Great Britain, and Portugal and a couple of other places that aren't in the book. All this time was spent in attempts to flesh out his slim diary and find a publisher who would handle it. At the same time, the CIA was using many methods to harass Agee and prevent publication of his book.

At one point, Agee was down and out in Paris and living off the donations of friends. He was having to change from a series of cheap hotels on a nightly basis to avoid the surveillance of the French Surete and SDECE (under Jacques Chirac) who were cooperating with the Americans. He borrowed a Royal portable from a woman who was accompanied by a person named Sal Ferrera. Ferrera claimed to write for College Press Service and Alternative Features Service. The typewriter was later found to contain a device in the lining of the case that had been transmitting Agee's conversations and his sessions with a tape recorder. It was a skillful and expensive job, according to Agee, and maybe even kept track of the

(Continued on Page 11)

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avail, since 1966 the UN has been passing resolutions ordering South Africa to grant independence to Namibia.

As part of its new liberal image, South Africa has declared a "new look" policy toward Namibia. The policy would actually maintain white control by dividing Namibia by ethnic groups into a confederation of mini-states, each under the domination of a rich white area. Exiled leaders of SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) have been invited to return to the country for the proposed regional elections, though they have been systematically hunted and tortured since February 1974.

These proposals were rejected by Axed Jackson Johannes, SWAPO General Secretary in Namibia, who threatened a boycott of the elections and a worse turnout than in August 1973 when 2.8% of the population voted. SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma announced a build-up of guerrilla troops on the Angola-Namibia border, and has promised to keep up the guerrilla war until South Africa is ready to negotiate independence for the entire nation of Namibia.

The U.S., shaken by the show of third world power at the last session of the UN general assembly which expelled South Africa, has felt obliged to show at

least token support in the UN for Namibian independence and for recognition of SWAPO as the official representative of the Namibian people. Having diverted attempts to include economic sanctions in the UN resolutions, the U.S. may now be pressuring South Africa to come to terms.

• **ANGOLA:** The large, mineral rich former Portuguese colony is due to have total independence later this year. Although the three liberation organizations there have united for functional purposes, they are still vying for power. MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) has the closest communist ties and has a strong and well organized political base, while FNLA (National Liberation Front of Angola) represents neo-colonialist forces.

Also at issue is the kind of support Angola will provide for guerrilla groups from Namibia, Zimbabwe, and conceivably South Africa. Last November a representative of UNITA, the third Angolan group, assured South Africa that if UNITA came to power it would not assist Namibia: "When we fought our war of liberation against colonialism we did so from our own country. We expect liberation movements in Namibia to do the same." There is also a splinter group sponsored by Gulf Oil and suspected of CIA involvement in the oil-rich northern enclave of Gabinda.

• **TANZANIA:** President Julius Nyerere has been firmly guiding Tanzania in developing a form of so-

cialism that draws on the communal traditions of tribal life. Nyerere was one of the African leaders who persuaded liberation groups in Zimbabwe to enter into negotiations with Smith. However, he has recently shown increasing support for ZANU's resistance to the talks.

Tanzania gets considerable support from China and from the U.S., and is trying to attract investments from U.S. agribusiness for farms in the fertile territory near the Zambian border. Rains have been poor for the last two years and considerable expenses have been required to import food; the financial crisis could worsen if the rains are no better this year.

• **SOUTH AFRICA:** With the growing wave of strikes among black workers and the threat of a guerrilla movement hosted by the newly liberated Portuguese colonies, South Africa is arming to the teeth. Defense expenditures have doubled since 1973, and South Africa spends more money per citizen on defense than any country south of the Sahara. This is partly due to South Africa's military aid to the war against the guerrillas in Zimbabwe.

In an attempt to stem the growing tide of conscientious objectors who are refusing to join the army, the South African parliament has entertained a bill proposing a sentence of ten years in jail or a fine of 10,000 rand for anyone convicted of encouraging anyone to refuse military service.

Share the work, no layoffs

by Stanley Aronowitz

A group of auto workers who were laid off from GMs Linden, N.J., plant last year made a proposal in February to the union that may be among the most politically sensible solutions offered in the current recession. They have suggested that instead of making the layoffs permanent, those still employed on the day shift agree to share the work with 2,600 who are furloughed. The UAW leadership told the *New York Times* that it was "studying the proposal." Unless the workers undertake mass action to speed up the deliberations, the union will probably keep the matter under consideration for an indefinite period.

The proposal challenges one of the time-honored provisions of the collective bargaining agreement that led to the layoffs in the first place: seniority. Since the 1930s the bulk of trade unions have established the rule that when production declines, the companies must fire the last hired. In a few cases, plant-wide seniority prevails in determining who shall be let go. But in most cases, the last person hired within a particular classification or department is the first to hit the unemployment line.

TIMELY ALTERNATIVE

The "share the work" alternative is timely for several reasons. First, a recent suit by a group of women in the GM Fremont (Calif.) plant seeks to force the company and the union to rehire them on the grounds that the seniority provisions of the contract violate the affirmative action law that requires employers not to discriminate against women or racial minorities in matters of employment. The union has joined the company as a defendant in the suit, a curious but not unexpected alliance.

Second, many blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos are getting pink slips in the current recession. The

rate of joblessness among minorities is twice as high as among white workers, and the situation will not improve this year. If anything, it's bound to worsen.

Third, the layoffs in auto, steel, and other industries where rank-and-file insurgencies have been pronounced over the past few years have served to wipe out some of the most militant of the younger workers. Seniority clauses in the contract have been an especially effective instrument in quelling union opposition, wildcat strikes, and job actions during the last 18 months.

Part of the reason for the exacerbation of racial tensions in large northern cities is the growing insecurity experienced by white as well as black working class people. Although the day of the black strike-breaker is long over, the conflict between women, third world minorities, and older white workers remains a central feature of the current situation. The proposal advanced by a bi-racial group of unemployed auto workers is a vital step in overcoming the dangers of racial conflict that have already appeared in many guises over the last year within the working class. Moreover, it is a necessary element in the struggle of women and youth to maintain the footholds they have gained in many industries.

VALUES OF SENIORITY SYSTEM

For many years, unionized workers have welcomed seniority as the best defense against the favoritism and arbitrary firing policies of employers. Seniority in upgrading as well as hiring and firing was among the basic demands of industrial unions during the great organizing drives of the 1930s and 1940s. For many workers, disillusioned with their unions for their failure to take up problems of occupational health and safety, speedup, and other such issues, the seniority provisions of the collective agreement has been the hallmark of their concept of job security. The proposal to reverse the long tradi-

tion of seniority is bound to encounter resistance among some strong rank-and-file unionists because it has been the only weapon to counter employer efforts to discriminate against militants.

Among the objections likely to be raised against the "share the work" proposal is that it will lower the living standards of workers. One of its principal defects is that it results in sharing the poverty rather than increasing the overall standards of the working class. Some militants may argue, with some justice, that the real target should be the corporations, not those workers who are fully employed. According to this view, the share the work proposal merely places increased burdens on all workers. The alternative to sharing the work is to demand full pay while workers are unemployed—paid for by increased corporate profits taxes and other "soak the rich" measures.

The proposal to share the work should not be construed as an alternative to a determined struggle against the corporations or a militant fight against layoffs. But, it is an important way to unite workers now, rather than risk serious divisions that can only cripple the fighting power of all workers. It is particularly important to wage the fight within the next few months in the wake of the rapid exhaustion of supplementary unemployment benefits funds in the auto industry in May, and similar crises in steel, rubber, and other basic industries that will arise later in the year. If all workers were employed for three or four days, much of the fund would be saved, or at least given a chance to accumulate again.

There are historical precedents within the labor movement for the share the work solution to layoffs rather than seniority, which only provides an orderly procedure for implementing firing. The garment industry has never operated on the seniority principle in its major markets. Instead, true to its early socialist traditions, the idea of work sharing was adopted in the first years of the 20th century as an explicit effort to prevent divisions. Similarly, the west coast longshore union always accepted a kind of work-sharing principle, as did the socialist-led Brewery Workers and Bakers. The truth of the history of seniority is that it was introduced by employers in the 1920s and incorporated into industrial union collective bargaining agreements in the following

(Continued on Page 11)

Hard times in Oakland

by Dan Marschall
Bay Area NAM

"Because of the strategic position of the auto industry in this economy, the current economic crisis is more to us than just hard times; it is considered by many a disaster area," said auto worker Wilbur Haddock of the United Black Workers at the recent "Hard Times Community Meeting on the Economy" in Oakland, Calif.

Held at Laney Junior College on the weekend of March 1, the Hard Times conference attracted over 700 people from the Bay Area. The conference combined a series of major speeches with educational workshops and presentations by community groups. Sponsored by 30 organizations, the conference was organized by a coalition that included Bay Area NAM, the Berkeley-Oakland Women's Union, Prairie Fire Distributing Committee, Black Panther Party, and student groups at Laney.

The main purpose of the conference was educational, to give people the opportunity to learn about the roots of the economic crisis and find out what various community groups are doing in response. Though not reaching much beyond the confines of the left and involving few third world people, it did lay the basis for future educational work and for eventually developing a socialist program on the economy.

CAPITALIST CRISIS HITS AUTO WORKERS

The keynote speech on Friday evening was given by Wilbur Haddock who works at the Ford Mahwah "plantation" in Newark, N.J. The economic crisis has struck Newark particularly hard, Haddock said, and "many people have become frustrated, angry, and even apathetic. There's a dangerous mood in the air as there was in 1967. Many of us in Newark are struggling to channel the anger and frustration into direct class action leading to community control and self-determination."

Haddock then described the strategic nature of the auto industry in the American economy, since it employs 750,000 workers in "good years" and is the basis for over 13 million jobs in related industries. The auto industry is the testing ground for new technological devices that are then passed down to other industries. It is also highly monopolized, with the big four companies accounting for 99% of auto sales. Auto workers have been the first to suffer since auto sales have drastically declined—employment is now off 20% from 1973 levels.

United Black Workers (UBW) was formed in 1968 by those in the Mahwah plant who had been involved in the civil rights movement and in organi-

zations like CORE and SNCC. It has led major walk-outs since that time and has fought Ford's divide and conquer tactics in several ways. When UBW first became active, Ford brought in Latin workers from Honduras and Puerto Rico, hiring them instead of black workers. The result was that black workers began seeing them as the enemy and as competitors for jobs. Members of the UBW helped overcome these divisions by printing the history of the liberation struggle in Puerto Rico in their newsletter *Black Voice*, by learning to speak Spanish, and by going to Latino student groups in the community for help.

United Black Workers is currently involved in setting up unemployed committees which assist workers and their families in getting food stamps, in job placement, with legal and medical needs, and in getting a moratorium on evictions and insurance payments. They are also sponsoring labor history study groups for working people in Newark, and promoting solidarity with workers in other countries.

Haddock concluded by urging everyone to get involved in the "protracted struggle that will no longer mean hard times for the many and good times for the few, but will bring the down fall of this corrupt system and bring about socialism, a system controlled by the working class receiving the benefits of their labor to produce a better life and better times for us all."

A CLASSICAL COLONY OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

Jose LaLuz, organizational secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party in the U.S., spoke that evening on the effects of the crisis in Puerto Rico. "We did not come here because we wanted to get on the welfare rolls," LaLuz said, referring to the two million Puerto Ricans who have been forced to migrate to the U.S. "Some people have asked why we didn't stay in such a beautiful paradise as Puerto Rico. Simply because it has been a paradise for big multi-national corporations and has been nothing less than a burden for the Puerto Rican people."

Puerto Rico is a classical colony of the U.S., LaLuz said, and the strategic base for the domination of this hemisphere by North American imperialism. Over \$9 billion has been invested there by American corporations and 13% of the arable land is occupied by military bases, some of which contain nuclear weapons. A worker in a Puerto Rican auto factory receives one-third the wages of his American counterpart, while paying 25% more for manufactured goods. The unemployment rate on the island is 30%. On top of all that, Jerry Ford's new energy proposal for placing import taxes on oil would have the effect of bringing the petrochemical industry on the island to a complete halt. Massive layoffs have

already occurred in that industry during the last two months.

LaLuz attributed the current economic crisis to several factors: the defeat of North American imperialism in Vietnam, the trend among third world nations to protect their raw materials as the OPEC countries are doing, victorious revolutions in third world countries like Guinea Bissau, and internal contradictions within developing capitalism in this country.

In the United States, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party is beginning to organize for massive demonstrations on May 1 in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles.

WHERE TO FROM HERE?

The conference included an animated film from Denmark on the history of capitalism (*The History Book*) and performances by theatre groups on the economy. The other speakers were Gayle Southworth, an unemployed political economist, and Patricia Robinson, author and black community worker from New Rochelle, N.Y. David DuBois of the Black Panther Party spoke on organizing around particular community issues.

Saturday was devoted to educational workshops on different aspects of the crisis, as well as workshops by community groups on how their activities relate to the economy. Topics included Organizing the Unemployed (sponsored by NAMs unemployment counseling project), the ABCs of Economics, Women Workers—Employed and Unemployed, The Crisis in Healthcare, and The Campaign Against Military Spending.

The workshops were generally well attended and the conference was largely a positive experience, although it wasn't clear whether the coalition would now move toward a general program on the economic crisis. It was disappointing that very few third world and working people of Oakland participated. The outreach to labor unions was inadequate, and fewer junior college students attended than was expected. One reason for these failings is that the conference was held on the same weekend as the UFW March on Modesto that attracted more than 10,000 from throughout the state.

The Hard Times conference in Oakland was one of many such forums on the economy that NAM chapters participated in all over the country. It represented Bay Area NAM's most successful involvement in a local coalition and raised important questions about how chapter members operate politically within coalitions, what organizations to coalesce with, and how to ally with third world organizations while building NAM into a multinational organization. The future activities of Bay Area NAM on the economy may include counseling unemployed workers, community debates on the economy between Democrats, Republicans, and socialists, and continuing educational work around the capitalist roots of the crisis.

Carolina offensive hits Duke

Worker-student coalition shakes university

by Bob McMahon

DURHAM, NC—Drastic budget cuts recently announced at Duke University have united students and campus workers in a direct challenge to the authority of Duke's administrators. Special targets of the protests were a freeze put on campus hiring and plans to close Duke's School of Forestry and Environmental Studies.

On Friday, Feb. 28, nearly a thousand students and Duke workers held a rally and march on the Administration building to press their own demands on Duke's President, Terry Sanford. The rally was called by a new coalition, the Movement for Shared Authority (MSA). Speakers at the rally came from a wide range of groups, including the Dean of the School of Forestry, Owusu Saudauki, business agent for Local 77 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, and Paul Bermanzohn of the New American Movement.

Three basic demands were presented to the Duke Administration at the end of the rally: 1) that all decisions on budget cuts and priorities be worked out by a joint discussion among Duke students, workers, and faculty; 2) that Duke's financial books be opened; 3) that no cuts be made in the meantime.

Duke University claims to be in serious financial trouble because its endowment income has dropped drastically in the last year. A major portion of Duke's endowment consists of stock in the Duke Power Company, which has recently been hit by rising costs and militant consumer protests against the rate hikes Duke Power has been seeking. Consequently, Duke University administrators claim to be imposing an austerity program.

The hiring freeze is a particular target at Duke Hospital where two unions, AFSCME and the Operating Engineers, are cooperating in an organizing drive. At the same time that Duke is cutting back on its staff, it is planning to build a new hospital in order to maintain the prestige of its medical school. The cost of the new hospital is estimated at over \$90 million. The current freeze on hiring is an extension of past Duke policies which have sought to help finance the hospital by understaffing and holding down workers' wages. Duke has also begun strict enforcement of all work rules, firing employees for petty violations. Union spokespeople have criticized this as a way to further reduce the staff without layoffs and a means to intimidate union supporters.

The Duke unions have joined with community groups to protest the plans for the new hospital. The cost of the new building will increase patient care costs at Duke by over 200 percent. The new hospital does not have clinic space for poor or working class patients. Durham already has a surplus of hospital beds, and the new Duke hospital will only drain paying patients from a new county hospital now under construction and leave the county with major deficits.

The announcement of the plans to phase out the Forestry School came a few days after Duke announced its freeze on hiring. Forestry students and faculty immediately began mobilizing opposition and were joined by other students. The campus chapter of the New American Movement played an important role in helping to coalesce opposition to budget cuts into the Movement for Shared Authority. More than 5,000 signatures were collected opposing the Forestry phase-out.

Many at Duke suspect a direct connection between the Forestry School issue and the Duke Hospital issue. Because all tenured faculty would be retained, the Forestry cuts will result in

little immediate saving. It would, however, remove a major obstacle to using the Duke Forest to raise money for the hospital. The Duke Forest is a major wooded tract in Durham used by the Forestry School as an educational facility. It is also a highly valued recreation area for both students and working people in the Durham community.

Plans for Duke's new hospital have been held up because the University was unable to raise the necessary money at acceptable interest rates. It is widely suspected now that Duke hopes to sell the Forest or put it up as collateral for a loan, and is closing the Forestry School as a preliminary to this. The Duke Administration has denied any intention to do so.

Duke President Sanford is in an awkward position to meet these protests. He recently joined the ranks of candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination, running on a reputation as a "moderate Southerner" that he tried to build up while chairing the Democratic Charter Commission this past year. Widely publicized student unrest at Duke, or a strike at the hospital could seriously embarrass him. One observer at the Feb. 28 rally described him as "confused and angry" over how to deal with the militant crowd. He was shouted down when he tried to escape with a promise to give their demands "careful consideration."

Such a response is unlikely to satisfy the Movement for Shared Authority which is talking of a strike if the Duke Administration does not yield satisfactory concessions by next month.

Consumers protest planned power company takeover

by Bob McMahon

CHAPEL HILL, NC—The latest round in consumer battles against electric power companies took place at a hearing here on Wednesday, March 5. Over 400 angry residents of Chapel Hill gathered before the state attorney general, Rufus Edmiston, to protest an attempt by Duke Power to take over a local, publicly-owned power company.

The power company in question is now owned by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and supplies electricity to the university and the surrounding community. The university wants to sell out to Duke Power for 124 million. Critics have charged the sale is motivated by a desire for "windfall money" that UNC could never get from legislative appropriations, and ignores the interests of the town and of employees. Duke's takeover will mean at least 20 percent higher rates for consumers, and important losses to employees in pay, benefits, and job security.

Critics charge that the university administration railroaded the sale to Duke despite almost unanimous local support for either UNC keeping the power plant or a sale to a public, non-profit corporation set up by the local governments. The hearing with Edmiston was the latest in a series of confrontations by a local consumers' group, Orange County Citizens for Alternative Power (OCCAP). Local members of the New American Movement have played a substantial role in

OCCAP's activities.

Members of OCCAP believe the sale of the UNC system is an important test to Duke Power. They have learned that Duke officials feel menaced by consumer militancy and don't want the UNC system lost through state officials yielding to citizen arguments about the superiority of public ownership of power companies. Duke officials fear such a victory for public power could lead consumer groups all over the state to challenge private control of electric power resources.

Consumer opposition to high electric rates has exploded across North Carolina in recent months. Active protest groups in over a dozen different state areas have attacked a fuel escalator clause that allows power companies to pass all increases in fuel cost on to consumers; they have also demanded direct election of members of the State Utilities Commission (which is now appointed by the governor).

On Jan. 28 about 1,000 of these consumer activists descended on the state capitol in Raleigh. They were predominantly white and working class—blue collar or clerical workers, housewives, and retired people—most of them at their first demonstration, proud and a little scared of their own militancy. Harry Boyte, a member of the New American Movement with long experience in community organizing among working class whites, commented that he could not remember any comparable broad mobilization of working people in North Carolina in the past ten years. The Raleigh demonstrations brought a temporary reduction in the fuel adjustment clause and the introduction of many utilities bills in the legislature.

The power companies have begun a counter-offensive. Duke Power sent a letter to its stockholders warning them of the consumer threat and mobilizing them to send a flood of pro-utility letters to newspapers and the legislature. Carolina Power and Light, in a move to play off workers against consumers, announced an immediate wage cut, blaming it on the cutback in the amount of fuel increases it can charge customers.

Duke Power people were not present at the March 5 hearing. Perhaps they were relying on the UNC administration's public assurances that "this sale is so far along that no one can stop it now."

Consumer spokespeople revealed at the hearing that the UNC administration has been a strong backer of a sale all along. Len Stanley of OCCAP quoted minutes of a commission studying the UNC utilities to prove that UNC had opposed gathering any information on the cost of a sale to consumers or employees, or the feasibility of university retention of the power system. Instead, they pushed for a "policy" decision that UNC get out of the utilities business. They were backed by the study commission chairman who was quoted as saying that the commission's main difficulty would not be making a decision, but finding data that would back it up.

The new consumer resistance may make it difficult to justify such decisions in the future. OCCAP leaders did not feel that the hearing, by itself, would keep Duke Power from buying the UNC system. But they felt it played an important role in uniting and educating the local community on the issue. They expressed hope that by working closely with consumer groups in other parts of the state a political movement could be built up that could force the state government to start serving the people instead of the power companies.



Joann Little out on bail

by Bob McMahon

Joann Little was released on \$115,000 bond Wednesday, Feb. 25, in Raleigh, North Carolina. Her release followed a refusal by an appeals court to grant a last minute motion by the prosecution to have bond denied.

Ms. Little, a 20-year-old black woman, has been charged with first degree murder in the death of Clarence Alligood, a Beaufort County (N.C.) prison guard. Alligood was found lying in Little's cell, naked from the waist down, stabbed with an ice pick he kept in his desk. Ms. Little claims she stabbed him in self-defense when he tried to sexually assault her.

Joann Little's case has attracted national attention from feminist and civil rights groups. Because of this attention, it has begun to receive coverage by major newspapers such as the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, by *Newsweek*, and CBS News. Local authorities admit to feeling pressured by the publicity the case is receiving.

William Griffin, the Beaufort County District Attorney who tried to keep Little from getting bond, professes himself unable to understand why the press is interested in the case. "We've

got a case of a 15-year-old black man, boy actually, who raped a white woman coming up. Why isn't anyone interested in that?" he challenged a Raleigh, N.C., reporter. He also has told a reporter from the *Washington Post* that "to make a *cause celebre* [of the Little case] is just turning the values of our society upside down."

According to the *Raleigh News and Observer*, Griffin is "angry" that he didn't try Joann Little on the murder charge back in November, the original trial date. "We would have gotten in under the press wire—before Paul [Little's attorney] had a chance to drum up his publicity forum. She would have had a fair and speedy trial..."

Joann Little's trial is now set for April 15. A number of support groups around the country have planned actions around that date, and the National Organization for Women (NOW) is planning a national action around the opening of the trial.

For more information or to offer support write

Joann Little Defense Fund, Inc.
P.O. Box 1003
Durham, NC 20702

socialist ranks

Editor,

Stanley Aronowitz strikes the right notes with his proposals for direct action and socialist propaganda in the trade unions and workplace with *socialist* rank and file groups playing a major role.

Many countries of Europe have strong socialist trade union movements. But in the U.S., although the history of the trade union movement is replete with much militancy and successful strikes for the right to organize and for porkchop issues, there still is no mass socialist base. Similarly, in the communities, despite many militant struggles by unemployment councils, tenant unions, welfare, national, civil rights, veterans, peace, and other organizations, there is no mass socialist base. Yet, over the years hundreds of thousands of socialists, communists, and others engaged in mass work, have passed through the ranks of the left political parties or mass organizations influenced by them.

There are many reasons for this lack, but one stands out sharply. In the trade unions, at the workplace, no *socialist* rank and file groups were built to openly carry out socialist agitation and propaganda (with a few notable exceptions). The old left, socialists, communists, and the many split-offs, confined their fight to wages, hours, working conditions, against reformist, bureaucratic, sell-out leadership. Much was won after bitter, militant struggles: reactionary and gangster leaders were ousted; membership in the unions grew; but very few socialists resulted from all this activity—no mass socialist on-going movement was developed.

Socialist activity (and recruiting) was confined to slogans in the left papers, coffee clutches, one-to-one propaganda behind closed doors, etc. The left in the trade unions didn't do, for example, what the Taxi Workers Rank and File are doing in New York City today, with good success considering the few years of their activity.

The Taxi R & F seem to have successfully linked the fight for immediate demands in the taxi industry with the long-range goals for a socialist America, attempting to involve full, democratic participation of the union members and the local communities in the process.

First, they openly proclaimed themselves a *socialist* R&F group within the Taxi Union, and so stated in their rank and file newspaper, *The Hot Seat*. Secondly, they proclaimed a program against the reactionary union leadership, for democratic procedures in the union and the local garages, with full participation by the members in deciding union and taxi affairs. Third, they advocated militant struggle for porkchop issues, in the garages as well as on an industry-wide level, but with one basic difference as against the practice of the old left. They advanced the idea (as in France) of workers' participation and control of the conditions of work and production, along with the involvement of the local communities in determining the functioning of the taxi industry to meet the needs of the taxi worker and the community and city as a whole.

The Taxi R&F showed concretely that even if all their immediate demands for the workers and the community and city were

won, the workers would still lead miserable lives, that only under democratic socialism would the severe problems created by capitalism be solved. They gave a pretty good general picture of how the taxi industry should be run today and tomorrow under socialism, with the workers, community, and government all participating and in control. (I suggest anyone interested contact the Taxi Workers Rank and File Coalition, Box 414, Old Chelsea Sta., New York, NY 10011, for a copy of their excellent pamphlet, "Taxi At the Crossroads: Which Way to Turn?" \$1.00. It may give you many ideas to apply in your trade union, workplace, or community.)

A socialist R&F movement of this type is necessary to the building of a mass socialist movement in the U.S. Similar principles would apply to building such a movement in the neighborhoods. No matter whether one is working in an existing organization or helping build a new one, the principle must be open advocacy of socialist principles, with full democratic participation of all elements of the community in carrying out an action program of immediate demands and relating these to the need for socialism.

Whether Aronowitz is right or wrong in saying there is relatively little hostility to socialism today, doesn't matter. It simply means we'll go forward slowly but correctly. Personally, I think he's right, and as conditions worsen, there will be even less hostility. The Taxi R&F paper reports open discussions at the garages on socialism and the R&F program, and there is continuing pro and con dialogue in their paper.

The Taxi R&F has gained the respect and ear of the taxi worker because of their energetic, self-sacrificing activity in fighting against the decadent Van Arsdale bureaucracy and for improving the life of the taxi worker. They have registered modest electoral successes in the union, electing a number of union delegates or shop stewards in the garages and achieving a substantial vote on an industry basis.

True, it's a long, uphill struggle (perhaps no so long). Aronowitz says let's lose our timidity and try it. I think it's not so much timidity as lack of good organizational form. So let's build socialist R&F groups in the unions, the shops, in the neighborhoods, and not worry about being "sectarian" or limiting the response to our socialist R&F appeal.

NAM has the potential to help build a mass socialist movement. Aronowitz and Lerner have the right idea.

Don Schoolman

dissent from dissent

Editor:

Aimed as it presumably is at the American left, Barry Rubin's "A Dissenting View on the Middle East" (*New American Movement*, February 1975) is remarkably lacking in analysis; not only...of the indigenous class structures of the Middle East belligerents, but especially of the interactions between the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and U.S. foreign policy.

Rubin accurately describes how American

policymakers tried to stéer a middle course in the late forties so as not to offend the predominantly conservative Arab world at that time and only gradually shifted to a pro-Israel stance over ensuing years. But what about the ominous links that now do exist between Israeli rulers and our own Pentagon-State Department axis? For those of us who hold that American power is the greatest single source of reaction and injustice in contemporary international politics, there is virtually nothing in Rubin's article that helps us understand the impact of the Middle East problem on U.S. policymaking (and vice versa) or what we ought to do about it here at home. Rubin leaves quite unclear what kinds of positions American socialists should take to translate into everyday politics a basic principle with which many of us would probably agree: support for "mutual recognition of Palestinian Arab and Israeli Jewish national rights and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel." We also have a duty, Rubin tells us, "to support progressive forces on both sides."

Just how are we to go about promoting such solutions in view of the political climate of our own country and its effects on the Israeli (and Palestinian) leaders? That climate, as Rubin may have noticed, is one in which U.S. public support of the present Israeli leadership has climbed, according to an early February Gallup poll, from some thirty-five or thirty-seven percent to over fifty percent since the October war and the oil price increases that grew out of it. In Ford's America, in other words, "support for Israel" is running hand in hand with an increasingly bellicose attitude toward "Arabs" and a decreasingly dissimulated preference for overt military intervention as rising prices of imported oil edge us ever closer to "economic strangulation." An important segment of the Israeli ruling class has shown that it can skillfully orchestrate this tune (and one wonders whether some of them would not welcome armed U.S. intervention in the Middle East). In this critical regard, Rubin overlooks...instances such as the present Israel Premier's open support of Nixon over McGovern in 1972, Golda Meir's 1971 pandering to the anticommunism of her U.S. backers (in the Middle East only Israel stands in the way of "Moscow's drive for world conquest"), and other illustrations of the commitment of Israel's political Establishment to an alliance with U.S. foreign policymakers and their counterrevolutionary world view.

Anyone who desires to separate legitimate Israeli aspirations from antileft philosophy and practice in the U.S., would certainly appear to have his work cut out for him. If Rubin has begun to do so, it is anything but apparent in his article, which is several notches below, for example, Tom Wicker's *New York Times* column of February 16, 1975, which points out that, "automatic American support for any policy [Israel] might choose" is one of the factors explaining why Israel has clung to a diplomatic position of an "ultimately untenable isolation." (Isolation, that is from nearly every nation except right-wing U.S. allies.)

I sympathize with Rubin's proposition

that, under present circumstances, calls for "binationalism" or for a "secular, democratic state" are "impractical and misleading" as possible first-round solutions. Many of us who support PLO aspirations are in accord on that point. For example, Claude Bourdet, the well known French socialist, long-time anti-Zionist, and champion of Palestinian rights, favors a solution based on two independent, side-by-side states of Israel and Palestine as a first-stage settlement; he believes that after two to four decades it would lead to something more durable—inevitable economic and political relations and a de fact binationalism (*Le Monde*, November 19, 1974).

But Rubin's own tendency to remove his discussion almost totally from the Israel-U.S. dynamic is equally misleading. It is one thing to advocate, as a "just solution, two separate states based on mutual recognition." It is quite another to talk about the present dilemma in splendid isolation from the role of the U.S. in world affairs and the political currents in our own country, particularly in a publication read by American socialists who are locked in constant struggle with the monster that is U.S. foreign policy. Anything approximating Rubin's "just solution" would demand an even-handed approach to the Palestinian-Israeli struggle, and nothing faintly resembling such a balanced attitude exists in the U.S. today. Worse, current "pro-Israel" sentiments in this country play into the hands of some of the most dangerous and slickly opportunistic figures on the horizon today. To be sure, none of us places any abiding faith in, or reliance upon, electoral politics, yet it seems obvious that the Jacksonization of the Democratic Party, due in good part to the role some wealthy American Jews play in financing Democratic candidates, and their own generally myopic views on the Middle East, would bring on a more perilous period for all progressive left forces in the United States. From Rubin I would have hoped for some ideas on how to begin uncoupling this unhealthy set of forces.

The hunch that Rubin may agree with much of what I say makes his orientation, and tone, all the more perplexing. I fail to see exactly what he is driving at and what he is advising us to do. Moreover, I cannot condone his opening salvo against "the American left," which in 1950 was "unanimous in supporting the establishment of Israel [while] today it is virtually unanimous in calling for Israel's destruction" [sic]. Nor can I accept his treatment of the "survival question"—"the issue remains one of survival." I should have thought that for much of the left the issue is not "survival" (who can be against that??) but rather the terms of Israel's survival and how they simultaneously affect both sides. Terms like "survival" and "destruction" should not be tossed around with abandon; they should be carefully defined and their various advocates identified. Who on the left, for instance, denies Israel—or more importantly its citizens—the right of "survival?" And who is calling for their "destruction?" Loose rhetoric like that I would expect to find in *Dissent*, *Commentary*, or *The New Republic*. In NAM it has no place.

Richard B. Du Boff
Haverford, Pennsylvania

OHIO

Hocking Valley, c/312 Baker Center, Athens 45701
Mad River, Box 252, Dayton 45401
Yellow Springs, c/o Antioch Stu. Mailroom, Yellow Springs 45387

PENNSYLVANIA

Phila. Resistance, 1427 Walnut, Philadelphia 19102
U. of Pa., c/o Rob Wrenn, 4512 Springfield Ave., Philadelphia 19143

Pittsburgh, P.O. Box 8224, Pittsburgh 15217

RHODE ISLAND

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CIA

(Continued from Page 7)

keys struck as he was writing. They tried almost everything except assault and murder and probably would have used them too except for the fact that too many people knew what Agee was doing. Copies of his manuscript were always hidden away in odd places and could turn up at any time.

This attempt to prevent the writing and publication of Agee's book has to be assessed in terms of what they were afraid of. They were dealing with one of their own at the time and still would have taken him back. On page 596, Agee writes of how he learned that "the CIA is still hoping to make me go back to the U.S. before publishing the diary, and I now find that my desperation to see the children was indeed what they thought might lure me back. Janet now admits that the Agency has been asking her for a long time now to send the children so that I would have to go there to see them." At the same time, his 10-year-old son scrawled out a note that said, "a man from the government came to talk to mom about you...they told her is that they wanted to pay you money to stop and that they would offer you another job." Prospective candidates for employment with that bunch ought to consider such tactics before signing the forms. Once you are in, getting out is hell.

THE CIA AND INTERNATIONAL LABOR

It should not be supposed that the information in *CIA Diary* is a lot of retrospective material that will simply embarrass a few politicians and others in the Latin American countries Agee worked in. The huge list of names of individuals and organizations is dangerous to current operations of the CIA. It is no secret to those who have been interested that the international trade union movement has been a favorite playground of the Covert Action Division of the agency. The teams and techniques of Cord Meyer are still with us today, and this genius of subversion is still at work himself. CIA agents are particularly active in England and Portugal in attempts to control the labor movements there and have branches in dozens of countries in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Europe. Meyer has been mentioned in the London *Sunday Times* as being particularly interested in working in the British coal miners' union.

The value of Agee's work is the specificity of his disclosures. In the index and text Agee mentions a man named Norris Paladino. He is just one of many U.S. labor operatives listed. Paladino worked in a variety of functions in various branches of the international and U.S. trade union movement in Latin America when Agee knew him. What is even more interesting is that, with just a little research, we can find that at one time Paladino was elevated to the vital position of Assistant General-Secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) which operates all over the world and has a membership that embraces at least 60 million members in affiliates.

After the AFL-CIO withdrew from the ICFTU, Paladino was given a new assignment. He is now the director of the AFL-CIO-sponsored and government-funded Asian American Free Labor Institute that operates in nearly every nation from Turkey to the Philippines (except India, which is about to throw them out). The Institute trains tens of thousands of indigenous labor union officials and leaders in the ideology of trade unionism. The credibility of the Institute and the motivation for that particular brand or trade unionism may suffer just a little when Paladino's contacts read Agee's description of him as a "principal CIA agent."

This type of information and the uses to which it can be put are the reasons for the hysterical reaction to the book in official circles. CIA director Colby recently made this plaintive statement: "If we don't protect the names of our people abroad and people who work with us, we won't have people who will work with us." No doubt, and that includes the assassins. In addition to dealing with the legal difficulties of publishing in the U.S., Agee is faced with a continuous policy of smears and attacks that impugn his motives. They didn't go to all that trouble on those other books by CIA "ex-employees" and it is clear they will continue efforts to bury this one.

One example of such an effort came from a very high-level "former" agency official named Miles Copeland who published in the British journal *The Spectator* just as *CIA Diary* was being released. Copeland assailed Agee for "betraying all his former comrades" and generally denounced the work. Copeland may have a point, in addition to giving confirmation of the book's accuracy, but it is useless for the average reader to read that sort of *ad hominem* attack without knowing something about Copeland. For the initiated, he is known as a person who has worked in intelligence so long that he spans several generations of governments in his field of operations in the Arab world. While maintaining a lucrative business with a major U.S. business consulting firm, he went about toppling governments, arranging coups that unseated his friends, and carrying millions of dollars around in cash in suitcases

for private gifts to his political friends in the countries where he worked. Nasser was one. When we begin to assess the morality of Agee's "betraying" anybody we also have to consider other aspects of Copeland's career.

Copeland was one of the U.S. officers who perceived a need for preserving the "assets" of German intelligence (chiefly the Abwehr) in the Middle East after World War II and went around collecting former Nazi operatives for use by his own organization. In fact, Copeland's organization assisted some of these Nazis in their flight from prosecution in Europe and helped them gain safety under new names and occupations in the Arab countries. He is one of Agee's first published critics and there will be others. In the literature of this game it is good to do a little checking on the players before accepting their statements. It is also useful to note that "ex-agent" Copeland has several books in print that utilize agency information and source material. Nobody tried to stop him from publishing. This would be curious if it were not so obvious.

The full impact of Agee's book awaits further research and follow-up. After publication of the book in England and other areas, we have to realize that the CIA is not trying to suppress it to keep the information from enemies of the U.S. abroad. They are keeping it from us.

share work

(Continued from Page 8)

decades. The idea of "an injury to one is the concern of all" is only concretely implemented in terms of the work-sharing strategy, not seniority.

THIRTY FOR FORTY

Of course, the most radical way to fight for work sharing is to demand 40 hours pay for 30 hours work. In this instance, the serious reservation concerning the lowering of workers' living standards is best overcome. Consequently, it would be a grievous error to advance the concept of work sharing as anything more than a short-term invention without simultaneously fighting for a 30-hour week with no pay cuts.

Yet, on balance, I believe the share the work proposal should be advanced by socialists even if the struggle for shorter hours remains a longer term objective. At the same time, socialists should urge employed workers to refuse overtime because it intensifies the discrimination against the jobless. In a

period where the just demands of women and third world minorities are being utilized by the federal government to split the working class, work sharing could strengthen the chances of solidarity.

There is no question that the idea would require significant educational work before it would be accepted widely among workers. Right now, in New York City, police and other city workers are being asked to work a few days for free in order to forestall the layoffs of their fellow employees. This unpaid labor is rightly opposed by many who view the city's threat to lay workers off as a bludgeon. But if the initiative emanates from the workers themselves, the result is quite different. Nobody would work for nothing, and the companies would be forced to keep many workers on the payroll, thereby guaranteeing their fringe benefits such as health insurance, pensions, and paid holidays and vacations. These benefits are ordinarily lost to unemployed workers.


WORKERS' IDEA

The fact that the work sharing idea came from a group of workers themselves rather than any outside force indicates there is real sentiment for it. Moreover, it shows that workers are beginning to understand that the recession is more than a brief interlude between alternative boom periods.

The trade union bureaucrats and the corporations are likely to oppose the proposal. For the companies, larger payrolls are expensive because the fringe benefits must be paid. Further, they will have less leverage in their campaign to persuade workers to accept wage cuts in order to keep their jobs. Finally, the bosses will lose a convincing argument that workers should voluntarily accelerate production and productivity in the interest of job security. Both companies and many unions will be forced to put up with large numbers of women, minorities, and young white workers who have been the most militant force in the shops and the offices in the recent past. The leadership challenges that were cut short because of the recession would resume again and a new basis would be laid for waging a struggle against racism and sexism in industry that has a chance of winning the support of male white workers.

It's time for NAM to seriously debate a practical fight-back program against the recession that proposes new ideas as well as a few old ones. The idea of work sharing, the shorter work week, factory occupations against layoffs and plant removal, a significant boost in jobless pay—these are the elements of a program that is consistent with the best of the working class and socialist traditions.

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AIM exposes FBI infiltrator

by Martin Bunzl
Minneapolis NAM

"The chief security officer for the national office of the American Indian Movement [AIM] has been a paid operative of the FBI for the past two years," was the revelation at press conferences organized by AIM in Chicago and St. Paul. There were many sad faces at the press conference in St. Paul, faces of AIM members and of the Wounded Knee Legal Defense office staff who had worked closely with and had trusted Doug Durham over the past two years.

Durham revealed that he had been an operative of the FBI since March 1973. At that time he had entered Wounded Knee as a correspondent for an underground newspaper. After he came out of Wounded Knee, he was approached by FBI agent Larry Bestaky and was asked to report on what he had learned. He was also asked to join AIM and to infiltrate the leadership of the organization. And for the next two years Durham was often brought to the offices of the FBI to inform on the activities of AIM. He became a confidant of the leadership of AIM and was appointed head of security. In that capacity he became privy to many of the confidential lawyer-client conversations in the Means-Banks trial. Durham passed on the content of those conversations to the FBI. He also gave the FBI defense documents in the Custer cases, making it possible for the FBI to copy them. Moreover, Durham informed the

FBI of AIM speakers and their travel schedules, funding sources, as well as the names of staff people in AIM's national office and the Wounded Knee Legal Defense Office.

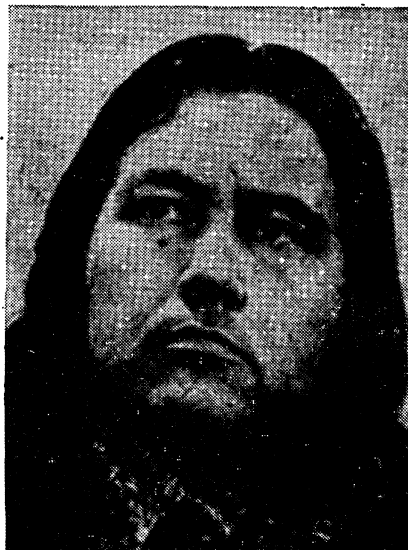
Durham also admitted staging an armed takeover in an office of the state building in Des Moines, Iowa. He not only organized that takeover but forewarned the police about it. The FBI later paid his court imposed fines for the incident.

Last week Durham was confronted by AIM with copies of FBI informant reports. AIM declined to reveal how the reports had been obtained and also declined to show them at the press conference. Apparently the documents indicated that Durham was an FBI operative. Confronted with that evidence, Durham went with AIM attorneys to Chicago and spent two days detailing his activities—activities that included not only his role as an FBI operative, but also 11 years of activity as both a policeman in Iowa and member of an organization called the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit (LEIU). Durham promised to reveal information on his role in LEIU at a later date and indicated that this police intelligence unit is an organization formed under the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), a federal agency that originated during the Nixon administration.

Durham said that in his role as informer over the last year his respect for AIM grew in its legitimate struggle for social justice. Despite numerous

FBI requests, he was never able to pass on information about illegal activities of AIM (e.g., the FBI wanted him to find caches of arms—which he never found). Durham came to feel it was the FBI and the Bureau of Indian Affairs that ought to be investigated rather than AIM.

Infiltration of the defense camp by the prosecution is grounds for dismissal in a criminal case, and Durham admitted he infiltrated the defense camps in the Custer cases, the non-leadership Wounded Knee cases, and the Means-Bank case. His infiltration in the Means-Bank case is particularly significant. In March 1974, Judge Fred



Douglas Durham

Nicholl ordered the prosecution to search the FBI informer file for evidence of FBI or prosecution infiltration of the defense camp in that case. Prosecutor R.D. Hurd met in Washington, D.C., with FBI director Clarence Kelley, Attorney General William Saxbe, and the special agent in charge of the Minneapolis FBI office, Joseph Trumbell. Hurd then inspected the informer files and reported to the court that the FBI had not infiltrated the defense camp. Someone obviously lied.

The FBI told Douglas Durham not to worry—his name would not be revealed to the court. Either Kelley or Saxbe did not give prosecutor Hurd all of the informer files or Joseph Trumbell withheld them. Or perhaps Hurd saw them all, knew of Durham's status, and lied to the court.

Durham left St. Paul immediately after the press conference on a Northwest Orient Flight to Chicago. He would not reveal his final destination though it seemed he was going into hiding. It was not clear whether he was going into hiding to avoid the FBI or the American Indian Movement, although AIM leaders have made it clear they do not intend to appeal to the American judicial system to deal with Durham. Rather they'll leave it to the American Indian people as a whole. In light of Durham's disclosures, AIM sent the following telegram to Senator Frank Church of the Senate Investigative Committee: "In view of the recent disclosures of covert disruptive acts against AIM by exposed FBI operative Douglas Durham, we urge the committee, in the spirit of justice, to totally investigate the FBI and other agencies for apparent criminal acts against the Indian people."

Boston abortion

(Continued from Front Page)

on an obscure 1800s "grave robbing" statute and the indictment of Edelin for manslaughter.

In 1973, an election year, D.A. Garrett Byrne captured national headlines with these indictments. In Boston (strongly Roman Catholic), prosecuting a case like this is good for a D.A.'s chances of re-election. Assistant D.A. Newman Flanagan was hand-picked by Byrne to prosecute the case. Flanagan is a Catholic who believes that the Supreme Court's ruling legalizing abortions was a mistake.

Boston City Hospital is one of the few hospitals in the area where poor women can come to get abortions, and Edelin is one of the only two doctors there willing to perform the operation. A group of health workers from Roxbury, where the hospital is located, said: "Dr. Edelin is one of the few who has consistently been willing to perform abortions for third world and other low-income women who, had the hospital not served them, might have had to resort to non-medical, self-induced abortions." It seems to not be mere chance that Edelin was singled out to stand trial.

The Edelin case is bound to have far reaching effects by serving as a precedent for similar decisions in other parts of the country, and for limiting still further the availability of abortions to low-income women. Since the indictment, many hospitals are hesitant to perform even early second trimester abortions. Almost no abortions have been performed at Boston City Hospital, and funds that had been earmarked for the development of an abortion center were immediately cut back. Similar situations exist elsewhere. For example, in Los Angeles the Planned Parenthood office had 10% more women who were 17 to 18 weeks pregnant turned away

by doctors and hospitals. Hospitals in Detroit, Pittsburgh, and Nashville, it has been reported, have lowered the ceiling on abortions to 16, 12, and 12 weeks respectively.

Another effect has been that hospitals and doctors have been forced to take more precautions with the aborted fetuses. Already a Nassau County, N.Y., hospital has been sued for violating the rights of aborted fetuses. Hospitals have invested much money in sophisticated life-support systems, and specialized equipment for detecting the exact age of the fetus. This expensive equipment will raise the cost of abortions from \$100-\$200. This will further limit the number of women able to afford abortions, and force an increasing number of working class women to choose either to seek illegal abortions or to bear a child.

Tremendous efforts will be made to

keep alive a fetus that has almost no chances of surviving for more than a few days. This will be done at the expense of the health and safety of women. For example, Right to Life people are attempting to outlaw saline infusion abortions because they almost always destroy the fetus, ignoring the fact that this method is one of the safest for women.

The Edelin trial and verdict is an attack on women, doctors, and all people who support the rights of women. Under bourgeois democracy, the right to abortion has been more formal than real. Prohibiting abortion is yet another way to prevent women from controlling their own lives.

But people have responded. The day after the verdict 3,000 angry demonstrators protested the decision, and a coalition planning action around the issue has been organized.

N.Y. Mets Conference

Socialist teachers meet

by Patty Lee Parmalee
Metropolis NAM

The New York Mets chapter of NAM sponsored a Socialist Teachers' Conference in New York City February 28 to March 2. It brought together some 250 teachers from the non-elite colleges of the Northeast, plus some students and other campus and public workers—all of them socialists. The primary function of the conference was to facilitate communication between radical teachers in different state systems around two kinds of issues: teachers as workers (cutbacks, firings, fiscal crisis, unions), and teaching as political work.

Friday evening, Sam Bowles spoke on the relationship between class struggle and education, and strategy for education today. (Some elements of the speech are in the March issue of *Dollars and Sense*.)

Saturday morning, panels and workshops were on "teachers as workers." The largest workshop consisted of

members of teachers' unions and unions-in-formation in the New Jersey, State University of New York, and City University of New York systems. They discussed the problems they had had in dealing with a conservative union. A SUNY rank-and-file caucus developed from the workshop and the coordination among the three rank-and-file caucuses will continue.

Other continuing projects will include: radical caucuses in the various professional societies who hope to publish a newsletter informing each other of conferences and journals; the workshop group on teaching health care and social work along with the science teachers may organize a health care conference; the minority faculty/open admission workshop group plans to produce an analysis of the open admissions struggles of the sixties.

A panel discussion on problems of socialist teaching was held Saturday afternoon along with workshops on degree programs, compensatory education, teaching Marxism, teaching

science. All of these will continue to meet.

The History Book, an animated Marxist version of modern history (available from Tricontinental Films) was shown twice with discussion on how to use it as a teaching tool.

There was less interest than expected in forming an overall coordinating body or mass organization of socialist teachers; mostly people want NAM to assume that task. As our chapter's resources permit, we will organize the groups and will contact everyone who signed up for continuations to discuss planning a series of forums on teaching. Other possibilities include a newsletter, support groups, joint actions, and forming a NAM teacher organizing committee.

NAM could play a key role in developing a socialist teachers' movement or at least in coordinating local groups. We hope anyone who is interested in participating, or in getting information, will contact us at NAM, NY Mets, P.O. Box 682, Syosset, NY 11791.

