

# NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

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Story on page 6

## JOANN LITTLE FREED

## THE FIGHTING UNEMPLOYMENT RAG: LOCAL RESPONSES TO A NATIONAL PROBLEM

In cities around the country, NAM and other groups are trying to develop adequate responses to the staggering rise in unemployment. Minneapolis is one such city. There, the Unemployed Workers' Grievance Committee of NAM's Workers' Rights Center has been fighting for four months for jobs and better unemployment benefits.

The Workers' Rights Center makes demands like:

-- Unemployment coverage for all. No disqualifications for pregnancy, underemployment, firing, etc. No waiting period.

-- Equal and higher benefits for all. A lot of times we're divided by different wages on the job. When we are unemployed we all have an equal right to enough money to survive on.

-- No time limit on eligibility. We refuse to be forced by economic blackmail to accept jobs with unsafe working conditions or ridiculously low wages.

-- Food stamps for all unemployed at the unemployment office with no extra red tape.

### More Than a Joke

The most unusual part of the Center's attack on unemployment is the use of songs and entertainment on the unemployment lines. They sing, they tap dance, they juggle, they give short raps, they encourage people to sing along. "This is more than a joke," they explain. "Unemployment offices are designed to be humiliating and to reinforce people's sense of powerlessness and passivity. An important -- and fun -- step is to break that atmosphere.

The Workers' Rights Center uses its sing-outs to publicize a service at the center of many unemployment organizing projects -- "counseling," helping people to understand the rules that now exist and to pressure the government to follow them. "The first step in dealing with a grievance is often counselling or just clarifying the issue. But we want to move quickly toward direct action whenever possible. We ask the person whose grievance we're handling to invite

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## WELFARE CUTS PROVOKE MASS. DEMONSTRATIONS

by Ted Lieverman

Two days after voting massive cuts in welfare, the Massachusetts House of Representatives got a big surprise.

On August 14, the floor debate was suddenly interrupted by thirty demonstrators rushing onto the floor of the House, shouting "Jobs or income now! Restore the welfare cuts!" Furious legislators joined the sergeants-at-arms in hitting the protestors, choking several, and hurling them toward the door.

In the balcony, another thirty demonstrators chanted slogans, read a prepared statement, and threw hundreds of leaflets to the legislators below as the chamber dissolved into chaos.

The action, sponsored by the People for Economic Survival and the Northampton Coalition to Fight the Cutbacks, followed five months of demonstrations, picket lines, and appearances at hearings by a wide range of political and community groups. They have been fighting against proposals by Governor Dukakis to slash state-supported human services and cut over 18,000 people from the welfare rolls.

In April, over 400 people came to a People's Hearing on the proposed cutbacks. There, economists joined welfare recipients, day care and

social workers, and the elderly in denouncing the governor's insensitivity. Senate hearings on the cuts drew angry crowds of up to 500 in April and May. The Boston Area Day Care Workers Union has picketed the State House protesting the attack on child care funds. Government employees themselves have rallied at the capitol to protest cuts which threaten their jobs.

Despite the governor's success in pressuring the legislature to vote the cuts, the state has not taken the protests lightly. When the old state budget expired in June, over 10,000 people receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children had their checks cut off twice until the legislature could pass a temporary authorization. Worried state officials quietly placed guards at all welfare service offices against the possibility that recipients would riot for their checks.

### The State Goes Broke

The welfare cuts are just part of a desperate economic situation that some are calling the Fiscal Crisis of the Commonwealth. While the nation's attention is focused on the troubles of New York City, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is quickly going broke. Like most modern capitalist governments, Massachusetts

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- ° Review of Women's Magazines
- ° Clothing Workers Union
- ° Portugal
- ° Chomsky on the Middle East
- ° and more . . .

### A note to our readers:

This is the first issue of the NAM newspaper published from the Boston area. The May meeting of NAM's Expanded National Interim Committee voted to move the newspaper to Boston. That move took place over the summer.

We are an entirely new collective, excited about carrying on the work of the newspaper. We need your help, in writing articles, sending information, and making criticisms. Our new address is: 16 Union Square, Somerville, MA 02143.

# The Numbers Racket

by Roger Gottlieb

How bad is the economy? Every time a TV or radio newscaster talks about this question, we hear about the "unemployment rate." You might think that when government economists calculate this figure, they are telling us an important truth about the economy. But it's not that simple.

The official unemployment rate is a fraction -- the number of "unemployed" (people who have no job but want one) divided by the "total labor force" (the sum of those working and those who want a job). But how does the government decide who wants a job?

In the U.S. Government Current Population Survey for April 1975, 8.2 million people were listed as unemployed, giving an unemployment rate of 8.9%. But there were also over 5 million people who answered "yes" when asked "do you want a full or part-time job now?" who were not counted as unemployed. These people had not been "actively engaged" in looking for a job in the past four weeks, and therefore were not considered part of the labor force. Why not? For such reasons as school attendance, ill-health, home responsibilities, or the belief that they just wouldn't get a job no matter how hard they tried.

Why doesn't the government count as unemployed the 1.1 million people who are simply too frustrated to continue trying to find a job? And how about the 1.2 million who are kept from job-seeking by "home responsibility"? These are almost all women who need work, but can't go out job hunting because of the absence of day-care centers and visiting nurses. Inadequate social services keep them from looking for a job. But aren't they still unemployed?

Another large section of the population is made up of people who are employed part-time but want full-time work. Government estimates of the labor force count these people as fully employed. In the April survey, there were an estimated 4 million such part-time workers, who on the average worked slightly more than half a week -- in other words, roughly the same as another 1.7 million full-time unemployed.

There are other ways in which the government plays games with the figures. But let's just adjust the statistics by what we've seen so far:

Official unemployed	8.2 million
discouraged	1.1 million
home responsibilities	1.2 million
part-time unemployed	1.7 million
	<b>12.2 million</b>

We get a jump from 8.2 million to 12.2 million unemployed, or from an 8.9% to a 13.2% unemployment rate.

How bad is the economy? You probably know what it's like for yourself and your community. But it's pretty clear you can't trust the government to tell you how bad it is for the country as a whole. (And doesn't this make you wonder about the other figures they hand out?)

# Welfare Cutbacks

(Continued from Page 1)

does not raise enough in taxes to cover the amount it must spend in services for its citizens. The deficit must be made up by short-term loans or the sale of bonds.

So great is the state's debt, however, and so wide is the gap between income and expenditures, that the state finds it increasingly difficult to borrow money. Last June, the state's credit rating was lowered by Moody's and Standard & Poor's, two well-known financial rating services, worsening the crisis.

State law requires that the governor balance the books every year, even if it means borrowing at high interest rates. During the last fiscal year, Massachusetts ran a deficit of some \$450 million. To cover the deficit, Governor Dukakis sold a bond issue for that amount to the banks. In turn, the banks have demanded that the state cut its spending and not raise taxes that affect them. Human services, almost half of the state budget, are prime candidates for the ax.

To oversee the welfare cuts, Dukakis chose Jerald Stevens as Commissioner of Public Welfare. Stevens comes to the job from the vice-presidency of the Boston Company, the holding company of the Boston Safe Deposit and Trust Company. With the security of an independent power base, Stevens has approached the problem with a banker's eye to the financial factors involved -- but not the human ones.

### Who's on Welfare?

If the Dukakis program goes through, tens of thousands of people will be affected. Welfare recipients will lose cost-of-living increases and special programs for hardships and emergencies. Allowances for rest home patients may decrease by half. The plan calls for sharp reductions in medical and child care. Many of the victims of the cutbacks will be working class families not on welfare, but dependent on such public services as community health clinics.

Moreover, as economist Barry Bluestone pointed out at the People's Hearings, the state could lose \$94 million in federal matching funds and some 3000 jobs as a result of the cuts.

The major victims of the legislation already passed are those on General Relief (GR), a category of welfare paid for by the state for those who do not qualify for federal programs. The GR caseload, listed as 48,556 for April, has been rapidly rising for over a year. However, in the last three months, the welfare department has thrown over 5000 people off the rolls.

To keep welfare costs down, the state has classified as "employable" some 18,000 GR recipients it believes are able to work. These "employables" used to be required to register for work at the state employment office and pick up their checks there every week. They have now all been cut from the rolls.

The assumption that these people are loafers or chislers is false. The state unemployment rate of 13.9% for June -- some 5 percentage points above the national average -- testifies to the fact that the



Big city skyline.

jobs simply do not exist. Last year the state employment office could only find jobs for 8% of the welfare recipients registered there. Some three-fourths of the current rise in GR cases is due to the decline in state industries, according to the welfare department's own computer analysis.

A just completed survey of GR "employables" by the welfare department shows that well over half had jobs in the last year. Although labeled fit for work, about one quarter of them claim to have disabilities which prevent them from holding jobs.

These and other studies show that welfare is not charity for the poor. General Relief serves as a kind of crisis unemployment compensation. The welfare crisis is caused by a lack of jobs that pay a living wage, not a lack of willingness to work.

### The Banks versus the Citizens

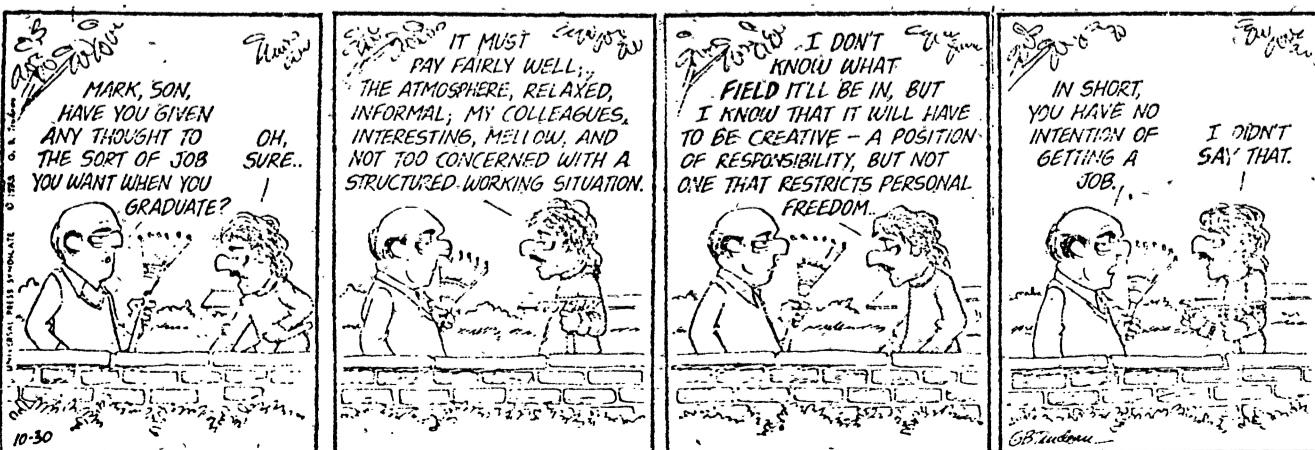
Behind rising unemployment and welfare costs lies a listless state economy. Runaway shops in textiles and electrical assembly have crippled major manufacturing in the state. The large tourist industry means low wages and frequent unemployment for many restaurant, hotel and other service workers. These problems ensure that bad times will stay in Massachusetts long after the national economy perks up.

In the meantime, the state must pay its bills. Dukakis, who was elected last November on a pledge of "no new taxes," quickly reversed himself when the news of a projected \$687 million deficit for 1976 got out. At his urging, the legislature passed a sales tax and a higher gasoline tax. Both new taxes hit working people the hardest. Not surprisingly, they were hailed by Richard Hill, chairman of the First National Bank of Boston. "I'm rather proud of the state," he told the *Boston Globe*.

A better solution to the fiscal crisis would be to pass a state constitutional amendment allowing for a progressive income tax. The reform has failed to win several referenda in the last few years, largely due to heavy lobbying by the banks and insurance companies. The next round is set for November 1976, when the progressive income tax will be on the ballot again.

The mortgage of Massachusetts to the banks means a further loss of control of citizens over public affairs. While welfare recipients are the first to feel its effects, they are by no means alone. Already Dukakis has asked for authority to fire permanent state employees.

Although the first round of the fight against cutbacks has been lost, the popular opposition has been important in limiting the damage and may determine the future course of events. The banks' solution of having citizens pay more taxes for less services is not one that can remain popular for long.



# FIGHTING UNEMPLOYMENT

(Continued from Page 1)

friends to join in action, and then invite everyone involved to participate in further actions for other workers." The counselling service has already won over \$1000 in back benefits for the jobless.

The Center has also conducted a survey of people on the unemployment line to determine major problems -- extended waiting periods, forced quits, discriminatory lay-offs, and so on. Based on the response, demands have been drawn up, and a mass organization of the unemployed is being founded to fight for those demands.

### Other Cities

Organizations of the jobless have been formed in other cities as well. The San Francisco Bay area chapter of NAM is setting up an unemployment counselling center to advise workers of their rights under California law. Like draft counselling in the '60's, unemployment counselling is seen, not as a substitute for mass activity, but as a service from which broader struggles can develop.

A Chicago coalition, called together by the National Lawyers' Guild and involving Chicago NAM, plans to present a broad set of demands to the head of the state Department of Labor at a mass meeting. The coalition is mobilizing people to come, talking with unions and community organizations and leafletting unemployment lines. Organizers hope that the people pulled together for the meeting will form an organization to continue to fight for the demands.

The Lawyers' Guild has also trained people to set up two unemployment counselling offices in areas where unemployment is particularly high. Eventually the centers hope to expand their services to include counselling on welfare, food stamps, general consumer problems, lay-offs, and matters concerning the immigration laws.

### A National Problem

In other cities, among them Boston, Providence, and Philadelphia, the unemployed have also begun to organize. Certain basic problems appear everywhere: Who does an organization work with? What is the right balance between service, advocacy, and struggle? How can lasting organizations be built, relating the problems of the unemployed to the problems of

employed workers?

So far, organizing has been local in character. But the problem -- the U.S. economy -- is international. The obstacles are the same in city after city -- long lines, lengthy delays in receiving checks, complex and discouraging appeals procedures, a bias in favor of the employer.

The Minneapolis group sums up the real goal: "It's clear there are no real solutions to our problems as long as we define 'what's good for the country' as 'what's good for General Motors.'" We have at hand the resources and the know-how to create a really human society, free from pollution, with decent housing, health care, and education, and healthy food for everyone. We could all have meaningful, creative jobs, and more free time. But we won't do it as long as decisions are made to ensure the profits of a few rather than meet the needs of everyone."



The Minneapolis chapter puts on a great soft-shoe routine when it performs this song at the local unemployment office. We won't tell you the words to their other songs, because we want you to buy the book *The Spirit of the People*, available from the Minneapolis chapter. We will, however, be printing a different song every month, suitable for framing or, more modestly, for clipping for your notebook of revolutionary songs.

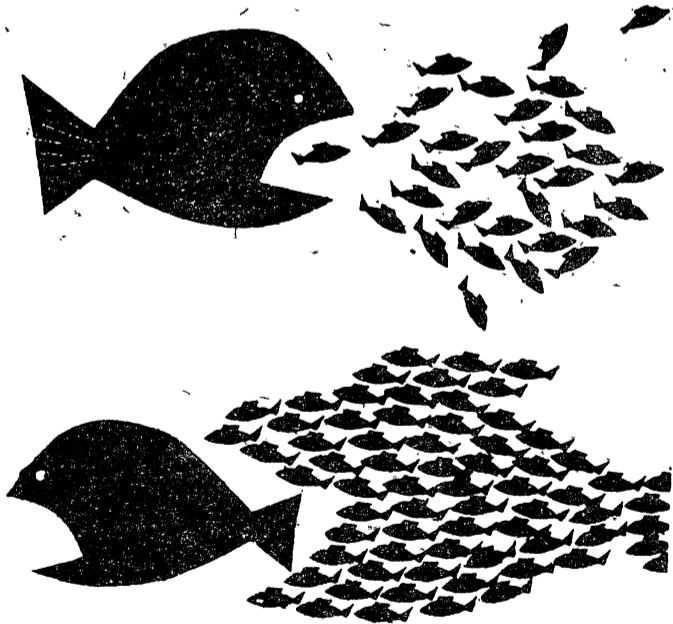
TUNE: "Has Anybody Seen My Gal?"  
WORDS: Unemployed Workers Grievance Committee

Sewing clothes,  
All in rows,  
As the piece work comes and goes  
Has anybody seen my job?

On the line,  
Lay-off time,  
Then comes speed up -- what a crime.  
Has anybody seen my job?

So -- if you run into our old jobs,  
Way back there,  
They weren't great -- second rate,  
We deserve a better fate.

So -- take them back  
Our old jobs --  
Storm those offices in mobs!  
Has anybody seen our jobs?



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.

The Newspaper Collective

Frank Bove  
Steve Carlip  
Chris Casey  
Lisa Dennen

Roger Gottlieb  
Ted Lieberman  
Dean Manders  
Larry Miller

Kathy Moore  
Karen Morgan  
Carolle Sandberg  
John Viertel



Say, how do I get the same welfare officer you have?

# ACWA RANK AND FILE BITES THE DUST

Faced with serious economic difficulties, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union decided this summer to delay a scheduled pay raise for union members, diverting the money instead into a welfare fund previously paid for by employers. The following article, by a member of the union, talks about this decision and what it means about the union.

by Tom Povo

In their first industry-wide strike since 1921, 110,000 members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) in the men's clothing industry stopped work in June 1974. The one-week strike won a \$1-an-hour pay increase over three years, plus a cost-of-living escalator, and was considered a victory for the union's new, younger national leadership. The success of the shutdown was perhaps as much a surprise to the union officers as to the Manufacturers' Association. Many considered it a sign of reviving militancy, following the union's recognition by the Farah Company in Texas.

Conditions in the clothing industry are, as ACWA business agents constantly mutter, "bad all over." The recession, combined with the continuing flood of cheap-labor imports and a trend away from tailored clothing, has cut back production tremendously. In one year, 40,000 union members have lost their jobs.

## The Welfare Fund

Unemployed ACWA members are covered by the union medical plan for a year after they are laid off. But the amount that companies pay into the Welfare Fund depends on the number of union members working each month. As lay-offs have risen, these payments have decreased. In October 1974, the Fund was breaking even, with \$2.6 million coming in and \$2.6 million going out monthly. In March 1975, the employers' contribution fell

to only \$2.1 million a month.

By this spring, the Fund had fallen drastically. A reduction of benefits by as much as 50% for at least a year might be needed, according to the union leadership. The leadership decided to eliminate the deficit by delaying the workers' 31½ cent-an-hour pay raise from the contract date of June 2 to September 28. Each worker would divert between \$150 and \$200 into the Fund.

This plan meant the end of a policy, in effect since before Sidney Hillman's death, that the Welfare Fund would be financed solely by employers' contributions. It meant a capitulation of the union to economic conditions, despite a "firm" policy decision not to permit wage cuts during the crisis. And it meant a weakening of the contract, a surrender of the new leadership's first big victory for the members.

## Rank and File Reaction

The Clothing Manufacturers' Association, of course, had no objection to the plan. But the plan needed a majority vote by workers in the industry. In many places, it was enough to get the OK from local officials in order for all the members to be counted in favor. In some locals, however, membership meetings were held.

A few of these meetings were quite bitter. The plan was defeated in Philadelphia, where a militant rank-and-file caucus has been making waves for the past two years. Angry feelings emerged in many parts of the country. Nevertheless, the paper majority was obtained. All ACWA members will be required to go along with the plan.

## Railroading the Plan

The International union gave members three weeks to decide their votes.

A single speech by a union Vice-President or business agent at a poorly attended membership meeting was usually the only explanation that members got.

At no time were detailed statistics or a printed proposal or fact sheet presented. My wife, an ACWA member of long standing, was told that the union had borrowed \$250,000 for the Fund. The *Daily News Record*, a manufacturers' magazine, reported that the union had borrowed \$3 million. Would the plan make the Fund break even, or would it "create a cushion for the future," as the *Daily News Record* said? How much of a cushion? How much was necessary? The union never answered these questions.

No alternatives to the plan were presented. The union could have tried under the contract to raise employers' payments to the Fund, and brought the case to arbitration. Not only was this route never attempted, the union never even mentioned it as a possibility. The Fund could have borrowed from the union-owned Amalgamated Bank, and negotiated with manufacturers to get the loan paid off. Or the bank could have directly subsidized the Fund.

Many workers wondered whether the union leaders had foreseen the crisis in advance. Could they have protected the members against this catastrophe in the last contract negotiations? If the problem had been expected, as officials claim, why wasn't it openly discussed earlier?

## Union Democracy

Many members of the union -- the older veterans of the early struggles against the sweatshops as well as the new generation of black, Latino, and white workers of many nationalities -- expected big changes in the union when the new leadership took over.



"All they think about is money."

The union's past history in humanizing a miserable industry through a bitter struggle is still strong. Many members probably voted for the wage deferral plan out of loyalty. But that memory has begun to wear thin as a basis for trust between the workers and the union leaders.

Those who expected a "revolution from above" have been disappointed. It takes democracy to create democracy, and lack of internal democracy has crippled the Amalgamated.

The union has no internal life save the careerism of the power-seekers, most of whom come from outside the ranks of the industry. There is no lively discussion of trade union goals or tactics. The last ACWA convention, held in Miami Beach, opened and closed with not one speech in disagreement with any other speech.

Texas Senator Lloyd Bentsen, who had refused to support the Farah strike, spoke in favor of honest government. "Spontaneous" demonstrations in favor of the present officers looked droopy on TV; the main attention of the delegates was directed at the evening's parties. On the last morning, the delegates voted constitutional amendments raising the officers' salaries, turning over several important powers to the General Executive Board, and abolishing the referendum ballot for officers' reelection -- all without a single "no" vote.

## Other Problems

Union members have come to recognize a number of other serious problems in the Amalgamated's policies. These range from the union's lack of commitment to organizing to its heritage of such deep respect for arbitration that its business agents often see themselves more as arbiters than as trade unionists; from its timid educational program (whose main job seems to be to convince the more active workers that they are employed in a sick and low-profit industry) to its ingrained sexism.

Ultimately, all these problems arise from the separation that has developed between the bureaucracy and the union members. As long as the leadership remains unenthusiastic about giving up its own power, and as long as the rank and file is not mobilized to take the union out of the hands of the bureaucratic complex that controls it, the ACWA will remain unable to solve the urgent problems that face it.

## FALL RIVER ACWA RANK AND FILE

reprinted from *For the People* (Fall River/New Bedford)

Last year, 110,000 members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America went on strike in New Bedford and Fall River, Massachusetts, and around the country, for the first time in over 50 years. Two important gains won by the strike were a general wage increase and a cost-of-living increase clause.

Now, one year later, clothing workers may have to delay getting these increases. The union's top leadership wants them to give up their raise until September 28, and instead put the money into the Welfare Fund (mainly used for medical insurance).

In some locals, votes on the proposal were taken at membership meetings. In Fall River, a meeting was held in May. However, this meeting was at night and called with short notice, facts which helped explain why only 200 out of 1000 members attended the meeting. In addition, there was no secret ballot, with workers moving to either side of the room depending on their vote. The vote to put the raise into the fund passed (about 160-40) and the entire 1000 members were recorded in favor of delaying the raise.

In New Bedford, a similar meeting was held at Lincoln Park. However, many people demanded that a secret ballot vote be taken of all members. People got angrier and angrier and shouted down the International Vice President, until finally the meeting ended in chaos.

The union then agreed to a secret ballot. A vote was taken two days later in all the New Bedford shops, resulting in a 992-762 preference for taking the raise now rather than putting it into the fund.

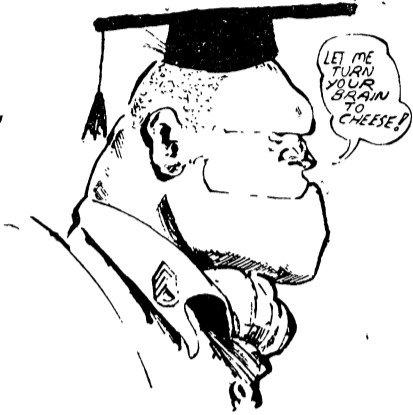
There were a number of reasons that people voted to take their raise. To begin with, workers felt the contract guaranteed them a raise and they needed all the money they could get in these hard times. But besides this, many people were upset with the way the International had handled things.

Basically, many people feel the International didn't do a fair job. It just decided on what it wanted and tried to force this through by scaring people, keeping members in the dark, and trying to slip its proposal through Joint Councils wherever possible rather than allowing the people to vote.

According to one worker, "The top officers are making big money -- \$50,000 a year. Why should they be concerned with the plight of the workers? And you don't see them taking pay cuts to help make up the deficit."

## Campus Notes

Last spring, in the face of growing cutbacks in scholarships, faculty, and student programs, students at a number of campuses across the country took part in strikes and building occupations. All signs seem to indicate that this renewed student militancy will continue this year. We hope in the future to carry more short reports of activities on campuses, and would like to urge our readers to send us information for future campus notes.



### Brown University

In March, Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, announced a proposal for budget cutbacks, including a 15% cut in faculty over a three year period, reduced student services, and a reduction in financial aid.

Students formed a coalition and organized a rally in response. They demanded access to budgetary information and input into budgetary policy. When the administration failed to meet their demands, the Student Coalition organized a strike in which 80% of the student body participated.

The failure of the strike to win concessions led to a split in the coalition, and the formation of a Left Caucus and a Third World Coalition (TWC). Third World students, with the support of the Left Caucus, occupied an administration building. After 36 hours of negotiation, the TWC accepted an administration offer which guaranteed small increases in the number of minority students accepted and created a special committee to review minority applications.

### Brandeis University

The termination of 26 faculty contracts and a 50% cut in the Transitional Year Program (a compensatory program designed for students whose background does not adequately prepare them for college) pushed students at Brandeis University to form a Campus Student Coalition (CSC). The CSC organized several large rallies, but received little response from the administration. On April 29, 35 members of the Student Action Group occupied a sociology building, demanding full compensation on cuts in grants to financial aid students, rehiring of dismissed teachers, full funding of the Transitional Year Program, and a guarantee against layoffs of campus workers.

As a result of the takeover, the Student Action Group won a partial restoration of the original cuts. Students have now formed a more long-term organization, the Brandeis Student Union, and plan to take the initiative in forming a nationwide multi-racial student organization.

## Labor Notes

According to a new Labor Department study, the number of unionized workers has risen 4.8% in the past two years. The fastest rise has been among government employees, where unionization is up 18% over the 1972 figure. Unions now represent 24.3% of the labor force. Slightly more than

all union members are white-collar workers. Women now make up a quarter of union membership.

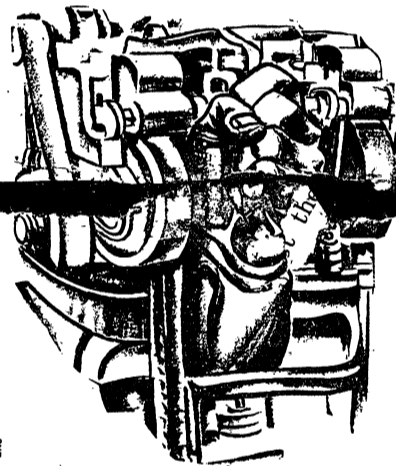
A new proposal by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare would bar striking workers from receiving welfare unless they qualified for unemployment compensation. Presently only New York and Rhode Island allow strikers to receive unemployment compensation. The final decision on the new proposal is up to David Mathews, newly appointed head of HEW.

Auto workers at Lordstown, Ohio,

have struck to protest a speed-up in production at General Motors Fisher Body plant. The strike, by 2200 members of the UAW, has threatened to seriously delay GM's production schedule. It has also idled workers at the Lordstown Vega assembly lines.

30,000 members of the UMW have walked off their jobs in Kentucky, West Virginia, and Ohio. The wildcat strike began to protest the firing of two miners, but expanded to include complaints that the union's new grievance procedure has not been working.

Workers at an Ohio General Tire plant have suffered poisoning from Phosgene and other gases emitted by a nearby Olin chemical plant. The United Rubber Workers union has now filed a \$2.5 million class action suit against Olin and General Tire on behalf of its members.



Workers at Monroe Auto Equipment Company of Hartwell, Georgia, have been without a contract since the UAW won NLRB elections nine years ago. The union has now called for a boycott of the company's products.

6000 General Electric workers in Lynn, Massachusetts, walked out in a wildcat strike over safety and working conditions. Company negligence has already resulted in one death during the strike. Theodore Phillips, a 44 year old maintenance man, was overcome by fumes from an industrial solvent. According to union members, he had been doing a job normally assigned to two men. Further, the company did not enforce safety procedures that would have required him to wear an air mask.

We would like to urge our readers to send us short items for future issues of the paper. Send them to the NAM newspaper, 16 Union Square, Somerville, MA 02143.

## Farmworkers Face Another Showdown

As we go to press certification elections are beginning in the grape and lettuce fields to determine once and for all who really represents the farmworkers.

Meanwhile, United Farmworkers supporters all over the country are organizing to extend the boycott of Gallo wine, non-union lettuce and grapes.

In Boston, Farmworkers supporters have driven scab produce off the shelves of four more supermarket chains. In New York, 29 supporters were arrested while picketing Waldbaum's markets to stop scab grapes.

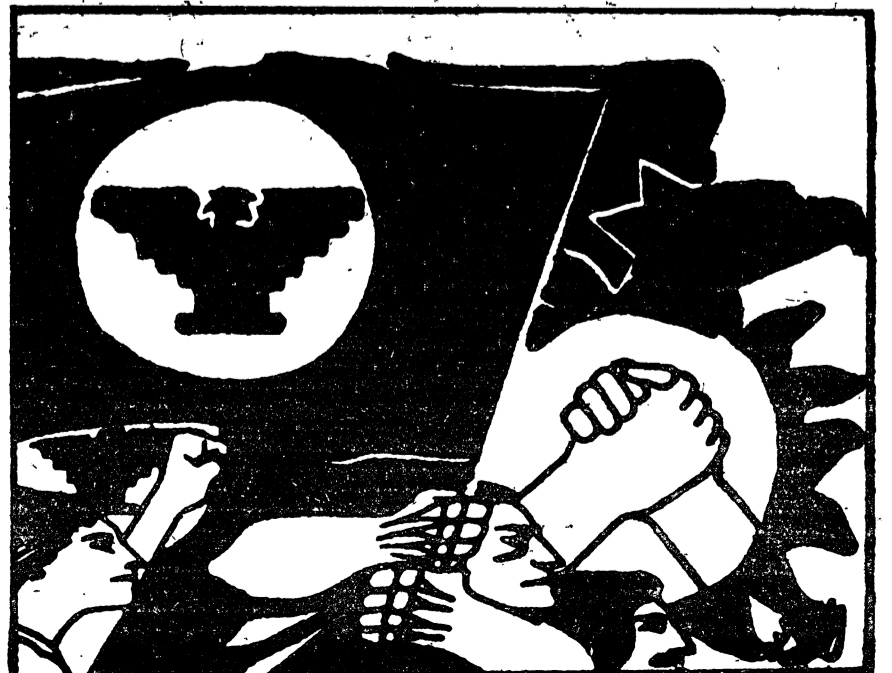
The union considers the boycott necessary to guarantee that growers will respect the new farm labor law and negotiate fairly with the United

Farmworkers where they win certification.

The Teamsters Union called its first mass membership meeting in the lettuce fields in Salinas, California on July 18. A thousand farmworkers were there, but most of them, according to the L.A. Times, were waving Huelga flags and shouting "Chavez Si, Teamsters No."

On July 22, in Indio, California, 3000 farmworkers gathered to hear Cesar Chavez while a nearby Teamster's rally attracted a crowd of eighteen.

All of this was part of the build up for the real confrontation that began on August 28, when the new California Agricultural Labor Relations Act took effect.



# JOANN LITTLE: FREE AT LAST

by Bob McMahon

After five weeks filled with jury selection, testimony, and arguments by defense and prosecution lawyers, a jury of six blacks and six whites took little over an hour to find Joann Little "not guilty."

Little, a 21 year old black woman, had been charged with the murder of Clarence Alligood, a prison guard who tried to rape her. As the details of the case became known -- including a medical examiner's report which described the half-nude body with semen extending from Alligood's penis to his thigh -- it became an important rallying point for feminists and black activists. Joann Little's case was seen as an important part of the battle for the rights of prisoners and for the right of women to defend themselves against rape.

## Jury a Focus

In pre-trial hearings, Little's lawyers argued that the trial should be moved away from eastern North Carolina, where racism among whites is most intense and where women and blacks have been largely excluded from the pool of potential jurors. While declining to rule on the discriminatory character of the Beaufort County jury system, the judge agreed to shift the trial to Wake County, where the state capitol is located.

In the last week of the trial, prosecutor John Wilkinson acknowledged the effects of the shift, lamenting that a hung jury was the prosecution could expect in Wake County.

By that time, few courtroom observers agreed with Wilkinson's claim that the prosecution had proven its case. Already, during the second week of testimony, Judge Hamilton Hobgood had ordered the charge reduced from first to second degree murder. He ruled that not enough convincing evidence of a premeditated killing had been offered to make the first degree murder charge worth sending to the jury.

## Lack of Evidence

Most of the prosecution witnesses were police officers who had found the body or come to the scene of the death later to investigate. Under defense cross-examination, a picture was developed of a confused, incompetent milling around. Important evidence was moved without any photos taken or records kept. Other key items were not even checked. Neither the ice pick

Alligood was killed by, nor the drawer in which it was kept -- which the prosecutors claimed Little stole it from while making a phone call -- were even checked for fingerprints.

As one defense attorney, Milton Williamson, summed up the results of the investigation, the police had not even tried to prove that Joann Little had handled the ice pick, or been in the cell when Alligood was stabbed.

Beyond the gaps in the police investigation, a number of discrepancies in the testimony suggested deliberate tampering with the evidence:

-- The county medical examiner, who looked at Alligood's body in the jail cell, reported seeing semen on his thigh. A pathologist, who looked at the body in the morgue later that night, reported checking the thigh and finding nothing, as if it had been wiped clean.

-- An ambulance attendant's description of the position of the body differed from that shown in photos police claim were taken before the body was moved.

-- Photos supplied by police to the defense showed markedly less blood on the floor than photos of the same patches of floor shown to the jury.

## Sexual Abuses Cited

Testimony for the defense began with three black women, former prisoners at the Beaufort County jail, who testified that they had been sexually abused by Alligood while in the house of inmates.

One woman, Annie Gardner, reported that Alligood came up to her several times and fondled her breasts while she was on her knees scrubbing the floor. Another, Rosa Roberson, reported that Alligood had come to her, after she had been in jail for several weeks, and suggested that she needed sex, having been locked up away from a man for so long.

All three former inmates agreed that Alligood had made a practice of choosing certain inmates to be targets for special favors, sometimes waking them up in the middle of the night to offer them food or candy. They reported that he had made a practice of visiting the women's cellblock at nights unannounced and without a matron, despite a jail rule forbidding this.

Joann Little took the stand to describe events on the night of Alligood's death. She told how twice that evening Alligood had told her how "nice" she looked, and suggested sex, and that she had refused him each time.

The second of these advances came about 2:00 a.m., along with an unasked for gift of sandwiches. Some time after that, Little reported, Alligood appeared outside the cell and said that "he had been nice to me, and now it was time for me to be nice to him."

Despite her plea that he leave, Alligood then entered the cell, Little said, undressed her and took off his pants, and forced her to have oral sex with him while he held an ice pick to her head. When his grip on the ice pick loosened, she was able to get it away from him. A struggle followed, during which she struck him repeatedly, and then ran from the cell. When she last saw Alligood, Little reported, he was still alive.

When Beaufort County district attorney William Griffin began to cross-examine Little, he knew he had to discredit her claim of self-defense. He chose tactics similar to those the defense attorney for a rapist uses to attempt to place the blame upon the victim.

Griffin repeatedly asked Little why she had not cried out or resisted when Alligood entered her cell, seeking to imply that she must have consented to sex, and thereby lost any claim to have defended herself against Alligood later.



Griffin also tried to portray Little as a "loose woman." Many of his questions were ruled out of order by the judge, but not until the jury had heard them. These included a charge that Little had engaged in lesbian relations with fellow inmate and "Isn't it true you had a venereal disease when you were 11 years old?"

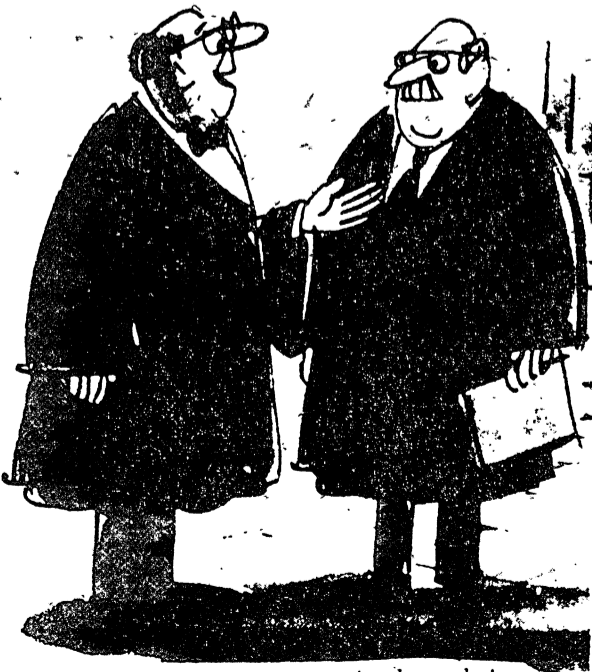
The jury was unimpressed with Griffin's insinuations, or with attempts to patch together evidence that Little had killed Alligood as part of an escape plot. One juror later told reporters that when the jury got together to discuss the case, "None of us had any real doubts about finding her innocent."

The joy among Joann Little's supporters in the courtroom was somewhat marred when Judge Hobgood sentenced Jerry Paul, chief lawyer for the defense, to 14 days in jail for contempt of court.

The contempt citation grew out of a clash between Paul and Hobgood early in the trial, when Paul asked that Hobgood disqualify himself as incapable of giving Little a fair trial.

Joann Little's acquittal on the murder charges still leaves her faced with a 7-10-year sentence for breaking and entering. She was awaiting an appeal on that sentence when Alligood attacked her. Her lawyers have filed an appeal on that charge, and hope for a decision by Thanksgiving.

Little is now out of jail on \$115,000 bond.



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Correction: Due to a typographical error, the post office box number at the end of last month's article, "Chicanos fight for a union," was misprinted. The address for requests for the videotape of the Sloane rubber strike is: L.A. NAM #1, P.O. Box 24521, Los Angeles, CA 90024.

# Phase Two : Will The Violence Continue?

by Frank Bove

The city of Boston has become a battleground. Racial incidents throughout the city culminated in four days of violence, beginning August 10 with a riot on Carson Beach in South Boston. An NAACP-led group of 800 people arrived to hold a picnic to desegregate the beach, only recently closed to black people because of anger in South Boston over the phase 1 busing plan. They were confronted by a crowd of 1500 jeering whites. Rock-throwing and fighting broke out. For the next three days, groups of angry black youths stoned cars in various parts of the city.

The immediate cause of the violence has been the frustration over busing in Boston.

The black community fought for at least 15 years for better schools and against the racist policies of the Boston School Committee. The court order desegregating the Boston schools was a product of this struggle.

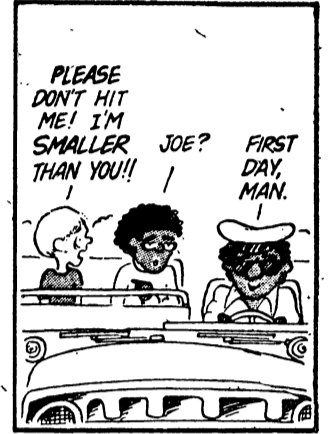
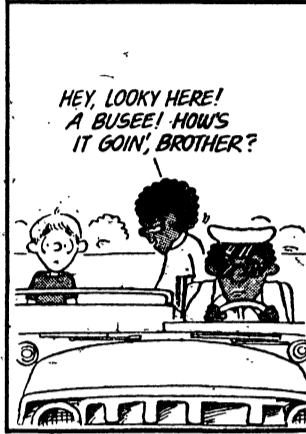
Many black people believe that the two busing plans, by themselves, may not improve education; desegregation is not enough. But most support busing in the interest of self-defense against racism. They know that if busing is defeated, it will be a major blow for the black movement for freedom and social equality.

The Phase 2 busing plan was drawn up in part to ~~in racial composition, removing the~~ students to schools outside their district. It eliminates segregated, predominantly black schools. It provides space for smaller bilingual and special needs programs -- a victory for parents after a hard struggle.

Phase 2 does not force blacks to be bused to East Boston, where a situation similar to what happened in South Boston last year could erupt. East Boston, another white enclave, will remain relatively untouched except at the high school level. Finally, the plan establishes citizen groups to monitor day to day events in the schools, and sets up "magnet" or special program schools to achieve desegregation on a voluntary basis.

But Phase 2 has serious drawbacks. Black students will again be bused to South Boston High, scene of the most brutal violence last year. A show of force on opening day -- 2000 state and local police with national guard units on alert and federal prosecutors, investigators, and marshalls -- will further provoke the white community.

Phase 2 is designed not only to desegregate the schools, but to "streamline" the system. Cost efficiency has been emphasized over education. Elementary school children will be bused only if they live over a mile from their school; middle school students, over 1 1/2 miles; and high school students, over 2 miles. Possibly 200 black students will have to ride the subway and walk through extremely hostile territory to attend Charlestown High. Charlestown has a well-organized racist movement. The police have not been able to protect



students who are bused; how can they protect students who must walk to school?

Another aspect of this "belt-tightening" policy is the speed with which boycotting students are considered to have left the school system. This has been used to justify layoffs of teachers and aides, school closings, and Mayor White's proposed \$30 million cut in next year's School Committee budget. The plan closes 20 old dilapidated schools while making no provisions for building new schools to take their place. Schools throughout the system will be filled to capacity even if boycotting students do not come back.

The School Committee, controlled by a traditional ethnic working class political machine with leaders strongly tied to small, local capital, has badly mismanaged the schools due to its patronage policies. To carry out the austerity program, the national capitalists have sought to destroy that machine. By pairing the schools with the biggest corporations, banks, and universities, Phase 2 has started the process of taking direct control away from the School Committee. The hard-won gains of the black movement for better integrated education are being used as a weapon in the struggle for control of the city.

The schools in the tightly knit, ethnic white neighborhoods of Boston are among the worst in the city. Nevertheless, the School Committee is widely supported. The last vestige of the old machine, it is looked upon as a "trade union" type protective mechanism. Early in the century, the machine wrested control of the city from the big capitalists after a long bitter struggle as intense as the current fight against busing. But its control over city government and school jobs, which were doled out to gain support of the ethnic white communities, diminished after 1945.

Urban renewal was used by large corporate interests as a weapon against the machine. Realtors, working in league with the big banks,

embarked on a blockbusting strategy. Playing on racist fears, they encouraged whites in select neighborhoods to sell their homes at a very low price before the "black invasion." Black families were permitted to move only to these select areas, and were forced to pay inflated prices. White families scurried to the suburbs, where they, too, found inflated prices.

The machine succeeded in saving its Irish and Italian neighborhood strongholds from urban renewal and blockbusting, and although its power diminished, it retained control of the School Committee. As the black movement gained in strength, the machine refused to recognize it as a threat to their power, the leaders of the machine led on ethnic working class fears and racism to gain support. As early as a decade ago, South Boston politicians began to set up neighborhood committees against busing.

The white community, seeing the black movement as a part of the big capitalists' blockbusting policy, was easily aroused. The immediate enemy became the black community, an easy target for white working class frustrations.

The ethnic white communities realize to some extent the corruption of the machine, the failure of the School Committee to provide decent education. But the machine is still looked upon as a mechanism which can protect their jobs, patriarchal family structure, and traditional culture.

For the sake of their children, some whites have participated in multi-racial councils in order to help implement an "inevitable" plan safely. But many, remembering their traditional struggles against WASP upper class chauvinism, are ready to fight.

With unemployment high, the machine has used "spirit of '76" slogans to channel anger into racism and loyalty to ethnic workers' traditional way of life. Thus ROAR, the largest anti-busing group, has attacked not only the black movement, but the women's movement, disrupting a women's rights rally and threatening to attack any feminist demonstration.

The situation in Boston is complex. Racism is indissolubly linked with the struggle between local and national capitalists, the fiscal crisis, the breakdown of the family and traditional ethnic culture, and a host of other "issues." Ethnic white communities are fighting the big capitalists for control of their schools and neighborhoods. But their anger has been diverted into racism.

Racism is fomented not only by the machine, but also by the blockbusting policies of big capitalists. In order to defend itself against racism, the black community has supported busing. But national capitalists have taken advantage of black gains, formulating a plan which foments racism and puts cost-efficiency above education.

The result has been a bitterly divided working class and a strengthening of the white racism that prevents unity.



# CONVE '75

The New American Movement's fourth annual convention revealed a shift toward a "base-building" organizing strategy. Political discussions which have engaged NAM chapters in the past year produced three distinct political tendencies.

Held August 6-10 in Oberlin, Ohio, the convention attracted over 300 delegates from 40 NAM chapters and 5 pre-chapters, as well as observers from other left organizations.

The mood in Oberlin was one of excitement about NAM's political development and optimism about its potential. Marilyn Katz (Los Angeles NAM) began the political report from the National Interim Committee (NIC) with "a note of celebration for the victory of the Indochinese people."

The NIC saw several trends encouraging the growth of NAM and of the socialist movement in the U.S. The turn toward Marxism among sections of the black and feminist movement the left. In the last year of unity on successfully coordinated national

programs around United Mine Workers strike support and Puerto Rican Solidarity Day.

NAM has moved its National Office to Chicago, moved toward establishing a full time national leadership with the creation of a Political and Administrative Committee (PAC), and decided to move its national newspaper to Boston. Many new chapters have formed during that time, with a total of 12 now existing in California alone.

But NAM's lack of overall strategy has continued to hinder its activity, the NIC pointed out. NAM's anti-imperialist work has failed to reach far beyond already committed leftists. Though NAM has built good contacts with a number of Third World organizations, its original commitment to become a multiracial organization remains more a principle than a program.

### Base-Building

The year before the Oberlin conven-



within NAM of its past practice and its strategy of "placing socialism on the agenda." Remembering the anti-war movement, chapters had focused much of this activity around particular crisis situations: Nixon's wage freeze, impeachment, the energy crisis, the oil embargo. Many NAM members hoped to

forward to NAM's rapid growth into a mass organization.

The Oberlin convention reflected a widespread realization that such mass movements were unlikely in the near future, and that NAM's role in building them is severely limited by its small size and its largely college-educated membership. To meet these problems, NAM must seek to involve itself in the day to day struggles of working people, increasing NAM's presence throughout the working class. An increased commitment to workplace organizing was evident at the convention.

The convention discussed several strategy papers submitted by NIC members, NAM's perspective on trade unions, and a one year plan for political activity (see additional articles).

### Culture and Consciousness

The convention's first plenary concerned culture and consciousness. Elayne Rapping (Pittsburgh NAM) characterized the mass media as a key industry that controls the production of information, education, and entertainment. In the last 30 years, she explained, the U.S. has become a "cultural monolith," with the Defense Department dominating "all the imaginative and educational technology." The entertainment industry has become a critical target for socialist organizing, both as a workplace and as a source of capitalist values. Barbara Ehrenreich (N.Y. Mets chapter) criticized the way the category of "culture" is used as a "grab



## Trade Union Discussion

What does socialist organizing in a workplace mean? What should be NAM's attitude toward trade unions? What priority does workplace organizing have in an overall strategy for socialism in America? These were some of the major questions discussed at the 1975 NAM convention.

The discussion was originally billed as a "trade union debate," centering around three position papers on the attitude of socialists towards unions and the labor movement. But it quickly expanded into a broader discussion of socialist activity in the workplace.

The three position papers were based on widely varying experiences of different NAM chapters in different workplaces and unions. One came from the Durham Health Collective, which has been active for several years in a union drive at Duke Medical Center and has had considerable success in building a militant union from the ground up. The Durham position argued that workplace organizing should be the main focus of socialist activity, and that NAM should be involved in rank-and-file caucuses within unions, opposing the bureaucracy and fighting for working class unity and militancy. This rank and file activity would be the basis of a new, radical workers' movement.

A second position paper was written by John Welch, a New York

taxi driver and an active member of Taxi Rank and File, a socialist caucus in the union local. Welch argued that unions actually function to keep workers under control, ignoring grievances or channeling them into a once-a-year battle over a contract that has little to do with people's day to day experiences in the workplaces. Most union members, Welch says, have little contact with their union except when it raises dues. Supporters of the Welch position argued that socialists must work outside of unions, encouraging workers' independent activity and connecting the workplace with people's lives outside of their jobs.

The third position, written by Mark Mericle of Dayton NAM, was eventually adopted by the convention. It agreed with the focus of the Durham position on rank-and-file caucuses, but stated that while workplace organizing is important, it should not by itself be the major focus of socialist activity. The Mericle position also stressed the importance of organizing unions where none exist, and fighting racism and sexism as a central part of NAM's work.

### The Discussion

The Minneapolis NAM chapter brought another important experience to the discussion. Minneapolis has recently established a workers' rights center, designed to reach working people from shops and offices throughout the city. The chapter emphasized the importance of creating a radical workers' movement that can reach outside and across workplaces, overcoming the isolation of individual rank-and-file movements.

For many in NAM, this convention was the first opportunity to compare their experiences and ideas. Small group discussions, caucus meetings, and debates were lively.

The convention finally adopted an "experimental position" on workplace organizing, based largely on Mark Mericle's position paper. The position is meant to be a general set of guidelines for chapters to test out, compare with their experiences, and revise.

But the discussion also made it clear that NAM does not yet have the theoretical or practical experience to adopt a full strategy for workplace organizing. Rather, the convention was the first step in gaining the experience and knowledge that will move NAM and the socialist movement forward.





# Chomsky: on the Middle East

by Noam Chomsky

The recent flurry of reports about nuclear weapons in the Middle East, and in general the extraordinary and still rising level of armaments, has appeared only to underline the urgency in the U.S. government's efforts to bring about a separation of forces agreement in the Sinai. The next war, should it come, would probably achieve new levels of brutality. It is unlikely that Israel's cities would again be spared, and the devastation of Arab civilian targets is likely to go well beyond the destructive attacks of the past. And, given the international stakes, a regional conflict might well explode into a general conflagration.

Therefore it would seem that Kissinger's efforts to turn aside the threat of immediate conflict are to be welcomed, as they may buy time to heal the wounds that remain. But a closer analysis suggests something quite different.

To be sure, for the tenure of the agreement Israel's southern front will be neutralized and the threat of another "October war" significantly alleviated. Such an agreement serves the short-run interests of Egypt and Israel, as well as of the U.S. But what are its likely consequences in the long run?

With the reduction of the military threat, Israel will be free to pursue the policies to which the major political forces are committed. There are three sources of evidence concerning these policies: statements of political spokesmen, actual programs in operation or projected, and the historical record. Evidence from these sources converges. Israel will continue its development projects in the occupied territories, leading to integration and eventual annexation. The political leadership has repeatedly insisted that under any long-term agreement, Israel will retain the Gaza Strip, adjoining areas of Northeastern Sinai, Sharm el-Sheik (Israeli "Ophira") and an access to it, most of the Golan Heights, a considerably expanded Jerusalem, parts of the West Bank (Judea and Samaria), including a region along the Jordan River that will be Israel's effective border with the Arab world to the east. Since 1967, substantial resources have been devoted to development projects in these regions, and despite the severe economic crisis, these programs have been accelerated. Under conditions of relaxation of the military threat, there is every reason to suppose that these efforts will continue.

In the region west of Gaza, thousands of Arab peasants have been expelled to clear the area for Jewish settlement, and plans for a deep water port (Yamit) are in progress in a region that is universally regarded outside of Israel, as Egyptian territory.

These programs ensure that there will be no lasting peace between Egypt and Israel. Civilian settlement and industrial development in the Golan Heights guarantees that there will be no peace between Syria and Israel. Comparable projects in the West Bank and the environs of Jerusalem spell the end of any hopes for even a quasi-independent Palestinian nationalism, and thus guarantee that terrorism will intensify since all alternatives will have been blocked. Correspondingly, the harsh Israeli repression in the West Bank and Israel's military operations in Lebanon will continue, further embittering relations.

Israel hopes that the "facts" built in this way will eventually be accepted by the Arab states, or at least that the Arab world will be powerless to alter them. The political lead-

ership seems to believe that "responsible" Arab political forces will accept some kind of home rule under Israeli military control in areas of the West Bank that are not directly integrated or annexed, perhaps under Jordanian civil administration; that Egypt will abandon Northeastern Sinai and "Ophira" and return to its pressing internal problems; that Syria will fume in impotent silence; and that Israeli force will be able to restrict the Palestinian threat to tolerable limits. After the "seven lean years," the Israeli political leadership argues, alternative energy sources will undermine Arab economic pressures. Thus, Israel can regain the position of military security and regional hegemony that it enjoyed, so it was thought, after the overwhelming military victory of 1967.

But the real world is likely to evolve along quite a different course. There is little reason to expect that the effectiveness of "Arab blackmail" on the industrial societies will diminish. For the United States, the problem is not primarily dependence on Arab oil, but rather the danger that its industrial rivals might get privileged access to the vast energy resources of the Arab world. For the present, business and financial circles in the United States are not displeased with the course of events. The United States currently has a favorable trade balance with the Arab world, and the U.S.-based energy corporations retain their position of international dominance.

As a large portion of Arab oil income has returned to the United States in purchases and investments, while Europe had depended for a much greater proportion of her energy needs on Middle Eastern oil, the major effect of Arab "oil politics" so far has been to compel European and Japanese capitalism to subsidize American economic recovery. It is for such reasons that one hears little from business circles about military intervention in the Persian Gulf. Rather, these notions are the province of liberal ideologists for the most part, for reasons that deserve an independent dis-

cussion. Investment prospects in the region are promising. There are also excellent prospects for sale of military equipment -- where the U.S. has its real competitive advantage in foreign trade. Europe and Japan have no realistic alternative to reliance on Middle Eastern oil in the foreseeable future, and will continue to maintain as much of a role as the U.S. permits them in the developing economies of the region.

The major oil producing states will be able to mount significant pressures, if they so choose. Whether they do or not, they will continue to increase their military capacity, encouraged by the international arms producers, the U.S. far in the lead. Israel does not have to match them gun for gun, and can rely on its own rapidly expanding armaments industry. But to maintain some sort of military balance, Israel's economic resources will have to be devoted to the purchase of rapidly obsolescing advanced military technology and materiel, a crushing burden.

Immigration to Israel has dropped significantly, while emigration, particularly of the educated and increasingly native born, has increased to record highs, a further drain on scarce resources. Investment and gifts have fallen off, an important matter for a state so dependent on funds from abroad. Terrorism will never be eliminated, and may increasingly involve segments of the repressed Arab minority, particularly as the level of education rises with the concomitant frustrations that are inevitable in a state founded on the principle of discrimination.

Whatever the private hopes of the leadership of the Arab states, frustrated Palestinian nationalism will serve as a rallying cry and a source of internal conflict. Nor will the "confrontation states" relinquish the territories that Israel intends to absorb. Conflict will simmer and occasionally erupt. Sooner or later there will be a war. Even short of war, conditions within Israel and the surrounding states will be difficult if not intolerable, as they devote their limited resources to preparation for war.

There is little point in setting forth more precise "scenarios." It is difficult to construct one of any plausibility that does not lead to bitterness and eventual disaster. It is conceivable that the situation will stabilize with Israel in control of the bulk of the occupied territories, but no person with a sense of reality will place much confidence in such possibilities. This would require the destruction of Palestinian nationalism, a result tolerable only to a racist mentality.

I have been describing the likely consequences of success in the current Kissinger negotiations. The likely consequences of failure are merely that the timetable will be accelerated. For this reason, the current concern over the outcome of these negotiations is largely misplaced, and the lively debate over who is to blame an irrelevant exercise. A rational person will, rather, ask a different question: is there another framework?

In fact, a realistic alternative to the politics of suicide and destruction does exist. It requires that we focus on the underlying conflict between Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs, who claim national rights in the same territory, rather than the military conflict between Israel and Egypt (and secondarily Israel and Syria). Israel's only hope for decent survival lies in a political accommodation. This fact, not to speak of elementary considerations of justice and humanity, demands that Palestinian national rights be satisfied in some manner.

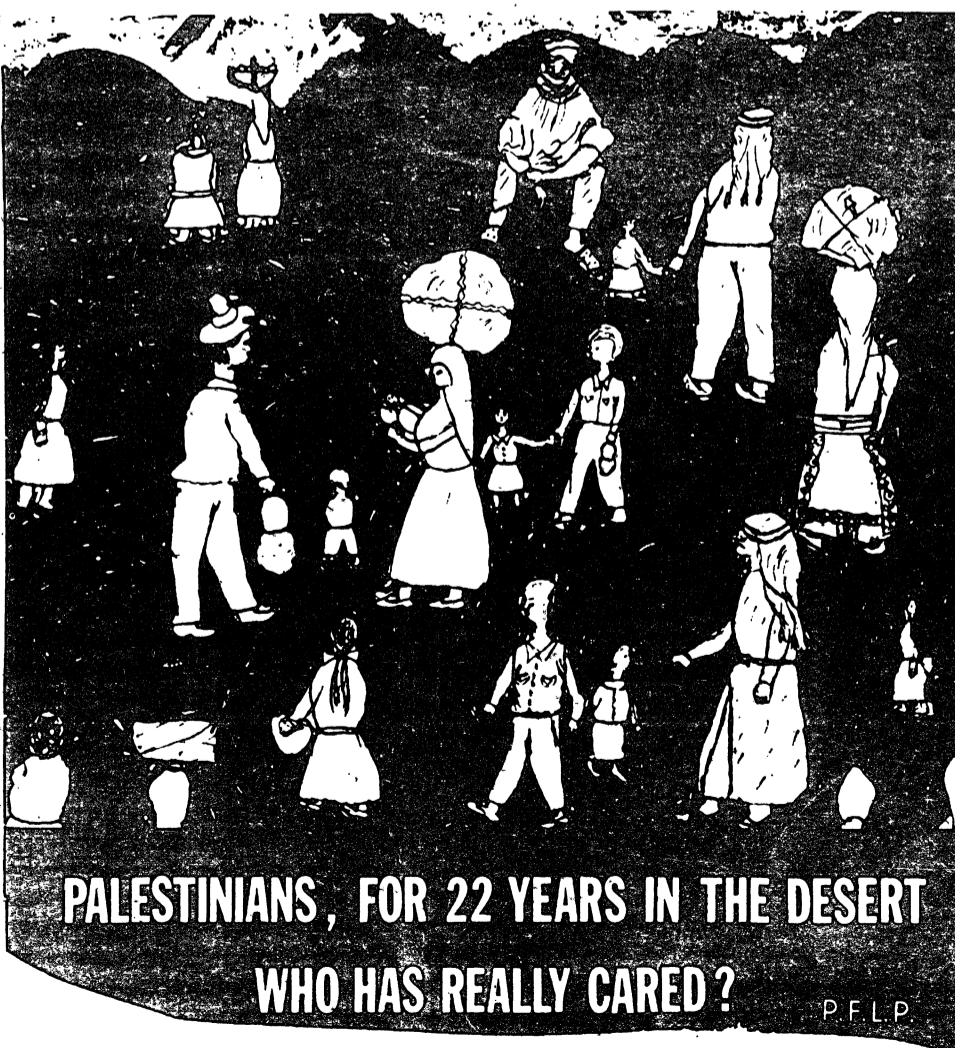
Prior to the October war, various possibilities existed. Now there remains only one. Israel must return to (essentially) its pre-June 1967 borders. A Palestinian state, which will of course be organized by the PLO, will then be established in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The other occupied areas must be returned to Egypt and Syria, with some form of demilitarization, international supervision (on both sides of the border, as distinct from the pre-1967 period, when observers were permitted only on the Arab side), and effort to reduce the level of armaments in the entire region. Jerusalem might become an open city, perhaps joint capital of both states.

Such a solution is in the interest of the superpowers, a fact that is recognized with some trepidation in Israel. Prior to the October 1973 war, such proposals were hopelessly unrealistic. Israeli power, backed by the United States, seemed unchallengeable. Now the situation has dramatically changed and a settlement along these lines is entirely feasible.

Since 1971, Egypt has repeatedly indicated its willingness to accept a settlement along these lines, and the Arab oil producers would probably welcome such an outcome. The Palestinians have no alternative apart from national suicide. At the moment, Israeli opposition is the primary barrier to a political settlement along these lines. The grounds put forth are "security," but the argument is extremely weak, as has been convincingly argued by critics within Israel, including several outstanding military analysts. Israel's long-term security can only rest on accommodation with its neighbors and a reduction of the factors that drive them toward military conflict to regain lost lands or (in the case of the Palestinians) to find some basis for their national existence.

Of course, such a settlement carries no "guarantee" of security for Israel -- or for the surrounding Arab states, including the Palestinian state, which also have a severe "security problem" in the face of Israeli military might, a fact often ignored in the U.S. In the real world, there are no "iron-clad guarantees" of security. Those who call for them are either remarkably thoughtless or are disguising other motives.

For Israel, the optimal solution would be to achieve such a settlement by its own initiatives. Under present circumstances, this is unlikely. It is for this reason that much of the Israeli left privately hopes that American imperial power will compel Israel to move toward a political accommodation. If American pressure mounts, Israel will face two options: to yield, or to undertake a preemptive military strike in the hope that



**PALESTINIANS, FOR 22 YEARS IN THE DESERT  
WHO HAS REALLY CARED?**

P.F.L.P.

poster made from a Palestinian child's drawing

(Continued on Page 13)

# PORTUGAL: Which Road to Socialism?

by Larry Miller

What is happening in Portugal? The News is full of confusing stories of political maneuverings, anti-communist riots, unnamed officers circulating undescribed manifestos. What has become of the peaceful and almost universally popular seizure of power once known as the revolution of the flowers?

Over a year has passed since the Armed Forces Movement (M.F.A.) staged its coup against the dictatorial government of Marcello Caetano. At first this peaceful, democratic revolution was supported by the overwhelming majority of Portuguese, from communist workers to the fabulously wealthy families that control Portugal's large industries and banks.

Some of Portugal's capitalists saw the coup as a chance to modernize Portuguese society, increase the control of the monopolies at the expense of small business, and negotiate a profitable end to Portugal's colonial wars.

But the coup unleashed a flood of grass roots political activity that had been dammed up for over 40 years. Thousands of Portuguese workers and farmers had no desire to stop with changes only at the top. And members of the Armed Forces Movement were convinced that changes were needed to democratize Portugal's economy as well as its government.

## Opposition to the Revolution

The supporters of the Portuguese revolution were not going to stop with dissolving the secret police, but wanted to go on to attack Portugal's great monopolies and to divide the enormous estates owned by absentee landlords among the farmworkers. When this became clear, many "liberal" supporters of the coup changed sides and joined the former supporters of Caetano, the fascists, the ex-secret policemen, and the reactionary refugees from the liberated colonies.

Initially these forces tried to organize into a Christian Democratic Party, the form used to consolidate anti-socialist forces in Germany, Italy and France after World War II. When this failed, many reactionaries joined the one explicitly non-socialist electoral party functioning, the Popular Democratic Party (PPD).

The PPD was founded by liberal capitalist opponents of the Caetano regime, but receives most of its support from the fiercely religious, politically conservative small land-owners of the north. Political differences in the Portuguese

Church have been papered over in the last year, and the Church has embarked on a militant anti-communist crusade. Prime Minister Goncalves and the Communist Party are its immediate targets, but it is really aimed at the entire course of the Portuguese revolution.

Former CIA agent Phillip Agee has charged in an open letter that this campaign by the Portuguese Church is being funded by the CIA.

Many other opponents of socialism rallied to the Socialist Party (SP), believing that, more than other parties of the left, it could be "tamed," that the SP's allegiance to parliamentary forms would allow it to be used against the revolution. This disturbs many members of the "core" of the SP, who are truly committed to creating a democratic, socialist Portugal. But the party's leadership, especially Mario Soares, seems to welcome all support. Recently Soares has been negotiating with General Spinoza, exiled from Portugal after his unsuccessful counter-revolutionary coup, in an effort to "unite all anti-Communist forces."

## The Moderates

The truly socialist core of the SP and the "moderates" in the Armed Forces Movement have been very critical of Prime Minister Goncalves and the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP). They accuse the PCP of ignoring the Socialist Party's electoral majority, and fear that the PCP wants to turn Portugal into a carbon copy of the Eastern European "People's Democracies."

This is the position taken in a manifesto that "moderate" officers have been circulating within the MFA. Its authors include some of the architects of the MFA's seizure of power, such as Major Ernesto Melo Antunes. Once thought of as an extreme radical within the Armed Forces Movement, Melo Antunes is a committed anti-imperialist. As Foreign Minister he enthusiastically negotiated the independence agreements with the liberation movements of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola.

The President of Portugal, General Costa Gomes, is sympathetic to the ideas of this group. But he is critical of the opportunity created for opponents of the revolution to stir up trouble. Anti-Communism is a convenient mask for anti-democratic scheming.

## The Communist Party

The Portuguese Communist Party is strong in the labor movement and among the landless agricultural laborers of the south. After years of



NATIONAL FLAG RAISED IN CELEBRATION OF COUP

underground struggle against the Caetano regime the PCP is strong and well organized. It is clearly pro-Soviet. Party leader Alvaro Cunhal has been criticized by other European CP's for supporting the 1968 Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The PCP is determined to create socialism in Portugal, starting by attacking the monopolies and large estates. It believes that the first step is to consolidate its own power. It has many supporters in the Armed Forces Movement, most prominently Prime Minister Vasco Goncalves. At the moment his position is shaky. If he is forced out, the PCP may shift its support to General Otelo de Carvalho, the third member of the junta and commander of COPCON, the army unit charged with preventing a counter-revolutionary coup.

## Workers Control

General Carvalho is the best-known supporter of a group with considerable support within the MFA. This group consists of socialists to the left of the PCP, a varied group of small parties. Many of them, like the moderates, would like to see the Communist Party weakened. But rather than turning Portugal into a western style parliamentary democracy, they would like to do without political parties, and create a direct democracy based on the local neighborhood and factory councils that have sprung up in the past year. These councils would organize local political life and elect delegates to a national assembly.

This group, unlike the other parties, has supported the growing wave of factory takeovers and the occupation of large estates by workers and tenants.

This development has been badly reported in the U.S. press if it has been reported at all. Take the most famous case, the takeover of the newspaper *Republica* by its workers. This was presented as an assault by the PCP on freedom of the press. It was not.

*Republica* was a privately owned paper generally sympathetic to the SP (not the official SP paper, which is called *Portugal Socialista* and is still being published). Most of its printers were members of the SP; the rest belonged to groups further to the left. When they followed the lead of workers at other Lisbon papers and demanded a voice in the paper's policy, the owner shut the paper down. The MFA stepped in to mediate. When the owner insisted on firing the union leaders the MFA said no, and turned the paper over to its workers.

There are two conflicts going on in Portugal today, and it is important to think about them separately. One is among supporters of the revolution who disagree about what shape it should take or how fast it should go. The other is between all of these supporters of socialism and the revolution's foes.

Today, the lines are only beginning to be clearly drawn. The Armed Forces Movement, with all of its internal differences, is still in control. But conflict in Portugal is increasing. The revolution of the flowers is over. The Portuguese revolution has just begun.



# PORTUGAL : ANOTHER CHILE?

by John Viertel

Increasing concern and alarm have seized the U.S. State Department and the Ford administration since the coup which overthrew the rightist dictatorship in Portugal and set in motion the revolutionary process which has continued ever since. When the original leader, General Spínola -- since ousted after an abortive counter-revolutionary putsch -- invited Communist Party head Cunhal to join the government, Secretary of State Kissinger's reaction was described as "panicky." Keeping the Communists out of the government of NATO countries has been a special preoccupation of U.S. policy, and events in Portugal evoked a new Mediterranean domino theory, which saw events in Portugal setting in motion a process that would spread to threaten the entire southern flank of the alliance in Europe: Italy, Greece, France, and as the end of the Franco era draws visibly nearer, to Spain.

Direct U.S. interests in Portugal are relatively small -- \$150 million, mainly in holdings of I.T.T. British interests are much more substantial -- about \$2 billion. Britain's relation to Portugal has been similar to U.S. domination of Latin America, setting a pattern of exchanging Portuguese raw materials for foreign manufactured goods and retarding local industrial development.

WRFG-FM/cpf



But the singular nature of Portugal's role springs from the fact that while Portugal itself has been a virtual colony, it has also held a large colonial empire of its own, primarily in southern Africa: in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. The army revolt grew out of the war against the liberation movements in these countries. Through contact with these movements and their Marxist politics, the army had come to feel that it was being sacrificed in a hopeless struggle which was not in the Portuguese people's own interest.

"What we saw was that Portugal itself was part of the Third World. Lisbon and Oporto were an illusion, the country itself was underdeveloped, with an illiterate and exploited peasantry," said one officer of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA). "We were at war with people who spoke the same language. We had little sense of racial differences, much less of culture. Badly supplied, badly equipped, very quickly we came to resemble the guerrillas. There was very little difference between an officer of FRELIMO (the Mozambique independence movement) and ourselves." The Armed Forces Movement overthrew the rightist Caetano dictatorship to bring an end to the wars in Africa.

## Alarm in Washington

But Portugal's colonial role in Africa was also important in the alarm which the Portuguese revolution aroused in Washington and other Western capitals. Through Portuguese financial interests, the West had shared in the exploitation of the resources of Portugal's African territories; to a large degree the colonies were managed for the benefit of non-Portuguese interests. But beyond that lay the still more important question of white -- mainly European -- domination of southern Africa as a whole. Vast European financial interests are tied to the South African mining complex, the source of much of Western Europe's raw materials and gold bullion. Tankers carry most of Europe's oil on a shipping route around the Cape. All this has had great weight in shaping Washington's policies toward South Africa.

The Armed Forces Movement's ending of the war in Africa represented a serious setback for this geo-political strategy. But the way that the Portuguese colonies are liberated can still affect U.S. and European interests. The Portuguese liberals favored a gradual decolonization over many years. But the M.F.A. refused to accept this: "We have no desire to construct a neo-colonial

community. We are interested more in the formation of a socialist interdependence, and that only to the extent that our brothers in Guinea, Mozambique and Angola accept, desire and demand it."

This helps explain the sudden concern of Ford and Kissinger for the democratic freedom of the Portuguese people, after so many years of close collaboration with the repressive right wing Caetano dictatorship. As though to dramatize the hypocrisy of the U.S. role as vividly as possible, President Ford made his strongest statement of concern for Portuguese freedom on his way to visit his good friend Generalissimo Franco in Spain. Despite all that happened and all we were supposed to learn from Vietnam, the government rhetoric that sought to justify intervention has not changed one iota.

## The CIA

The CIA has felt inhibited in Portugal, especially because of the recent revelations of its illegal activity. A senior CIA official said recently, "We could do great things in Portugal if we were only given the full freedom to operate. As it is, we can do little more than keep our ear to the ground and quietly, very quietly, encourage our friends."

Until recently, Kissinger had been gloomy about prospects in Portugal, and had favored restraint in making statements concerning the internal affairs of other countries. But the recent intensification of anti-Communist actions, demonstrations, and attacks on Communist Party headquarters by Socialist Party moderates and the Catholic Church hierarchy has revived his hopes and has persuaded him to openly support these forces, on the grounds that developments in Portugal "affect American national security."

In the same statement, he warned the Soviet Union against seeking "either directly or indirectly to influence events contrary to the rights of the Portuguese people to determine their own future." Again as in Vietnam, U.S. intervention is justified by portraying the people's struggle against colonialism as the product of foreign Communist machinations.

U.S. pressure of this kind hardly aids the orderly and peaceful evolution of Portugal towards the socialist goals the people so clearly desire. Maneuvers that seek to co-opt sincere democratic elements can only discredit them, while encouraging the resort to force on both sides.

The shadow of Allende's fate looms darkly over Portugal.

## Chomsky, continued

an Arab oil boycott or Russian moves (after suitable provocation) will compel the U.S. to intervene to preserve its hegemony in the region, thus restoring the situation of 1967-1973. If Israel's leadership senses that they would receive substantial support in the United States, they might pursue this desperate and possibly suicidal course.

Some Israeli analysts argue that the next war -- which they are sure is coming -- will enable Israel to demolish Arab military forces. To cite an extreme case, General Aharon Davidi, now a lecturer at Tel Aviv University, writes in a mass circulation journal that Israel should not only destroy the Arab armies but should also "destroy the economic, transport, social and leadership infrastructure..." specifically, hitting "the Arab intelligentsia" in Egypt, "the strata that go from Sadat to the high school graduates." He argues that "the Egyptian fellah does not hate us so much," so that destruction of the educated strata may provide some respite. Elsewhere, he has explained that "the most simple and humane" solution to the Palestinian prob-

lem is "a transfer of all Palestinians from their present places to the Arab countries," a proposal which will, perhaps, seem quite natural to those American liberals who have commented favorably on "population transfer" as a solution to Israel's dilemmas. In the past, genocidal threats from some Arab sources received wide publicity in the West, but the prevailing double standard requires that Davidis be dismissed in silence.

After a recent tour in the United States, General Mattityahu Peled, a leading Israeli Arabist at the Hebrew University who served on the General Staff during the 1967 war, wrote in the Israeli journal *New Outlook* that the "state of near hysteria" among the American Jewish community and their "blindly chauvinistic and narrow-minded" support for the most reactionary policies within Israel poses "the danger of prodding Israel one more toward a posture of calloused intransigence." He concluded that "the established Jewish leadership in America does not really support Israel as a free democratic nation, but is completely

mobilized in the service of a certain particular school of political thinking in Israel," namely, the most expansionist and intransigent elements.

He might have added that the same is true of major currents of American left-liberalism, with their vulgar apologetics for Israeli "exclusivism" (the current euphemism for the discriminatory policies that are the foundation of the Jewish state, not unlike its Muslim neighbors), their contempt for Palestinian rights, and their support for Israeli expansionism under the guise of a plea for "security" and "defensible borders." Among such groups, and not only the American Jewish community, "the idea that Arab hostility is immutable is raised to the level of a dogma of faith rather than considered as a political reality susceptible of change, and the occupied territories are regarded as a strategic asset to Israel though events prove that they are fast becoming an unbearable liability" (Peled). The deplorable behavior of these groups contributed to the outbreak of the 1973 war, a near-disaster for the state of Israel. If they maintain their grip on substantial segments of American opinion, they will help pave the way for further disaster, along with their natural though relatively insignificant partners, those segments of the American left that urge the Palestinians on to suicide while denying Jewish national rights.

An imposed imperial settlement that leaves a Jewish state and an Arab state west of the Jordan, each based on the principle of discrimination and suppression of the minority that remains within their territories (Arabs and Jews, respectively), is hardly a welcome prospect. Unfortunately, under present circumstances, it is difficult to envisage a more favorable outcome. If such a settlement is reached, perhaps there will arise opportunities for slow evolution away from "exclusivism" and ultimately toward the kind of binational accommodation that is the only sane policy for either national group.

For the authentic left, at least, it will be essential to work to overcome the discriminatory framework of Israel and, no doubt, its Palestinian counterpart, and to construct alliances that cross national lines, to work for radical social change in the two national societies in the hope that barriers can be overcome in a joint struggle for democracy and socialism. It is conceivable that the American left might play a positive role in such developments, but only if current illusions are overcome and there is a willingness, now all too rare, to face up honestly to some of the realities that are obscured in the apologetics and diatribes that often pass for political commentary.

# Records, Drugs, and the Youth Culture

by Chris Casey

In 1959 a generation of American youth had graduated from the bubble-gum concerns of mouse clubs and peanut galleries into the more earnest sweet-little-sixteen world of American Bandstand. But while Philadelphia teenagers were fumbling sums and averages every Saturday afternoon during the Bandstand's Record Review ("I gave it 75 -- it has a good beat but lousy lyrics."), the clean-cut Clearasil image of its star, Dick Clark, was soon to develop the payola blemish. Along with the noted disc jockey Alan Freed, Clark was implicated in the first payola scandal of the young pop music industry.

Sixteen years later the record industry has become a billion-dollar enterprise (from \$238 million in sales for 1955 to over \$3 billion in 1974) and the payola scandal of the late fifties has given way to the drugola scandal of the early seventies. The first indictments stemming from a two-year federal investigation of the record industry were handed down this past June. Among those indicted were Pat Falcone, a heroin kingpin with strong Mafia connections, and the ex-president of Columbia Records, Clive Davis, the self-proclaimed father of contemporary rock capitalism frequently seen selling his sincerity on *Midnight Special*. Although the federal probe has predictably been hesitant to deal with the extent of organized crime's influence within the record industry, the various revelations of the past few years suggest that its influence has grown significantly since Dick Clark became the unlikely symbol of corruption behind the scenes of the pop music business.

## Drugola

Payola has proven over time to be an excellent way of surfacing and dispersing cash profits made from mob ventures such as gambling and narcotics. With the success of payola and the growth of its power within the record industry, the syndicate was able to use drugs as another form of bribe currency that could be paid not only to disc jockeys but to performers themselves. My own source on record business practices, once a guitarist for a major rock band, told me that fellow performers had been invited to numerous "scag" parties arranged and organized by company executives. In his opinion, the record

company brass realized that dope could be used to make musicians more dependent on the company and more manipulable at contract time.

But if the drugola scandal casts the numerous heroin-related deaths of rock musicians in a much more insidious light, it also raises the more fundamental question of record industry involvement in the selling of the drug culture. Revelations about direct Mafia influence hardly eases the fears and suspicions of bewildered American parents throughout the country. It was precisely in this context that Sen. James Buckley pushed for an investigation two years ago: "There is more here at stake than payola or drugola. There is the basic question of the ethical responsibility of the heads of the recording industry in connection with the drug culture of the late sixties and early seventies." After a meeting with Buckley in which he agreed to testify about illicit industry practices, John Phillips of the Mamas and Papas characterized Buckley's concerns: "...he said he was very worried about the corporate image of America. He just compared it to Watergate and the general decline of confidence in American institutions and he thought they had to clean up quickly."



The investigations, then, are most importantly an attempt to sanitize the image of America's record industry with regard to internal corruption while glossing over the more disturbing issues at stake. Besides the question of the syndicate's role in using the pop music industry to make drugs more marketable among suburban youth, there is even a deeper issue at hand. Was the selling of the drug culture motivated totally by profits or was it perhaps also part of the overall repression of youth culture engineered under Nixon during the

late sixties and early seventies? In any case, that cultural conditioning, whether partially engineered or not, has played a crucial role in the development of the mass drug anesthesia that dominates American youth culture today.

## Schlock Rock

The ultimate effect of the drugola scandal will be to consolidate the power of the conglomerates (Columbia, Warner Communications, and R.C.A.) to produce the slick innocuous sound typified by the plastic pop of Elton John. It will be harder for disc jockeys to veer from the A.M. Top Twenty playlist (drawn up by the big record companies) and play songs by less established artists on smaller labels who would only get air time if they "bought" their way on. That playlist, which is slowly beginning to invade the once progressive area of F.M. rock music, will continue to provide more "high schlock," the heavily orchestrated oohs and aahs of teenage romance.

The more "controversial" drag-rock of performers like David Bowie and Alice Cooper has probably run its course; it is only a passing phase of an overall corporate attempt to transform the rock concert into an arena of theatrical sensationalism. Bisexuality and transvestite fashion are manipulated to "shock" the young out of their boredom in an evening of "bizarre" and "daring" entertainment. New circus-rock acts will be created to make more money at the concert house and at the record store.

But in general, the preeminence of acid rock and drug lyrics will recede somewhat while the record industry resurrects discotheque music (notice the recent media talk about the "disco boom") and golden-oldie nostalgia for the good old days of American Bandstand. Killing us softly with a new Miss American Pie image and the clean, safe, reliable solutions of the fifties. Or as a recent Top Twenty song suggests, "I'm not ready for the altar but I do believe there's time" (Sister Golden Hair). Indeed the old formula of sex and marriage will be the main panacea offered a generation saddled by high unemployment and bleak prospects for social and economic improvement; while dope, Budweiser, and pop muzak smooth-over the remaining rough edges of alienation and despair.

## Alternative Culture

Yet despite the depressing state of contemporary popular music, there is still hope that an authentic counter-culture of music will develop from the growth of political struggle over the next period of years. Efforts by groups like Bread and Roses NAM and by small feminist and politically progressive record collectives to build an alternative music culture will be crucial in that development. Such a culture can be enormously important in sustaining our commitment, renewing our sense of collective power and hope, and spreading the struggle for a socialist-feminist America free from drug genocide. It's a long road ahead and we're going to need "the courage to go on singing freedom songs."

## PSP Members Jailed

On July 31, three members of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) were sentenced to 30 years in jail by a Dominican court, after being convicted on charges that were literally invented by U.S. and Dominican authorities.

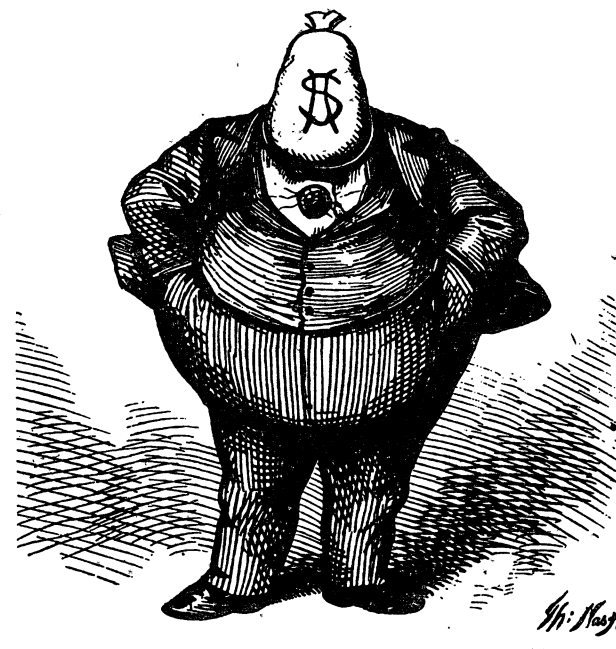
The three members, Raul Garcia, Johnny Sampson, and Angel Gandia (a member of the Central Committee), were arrested June 2 in the Dominican Republic town of La Romana, where they had stopped to refuel after losing their way during a fishing expedition. Their trip had also included fact-finding on the nature of off-shore activities carried out by U.S. oil companies and the U.S. Navy.

The Dominican authorities did not admit that they had been arrested for several weeks. During that time, they were brutally tortured, both physically and psychologically, they later told their court hearing.

The three PSP members were charged with smuggling three guerrillas opposed to the Balaguer government into the country, violating the sovereignty of the Dominican Republic, under-

mining the security of the Dominican state, and possessing marijuana. The only evidence the authorities obtained was a signed "confession" squeezed out of them after three weeks of imprisonment, isolation, and torture. The "confession," which they recanted during their trial, said that they had introduced three armed guerrilla fighters into the country. These "guerrillas" have still not been found, almost three months after their supposed entry. But the incident has served as a pretext for the Balaguer regime to step up its repression of the left nationally. Hundreds have been arrested, including a number of leaders of the trade union movement.

Solidarity actions with the three prisoners throughout Puerto Rico, the United States, and Latin America have increased after the mock trial held July 31 in Santo Domingo. International pressure demanding the pardoning of the three socialists has mounted. But on August 16, President Balaguer refused to release them. Continued pressure is necessary to force the Dominican government to free them.





## Ask Emma

Emma G. Ulanov is probably familiar to many of our readers for her organizing work in the men's garment industry. She was a leader of SDS until 1961, when she left that organization in a dispute over Rumania. After leading a large group out of SDS, she disappeared for a number of years. Despite rumors that she had been kidnapped by Patty Hearst, she was widely believed to have fled to Cuba until her reappearance at the founding convention of the New American Movement in 1972. Since then, she has written several terrible songs and given a lot of advice.

She is joining the newspaper as a regular contributor, on the assumption that we can keep track of her from one month to the next. Send appropriate questions to "Emma," care of the newspaper, for proletarian advice on the perplexing problems of correct revolutionary inter-relationships.

Dear Emma,

I do my organizing in a very conventional office. I go to NAM meetings straight from work and I don't have time to change out of my straight clothes into something revolutionary-looking like blue jeans. I know that some comrades question my sincerity and commitment to feminism because of my appearance. I'm so nervous about this that, like a lot of other people, I can't even talk at meetings. What can I do?

- Heels

Dear Heels,

The best defense is a good offense. You could get the jump on other folks in your chapter by making a tremendous moral issue of your connection to regular people. Politically speaking, an argument can be made for associating with people who sometimes wear things other than blue jeans. Properly handled, this issue could make other people in your chapter feel (and act) defensive for weeks or even months. If this approach doesn't appeal to you, you can always adopt the layered look and wear cut-offs under your skirt, or at least spill some food on your clothes before the meeting.

Dear Emma,

Glad to see your paper. We don't know much about your group but we like the name, New American Movement. It's wonderful to know that there are people somewhere who still stand up for America and whatever she represents. We're proud of our country too. However, we have had a hard time finding your local office.

George and Martha

Dear Martha and George,

Perhaps that's just as well. We're socialists you know and we hope that you are too. We suspect that a lot of people sort of have it without knowing it. Like V.D., only nicer. We picked the name to sound folksy and because we do want to stand up for America or at least Americans, although we do wish we had a great deal more to say about what America represents. Nice to hear from you. Read the paper and do write again.

Dear Emma,

My mother-in-law gave us an absolutely hideous picture of Stalin for our last wedding anniversary. I thought this was in terribly poor taste and very pushy, since she knows I have strong anarchist tendencies. I see no reason to humor her when she knows she's being inconsiderate. My husband insists on keeping the picture in our living room because his mother lives nearby and drops in frequently. What would you do?

Anti-Stalinist

Dear Anti,

Why not make the portrait into a hooked rug and see if you can destroy the likeness as you work on it? Or, you could donate it to your local library in your mother-in-law's name. If you must hang it in the living room, surround it with pictures of other popular hero(ine)s such as Marlon Brando, Bella Abzug or Enver Hoxha. I think it would be quite amusing.



## nam chapters

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# The New Women's Magazines

## Selling the liberated woman

by Elayne Rapping

Madison Avenue has found a new friend: the "liberated woman." And since Madison Avenue knows the value of friendship, they've sent out a whole fleet of welcome wagons. Suddenly, the newstands are filled with slick magazines for the slick new woman; some brand new, some just overhauled with a little plastic surgery and a lot of plastic ideas.

Amazingly enough, against the grain of a seemingly bottomless economic slump, these magazines have been elbowing their way across American newstands, demanding and receiving as much as \$1.50 for an evening's entertainment and companionship. What could they be selling, I wondered? So I decided to check out a representative sampling: Viva, Cosmopolitan, Mademoiselle, and Ms.

Right off the bat, I learned one thing. Whoever this new woman is, she's depressingly limited and predictable in tastes, interests and problems. Whether she's going to college, pursuing a career or lobbying for the Equal Rights Amendment, she seems to spend her time in endless pursuit of a single goal: How to Live (more or less) Alone and Look (more or less) Happy About It. The quest for individualistic goals, accompanied by a nearly hysterical concern with external appearances, is what the Revolutionary Life Style of the Liberated Woman seems to amount to.

### American Dream

Look closer and you'll recognize the standard American Dream, which after all, has always been a Madison Avenue hype, offering the most shallow and fleeting pleasures and rewards, in exchange for a lifetime of frustration, self-contempt and loneliness. And if women want a piece of that stale pie, well, there's plenty of it. You too can work eight hours at an alienating job, come home to a frozen dinner in a chic little pad, and spend the evening at a singles bar, where you might even find a sexual object to take home for the night. Just like one of the boys.

The advertisements in all four magazines fall into three major categories: cosmetics, cigarettes, and liquor, with an occasional compact car thrown in for the woman going somewhere (like the drug or liquor store, for instance). It's

fascinating to read the copy and watch the contradictions being smoothed, curled, and lacquered, as if by some giant, intellectual Toni Home Permanent. It can't be easy, after all, to sell women hair coloring, lipstick and eye shadow designed to make them look as "natural" as they would with no make-up at all. And how do you sell the "new" intelligent woman page after page of something useless, addictive and "Dangerous to your Health"? Well, you might show an aggressive looking business woman "demanding two things from her cigarette." (Everyone knows "demanding" is something feminists do a lot of.) It's not really hard once you get the hang of it. And Ms., which walks a thin line between the conflicting demands of capitalism and feminism, certainly has the hang of it.

### Advice for the Liberated

Then there's content. All four magazines run columns giving information and advice on various aspects of liberated womanhood. In the explicitly sex-oriented magazines, like Viva and Cosmopolitan, gynecologists and psychoanalysts offer monthly reassurances that just about anything is "normal" within a "healthy" relationship. The arts and travel are also covered briefly and sexily. But food and home furnishings are pretty much extinct. Cosmo runs a "Dieter's Notebook" and offers occasional tips on how to come home, open a few cans, and make him think you've been at it all day. Viva's readers don't even eat. They live in some rarefied atmosphere where people have problems like what to do about friends who want details about what you did in bed last night. (In case you're interested, you "go ahead and tell all," unless of course your partner happened to be a celebrity.)

The problems of college women are somewhat different, but not as different as you might think. Mademoiselle's health column was about genital warts, which you get from sexual contact. (This was news to me. When I was in college, it was hard to find a doctor who gave single girls diaphragms.) They also run columns on feminist issues, with the recurrent theme: Feminism is all right if it doesn't Destroy your Individuality. Typical was one on "Why My Mother Is Liberated and I'm Not." The author's mother, it seems, had chosen to be a housewife, while she herself was forced, by social pressures, to reject

marriage and pursue a career.

You won't find statements like that in Ms., of course. But, partly for that very reason, Ms.'s advice columns seem even more individualistic and divorced from social reality than the others. Mlle, at least, raises the "woman question." In Ms., it sometimes seems as if the gospel according to Steinem and Friedan had been written, and there was little more to discuss except details: how to fix your own plumbing, get your own credit card, change your own tire.

### Quizzes and Cinderella Stories

As for feature articles, Mlle, Cosmo, and Viva are big on self-improvement quizzes. "Can't Get What You Want?" asks Mlle. "Here are Fifteen Questions That'll Tell You Why and What to Do About It." (Luckily for me, I wasn't sure what it was I wanted, so I didn't worry much when I found myself assigned by the quiz into two contradictory, but equally failure-prone categories.)

Ms. doesn't run quizzes, but it does run a lot of personality profiles, which are nearly identical to the ones which make up the bulk of the other magazines. Viva's "Woman on the Move" was advertising executive Jacqueline Brandwynne. Cosmo ran profiles on Eileen Ford and Natalie Wood (who, you'll be happy to hear, has finally found out "who she really is"). Mlle's personalities are only campus celebrities. But with their personality, talent, and "drive," they're clearly destined for the adult profile circuit soon. At which point, I guess, they'll live happily ever after. Like Sylvia Plath, the most "successful" of all Mlle alumni (until she killed herself at the age of thirty).

Such dubious Cinderella endings are big at Ms., too. In fact, they've lately been running more personal success stories than anything else. This month, for example, there were five, of which at least two -- one on "Pam Grier, the Mocha Mogul of Hollywood" and one on Diana Vreeland, longtime Vogue editor and professional snob -- managed to skirt or distort the issue of feminism entirely. The author of the Vreeland piece, for example, found "one feminist's" question about the value of "devoting a lifetime to fashion" "beside the point."

Well, after reading these magazines, it was no longer clear to me what the point was. I found almost no mention of children, friends, or community or social issues. In fact, I began to feel nostalgic for those cozy magazines on my mother's coffee table, full of real food, real people, and real problems. I mean, if you're going to eat alone, wouldn't you rather have a nice, juicy pot roast than a TV dinner? Even if you had to stay home the night before to prepare it, it would smell so much better, and be so much more nourishing, than anything you might pick up at a singles bar. Even if you found someone who had just bathed in Brut, you could never be sure he wouldn't end up acting like one. But a pot roast, there's a tried and true companion. It might turn out to be a little tough, but you can rest assured it will never get violent.

## New American Movement

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### Men, Try This



1) Sit down in a straight chair. Cross your legs at the ankles and keep your knees pressed together. Try to do this while you're having a conversation with someone, but pay attention at all times to keeping your knees pressed tightly together.



2) Bend down to pick up an object from the floor. Each time you bend, remember to bend your knees so that your rear end doesn't stick up, and place one hand on your shirt front to hold it to your chest. This exercise simulates the experience of a woman in a short, low-necked dress bending over.



3) Run a short distance, keeping your knees together. You'll find you have to take short high steps if you run this way. Women have been taught it is unfeminine to run like a man with long, free strides. See how far you get running this way for 30 seconds.



4) Sit comfortably on the floor. Imagine that you are wearing a dress and that everyone in the room wants to see your underwear. Arrange your legs so that no one can see. Sit like this for a long time without changing your position.

