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Will the Banks Save New York?

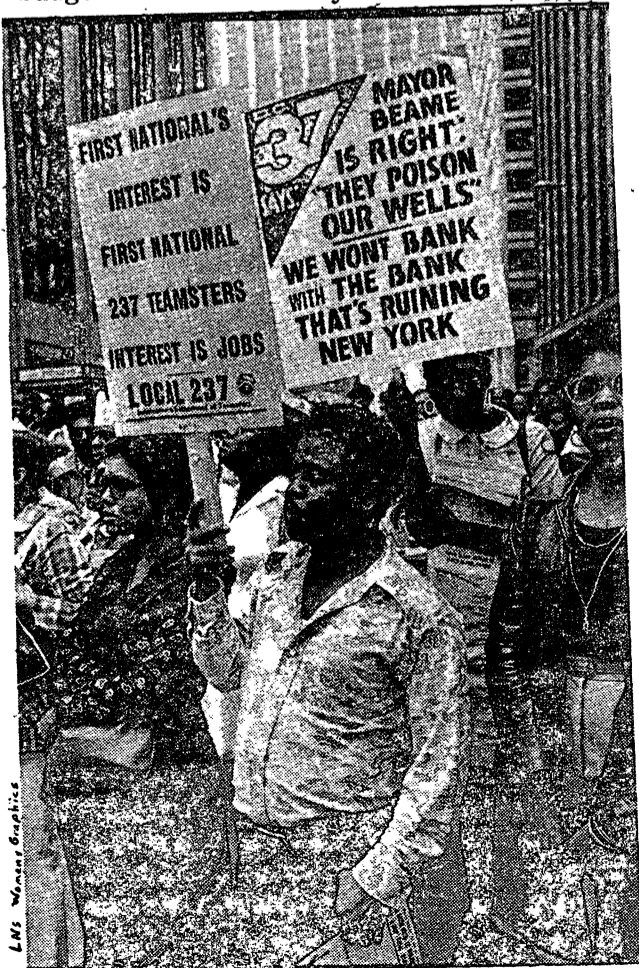
by Dollars and Sense

New York City was saved, once again, from bankruptcy on September 9. New York State put together a \$2.3 billion loan package, enough to pay the city's bills through December. The price of the loans includes interest payments of about \$200 million a year, and the city's complete loss of power over its budget to an Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB) dominated by corporate executives and state government officials.

Background to the Crisis

To cover its continual deficits, New York City sells bonds and notes to banks and rich individuals. A year ago, as a larger than usual deficit for 1974-5 was announced, investors began to refuse to buy city bonds and notes, claiming they weren't sure the city could pay them back. "The marketplace is closing in on you," one financier told Mayor Beame last December. In the following months, Beame found borrowing money harder and harder.

Twice since then, New York has come close to defaulting. In both cases, the state legislature rescued the city by creating a new board -- the Municipal Assistance Corporation (Big MAC) in June, the EFCB in September -- to trim the city's budget and borrow money to cover its deficits.



By summer, the crisis affected daily life. On July 1 Beame laid off 40,000 of the city's 336,000 workers. In response, hundreds of laid-off police blocked traffic on the Brooklyn Bridge, and sanitation men wildcatted, leaving the city buried in garbage.

The legislature passed a tax increase allowing most city employees to be rehired, but at least 10,000 remain out of work. Later cutbacks included a wage freeze for city workers, an increase in the subway fare, and drastic cuts in the City University budget. Further cutbacks have been demanded by the EFCB.

Opposing the banks are municipal workers, welfare recipients, City University students, and

Inside:

- NY teachers' strike
- Portuguese women organize
- TV game shows
- Fear of Flying reviewed
- U.S. and Panama
- American Indian Movement
- and more ...

others who will suffer from the cuts. The budget cuts will affect almost all poor and working New Yorkers.

The Democratic politicians who govern the city are caught in the middle. They accept the banks' right to guarantee a profit on their loans, but at the same time they must respond to pressures from below. The banks have tried to relieve these pressures by scaring the city and have pushed for a transfer of authority over the budget for businessmen and to the more remote state government.

continued on page 4

DES

Pregnancy Drug and Cancer

by Barbara Ehrenreich, Metropolis NAM

Nobody likes to think about cancer, but some people, like Ann K., have to. Like every woman, Ann knows she should have an annual pap test for cervical cancer. But for Ann, that's just the beginning.

Twice a year, she goes to a specialist for a colposcopic exam to detect pre-cancerous vaginal cells. Twice the exam has revealed abnormal cells, and Ann has undergone further tests, including biopsies of her cervix. Ann spends over \$200 a year on this "extra" gynecological care, and she will probably do so for the rest of her life.

Ann is not an elderly woman, nor does she have a family history of cancer. She is 22 years old and has always considered herself to be in perfect health. Ann's problem started almost 23 years ago when a doctor gave her mother the synthetic hormone DES (diethylstilbesterol) to prevent a threatened miscarriage. Ann is a "DES daughter." Thanks to the DES her mother was given in pregnancy, Ann's life will always be shadowed by the threat of vaginal cancer.

There are an estimated three million DES daughters in the U.S. today, and Ann is one of the lucky ones. She's lucky because she's one of the very few who know they're DES daughters. Eighty percent of DES daughters will develop adenosis, an abnormality of the vaginal cells which researchers think may be an early sign of vaginal cancer. Ordinary pelvic examinations will not reveal adenosis or early stages of the cancer itself. At this time, the great majority of DES daughters are unaware of their problem,

and unlikely to receive the special tests which are required in order to detect vaginal cancer in an early -- and treatable -- phase.

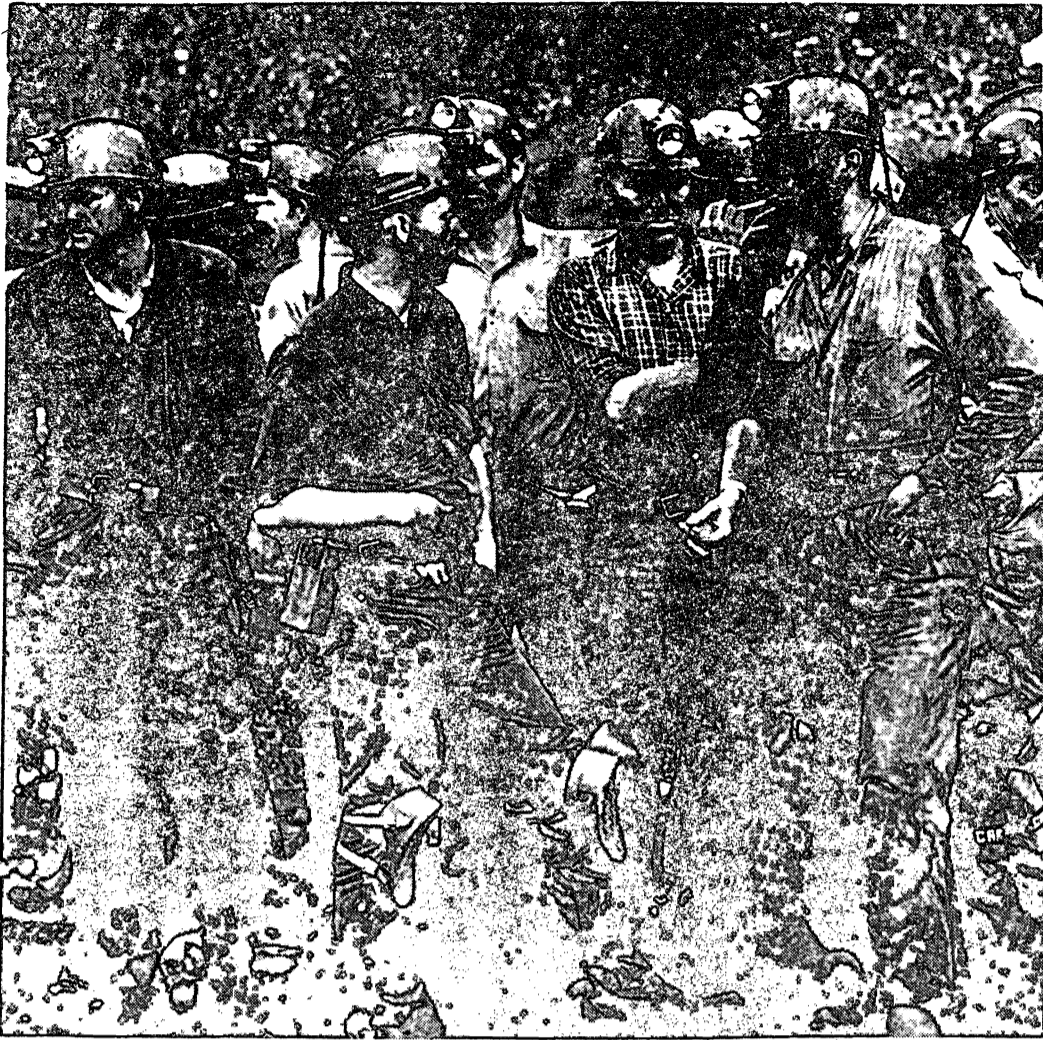
DES and Miscarriage

Between 1945 and 1959, nearly six million American women were prescribed DES to prevent miscarriages during their pregnancies. They were not told of any possible hazards to themselves or their babies. Many of them probably do not even know exactly what they were given, since doctors usually identified DES to their patients as just "a hormone."

The tragic irony is that DES is in fact ineffective in preventing miscarriages. Reports disproving the value of DES began appearing in medical journals in 1953, but drug companies continued to advertise it as though it were effective. By 1960, most doctors had finally given up on DES, simply because it didn't work. But the damage was done. By the late 1960's hospitals began to report that vaginal cancer -- once considered a medical rarity -- was on the increase all over the country. Careful research, some of it by feminist health advocates, established the link between DES in pregnancy and cancer in the daughters.

But the DES story doesn't end there. In the late 1960's DES was being linked to cancer in another way: scientists discovered that mice and other animals which had been fed tiny amounts of DES developed cancer at a significantly higher rate than animals which had not been

continued on page 11



Walkout in the Coalfields

by Yuri Freedman and Les Levidow

On Monday, September 8, thousands of coal miners violated a 50 year old tradition by crossing picket lines to return to work. Only a few thousand miners remained out that day, the tail end of a regional wildcat strike. The remaining strikers were mostly in Logan County, West Virginia, the center of United Mine Workers (UMW) District 17, where the month long wildcat had originated.

Ironically, the miners violating that tradition crossed picket lines that were defending another UMW tradition, "the right to strike." The demand for the right to strike referred to the December 1974 contract between the coal operators and the union. The contract outlined an elaborate grievance procedure designed to eliminate the impulsive, first-resort wildcats that broke out frequently over local health and safety issues.

A 1970 Supreme Court decision had ruled that a grievance procedure in a union contract is legally considered to be a no-strike pledge by the union signing the contract. But for the procedure to work, the coal operators had to discipline each other to adopt modern labor-management techniques already taken for granted in other major industries; and the miners had to be willing to give up an immediate show of force, waiting instead for the decisions of foremen or district committees.

To most miners, the "no-strike" implications of the contract were not at all obvious, and the grievance procedure was only a piece of paper. After the contract, many miners continued to resist poor conditions the same way that they had in the past, through wildcat strikes. They learned the contract's meaning only when they received injunctions and fines for breach of contract.

Wildcat

Why did the August 4 wildcat at Amherst Coal Company in Logan County explode into a regional strike? In part, the cause was the operators' failure to give their foremen the power to make on-the-spot decisions about grievances. The resulting pile-up of grievances was made worse by the failure of the operators and the union to set up the ten man grievance committee for District 17. A further cause of the spreading strike was the firing of two union presidents and the jailing of one of them, along with the fines that wildcatting union locals had to pay to the operators.

During the next few weeks, the strike spread, until 80,000 of the 125,000 miners in West Virginia, Virginia, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Alabama walked out, either in sympathy strikes or over local grievances. Outside District 17, the struck mines were often closed by roving pickets from District 17. The miners often voted to return to work, then struck again when the roving pickets came back.

The roving pickets were organized by the Miners' Committee for the Right to Strike, which announced its aims publicly with a leaflet on August 19. While most miners seemed unaware of the "breach of contract" issue at first (that is, the fact that the courts had held wildcat strikes to be a violation of the 1974 contract), the Committee focused on that issue. It called for another demonstration the following Monday to demand that the contract be reopened to permit strikes over local grievances.

The Committee's strike militants were mostly young miners, many of them Vietnam veterans, and many of them recently hired since the mining boom of the mid-1960's. Curiously, the strike leaders expressed themselves in rather archaic terms: defending the "rights won by our fathers and grandfathers," with some striking "to make our fathers proud of us." In attacking government interference with labor and management's attempts to solve their "own" problem, strike

leader Skip Delano appealed to the miners' age old distrust of outsiders.

The Committee's ability to spread the strike was based on miners' traditional respect for a picket line ("a brother does not wrong a brother"), and their support of the wildcat strike as a first-resort reaction to grievances. Most miners did not see the strike as a calculated means to reopen the contract.

Union Divided

To other miners, the question of reopening the contract was not irrelevant, but wrong. Many District 29 (Charlestown - Beckley) miners originally respected the roving picket lines. But later they decided that District 17 should have followed the grievance procedures, and they voted to return to work.

One miner said, "You must keep your word" and respect a signed contract. He referred to the District 17 wildcaters as "rednecks" who "want to make trouble" and "don't want to work." Sim Howze, a union local president arrested for refusing to cross the picket lines, later denounced the strike leaders for trying to change an existing contract, rather than simply protesting the back-to-work injunctions.

These changes led up to union president Arnold Miller's September 5 meeting with all District 17 local presidents. They voted unanimously for an end to the strike now that the District 17 grievance committee had finally been set up, and for an end to all picketing.

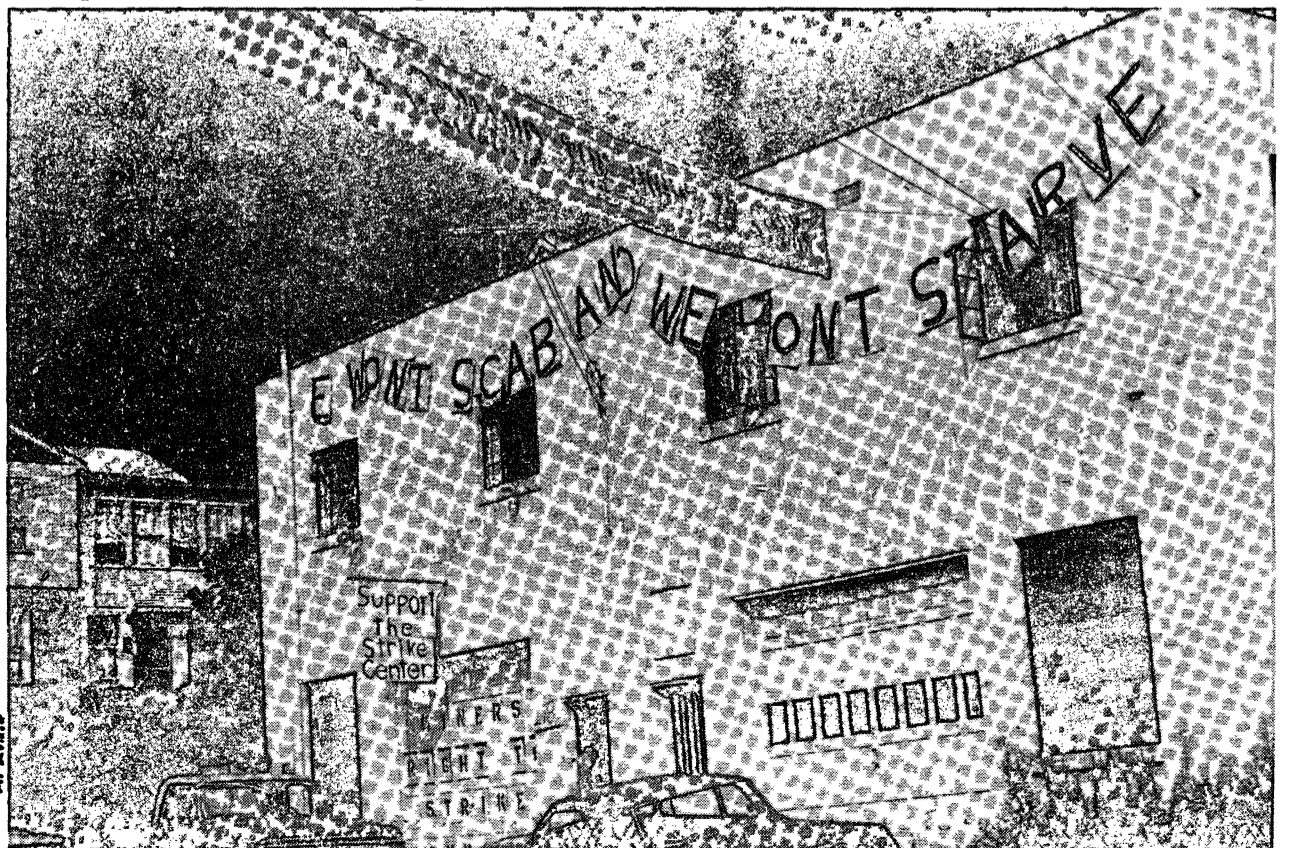
Although the Committee for the Right to Strike had proclaimed, "We are the union," it found itself unexpectedly isolated as miners crossed its picket lines the following Monday. Without meaning to, the Committee had harnessed miners' traditional loyalties to the contract. By emphasizing the legal aspect (the "breach of contract" issue) and raising demands to reopen the contract, the Committee unintentionally participated in the decline of those very traditions to which it had appealed.

One worker said, "At my son's mine, the men made their decision by tossing a bucket of water up in the air: 'If the water falls back to the ground, we strike.'" The wildcat strike to support a union brother once seemed as natural as the force of gravity.

Now, as a result of this strike, miners will no longer find their traditional feelings so natural. They are no longer able to ignore the effect of a strike on their rational self-interest, including their stake in the grievance machinery. Miners are slowly learning the discipline which has been the key to unionism's Great Compromise with capitalist control of industry.

Miners' traditions have lost the strength to keep up a mass wildcat strike in the face of injunctions and fines. Miners, like workers in other industries, can no longer successfully resist modernization by invoking the past. They must begin to express new needs that go beyond their "self-interest" in the existing society.

The authors travelled in southern West Virginia September 2-6.



N.Y. TEACHERS WALK OUT AND BACK

by Steve Suffet, Rosenberg NAM

The 1975 school year has begun with a wave of teachers' strikes. As school opened, teachers in 2300 school districts were without contracts. There were major strikes in Chicago and New York City, as well as a number of smaller cities and towns.

As we go to press, New York teachers have settled, and Chicago teachers are about to. Boston teachers reported to work in early September in order to begin a second year of court-ordered busing as smoothly as possible, but they are now on strike in response to School Committee demands for a longer work week.

Teachers' strikes are illegal in most states. Widespread lay-offs and increased work loads seem to be at the root of most of this year's strikes. The New York City strike is particularly interesting because the teachers' union has been almost alone in resisting the belt-tightening measures which the banks have forced upon the city government. (For an analysis of the whole New York City financial crisis, see page 1.)



Albert Shanker

NEW YORK -- On Tuesday, September 9, 65,000 teachers and 15,000 non-teaching members of New York City's United Federation of Teachers (UFT) began a walkout against budget cuts, speed-ups, and massive lay-offs. Within a few hours, only two or three of New York's 950 public schools were open. At the Board of Education, lawyers prepared the papers necessary to obtain a back-to-work injunction which they knew would be defied.

More than a million children had returned to school the day before the work stoppage. The first day of classes is always chaotic, but this year was worse than usual. More than 6000 teachers had been fired, as had hundreds of guidance counselors, paraprofessionals, school aides, security officers, secretaries, science lab assistants, and school crossing guards. For the first time in the history of New York's public school system, lay-offs hit large numbers of regularly hired employees as well as provisionally hired substitutes personnel, whose jobs are always in jeopardy.

Thousands of teachers were involuntarily transferred on short notice to cover classes in schools hardest hit by staff reductions. The result was a parade of abuses: classes with 62 or 63 students, students seated on bookshelves or orange crates, doubling up of classes in elementary schools, mixing of grades, and teachers working from their arrival at school until their release in the afternoon with no break of any sort -- all in the name of austerity and budgetary crisis.

The Issues

When contract negotiations began this past summer, the UFT sought a 25% increase in the salary schedule over a three year period. This is not a great deal, considering that the previous contract was adopted under Nixon's wage freeze.

The Board of Education proposed changes in the work rules which would (1) lengthen the work week by 2½ hours; (2) reduce the number of preparation periods; (3) require teachers to work up to 25 periods a semester in unpaid overtime; (4) cut in half the number of paid sick days; and (5) abolish all sabbatical leaves.

It became clear before school started that the Board of Education, blackmailed by the city's creditors, was determined to hold the line on wage demands. By the time the old contract ran out, the UFT had agreed to settle for any unspecified "modest" pay increase. So salary demands were clearly not an issue in the dispute.

The Union

The UFT has not always been popular in New York. In its early years, it met opposition from conservative teachers hostile to the idea that "professionals" should be part of the labor movement. In 1968, the UFT incurred the wrath

of much of the black community when it led a three-month strike intended to smash an experimental community controlled school district in Brooklyn. For years afterwards, many black teachers would have nothing to do with the union. And many people today regard Albert Shanker, the head of the union, as a power-hungry union boss whose main ambition in life is to succeed George Meany as head of the AFL-CIO.

With their plans for the 1975 school year, the Board of Education and the banks did what had seemed impossible: they united Shanker's followers and his enemies in support of the UFT. This time around, there was no opposition to the strike from black or hispanic teachers. This time there were no groups of parent volunteers, trying to open the schools.

One week after the strike began, teachers voted by a 60% to 40% margin to accept a settlement which amounted to a total defeat of the strike. The settlement provided that class size would be kept down to the previous contractual limit, by cutting the school week for children by 1½ hours. Thus, the agreement reduced services to the school children of New York. Whatever support the UFT had gained from parent groups was immediately lost when it accepted this provision.

The Board of Education promised to rehire 2400 laid-off teachers, about a quarter of the total number laid off. The UFT leadership agreed that money for these rehiring would probably come from fines and penalties levied against the teachers for striking. In addition, teachers will give up two preparation periods a week, and sabbatical leaves will be gradually phased out. Finally, teachers will receive a pay increase in the form of a \$300 bonus and a "longevity" differential for ten or more years of work.

Why did the teachers accept such an awful settlement?

Losing the Strike

Many New York City teachers have come to believe that the UFT and Al Shanker are synonymous, and they see no hope of bucking Shanker. As a result, many UFTers were too apathetic to even cast ballots. Less than half the UFT's membership took part in the original strike vote, and fewer still bothered to vote on the proposed settlement.

Many teachers honestly believed that the Board of Education could not come up with any more money. Despite the overwhelming effectiveness of the strike in closing the schools, these union members saw little hope of victory. They supported the settlement not because of any real failure of the strike, but because of a sense of hopelessness created by the constant talk of

"fiscal crisis" from the media, from politicians, from so-called economic experts, and from the UFT leadership itself. None of the other city unions had put up more than token resistance to the banks' demands for austerity, and many teachers simply felt powerless.

Finally, the UFT leadership did not adequately prepare its members for the battle ahead. The Shanker-led clique which controls all high offices in the UFT has systematically squelched all dissent within the leadership for years. This has produced a narrow-mindedness within the UFT elite, which even last June scoffed at the idea that the banks were taking over the city. Issues like massive lay-offs were not faced until it was too late.

Further, Shanker and his crew had committed vast amounts of money to help elect "friendly" politicians like Governor Carey and Mayor Beame. It was hard for Shanker to turn against these politicians he had supported so vigorously, even when they turned the city over to the banks.

Ultimately, the UFT's weakness was its refusal to look beyond the immediate confrontation with the Board of Education. Why no picketing of banks? Why no daily mass demonstrations to reinforce the sense of solidarity felt at the beginning of the strike? Why no call to the labor movement, or at least the rest of the New York City labor movement, to join in support of the strike? Why no public condemnation of Beame and Carey for selling out the very people who elected them? Why so little sensitivity to the needs and desires of the many parents who went out of their way to support the teachers' strike? Why no demands to tax the banks to pay for the schools? Why no discussion of the fiscal crisis itself?

Some of these questions will have to be answered before the UFT or other city unions can expect victories against the combined power of big city government and the banks.

Steve Suffet teaches eighth grade in the New York City public schools.



Health-PAC Bulletin/cpf

New York

continued from page 1

Though the June crisis failed to cow the unions and Democratic officials, the September scare was effective. For one thing, it came much closer to actual bankruptcy. On September 5, the city had so much trouble borrowing money that it was only hours away from seeing \$100 million in payroll and welfare checks bounce as high as the Empire State Building.

Why Did It Happen?

A complex series of underlying causes led to the New York City budget crisis. These include:

The long-run crisis in local government financing. The cost of schools, welfare, mass transit, and other city services have grown faster than the taxes that pay for them. State and local government debts now total over twice what they did ten years ago.

The flight of industry. Twenty years ago, New York thrived as a light manufacturing center. Since then, companies have run away from the strong unions and crowded plants of the inner city. People who can afford to have followed the jobs. While the tax base has eroded, those who remain need more services. New York spending has grown three times as fast as taxes for more than a decade.

High interest rates. Recent federal policies have kept interest rates high. One-sixth of the city's budget, or \$1.8 billion this year, now goes for paying past debts. With New York's \$14 billion debt, every 1% in interest costs \$140 million, or a year's salary for 14,000 new teachers.

Special problems of New York. New York pays for municipal hospitals, for universities, and for welfare, all programs that are partly or entirely state-financed in most cities. New York spends more per capita on police and fire protection, for instance, than other big cities. But it is expected to run an unusually large range of other services.

The Role of the Banks

For all these reasons, New York has to borrow a lot of money. But it's the banks that make this a crisis. When Morgan, Chase-Manhattan, and First National City report a lack of "investor confidence" in city bonds, they are talking about themselves and their clients.

If enough investors refuse to lend to the city because they believe it won't have money to pay them back, sure enough the city runs out of money. In this way the banks have "proved" that city bonds can be sold only at steadily increasing interest rates.

It's hard to pin down the exact amount the banks have made because of the crisis. In July 1974, city officials thought a bank demand for 7.9% interest was outrageous by past standards. By the end of this year, they were paying 9.5%. Big MAC went as high as 11% this summer.



But there's more involved than immediate profits. Capitalists today are hard pressed to increase their profits, as talk of a "capital shortage" and expensive new investments reveals. Government social services are absorbing a large and growing share of the gross national product, which interferes with the expansion of profits. Since elected officials cannot always be counted on to limit government spending, the capitalists have to scare us into helping them.

In the energy crisis, the oil companies threatened to withhold an essential product, produced a panic-stricken demand for oil at any price, then agreed to supply it at roughly twice the earlier price. Today the banks are trying something similar: by threatening the financial disruption of the biggest city, they produce a panic, after which everyone is relieved to merely pay higher interest rates and receive sharply limited services.

The effects will stretch far beyond New York, as other state and local governments get the message and cut their own budgets to avoid New York's fate.

What Next?

New York's next crisis will probably come in January, when the September loan package runs out. The city must borrow \$3.4 billion in the first half of 1976, over \$1.3 billion in January alone.

Despite the staggering sums that must be raised, New York is unlikely to default. The city and the banks have little to gain and a lot to lose.



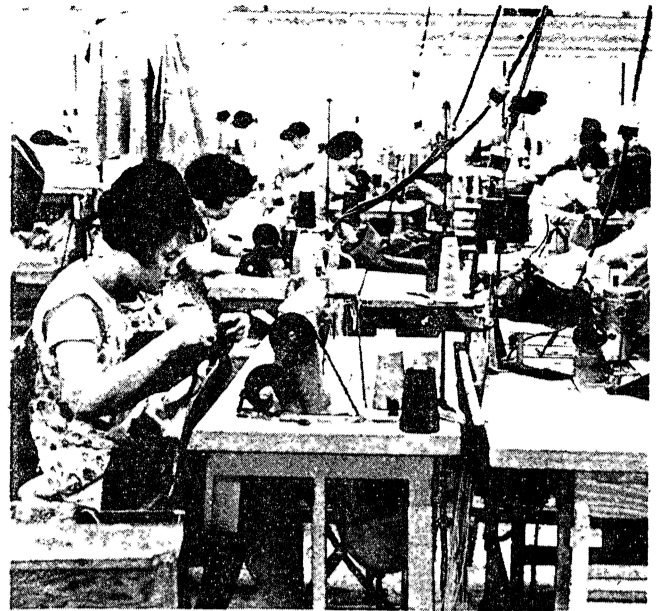
"Sure, I knew the rich were getting richer and the poor were getting poorer—but I thought I was one of the rich ones."

Some New York banks have as much as a quarter of their assets in City and MAC bonds and notes. If default would not bankrupt them, it would leave them with little cash to lend to their other customers. This would bankrupt or seriously slow down the major corporations that borrow from big New York banks. The ripples would spread outward through the economy.

Instead, when default approaches again, a new last-minute emergency plan will be adopted. But the specter of default will remain an effective weapon in the banks' attempt to raise profits at the expense of government services.

There is a way off of this merry-go-round. The taxes we pay at all levels -- federal, state, and local -- are more than enough to pay for the services we need. But at present too much of our tax money ends up in Washington paying for the military and other harmful or wasteful programs. The federal government that has no money for New York can find billions for military aid in the Middle East almost over night. Service cutbacks and wage cuts are not necessary if our taxes can be redirected.

Also, New York's municipal workers, who have always known that you can fight City Hall, have shown at times that you can fight the banks as well. The workers' reactions to the July lay-offs won some substantial concessions from the city in the midst of the banks' crisis. If that spirit can be maintained despite the heavily promoted atmosphere of collective sacrifice to save the city, it may be possible to check the banks' use of this crisis, and the next one, for their own profit.



labor notes

●In the next year, 1.7 million workers will have their jobless benefits run out, according to the Senate Labor Committee. Workers can normally receive benefits for up to 65 weeks, but there are so few jobs that even in that amount of time, many will be unable to find new jobs.

●State funds to pay unemployment benefits are running out, too. So far, nine states and Puerto Rico have had to borrow \$978 million from the federal government to replenish empty benefit funds.

●At General Motors, almost 35,000 laid off workers will stop receiving Supplemental Unemployment Benefit (SUB) checks. According to the UAW contract, the SUB payments, which auto workers receive in addition to regular unemployment benefits, are supposed to be paid out of a special fund financed by the auto companies. But for the second time this year, GM's fund has run out of money.

●Corporations spend a lot of money trying to keep their workers from voting in unions. According to a Chicago management consultant, the average employer spends \$19 per worker on special legal talent and \$20 per worker in executive pay for fighting the union during a four week union drive. The company also loses another \$27 per worker in production lost because of anti-union meetings held by management on company time.

●The number of miners killed on the job has risen significantly in 1975, according to the UMW Journal. In the first six months of the year, 76 miners died, compared to 67 during the same period last year.



UFW -- New Legislation



As we go to press, farmworkers in California are voting to determine whether they will be represented by the United Farmworkers Union or the Teamsters. So far, the UFW has won 15 elections, the Teamsters 10, and 2 ranches have voted for no union. The UFW has done better on the large ranches, while the Teamsters are winning on several smaller ones.

Several of the Teamster victories are being contested by the UFW. At Gallo, the votes of 123 striking members of the UFW have not been counted, despite a clear statement in the new California labor law that striking workers may vote. At the same time, the votes of a number of security guards and management personnel have been counted. At Egg City, too, workers who struck five months ago in disgust over the Teamster contract have not had their votes counted. Both of these elections are being appealed to the state board supervising the elections.

As more elections are held and the challenged elections are decided, the NAM Newspaper will continue to cover developments in the fields in California.

by Janet Corpus, Middlesex NAM

When the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act took effect on August 28, it provided a new arena for the struggles of farmworkers in that state. For the first time farmworkers have the right to elections and union representation for collective bargaining. Up and down the state of California these hard-won rights are being exercised as ballots are cast for the United Farmworkers and the Teamsters. However, winning legal rights has not ended the struggle, but only changed its form.

The new law established a five-member Agricultural Labor Relations Board. The Board chairman is an auxiliary Bishop who has worked for the last five years with the Bishops' Farm Labor Council, a pro-worker group which called upon the growers to negotiate and which supported the boycotts. The other four members include a long time UFW aide to Cesar Chavez, a labor lawyer who was formerly with a law firm representing the Teamsters, a lobbyist for the growers, and a Chicano poverty lawyer.

Overall, the Board is sympathetic to workers' rights, and has voted 5-0 in favor of labor in its two major votes so far. However, what this means is that the political attacks which have been used by growers directly against the union are now focused on the Board in an effort to cripple its effectiveness.

Rushing to the Courts

A major difficulty facing the Board is the fact that the growers are rushing to the courts when they don't like Board decisions. This practice is legally proper but threatens to weaken the effect of the new law and can prolong the processes of unit determination and contract bargaining and settlement. In response, the Board has filed a petition to have the California Supreme Court take these cases directly. This action would avoid the time delay and will almost certainly affirm the Board's decisions.

Under normal practice, employer-by-employer bargaining is normal, unless there is a history of worker approved industry-wide bargaining. Since there has been no worker participation in the Teamster contracts, there is no legitimate bargaining history on this question.

The Board's first major hearing was held on September 17 to determine whether elections in the fresh vegetable industry, which includes lettuce, celery, broccoli, and other vegetables, should be held on an industry-wide or employer-by-employer basis. The UFW favors employer-by-employer bargaining.

The growers support industry-wide bargaining, arguing that a multi-employer unit is more efficient for administering such things as health insurance and other benefits, since many workers move from employer to employer. In the past, workers have been hired through labor contractors, who assign people to ranches as they're needed. This practice, along with the crop season, has meant that workers move frequently from employer to employer. The new law is expected to result in more stable work practices by eliminating the labor contractor.

Tactics

Other grower tactics have included telling workers, just prior to an election, that if the UFW is chosen families will be split up by the union hiring hall. One rancher fired people who had been chosen as observers for an election. There are also strong charges of mass terrorism in the Delano-Tulare area. The Labor Board regional offices have been too busy trying to administer elections to investigate the unfair labor practices charged in these cases. In an effort to remedy this, two people from the Board's General Counsel's office and three special investigators from the Governor's office have been assigned to go to Delano to investigate the charges.

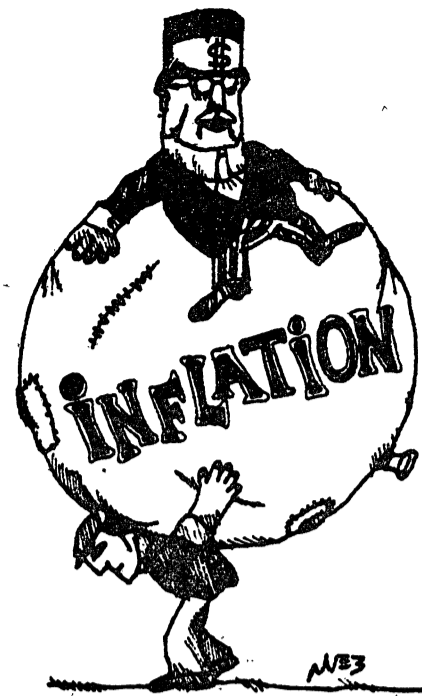
The Farmworkers have tactics of their own. The Board has impounded ballots in cases where elections have been contested by growers seeking larger bargaining units. It claims this is necessary in order to avoid the "psychological effects" which knowledge of the first vote might have on a new election. The UFW moved to have the votes made public. When this motion failed, the union organized mass meetings where workers came forward and announced how they had voted.

Other states and the federal government are watching California closely. Practices there are serving as a model for further legislation around the country. Meanwhile, support through the boycotts will help the California Farmworkers continue to serve as a model for other farm laborers who face similar struggles.

IF YOU PLAN TO COMMIT SUICIDE DON'T BOTHER TO READ THIS.

Six deadly pesticides poison the lettuce you eat. Each year, 70 to 80 thousand farmworkers are poisoned, often fatally, by working in fields which have been treated with these pesticides. In an effort to create safe working conditions for thousands of workers, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, under the leadership of Cesar Chavez, has been waging a determined, non-violent struggle to force the elimination of DDT, DDD, Endrin, Aldrin, Parathion and Dieldrin from the lettuce fields of America.

Safer working conditions for farmworkers means safer food for you. Help yourself to a healthier life by supporting our struggle. For your own sake and ours, don't eat lettuce.



Pastures of Plenty

Words by Woody Guthrie [(c) 1963, Ludlow Music] To the tune of "Pretty Polly"

It's a mighty hard row that my poor hands has hoed.
My poor feet has traveled a hot dusty road,
Out of your Dust Bowl and westward we rolled
And your deserts was hot and your mountains was cold.

I worked in your orchard of peaches and prunes,
Slept on the ground 'neath the light of the moon;
On the edge of your city you will see us and then,
We come with the dust and we go with the wind.

California, Arizona, I make all your crops,
Well, it's up north to Oregon to gather your hops;
Dig the beets from your ground, cut the grapes from your vine,
To set on your table your light, sparkling wine.

Green pastures of plenty from dry desert ground,
From the Grand Coulee Dam where the waters run down;
Every state in the union us migrants has been,
We'll work in this fight and we'll fight till we win.

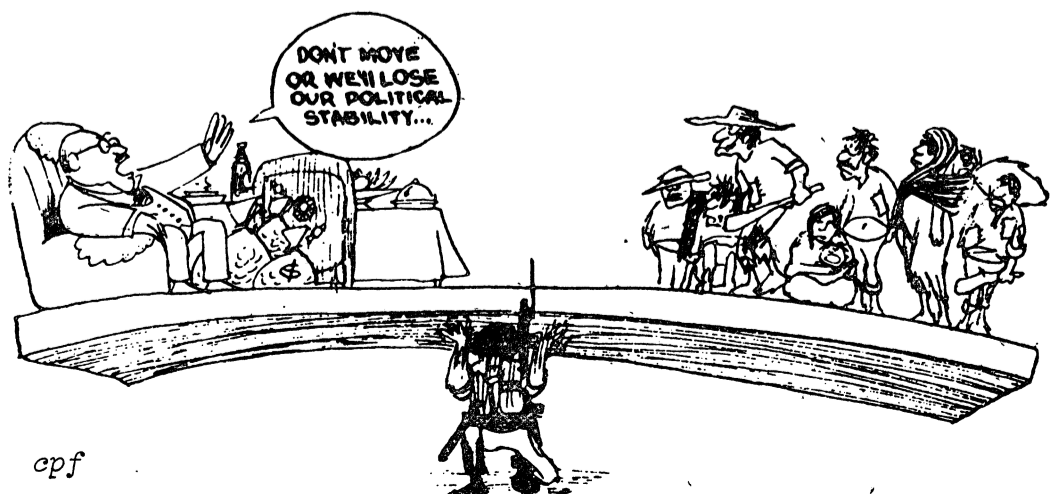
It's always we rambled, that river and I,
All along your green valley I will work till I die;
My land I'll defend with my life if it be,
'Cause my pastures of plenty must always be free.

Let Them Eat Cake?

When a critic recently compared him to Marie Antoinette, Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz was not insulted, according to the Associated Press.

Carol Tucker Foreman of the Consumer Federation of America likened Butz to the 18th century French queen who, when told that the people had no bread, replied, "Let them eat cake." Butz replied that Marie Antoinette "was really a nice person."

Not long after she made her famous statement, Antoinette and her husband, King Louis XVI, were overthrown by the French Revolution. She died on the guillotine in 1793.



epf

Editorial Politics vs. Theatrics

by Ted Lieverman, Newspaper Collective

The recent capture of Patty Hearst and the attempted assassinations of President Ford require a few thoughtful comments.

For over a hundred years, the corporate owned mass media have portrayed the Left in the worst possible way. We are labeled dangerous, irresponsible, unprincipled, crazy, and a number of other things. To back up these accusations, newspapers and TV gleefully play up the worst features of Left politics -- or of any group which calls itself part of the Left.

Thus, when Jerry Rubin appeared half-naked before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, every newspaper carried the picture. However, when Tom Hayden made his thoughtful indictment of American policy in Vietnam, the press was strangely silent.

Bombings, bank robberies, and especially bizarre stunts are all given as the essence and sum total of Left politics. Not surprisingly, most people in America -- who may be truly disgusted with the ravages of corporate capitalism -- have concluded that such a movement does not offer a place for them.

We wish to restate a few elementary comments. Socialism means, in its essence, the democratic control of society's wealth by the people who produce it and make it possible to use. The goal of a revolutionary socialist organization is to build, day by day, a movement of working people that continuously challenges the power of the ruling

transform our society. It means working constantly against the evils of sexism and racial hatred. The most important part of this work is invisible to the mass media; it is not dramatic, mysterious or weird.

Socialism means community residents organizing rent strikes against greedy landlords. It does not mean newspaper heiresses suddenly toting machine guns.

Socialism means building a strong, democratic union which protects employees from health hazards, low pay, and layoffs. It does not mean trying to martyr a mediocre president by shooting him.

Socialism means men and women demanding community/worker controlled day care in their neighborhood. It does not mean one faction of a Left group stealing materials and equipment from another faction with which it disagrees.

In short, socialism means working together with our neighbors and workmates for the possibilities of a better society. If we cannot convince people to oppose capitalism as a system through opposing injustices we all face, then we can never do it through dramatic or violent acts that simply do not make sense to most Americans.

We are not addressing ourselves to questions of civil disobedience at specific times. Nor are we talking about the right of self-defense of communities against violent attack. We are stating our views as to what the majority of radicals and socialists in America should see as their task today.

At this point in history, the socialist movement is not best served by individual acts of revolutionary violence, but by the quieter heroism of local organizing. It is the latter which demonstrates our basic faith in people's ability to control their own destiny.

Here at Soledad, I recently helped organize a "Feminism Seminar" for some of the inmate population. Our method of topics is selected reading from feminist literature, films, and discussions. It has proved to be very healthy and helpful for us men here to confront some of our own chauvinist ideas, in view of the fact that virulent male chauvinism is a contributing factor to many crimes such as sexual assault, rape, wife-beating, pimping, etc.

I recently came across the Summer '75 issue of the **New American Movement** which contained Toby Silvey's article on socialist-feminism and Barbara Easton's article on Women and the Left. Both of these articles prompted me to write this letter, in the hopes that perhaps you can help me by putting my name on your subscription list.

Thanking you in advance.

In struggle,
a prisoner

Editor's note: subscriptions to prisoners are free.

To the collective:

We have found the articles on Portugal in the NAM newspaper to be somewhat disturbing. The role of the Communist Party is not seriously confronted. It was apparent from the elections that the Communists had a distinctively minority support in Portugal and yet endeavored through their allies in the military to impose their version of socialism on Portuguese society. History surely has taught us what results from the brand of authoritarian "socialism" which Cunhal mimics to an extreme degree. He admittedly has only derision for democracy in the transition to socialism. It is somewhat ironic that some justify the Communists' actions as necessary to defend against a resurgence of fascism. Yet in reality the obvious unpopularity of the Communists' recent activity has allowed the right wing to infiltrate the Socialist Party and to an even greater extent the other moderate parties in the guise of defending democracy.

The articles in the NAM newspaper present no analysis that allows us to understand just what is possible in Portugal at this time. It is not sufficient to point to a few instances of radical actions by workers. We must know the nature and level of consciousness of the Portuguese people and through what processes they may come to desire and struggle for a socialist society. It is hardly adequate to write the peasants off as a backward and conservative force. Surely they must play an important role in the creation of socialism in Portugal.

Events are changing rapidly in Portugal and we should have something to say about what is happening. What we say about Portugal is obviously informed by our conception of social change and socialism, not only abroad, but at home as well. NAM portrays itself as democratic socialist. We must take this characterization more seriously ourselves if we expect others to join us.

Binghamton NAM

LETTERS

Letters to be printed should be specifically addressed to this column. They should be no more than 200 words, or they will be subject to editing for length if necessary. We will try to print as many letters as we can.

Sisters and Brothers,

I write this letter to ask if there is some way in which I might obtain a free subscription to your newspaper. I am a prisoner at Soledad Prison and being without funds to obtain a subscription in the usual manner, I must ask for a free subscription.

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

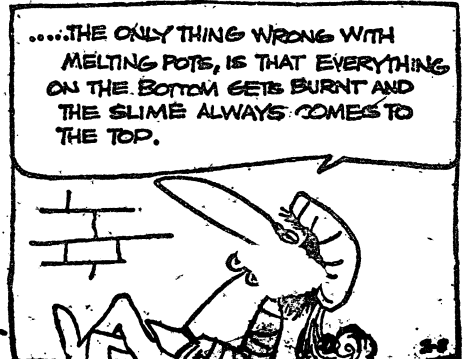
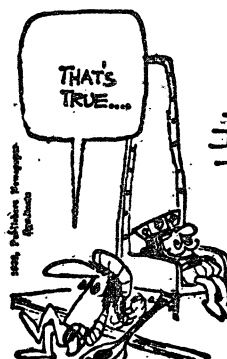
Roger Gottlieb
Ted Lieverman
Dean Manders
Larry Miller

Kathy Moore
Karen Morgan
CaroLee Sandberg
John Viertel

NAM Newspaper, 16 Union Sq., Somerville, MA 02143



Correction: two by-lines were accidentally omitted from articles in the last issue. The article on unemployment organizing on page 1 was written by Kathy Moore of the newspaper collective. The main article on pages 8-9 on the NAM Convention was written by Dan Marschall of Bay Area NAM.



Food Prices -- Blaming the Russians

by Steve Carlip, Newspaper Collective

A lot of people were happy when the dock workers' union announced in August that it wouldn't load grain for shipment to Russia as part of the latest wheat deal. It looked like even George Meany, who once bragged that he'd never walked a picket line, had finally decided to do something about the sky-rocketing cost of food.

So a lot of people were disappointed when the AFL-CIO called off the boycott last month. The dock workers started to load the ships again in return for a vague, confusing agreement about long-term purchase agreements by the Russians and increased use of U.S. ships to carry the grain, an agreement that contained no guarantee that consumer prices would not continue to rise.

But would a continued boycott of shipments to Russia really slow down inflation?

Food Prices and Monopoly

Exporting grain is not a new policy that started with the Russian wheat deals. The United States produces far more grain than we can use, and we have exported millions of tons of wheat and corn annually for generations. In fact, we normally export 60% of our wheat crop. The biggest foreign buyer is not Russia, but Japan.

It is not these exports that have caused food prices to rise. The reason for inflation is simple -- it is the profit-seeking of the "agribusiness" monopolies.

Producing America's food is no longer a small family business. The largest 20% of all U.S. farms account for 75% of all farm sales. This monopolization is even stronger among food processors, the "middlemen" -- a mere six huge grain companies buy 90% of all U.S. wheat production.

These few giant agribusiness companies can set just about any price for food that they want. Since February 1974, wheat prices have dropped 46%. But in the same period, the price of bread has risen 10%.

The food monopolies have become even more powerful because of their close ties to the government. Earl Butz was a director of Ralston-Purina before he became Secretary of Agriculture. The previous Secretary of Agriculture, Clifford Hardin, became a vice president of Ralston-Purina when Butz replaced him. After the first wheat deal with Russia, two of its main negotiators, Clarence Palmby and Clifford Pulvermacher, left the government to get well-paying jobs with large grain companies.

The sales of wheat to the Soviet Union are excuses for increases in prices. They are not the actual cause of inflation. Carol Foreman, head of the Consumer Federation of America, recently called for a federal investigation of recent food price increases. It seems that food processors and sellers started to raise prices as soon as rumors of this year's sale to Russia got out, in

spite of the fact that it takes months for changes in grain prices to have an impact on the retail price of food.

Blaming the Russians

George Meany knows these facts as well as anyone else. So why did he call for the AFL-CIO to refuse to load grain for shipment to Russia? Did he really believe that exports would cause inflation? Then why not boycott shipments to Japan, which buys much more U.S. grain than the Soviet Union does?

It is no secret that Meany is one of the strongest opponents of detente with the Soviet Union. He is a hard-line anticommunist, whose power was based on driving the radicals out of the U.S. labor movement in the 1940's and 1950's (after those radicals had built the movement in the 1930's). He is more than willing to use an emotional issue like food prices to try to whip up



George Meany

a little more anticommunism.

The Russians are a convenient scapegoat for inflation. At the time of the last wheat deal, the food monopolies tried to shift the blame for rising prices to the Russians. This time around, they're getting help from the AFL-CIO leadership -- a strange example of the "partnership" of labor and management.

Meanwhile, workers, whose families have to pay more for food every day, are caught in between. Meany's grandstanding did nothing to slow down inflation, no surprise when you remember that he was ignoring its real cause. In fact, wheat prices rose faster during the boycott than they had a few weeks before.

Small farmers are caught in between as well. Forced to sell their grain to a few huge middlemen, forced to pay higher and higher prices to the monopolies that manufacture farming equipment, they are increasingly unable to compete with the huge agribusiness corporations. More than half the farms which existed at the end of World War II have gone out of business, and each week 2000 more farms fail.

We aren't completely helpless. Last year's meat boycott was aimed directly at the real cause of the price increases -- the food monopolies -- and it did succeed, at least temporarily, in slowing down the rising cost of meat.

But in the long run, we will have to face the problem directly. As long as the food industry is controlled by a few giant corporations, and as long as it is run for their profit rather than the good of everyone, we will continue to see food prices rise.

The food industry has gotten out of the control of the people. It is time for us to take that control back.

NAM Literature

(Available from the National Office)

New American Movement
1643 N. Milwaukee Ave.
Chicago, IL 60647

Revolution and Democracy (\$.50 each, \$.30 for 10 or more.) Pamphlet written by Harry Boyte and Frank Ackerman on the nature of a revolutionary organization.

Organizing a Socialist Student Movement (\$.25 each, \$.20 for ten or more). Pamphlet by the student wing of NAM, includes strategy for campus organizing and class analysis of U.S. higher education.

NAM Political Perspective (\$.25 each, \$.15 for ten or more). Basic principles of the New American Movement, written in 1972.

Attica (\$.25 each, \$.15 for ten or more). Pamphlet by members of two chapters of NAM describing Attica prison rebellion.

Integrating the Personal and the Political (\$.10 each). By Judy Henderson.

Discussion Bulletin #8, 9, 10 (\$1.00 each). Analyses of program work and internal debate over the past year in NAM.

Working Papers on Socialist-Feminism (\$.50 each, \$.35 for ten or more). Reprints of articles from NAM newspaper and Discussion Bulletin.

NAM Film Packet (\$.75 each). Information on how to get films, lead discussions; special emphasis on women's films.

What's Wrong with the American Economy (\$.10 each, \$.05 for ten or more).

Chapter Literature

Women in China (\$.20 each). By Judy MacLean, Pittsburgh NAM

Socialist-Feminism -- What Does It Mean? (\$.15 each). By Dayton Socialist-Feminist Group/NAM

Who Rules Somerville? (free). By Middlesex NAM (Boston).

Periodicals

Moving On -- published three times a year, organizational newsletter. Donation.

Discussion Bulletin -- published roughly every two months, internal discussion and debate. \$6.00 for six issues.



Portuguese Women Organize

by Jo Anne Preston

"Abortion, abortion! I am not here to talk about abortion. When the people are ready it will be legalized," yelled an Armed Forces Movement colonel at a press conference. A few minutes later he admitted that the present situation of women in Portugal is "very bad."

His handling of women's issues was identical to that heard from other political groups: a recognition of the oppression of women in Portuguese society, but only as a matter which should be attended to after the revolution. Because of the failure of the political parties to include feminist demands in their political programs or practice, Portuguese women have formed an autonomous women's group -- Movimento de Libertacao das Mulheres (MLM).

These women first came together to support the "three Marias," three Portuguese women arrested and tried on obscenity charges under the old regime because they wrote a book exposing the condition of Portuguese women. After the coup and the subsequent acquittal of the three Marias, their supporters continued to meet.

To their surprise, hundreds of women from many different walks of life showed up and gave the group their enthusiastic support. There were clerical workers, housewives, hospital workers, factory workers, professional women -- but never the leaders of the left political parties.

January Demonstration

In January 1975, a small group within the MLM planned a demonstration to publicize the oppression of Portuguese women. They agreed to dress in clothing symbolizing women's oppression: a wedding gown, a maternity dress, a maid's uniform, and the clothing and makeup of a sex object. In advance of the demonstration, several Lisbon papers announced there would be a revolutionary "strip tease." Five thousand men assembled at the place of the demonstration before the women even arrived. The crowd attacked the women, tearing off their clothes, punching and kicking them, and threatening rape. One woman was hospitalized. The police stood by and did nothing.

Two months later, the women held another demonstration, and managed to conduct a "constructive" dialogue with the on-lookers. They often cite this event as evidence of the progress they have made, in only a short period of time.

A women's center was created in late spring when women occupied a house in Lisbon. The center is being used for meetings of various women's groups, a legal consultation service, and as a place to disseminate information about abortion and birth control. In the future, the MLM hopes to renovate the house so that it can be used as a night nursery for working women who are forced to leave their children alone at night, and as a refuge for battered women.

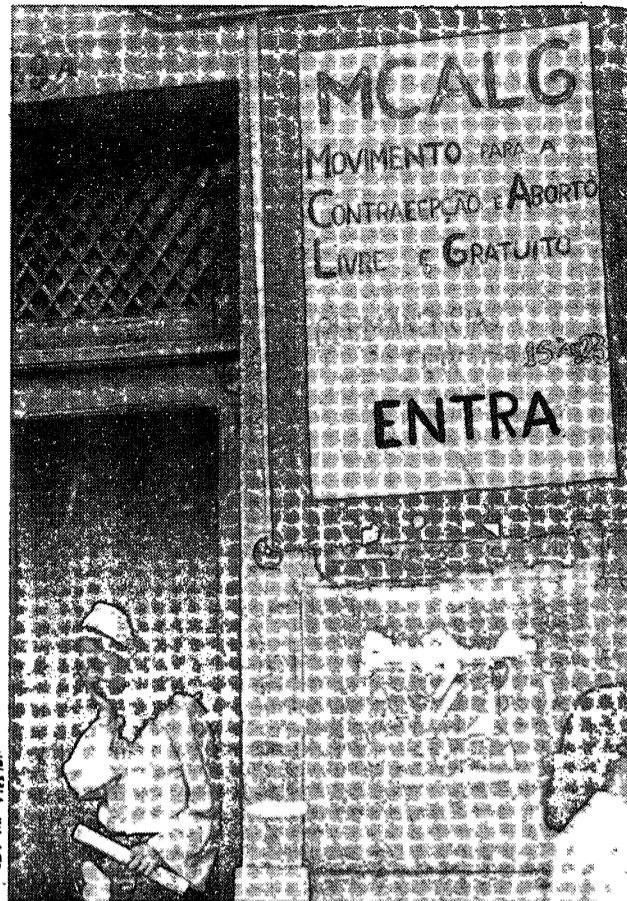
About fifty women are actively associated with the center, but their projects reach many others. Women in the MLM have organized neighborhood women in consciousness-raising groups; they sponsor a group of clerical workers; they participate in a project to eliminate sexist material in the schools; they work with a group of women workers who have occupied their factory.

Several members of the MLM operate an abortion service in a medical clinic just south of Lisbon. The clinic had previously been taken over by neighborhood people with the help of the League of Revolutionary Unity and Action.

Abortion

Among all these activities, the campaign for legalized abortion and birth control has top priority. Although there have been many progressive changes in Portugal since the 1974 coup, abortion is still illegal. As a result, 150,000 illegal abortions are performed each year, under conditions which insure frequent deaths from infection. Since dissemination of birth control information is also illegal, abortions are the most common form of birth control. The MLM birth control counselors often see women who have had as many as a dozen abortions.

Since the Armed Forces Movement, the press, and the political parties have consistently ignored this abortion campaign, the MLM organized an International Women's Week for the Legalization of Abortion and Contraceptive Information. Hundreds of women came from England, France, Italy, and Germany, and spent a week making posters, giving out leaflets, attending demonstrations, and questioning men in the Armed Forces Movement and various left political parties. Several Portuguese papers gave sympathetic coverage to the events, and several political parties hurriedly declared their support for legalization of abortion.



Recently, the MLM has printed an informational pamphlet to "open discussion on our common exploitation as women." They emphasize that this is not a final statement of principles, but a working paper. In it they list the following demands:

- That the Portuguese Constitution declare the equality of the sexes, with legal penalties for sex discrimination;
- That with this change in the Constitution there be immediate changes in the civil and penal codes and in labor legislation;
- That there be equal salaries for equal work, equal access to all jobs, and equal opportunities for promotion;
- That the state recognize the economic value of housework;
- That laws providing for childcare and maternity leave be considered as the obligation of society to insure its future, not for the "protection of women";
- That daycare centers and social services be paid for by the state;
- That medical care and medicine be available for all women because it is their right as workers, not as a "gift" dependent on their relationship to men;
- That birth control information and abortion be free and available to all women, and be accompanied by a national program in sex education.

Women and the Left

Men in Portugal criticize the women in the MLM for not working in the left political parties at this critical time when the forces of reaction are gaining strength. They tell the women they should work hard for the revolution, that women's problems will be dealt with later.

The MLM has responded by saying that the work they are doing is important to the revolution. If the women, who are 58% of the population, are not brought into the revolutionary process, they will retard the revolution, and may even be a reactionary force.

Although no political party supports the MLM, many MLM women continue to do work for the left political parties. They believe that women's oppression is linked to capitalism. They remind themselves, "There is no liberation of women without a revolution."

Jo Anne Preston spent five weeks in Portugal this summer, where she took part in International Women's Week.



Portuguese Americans on Portugal

by Kathy Moore, Newspaper Collective

Changes have taken place in Portugal since April 1974, when the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) overthrew a long-standing right wing dictatorship. The MFA was led by military men of differing politics, united in opposition to Portugal's ten year long war to maintain control over its African colonies of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau.

More than 75,000 people left Portugal for the United States between 1960 and 1970. Most have settled in Northeastern cities. A large majority of these Portuguese-Americans come from the Azore Islands, which, like northern Portugal, are more conservative than the south, where the revolution has found most of its support. Many immigrants from the Azores would like to see the islands independent.

Several Americans from Portugal recently told us their feelings about the new government.

A young man from the mainland, back from a recent visit to Portugal, was sympathetic to the goals of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) but concerned that it could not maintain popular support.

"The trouble with the revolution is I thought it was going too fast for the mentality, really too fast. If it was done at a slower pace, to give these people a chance to absorb certain things, it would have worked out a lot better than it has."

"The North is very Catholic and conservative. The situation down south is a lot different. People down South are communist, belong to the PCP. The reason for that is the large absentee landlords. They've started co-ops down there, they've given out agricultural grants and people are pretty satisfied."

Middle Class

Several people interviewed identified with the middle class and felt that this class was being squeezed by the revolution. A woman from the Azores:

"You would say there's no middle class, but there is. Small business, a little store, and those people have to go by the same rules as large companies, and that's where they make a mistake. I know people who needed to hire some help, but they couldn't pay the salaries the law requires, and so for that reason they're not hiring anybody and that's one of the problems, the reason a lot of people are unemployed."

The young man from the mainland:

"The small businessmen are very disenchanted, especially in Lisbon, because for one thing the increase in salaries, which should have been done a long time ago, was just done after the 25th of April. Now they have to pay each employee a month's paid vacation and they have to pay for all medical expenses and sick leave. Businesses who haven't been making that much money now have to increase salaries and pay an extra month's pay and all the medical expenses. [These small businesses] are all going under, so there's all sorts of problems with that. The government should do something to reassure or help these small businesses keep on their feet. It's good attacking the large businesses and nationalizing the large businesses, but the small businesses -- it's very difficult."

One group of women from the Azores argued that the pre-revolutionary regime was not so bad as many people imagined. Eager to defend the Portugal they remembered they cited reforms made under Caetano, the dictator who was overthrown in the April revolution.

"They want to give too much to the poor. In a way they needed a change, better living conditions, better salaries, but at the same time, they were getting some benefits already. They were getting free maternity, they were getting free milk for the babies, they were getting free dental, free eyeglasses, free school up to the sixth grade.



The elderly were getting a little bit of a pension, even though it wasn't enough, but they were getting a little bit."

Another woman continued:

"It's not true when they say 80% of the people were illiterate -- maybe in the '30's, but not in the '40's and '50's. School there was 4 years, now it's 6 years. But in that 4 years, it's not like here, you'd be up to maybe even junior high level."

"More, I'd say the 10th grade."

The young man recounted different impressions of the educational system and the overall situation.

"Nobody at the University was from a poor family. The wealthy became educated all the time. After the 25th of April what they did was they threw out a lot of the professors who they considered Fascists. They were developing new programs. Before it was bad, like for me in the program I was in, I couldn't participate that much in class. The Portuguese professors were like up on a pedestal. There was no communication between student and professor. After the 25th of April there were a lot of things set up by students to help change the situation that was there before, which is good."

And Freedom

"There are a lot of good things the MFA is talking about, for instance the MFA is going into small towns and if there's a bridge that needs to be built they'll ask the people where they want to have the bridge built. Before the government would come in and say, 'We're gonna build this bridge here,' and that's where it's gonna be put, no matter if it goes over this person's land or what."

"The situation was so bad -- the secret police situation before the 25th of April -- that there are about 800,000 people from Portugal in France, all over Western Europe. That's because of the situation back in Portugal before the 25th. A lot of them would work in France and Germany and the U.S. and send money back to Portugal. There were a lot of soldiers who had fled the war (in Africa).

"Nobody was allowed to speak to anybody about politics, because you never knew who would be an informer. It could be one of your own relatives, you never know. It was almost worse than Nazi Germany. I think there were 80,000 informers. I was there during the 25th of April. The people were ready to kill them, you know, the secret police."

Again, the slightly older women from the Azores were more prepared to defend the old regime.

"There was freedom. People think there was no freedom in Portugal. There was no political freedom, but we didn't feel that. Today, the younger folk, they voice their opinions much more than the older folk did. The ones who had no political freedom were the ones who were against the regime, not the everyday person that was doing their work and not being against..."

"Right now they're giving them so much freedom -- not freedom, but they've given so much to the people, you know, you're gonna get this, you're gonna get that, but it's not true, it's all just a come on. First they give them the honey and then they give them the vinegar."

"I came from the city, and we didn't have that much talk either. You think about what you're going to wear the next day, what kind of a dress you're going to make. The men, many of them have these opinions to portray intelligence."

"Most of it is that way. Now, in Lisbon it's a different story."

"These cousins that were very, very close, like my husband was brought up with the family, like brother and sister -- we felt very bad, the boy was in prison for 5 years, and the girl was in prison." What had they done?

"Well the daughter mailed a letter to this Soares. She went on a vacation to France, and she was in the Communist Party, and she mailed a letter. So I must admit, I felt very bad, but still I also felt they shouldn't be involved. All right, you have your opinion, but not to be radical. The boy was very expressive with all his opinions, so unfortunately, you know, they paid for it. They paid their duty to society. The boy came out -- I can't say a vegetable, but he had lost -- ambition. He had his degree already, but he's just working in his father's office."

The Future

Where did people think Portugal was headed?

"The Socialist Party and the Democratic Party are going to have to have a bigger role, otherwise things are never going to work out. There's always going to be problems."

"The big mistake the MFA did was holding the elections."

"My opinion is they are going to a communist government. It's a very sad situation because those people, basically, they're not communists."

"They need a rigid government, they're really not used to a democracy."

"The thing is the Socialist Party isn't really a socialist party and the Communist Party isn't really a communist party. I think the PCP is more socialist and the Socialist Party is more Christian Democratic or something like that, although in both movements there are a lot of true communists or true socialists. Like Mario Soares isn't a true socialist."

"I don't know where it's going to lead, because right now besides the political situation, the economic situation is real bad over there. When I left there were around 300,000 Angolan refugees who've come to Portugal. These people are only allowed to bring essential items, and when they get to Portugal they have no housing, they have no jobs, and most of them are against the MFA because they've lost their belongings and wealth in Angola."

"I felt the major talk was economic. You know if this was done a long time ago, increasing salaries, it wouldn't cause the situation it is for small business, so it was, you know, Caetano's fault, the previous regime's fault. The education too, now they have day care centers over there and they're doing a lot of good things."

"But I felt they should involve the workers in setting up some regulations on how they want to work. You know, ways of improving different things. Maybe they would get more cooperation from the people that way. I'd like to see that done here."

PANAMA DEMANDS CANAL

by Shepard Bliss

PANAMA -- Two thousand United States Marines landed in the Panama Canal Zone last August for combat maneuvers. Their presence was intended to demonstrate that the U.S. will defend the Canal Zone against what Kissinger has called "the possibility of a nationalistic, guerilla type operation that we have not seen before in the western hemisphere."

Panama's head of state, General Omar Torrijos, warned in Mexico last June that his people had learned a lot from the Vietnamese, and were willing to engage in guerilla war to regain the canal. He added, "We are rapidly losing our patience."

Next to Cuba, Panama is the most anti-imperialist government in Latin America. Though other Latin American countries have begun to reclaim their natural resources, only Panama seems willing to unconditionally defy the U.S. Consequently, the U.S. can be expected to focus more attention, and eventually firepower, if necessary, on this tiny nation of 1½ million people.

Invasion Base

The U.S. has good reasons for not wanting to lose control of the canal. The Canal Zone, with its fourteen U.S. military bases, is essential to U.S. control of Latin America. Here are the jungle warfare schools where the U.S. trains counter-insurgency experts for its own army and the armies of the governments it supports.

The U.S. Southern Command is based in Panama. The Canal Zone was the staging area for the 1954 invasion of Guatemala by CIA-sponsored counterrevolutionaries and for the 1965 invasion of the Dominican Republic by U.S. Marines. 15,000 ships a year use the Canal, and by controlling the Canal the U.S. controls their movement.

The U.S. intends to retain its hold on the Canal, but there is no agreement in Washington about strategy. Kissinger and the State Department favor revising the 1903 Treaty to give Panama a greater share in the Canal. They hope this would cool things out and prevent the emergence of a revolutionary movement. Ellsworth Bunker, former U.S. Ambassador to the Dominican Republic and South Vietnam, has been dispatched to Panama to negotiate a new treaty.

The Pentagon doesn't want to give an inch, and has been lobbying successfully for that position in Congress. Led by Strom Thurmond, 37 senators have indicated their opposition to the new treaty Bunker is negotiating. The House of Representatives even passed a bill cutting off the money for negotiations. Rep. Gene Snyder of Kentucky said, "Our sovereignty over the Canal is as legitimate as our owning New York City."

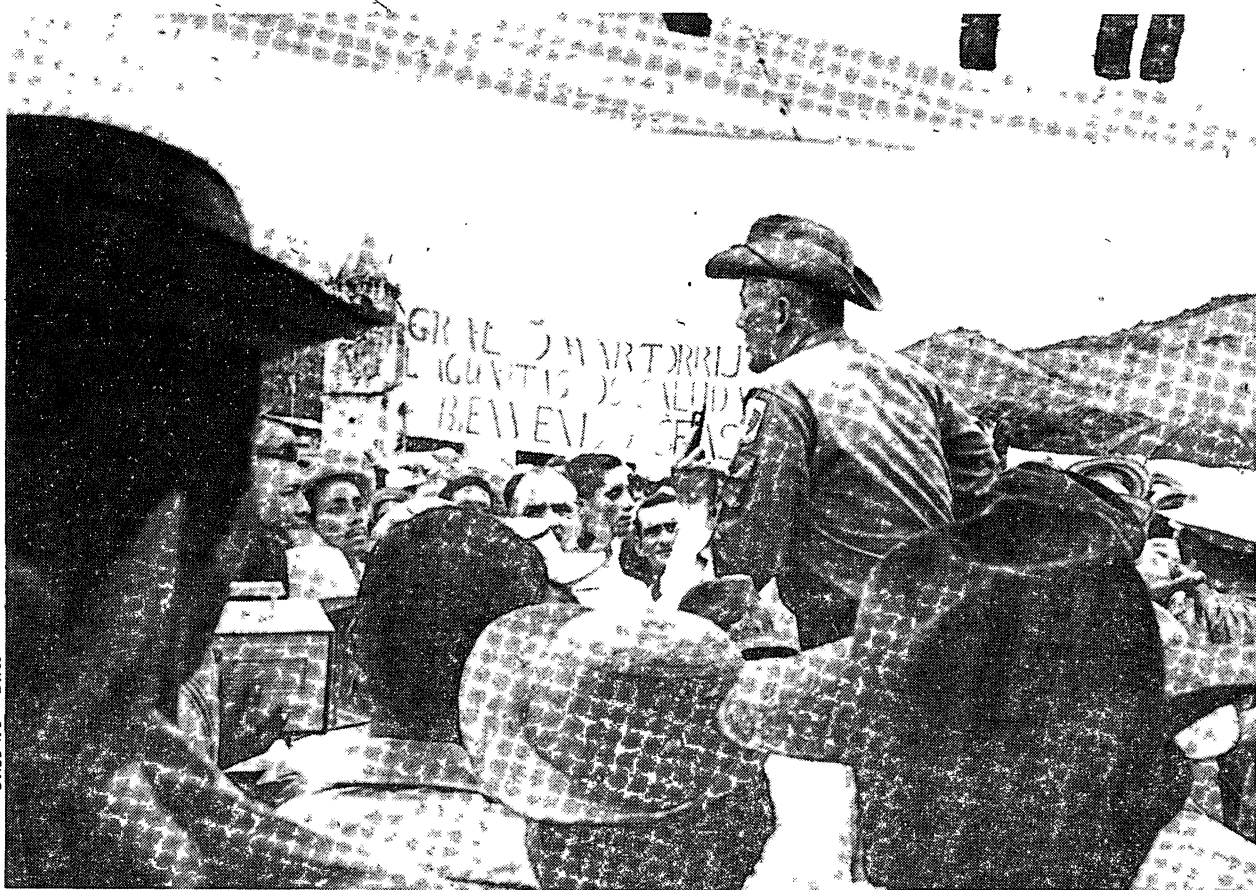
Panama United

Against this division within the U.S. government, Panama is united in favor of regaining control of the Canal.

The most militant supporters of this movement are the high school and university students. Panama has 475,000 students, a third of its population. The struggle between the U.S. and Panama over the Canal began in January 1964, when students decided to fly the Panamanian flag over the Canal Zone. They were met by U.S. soldiers, who killed 22 students and wounded another 500.

Panama is a non-industrial society with a small urban working class. Its president, General Omar Torrijos, is a progressive nationalist and very popular.

Torrijos's government has been criticized as a "one issue" government because of its emphasis



Gen. Omar Torrijos, President of Panama, addressing a mass rally.

on the Canal. In fact, it has been generally active in regaining control of Panama's commercial resources -- building sugar refineries and creating a state-owned company to develop Panama's copper deposits. Panama has been the leader in the Union of Banana Exporting Countries.

Though there has been little publicity on the Panama Canal issue in the U.S., it is a top news story throughout Latin America. As activity mounts in the next few months, it is likely we will hear more of this conflict, especially if it results in military intervention.



GM and Chile

by Judy Butler, Chile Action Group

Chile's ruling junta has selected General Motors to share the entire Chilean auto industry with two other foreign firms.

The results of GM's negotiations in Chile in recent months provide a startlingly clear example of how the rich get richer -- particularly rich and powerful multinational corporations.

Everyone knows the other half of that saying. Over 300,000 auto workers have been laid off for more than a year in the U.S. According to United Auto Worker officials, the GM "supp" coffers are empty, meaning that no more supplementary funds will be provided to future victims laid off in capitalism's latest economic crisis.

But General Motors has been covering its bets. GM and two other auto giants (Fiat-Concord of Italy and Peugeot-Renault of France) will invest \$100,000,000 in Chile over the next four years. These three firms have been granted a monopoly over all local and export business in return for their compliance with the decrees of the self-serving junta.

For General Motors, the investment has great advantages. GM will operate in an environment where trade union rights have been abolished and constant currency devaluations have made the cost of operations dirt cheap (wages have decreased 60% over the past two years), making their product highly competitive internationally. Furthermore, this arrangement will provide GM access to the automotive contracts of the six-nation Andean common market.

For Chileans, the consolidation means a further drop in employment; it means what Laura Allende, sister of the slain president, calls "wages of hunger"; and worst of all it means a direct financial propping up of the floundering military junta.

General Motors, whose Chilean operations were nationalized by the Popular Unity government in 1971, was invited back by the military junta last year. At the May 1974 press conference in Chile, General Motors Overseas Corp. vice-president Joseph Sanchez announced the resumption of GM investment in Chile. He said, "We see Chile as a country that is progressing and recuperating its high industrial level, offering security for work and investment."

Since the Coup

Sanchez was speaking of a country which, in the last two years (since the coup that toppled Salvador Allende) has witnessed the systematic impoverishment of 70% of its population; observed the imprisonment, torture or death of one in every hundred citizens; and has watched the unemployment figures rise as high as 60% in some working class neighborhoods. As for industrial "recuperation", production output is down 30% from its 1973 pre-coup level. The auto industry in particular last year produced half as many units as in 1972 -- a peak year despite well known efforts by the U.S. to "destabilize" the socialist-oriented economy.

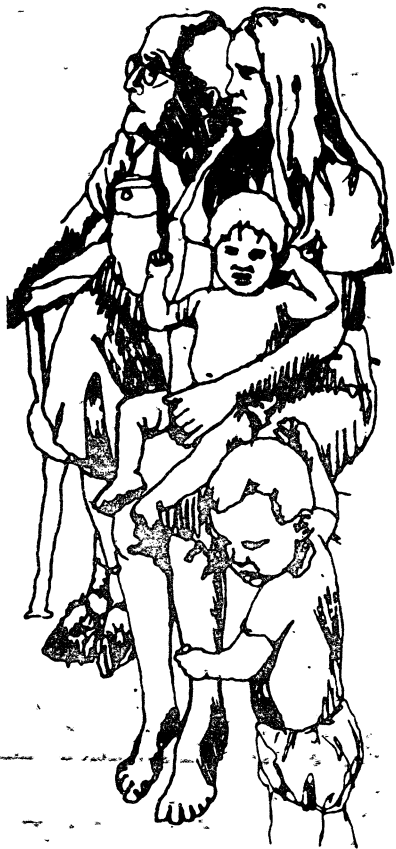
"What's good for General Motors is good for America." Thus spoke a GM board chairman back in the days when it was easier to convince American workers that their well-being was linked to the success of their bosses.

It is becoming unavoidably apparent that the U.S. working class is not a privileged group; there is a common root to the underemployment in countries like Chile and unemployment in this country. That root is monopoly capitalism.

DES and Cancer

continued from page 1

given DES. This was alarming because Americans had been eating DES -- unknowingly -- since the 1950's, when livestock producers started using DES to help fatten cattle. In 1973, the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) decided that the amount of DES remaining in beef was too hazardous for human use, and banned the use of DES in cattle feed.



Morning - After Pills

But, as it turns out, what's not safe for "humans" may be fine for women. While DES was getting pushed out of cattle feed, researchers found a new use for it as a "morning - after" contraceptive pill. In March 1975 the FDA approved the use of dosages of 250 milligrams of DES in morning - after pills. That's almost one million times the dose that the FDA ruled was unsafe in beef!

Theoretically, the use of the DES morning - after pill is limited to "emergencies" such as rape or incest. But there are no controls on the men who have the power to prescribe DES. As a result, many women are being given DES repeatedly in non - emergency situations. By and large, these women are not examined thoroughly before being prescribed DES. They are not warned of possible hazards to themselves or their future children. They are not given check - ups afterward to test for adverse side effects. And of course there is no way of knowing how many of the women being given morning - after pills are DES daughters, and hence unusually susceptible to cancer - causing agents.

Feminist health groups across the country are organizing a campaign to educate the public about DES and to protest the dangerous use of DES in morning - after pills. We know that the problem goes far beyond DES, and the solution will involve much more than regulatory reform. Until drug manufacturing is taken out of the hands of profit - making corporations, the chemical assault on women's (and men's) bodies will continue, in one form or another.

To find out more about the DES campaign and how you can get involved, write:

HealthRight, 175 Fifth Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10010
or Coalition for the Medical Rights of Women,
433 Turk St., San Francisco, Ca. 94102

Marion Bros. Trial -- No More Control Units?

by Jane Evans, Ann Arbor NAM

Everybody knows that crime is a growing problem in America. Most people would probably agree that "crime in the streets" is a symptom of deeper problems: poverty, racism, unemployment, a lack of goals for young people.

Since our government is not about to deal with these problems, it treats crime by seeking ways to punish, control, or eliminate criminals. Of course, prisons don't reform prisoners; men and women emerge from our prisons more likely to commit crimes than they were when they went in. One solution to this problem is known as behavior modification.

Behavior modification is a system of reward and punishment which was originally developed to train laboratory rats and pigeons. A rat being trained to, say, push a lever, receives a reward -- usually food -- when it behaves correctly. If it does not behave as the experimenter desires, it may receive a punishment -- usually an electric shock. Behavior modification techniques are quite effective in the laboratory, and there is a movement to apply these techniques to human beings in private therapy and in institutions such as schools and prisons.

Use of behavior modification on human beings raises two serious problems. The first is the specter of a Brave New World of human robots, trained without their consent to act according to the wishes of others.

Aside from this issue of who should be allowed to control another person's mind or behavior, there are problems with the actual conditions to which human beings are subjected in the course of behavior modification. Typically, prisoners are placed in extremely painful situations so that they will be motivated to earn slight improvements in their conditions as rewards for approved behavior. Behavior modification justifies the most primitive of prison conditions and the most sophisticated of tortures in the name of modern psychology.

The Marion Brothers trial, a landmark case in the fight against the use of behavior modification in federal and state prisons, is over. A decision is not expected until some time this winter. The litigation, known as Bono v. Saxbe, is a class action suit filed by the American Civil Liberties Union's National Prison Project and the Chicago People's Law Office. It attempts to force the Federal Bureau of Prisons to abolish the use of the long-term Control Unit at Marion Federal Penitentiary. If the case is won, it should have far-reaching implications for other prisoners living under similar brutal and inhumane conditions.

Marion is a maximum security prison, built ten years ago to replace Alcatraz. Use of behavior modification in prisons was introduced at Marion in 1968.

Such "treatment" programs attempt to control activist prisoners by destroying their individuality and breaking their will. Like many other prisoners, the Marion Brothers have joined an active fight against the use of behavior modification techniques on nonconsenting men and women. Involuntary druggings, electroshock, punishment-reward systems easily subverted into outright torture, and in some cases even psychosurgery have been used in prisons throughout the country in the name of "treatment."

Prisoners at the Control Unit at Marion are confined in sensory deprivation cells an average of 23½ hours a day. The chambers have closed fronts with solid steel doors which prevent any noise from passing through. Prisoners are restricted from religious or educational activities, are denied consultation with jailhouse lawyers, and suffer from limited exercise and lack of athletic opportunities. They are not allowed to use the visiting room, but must receive visitors over telephones or through glass partitions. As in most prisons, there are no meaningful vocational training or work opportunities.



Typically, those who "qualify" for these programs are politically aware and have substantial leadership abilities. They have often posed a threat to the internal order of the prison because of their resistance to brutal conditions. As a rule, they are transferred with no prior notice or hearing.

Six of the Marion Brothers were transferred from the START (Special Treatment And Rehabilitative Training) program in Springfield, Missouri. The START program was shut down after the National Prison Project filed a class action suit against it. The case never came to court; the federal government avoided what would have been an unfavorable ruling by closing the START program for "lack of funds."

Testimony by both prisoners in the START program and outside experts revealed that the inmates had been chained hand to foot for days and were found sitting in their own excrement. They were kept naked and forced to eat doggy style.

If a favorable decision is handed down by U.S. District Court Judge James Foreman, the Marion Brothers may be transferred to Leavenworth, which is preparing its own control unit.

The Issues

The issues involved in Bono v. Saxbe involve the the violation of Constitutional rights under the First, Sixth, Eighth, and Ninth Amendments. More specifically, the issues are whether confinement in the Control Unit without a hearing or a finding of a specific disciplinary offense violates due process of law, guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment; whether the behavior modification techniques applied in the Control Unit are cruel and unusual punishment, forbidden by the Eighth Amendment; and whether requiring that social visits for prisoners be conducted by telephone or through glass partitions violates the prisoners' and visitors' rights under the First, Fifth, Eighth, and Ninth Amendments.



Methadone -- No Cure

by White Lightning Organization and Lincoln Detox

I'm your mama, I'm your daddy
I'm your doctor when in need
You know me, I'm your friend
Your main boy. But that can end.
I'm the pusherman.

This pusherman is not a drug user who makes it big for a few months before he falls back into poverty. This pusherman stays on top all the time. He doesn't wear "superfly" clothes; he wears a business suit or a lab coat.

He deals in methadone.

Today there are approximately 100,000 "legal" methadone addicts. Once hailed as a miracle cure for drug addiction, methadone has become a disease itself.

Methadone was discovered in the I. G. Farben labs in Nazi Germany and named "Dolphine" after Adolf Hitler. After the war, the U.S. drug company Eli Lilly and Co. started marketing "Dolphine" as a cough remedy, although it was known that the drug was powerful enough to cause death when taken in even slightly excessive amounts. (Earlier, Lilly had been selling heroin in wild cherry cough syrup.) Then in the mid-sixties, researchers at the elite Rockefeller Institute in New York discovered that high doses of methadone could "block" heroin's effect on the body. They announced to the world that they had found the "cure" for heroin addiction.

When administered in decreasing doses over a period of a week or so, methadone is successful in detoxifying heroin addicts. ("Detoxifying" a heroin addict is like "drying out" an alcoholic.) But methadone detoxification isn't profitable. The big money lies in methadone maintenance -- hooking ex-heroin addicts on a lifetime habit of high doses of methadone. In 1972, \$1.7 billion worth of federal funds were voted to combat drug addiction, and 95% of that money was channeled into methadone maintenance programs.

Methadone Maintenance

The basic assumption behind methadone maintenance is that drug addiction is a chemical disease like, say, diabetes, and that it can be treated by a special chemical -- methadone. According to the theory, drug addicts are suffering from a "character disorder" -- a more or less permanent alteration in their brains. But there's plenty of evidence that the real cause of addiction lies in social conditions, and not in the brains of the victims. Addiction rates are highest in poor black and Latin communities and among Vietnam veterans -- for bitterly obvious reasons.

As John Maher of White Lightning testified in the Winter Soldier hearings on drugs and the military, "They told me I had a character disorder. O.K., I went for it. But now that I think about it -- this is just GI's now -- how can 700,000 GI's have character disorders? That seems kind of insane to me and kind of stupid."

What is it like to be on methadone maintenance? Once or twice a day, every day, you go down to the program to get drugs. You are dependent on your methadone program just like you used to be dependent on the heroin pusher. And like any narcotic, methadone slows people down and damps out emotions. Scientists have found that it can cause degenerative changes in the brain cells like those found in senility. Most methadone victims are severely constipated. Men frequently suffer from impotence. Babies born to methadone-addicted mothers are addicted at birth, and must go through a painful 30 - 60 day withdrawal period. Ten "methadone babies" have died in the last two years in the Bronx alone.



A methadone habit is a lot harder to break than a heroin habit. "Cold turkey" withdrawal from heroin involves two to five days of vomiting and tremors. Not so with methadone. Our experience in helping thousands of people (including some of us) kick the methadone habit is that the withdrawal crisis can go on for weeks on end. There's insomnia, depression, and pains in all parts of the body. Someone can stay with you for a two to five day withdrawal crisis, but when your sickness lasts for weeks and weeks, you're on your own.

Drug Traffic

All this might not seem so bad if methadone programs were achieving what they set out to do: reducing the illegal drug traffic and all the crime and demoralization that goes with it. But the fact is that methadone has only added to the illegal traffic. For every "legal" methadone addict enrolled in a program, there is at least one "illegal" addict who depends on the methadone that somehow leaks out into the streets. In 1972, Lilly "lost" 12,000 methadone pills in New York City alone. So great is the illegal use of methadone that in New York, deaths from methadone overdoses now outnumber heroin overdose deaths by a ratio of five to one.

Who profits from the methadone plague? First there are the clinics that dispense the methadone. In New York City there are 24 private methadone maintenance clinics, and they net a total of \$2 - 3 million in profit each year. Most of that money is public money, coming from Medicaid. Each private clinic has a doctor as a front man, as required by law. But the real owners include construction contractors, wholesale jewelers, real estate agents -- businessmen who are often known in the community to have underworld connections.

But the big money goes to Eli Lilly and Co., whose yearly profits of \$155 million have been rising at about 20% a year recently, thanks in part to the company's methadone and barbiturate sales. Value Line Investments Co. calls Lilly "a jewel in any portfolio." Lilly has subsidiaries in 34 countries, especially in locations such as Spain, Guatemala, Taiwan, and South Africa with fascist dictatorships and low wages.

Lilly keeps some pretty unsavory company in this country as well. The Lilly Endowment, controlled by the Lilly family, is one of the largest "charitable" foundations in the U.S. John Lynn, who directed the Lilly Endowment from 1959 until he retired in 1973, is a leader of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade and has been closely associated with the John Birch Society. (The John Birch Society considers unions, medicare, social security, and the United Nations to be "communist plots.") Through the endowment, Lilly and Co. has been the largest source of corporate funds for right wing activities in the country.

Social Control

Methadone maintenance clinics themselves often serve as pushers of right wing ideology. If you're dependent on methadone, you do what you're told. Some programs have rules about who their patients can talk to and where they can go in the community. Some prohibit their patients from wearing black liberation buttons or expressing their political beliefs in other legal ways. Feminists and gay people are routinely harassed. Even hair length and dress may be regulated.

The point of methadone maintenance is to control people, not to cure them. The government's Methadone Maintenance Treatment Manual states: "The fact that methadone is addicting is essential to allow therapy [!] to occur ... It helps develop trust between the patient and the doctor."

Methadone is often used to control people who do not even have a drug problem. In some V.A. hospitals the policy has been to put any Viet vet who has had a heroin problem on methadone maintenance -- even if he is completely free of the habit on admission. In prisons, inmates who are not addicts and whose convictions may be only vaguely related to drugs are offered a "parole" into methadone maintenance. In most parts of the country prisoners can trade up to five years of their time behind bars for five years on the street behind methadone.

We know of thousands of people who have chosen to remain in jail rather than be paroled to a methadone program. Here is part of a letter to White Lightning from a prisoner in Chino, California:

I have been propositioned four different times to take methadone or do the time, and I've always chose to do the time. My reason may be funky, but, after seeing dudes with a lot of soul and get-up-and-go turn to zombies, with no hustle left, begging a quarter for a bottle of wine, I made up my mind that methadone wasn't where it was at.

White Lightning and Lincoln Detox have been working together for four years to help addicts, to stop the flow of drugs of all kinds in our community, and to combat the kinds of oppression that lead people to drug use. We are community organizations, but we see our task as launching a nationwide campaign against the drug plague. For more information on our work and how you can get involved, write:

White Lightning Organization, Box 149,
Bronx, N.Y. 10468
Lincoln Detox, 333 Southern Boulevard,
Bronx, N.Y. 10454

White Lightning is a community organization in the Bronx in New York City. Lincoln Detox is a people's drug treatment center run out of Lincoln Hospital in the Bronx.

(Editor's note: Lilly is also the major manufacturer of DES. See page 1)

Fear of Flying Erica Jong
Signet Paperback 1973

by Karen Morgan, Newspaper Collective

Fear of Flying was highly recommended as a women's novel. Erica Jong used her main character, Isadora, to present herself, her struggles, and parts of her life. As Isadora, Jong revealed her innermost feelings, her anger, her guilt, and her search for freedom. She is constantly aware of "liberation" as the issue. She knows what it means to be a woman in America.

Growing up female in America. What a liability!...What all the ads and whoroscopes seemed to imply was that...if only you took proper care of your smells, your hair, your looks, your eyelashes, your armpits...you'd meet a beautiful, powerful, potent, and rich man who'd satisfy every longing.

For years, Isadora has embraced the guilt characteristic of American women. Ten years of psychoanalysis have not helped her solve her personal dilemmas. In fact, Isadora's guilt has been reinforced by her male psychiatrists as well as her husbands and lovers.

Not surprisingly, Isadora falls into the trap of longing for freedom in the form of a perfect sexual partner. *Fear of Flying* is quite explicit about sex and sexuality. Of course, this is a major selling point of the book. "The most uninhibited delicious erotic novel ever written by a woman," proclaims John Updike across the cover.



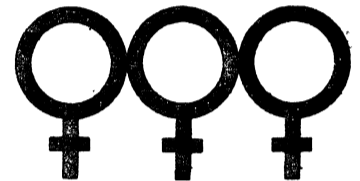
Great Speckled Bird/cpf

Isadora has left her first husband, who thought he was Christ, and she is disappointed with her second for being cold and boring. She yearns for another relationship, with a different man of course.

Isadora becomes infatuated with Adrian, who offers seemingly casual and uninhibited sex. She finds neither adequate sex nor freedom with him. They run off across Europe in what appears to Isadora to be a wild and daring flight. But Adrian's impulsiveness reveals itself as much a fraud as his promise of sexual abandon. What Isadora has taken for an undirected escapade turns out to have been carefully calculated by Adrian to deliver him to a long scheduled meeting with his wife and child. Unfulfilled and disillusioned with her lover, Isadora ends the novel in her husband's bathtub, awaiting his return.

Isadora asks many questions but suggests only one answer, which doesn't work. The important issues raised in *Fear of Flying* are not really pursued. What is liberation? How do we seek it? although the novel suggests that it is impossible to develop good relationships with men, it does not even hint at other possibilities. Isadora never develops a relationship with a woman. The novel offers no hope that men can change. Jong captures the struggles of women well, but *Fear of Flying* does not really address itself to the process of change in the author/heroine or in other women, let alone men.

At the novel's end we see a woman fall back on the situation she wanted to escape: a listless marriage. Is Jong telling us that it is futile to struggle? Must we be satisfied with the situations we find ourselves in? It is no mystery why this book has received rave reviews in the male dominated popular press. Jong leads women through men and back to men. Her questions are important, but her attempt at an answer brings us to a dead end. Women must continue to ask such questions. We must also seek real answers and alternatives, which may not win the approval of popular publishers, but may lead us to a better understanding of ourselves as women.



book reviews

Fear of Freedom

Loose Ends Barbara Raskin
Bantam 1973

by Carollee Sandberg, Newspaper Collective

Coco Berman is the heroine of Barbara Raskin's *Loose Ends*, another novel revealing the intimate life of a "liberated" woman. As with *Fear of Flying*, the image of a sexy woman eager to engage in multiple sexual adventures is a major selling point of the book.

Like Isadora in *Fear of Flying*, Coco is the well off wife of a professional, and has her own career, several lovers, and time to agonize over the personal turmoil of being a liberated woman. She also has four children, a house to clean, meals to prepare, and a husband who leaves her.

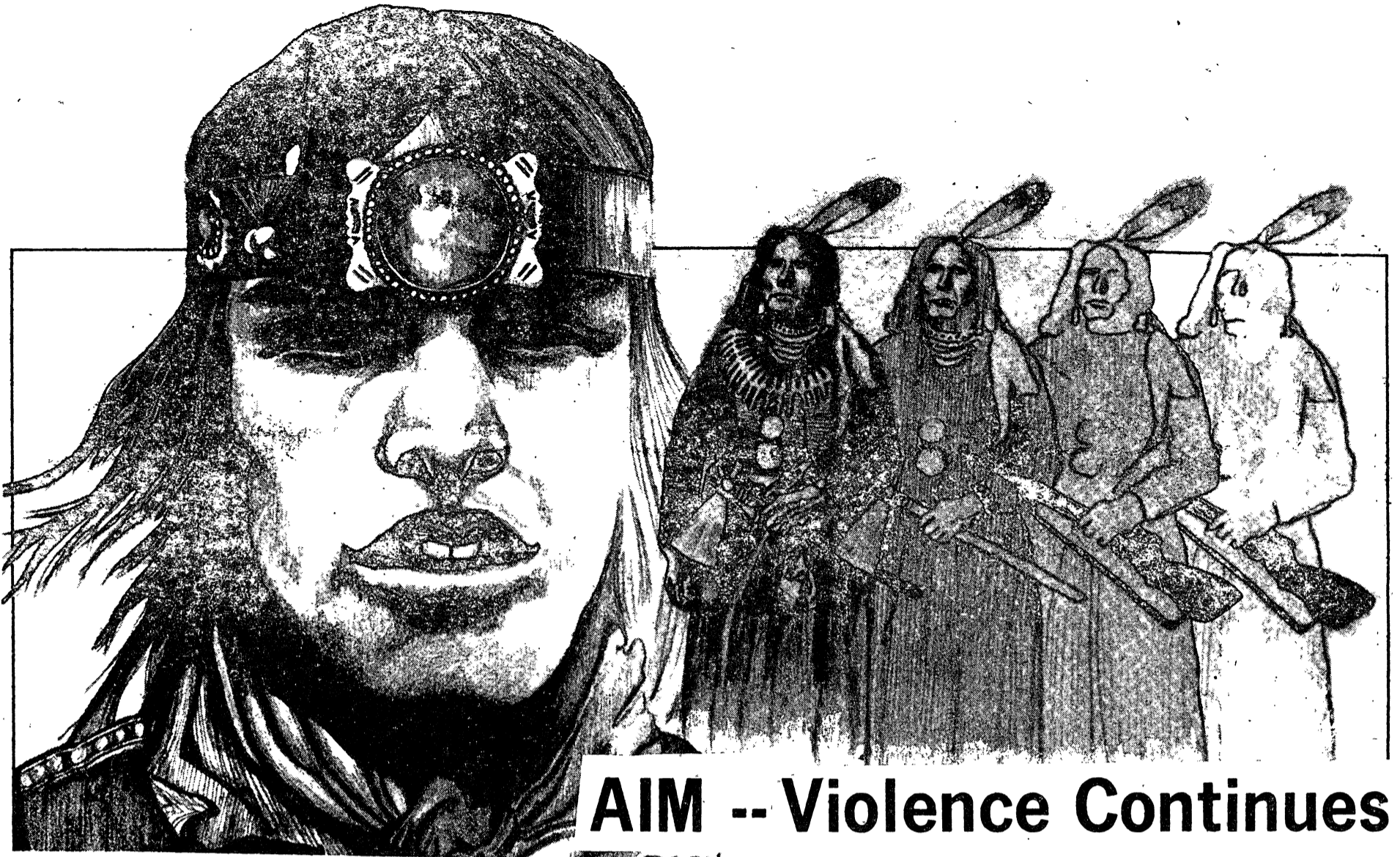
When Coco is told that her husband is sleeping with another woman, she goes on strike, refusing to do her job as a wife and mother. Simulating hysteria, she locks herself on her porch and engages in self pity and a rigorous individual program of self-improvement. This does not work. The real world impinges on Coco. Her husband, her lover, and her housekeeper leave simultaneously.



Coco panics and turns to other men. They want her body but not her problems. She realizes that no one is going to pick up the pieces of her life for her. She watches a single black mother in her neighborhood coping with a similar problem and wonders if her life has been too easy for her to be strong. The book ends with Coco asking for and receiving support from women in a women's center.

One of the most interesting parts of *Loose Ends* is Coco's relationship with the Women's Movement. She understands that capitalism is at the root of her oppression as a woman, but feels threatened by the life styles of radical women she encounters. There are humorous dialogues between Coco's "pre-libby" and "post-libby" superegos. She feels guilty about acting unliberated, yet afraid and unsure of her alternatives. When she realizes that one of the movement heavies has some of the same ambivalences as herself, Coco begins to see her as less of a super-woman and more as a person.

Women writing about women are faced with many unanswered questions about how we live and with whom. Raskin has moved one step towards answering those questions. In the process, she begins to raise other questions about class and the relationship between feminism and socialism.



AIM -- Violence Continues

by Gail Sullivan

Three American Indians, Angie and Ivis Long Visitor and Joanna Le Deaux, face a possible 18 months in jail for refusing to cooperate with federal authorities investigating the shooting of two FBI agents on Pine Ridge reservation last June. The incident being investigated resulted in the death of a 24 year old Indian man, Joe Stuntz, and two FBI agents. There is no investigation underway of Stuntz' death.

The three facing jail terms were granted immunity from prosecution. But they refused to testify, standing on their right to sovereignty and self-determination guaranteed by the Treaty of 1868 between the Teton Sioux and the U.S. government.

Angie Long Visitor, a traditional Oglala and mother of three young children, told the grand jury, "I am not a citizen of the United States. I am a citizen of the Great Sioux Nation. I came here under protest today; under the 1868 Treaty, I cannot be forced to testify. The U.S. Attorney is trying to force me to testify by threatening to put me in jail and separate me from my family. But I ask you representatives of the American people to honor our Treaty today."

Federal Judge Andrew Bogue is now hearing motions presented by lawyers for the three Native Americans. The Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee (WKLD/OC) expects that the three will be jailed, but the charges will be appealed, and attorneys will request bond pending appeal.

Harassment and Murder

This new threat of jailings is only one instance in a pattern of recent government repression of members and supporters of the American Indian Movement (AIM). On September 15, a funeral was held on the Pine Ridge reservation for Jimmy Little, another AIM supporter, who was buried next to Joe Stuntz. Little was beaten to death September 10 by four drunks, who are now in jail charged with second degree murder.

The WKLD/OC is investigating the possibility that the four were hired by Dick Wilson, the tribal president, as members of his goon squad. The goons, as they are called on the reservation, are usually drunks and thugs, hired by Wilson to intimidate, harass, and even murder those who challenge his authority. They are paid with federal funds or given jobs in tribal offices, in exchange for their harassment of the

people who wish to replace the tribal government -- controlled by the Interior Department and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) -- with a traditional form of government.

A few days before the murder, on September 5, FBI agents armed with M-16s barged into two homes on the Rosebud reservation in the middle of the night. Seven people, including AIM's spiritual leader Leonard Crow, were arrested. Five were charged with assault, and two (one of whom was wanted by the FBI for questioning in connection with the shooting of the two FBI agents in June) were charged with possession of weapons.

The tribal president, Robert Burnette, described the FBI invasion: "They had this place blocked off like they expected a Little Big Horn to happen. They had all the roads blocked off and four helicopters carrying jeeps." As a result of the incident, tribal officials have drawn up a proclamation banning any such invasion of Rosebud reservation without notice to the tribal president and the BIA superintendent, as specified in the 1868 treaty.

On September 10, a car carrying seven adults and an infant burst into flames in Kansas. Some of the passengers were treated for injuries suffered in the explosion, and one is still in the hospital. After being held for 24 hours without charges, the passengers are now being charged with possession of unregistered explosives and transporting weapons with altered serial numbers across state lines. All are being held on \$75,000 bond, except for Robert Robideaux, who is still in the hospital with patches over both eyes -- his bond is \$125,000.

Houses Ransacked

On September 12, on the Shawnee reservation in Oklahoma, a force of 50 FBI agents invaded the home of Gerry Brown and her son, Martin Thomas, both AIM supporters. The agents, armed with M-16s and assisted by helicopters, conducted a random search of the house without a warrant. After claiming to find marijuana in a shed, they charged Thomas with possession with intent to sell.

On September 14, in Minneapolis, Minnesota, the FBI broke into a house without a warrant and found one weapon. They have charged six people with possession of a single gun, and three are still in jail.

The mounting legal harassment of Indian people around the country comes in the wake of a summer of violence and tension on the Pine

Ridge reservation. Numerous Indians, AIM supporters and traditional people, have been killed -- shot, beaten to death, run off the road. Others have been seriously beaten, and most AIM supporters and sympathizers on the reservation live in constant fear. They feel they have no recourse, because the white court system has been used only to oppress them, never to protect them. With the exception of the murderers of Jimmy Little, no one has been charged for the killings and beatings of traditional Oglala people in the past six months.

Dual System of Justice

In fact, since 1973, when AIM first held a demonstration in Custer, South Dakota protesting this dual system of justice, their point has been proven again and again. After that demonstration, twenty Indian people and their supporters were arrested. Some of them still face trial, while the murderer of an Indian man, whose slaying was the cause of the demonstration, was acquitted. Although 300 Indians and their supporters were indicted for the Wounded Knee siege, and although two were killed by federal agents during that siege, no federal authorities were ever charged. And when Pedro Bissonette, a leader at Wounded Knee, was killed by a Bureau of Indian Affairs officer, no one was indicted.

In a Sioux Falls courtroom, when riot squad members attacked Indian spectators at a trial of the Custer defendants, 14 Indians and their supporters were arrested; but although one defendant, David Hill, was permanently blinded, and several others seriously injured, not one riot squad member was arrested. When a WKLD/OC team was beaten by 30 members of Dick Wilson's goon squad on his orders, federal authorities finally acted -- they arrested Wilson and five goons for misdemeanor assault, for which they received \$10 fines.

Indian people speak of a dual system of justice. They say that people who commit crimes against traditional Indians are often not arrested for those crimes, while Indians are continually subject to arrest, often for crimes they did not commit. But the injustice goes even further. The legal system is being used -- as in the case of the grand jury and contempt citations -- as a tool of repression against Indians who are fighting for their survival as Native American people.

Gail Sullivan works with the Wounded Knee Defense Committee.



Ask Emma

Dear Emma:

In your opinion, what was the single most insulting management contract proposal of the past year?

Possible Winner

Dear Winner:

It's hard to choose from so many fine entries, and the year isn't even over. The N.Y.C. Board of Education has made a strong bid for first place with the contract proposal that drove the New York teachers out on strike (see page 3). On the other hand, we have to admire the cleverness of many comparatively obscure firms and municipalities. One small town, obviously inspired by New York's example, compensated for its relatively insignificant size by the wittiness of its insulting proposal, in which the major concession was a day off from work for the death of a grandparent. (This has led to countless labor disputes over whether or not this clause can be interpreted to be retroactive.) I'm sure there are thousands of astonishingly insulting contract

proposals I've never even heard about. I'd like to open this one up to our readers (both of them). Send your entries, and we'll announce the winner in our January issue.

Dear Emma:

Who in hell writes you those stupid letters? My mother-in-law doesn't even know who Stalin is. Not to mention Enver Hoxha, who I assume you invented when you had nothing better to do, and Bella Abzug, who sounds like he comes from Albania. If you're gonna print stuff like that, you should print it with a glossary.

Left Out

Dear Left:

I'm sorry we confused you. Just to set the record straight: Joseph Stalin was the leader of the Soviet Union from 1925 to 1953. He has a small following even today, in the United States if not in the U.S.S.R. Enver Hoxha is the president of Albania, which was a big fad about five years ago. Fan clubs are harder to find today. Bella Abzug and Marlon Brando are Americans of about the same age. While I don't know that they're the same person, I will say that I've never seen them together.

Dear Emma:

Can a 25 year old woman get pregnant by reading newspapers? My parents caught me reading an interview with the president's wife and they got all upset and sent me to my room. Now every time I want to go out at night they start yelling about the White House getting girls in trouble and how if the president doesn't have the sense to keep an eye on his daughter they still do. My husband agrees with me that they're overdoing this. What do you think?

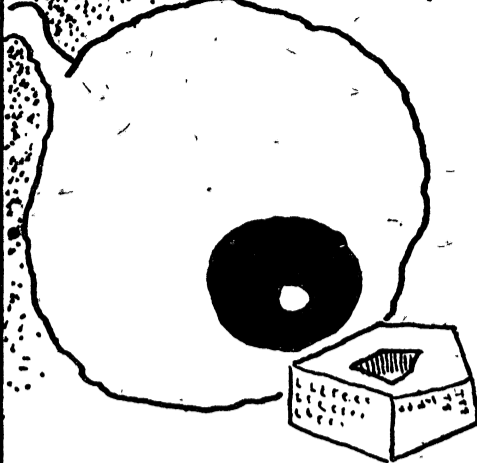
Restless

Dear Restless:

The White House has certainly gotten a lot of people in trouble. Maybe your parents would trust you more if you promised not to have anything to do with the president or any of his family or friends. It's true that young people can pick up bad habits if they keep bad company. Oh

RECON

KEEPING AN EYE ON THE PENTAGON



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TV Game Shows

Just Like Life

by Elayne Rapping, Pittsburgh NAM

Everyone is aware of the enormous and increasing popularity of television game shows. Contrary to the popular theories bandied about to explain it, however, their success has nothing to do with the stupidity or insanity of their (largely) working class audiences. On the contrary, it's the stupidity and insanity of the capitalist system, in which we're all forced to live, that should be examined. For in a real, if oversimplified, sense, these shows are a metaphor of American life, as it's taught and lived, from kindergarten to assembly line.

Competing for prizes is what school (and later, life) is all about. And the rules for doing it are as simple as those of any game show. Just "follow directions," "get good grades," and you'll grow up to be happy and successful.

But how do you get good grades? And what directions do you follow? Well, the second one is easy: all directions, no matter how irrational, dehumanizing, or intellectually stifling. If the teacher makes everyone trace the same Thanksgiving turkey for "creative art class," you don't argue; you do it. If you're told to put your chewing gum on the end of your nose to "teach you a lesson," you don't ask what the lesson is; you learn it.

As for getting good grades, well, there's always an element of luck involved. Some people "just happen" to glance at the very questions to be asked, on their way to exams. Others regularly spend weeks memorizing everything but.

But the only officially acknowledged method of getting good grades is "learning." And in American schools, that means a lot of rote memorization of meaningless facts. Who doesn't

have at least one piece of useless information permanently engraved in their brain, simply because it once meant the difference between a B and a C on a report card?

Which brings me to the carrot that keeps it all going -- the promise of winning, being singled out, recognized, rewarded. Curiosity, creativity, even meaningful or useful work, have little to do with American education. It's a matter of doing what you're told and waiting breathlessly for the A, the gold star, the "Johnny's handwriting is much improved."

Well, that's what game shows are all about, too. They are the fastest, purest means of achieving the American school child's dream of fame and fortune. Just answer questions, follow directions, and with a little luck you'll take home a prize.

Quiz Shows

Within this general framework, "audience-participation" shows fall into three categories. The least offensive are the straight quiz shows. Here, at least, the myth that America rewards people for what they know -- that being "smart" makes you "rich" -- is taken seriously.

Just as in school, instant recall of irrelevant facts is at a premium. And just as in school, the questions are either devoid of social significance -- "Are people with dry or oily hair more prone to dandruff?", "Does the mocking bird, falcon, or crane have the longest neck?" -- or supportive of the myths and values of capitalism. The most common subjects are popular culture and politics. On a recent segment of "Jackpot!", for example, the categories were "Presidents," "Millionaires," "Sports," "Movie Stars," "State Capitals," and "Boy Scouts."

This emphasis on glamor and trivia tends to elevate the flotsam and jetsam of American life to a level of profound intellectual significance. If you can get \$360 for knowing whether "Tuesday Weld spells her name exactly the same as the day of the week," why bother working through the theory of surplus value?

And, on a more subtle level, it reinforces the "star system" view of life we're taught in school. The emphasis on famous and unique people and things is typically American. We are taught to care less about the economic and political causes of the Civil War, than the personalities and dates involved. We're rewarded for answering "trick" questions, rather than understanding concepts. "What is the capitol of Montana?" was asked on two different shows in a one week period, simply because the answer is so little known -- and for good reason.

I Can Do Better Than That"

Shows which reward people for knowledge, however, are among the least popular. The favorites use a gambling motif, which is a more accurate version of the American rags to riches myth: that life is a giant lottery, and winning a matter of luck. Celebrity-participant shows are a good example. The "stars" who play "Match Game" -- the most popular of all daytime TV shows -- seem to bend over backwards to appear stupid. When asked, "Who was President during the American Revolution?", for example, John Davidson answered, "McKinley." People from Maine to Mexico must have been mumbling, "I could do better than that" on that day.

That's the point. Game show celebrities are just like you and me, except for the fact that they're stars. And since stars are among the



most famous and successful Americans, it's reassuring to find out that they're stupid. If they are that stupid, anyone, even you, has a chance of winning the big prize; it is just a matter of luck.


Neither luck nor learning has much to do with the success of the most offensive type of game shows, which, for want of a better term, I'll call "The Sickies." Shows like "Let's Make a Deal", "The Price is Right", and "The New Treasure Hunt" are nothing more than emotional and intellectual parodies of life under capitalism at its most vulgar and base. Greed, hysteria, and a willingness to accept ridicule and humiliation are the psychological requirements.

Intellectually, it's even simpler. Only one kind of knowledge -- of consumer good prices -- is required. You have to be familiar with the price of virtually every commodity the American consumer could conceivably dream of buying. To win a chance to prove their mastery of this subject, and so perhaps win the actual products, contestants dress up as sausages and sauerkraut, shriek and bellow aloud, jump in circles across the stage, and generally allow themselves to be teased, tormented and mocked. On the outside chance of winning \$25,000 -- as opposed to the more standard prize, some household necessity like an automatic ice crusher or garbage compactor -- "New Treasure Hunt" contestants have been dressed in rubber tires, squeezed into baby carriages, and worse.


This brings me back to the American school system, where we all first learned to perform ridiculous tasks in the hope of winning useless prizes, and to passively accept ridicule and humiliation. It's easy to laugh at the people who wait as long as two years for a chance to "Come On Down!", only to go home with nothing more substantial than a pie in the face.

But it's not us who's getting the last laugh. After all, there isn't an American worker or consumer whose daily life isn't fraught, to some extent, with humiliation, exploitation, manipulation and unfulfilled hopes. Think of the things we've all had to do, at one time or another, just to keep ourselves at subsistence level, either materially or spiritually. I think about that sometimes, and it invariably leads me to wonder whether game show contestants aren't among the more rational Americans.

After all, given the limited choices capitalism offers most of us for staying alive, gambling, dressing up, even making an ass of yourself, aren't necessarily worse than, or even very different from, what a lot of us are probably doing right now. Except that that, whatever it is, will never pay \$25,000 for ten minutes work. Think about it.



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