

NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE PAID
BOSTON, MASS.
PERMIT NO. 57429

VOLUME V: NUMBER III

NOVEMBER 1975

35 cents

Taxi Rank and File Gains Ground

Editors' note: In New York City, tens of thousands of working people -- women and men, white and third world, young and old -- earn their livings driving taxi cabs. It's a tense and dangerous occupation; wages are low; the chances of advancement are zero. These conditions help explain the success of Taxi Rank and File Coalition (RF), an independent, socialist organization of workers in the taxi industry. RF puts out a monthly newspaper with a circulation of over 10,000, The Hot Seat, sponsors social and cultural events for taxi workers, and spearheads the fight against the day-to-day oppression and harassment taxi drivers face. This fall, after four and a half years of struggle, RF won a stunning victory in union committee elections. The following is an interview with John Welch, RF activist and member of the N.Y. Mets chapter of NAM.

by Barbara Ehrenreich, Metropolis NAM

NAM Paper: How do you explain R&F's victories in the September union elections?

John Welch: I'm surprised myself. There was a time last year when the union systematically tried to crush R&F. Elias Rick [a taxi union V.P.] told us, "We're going to wipe you out of the industry." R&F people were fired all over and our committees were broken up. But then in September we ran in committee elections in eleven garages and came in first in seven. [The person who comes in first is the shop steward.] The ones we didn't win we came in second or third.

For example, in one garage the R&F candidate is a guy who was smashed in the last election and has been beaten up a few times. Well, he beat the union machine in this garage -- two to one. That freaked out the union because they figured this garage was one of their strongholds.

NAM paper: You talk as if you were fighting the union as well as the bosses.

Welch: In most garages the union is practically invisible. Like in my garage, I'm a steady full time driver, I've been there since June, and never met my shop steward. By and large people feel like the union just steals their dues and gives them nothing in return. Mostly the union leadership -- the people who sit downtown in an office --

Lincoln Detox Fights for Life

Last month we featured an article on the problems of Methadone treatment for heroin addiction. That article was written in part by the staff of Lincoln Detox, a community-based treatment center in the predominantly Puerto Rican section of the South Bronx, which uses political education rather than methadone to cure addiction. On September 24, staff workers from Lincoln Detox took over the offices of the Health and Hospital Corporation to prevent the closing of their center. The HHC want to fire the existing staff -- mostly ex-addicts who have close ties with the community. The firing is part of a larger program of cutbacks which are supposedly required by the financial crisis in N.Y. The demonstrators won a temporary victory: a court order prevented HHC from closing the center for at least three weeks, and HHC agreed to some of the staff's demands. But the future of the program remains in doubt.

those guys show up and act like a kind of an arm of the boss.

Let me give you an example from last week, at the Eden Flushing garage where Lester [a member of R&F and NAM] works. Lester was a shop steward for all last year. This garage had a group of very radical, Latin inside workers and all last year they were Lester's solidest base of support. [Inside workers pump gas, repair cabs, and do towing.] Whenever he wanted to shut the garage down for something like, say, harassment or bribe-taking by the dispatchers, these inside workers would immediately shut the gas pumps and the whole garage would stop. Or they would do a safety check and discover that almost every car had bald tires or faulty brakes and close down the garage this way.

Now Eden was shutting down its, Brooklyn garage, so this gave them an extra set of inside workers who the bosses decided to ship up to Flushing to replace the radical ones there. So to

Joe Hughes Tells His Story

The View from Saigon

by Maggie Patterson, Pittsburgh NAM

Joe Hughes flew into Saigon April 16 against a rushing tide of other Americans fleeing the city with their South Vietnamese collaborators.

With the city under imminent attack, tension was drawn taut in a web of barbed wire. Two weeks later, Joe stood an anxious watch at his apartment window while a mile away white flags blossomed from government buildings and Gen. Duong Van Minh surrendered quietly in the Presidential Palace.

"Incredible," Joe thought when the victorious troops finally appeared in the streets below. The dashboards of their jeeps and their motorcycle handlebars were strewn with flowers. The guns were down, and so was the level of fear.

Joe Hughes had been called to Saigon by his brother Dick, who founded the Shoeshine Boys Foundation there in 1968 shortly after arriving as a free lance journalist. Dick had decided to stay while the six homes he had run for 250 street children in Danang and Saigon were phased out and taken over by the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG). He had wanted Joe to carry word of his safety back to the family in Pittsburgh.

But Joe would not miss the chance to witness the historic change he had been waiting for through years of antiwar activity in the U.S. He stayed in Saigon through the middle of August.

With news reports about the new regime slowed to a trickle, Joe has become somewhat of a celebrity with the local media since his recent return to Pittsburgh. As an American tourist in Saigon, he watched reorganization efforts spring up in his own crowded urban neighborhood. He befriended a number of the 85 North Vietnamese soldiers who took over rooms evacuated by Americans in his apartment building, and shared their stories of war and victory.

"We stayed inside on the day of liberation because we didn't know if there would be a fight or what the extent of anti-Americanism might be. We were very big, white, and American and a

Inside:

- Fighting utility rate hikes
- Country music
- AFL-CIO convention
- New TV season
- and more . . .

do this they called up Charlie Bono, the union vice president in charge of Queens, and Charlie comes up to Flushing to announce that the Flushing workers are to be fired.

NAM Paper: Why would Bono, as a union official, do this for the company?

Welch: It's easier for the company to have a union official break the bad news. Besides, Charlie owes them favors. That's how it works in the taxi industry.

To get back to last week. The Flushing inside workers and R&F people spread the word to strike -- and remember this is pretty difficult,

continued on page 2



Saigon girls gathering firewood.

lot of people were wandering around with guns." Joe recalled.

No Bloodbath

About noon on April 30, Radio Saigon fell silent, then quickly returned to the air as Radio Liberation and issued a promise of no reprisals and a call for students and workers to return the next day to their jobs and classes. Loudspeakers on the street told the people, "Do not worry. You will be well treated."

The widespread theory of a bloodbath went quickly down the drain, Joe said, and celebrations soon sprang up instead.

He recalled a story about a re-education class being held for South Vietnamese who had worked for the Americans. A leader assured the

continued on page 10

Ross the Boss

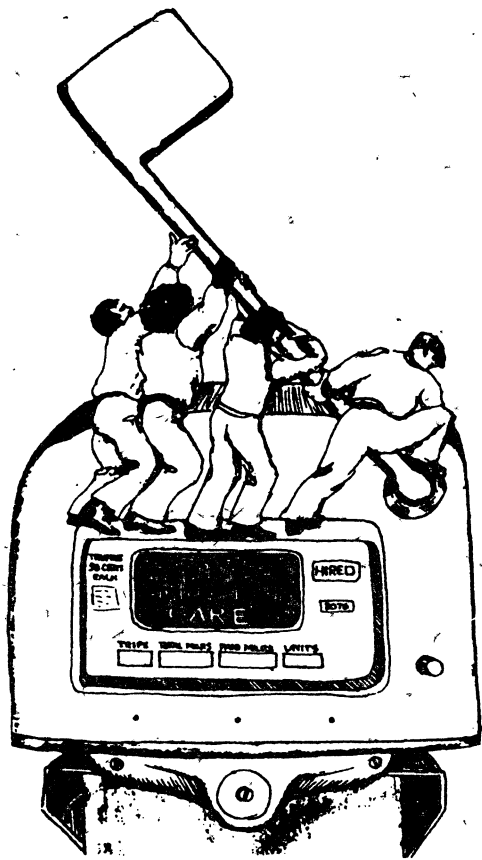
words by Taxi Rank & File

This is the story of Ross the Boss
Who claims his cabs operate at a loss.
He's planning to put his drivers on the rack
So he can buy his son a new cadillac.

His life is so rough, he just gets by,
Over half the meter is his slice of the pie.
With such a small share he can barely eat,
Instead of lobster, he only has meat.

He can't understand why his drivers complain,
Sure the cabs are rotten, but they run all the same,
If the drivers hustle, they'll make out all right.
He can't understand why they're so uptight.

Ross sleeps without rest, dreaming of money,
To him it's sweeter than sugar or honey.
In his dreams drivers are merely dollars and dimes,
His church of silver uses us as chimes.



taxi rank & file,

continued from page 1

because there are maybe 400 workers in a given garage and there are two shifts and a fair number are part-time. And that day that Charlie Bono was supposed to bring in the scabs from Brooklyn they lined up all the cars and barricaded the garage. Then the inside workers shut down the pumps and then they formed a line behind the cars and Charlie Bono said, quote, "Awright, fuck it, you win."

You see the union we now have is not one that the workers fought for. There's about 20,000 fleet ~~New York City~~ and for thirty years there were attempts to get a union in the industry. Mike Quill and the Transit Workers Union tried and his organizers got beat up, murdered, and blacklisted. The Transit Workers failed. Similarly with the Teamsters under Hoffa in the '50's. But in the mid '60's there was an effort called Taxi Drivers Alliance that asked for protection from Mr. Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., President of the New York City Central Labor Council, owner of IBEW Local 3, which is probably the biggest construction workers' union in the country, a hospital workers' union, and a few others.

In addition to having a powerful goon squad, Harry is to the New York City and the state Democratic Party what Meany is to the Democrats nationally. So Harry went to the fleet owners and said give me a union or else I'll have my goon squad smash up your cars and I'll have "my" City Council tax you out of business. That's the way the union business works. So we got a union owned by Harry Van Arsdale.

The first few contracts were good, but the one in 1970/71 was terrible; it meant a real cut in earnings. The drivers were not enthusiastic. At the contract ratification meeting a couple of thousand drivers picked up their chairs and used them to try and kill Van Arsdale. We chased them out of the hall. This was called the Great Chair Throwing Meeting of April 1971, and it was out of this that about a hundred people got together and started Taxi Rank and File.

The first summer there were weekly meetings in a church, with usually 75 to 150 people there. Old guys who nobody ever listened to. Plus several different Leninist vanguard parties, each with a scientifically proven program. And they would argue with each other and the old-timers would just get up and ramble about old times, and all in all it was kind of a zoo.

Over time we pulled together a solid core group and an outer circle of supporters in every garage. In 1971 R&F ran its own candidate against Van Arsdale and we pulled 45% of the votes by the union's count, which probably means we won the election.

Internally we put a big emphasis on study. In our study groups we studied about the taxi

industry and got convinced there was no real future except through community-worker control of the whole transit industry. We became socialists. Then from studying the history of the Communist Party in union organizing we decided not to repeat their mistakes by pretending to be something we weren't. We decided to be completely open about being socialists.

Where are we going now? One of the dangers we face right now, now that we've had this victory, is the temptation to do nothing but file grievances in the garages where we won and concentrate on setting up a functioning union structure. I say this is a "danger" because we've tried it in the past and found that the union downtown has a tendency to ignore grievances filed by R&F. So we could get nowhere and forget that a strong union is not all that we're after.

You see, you can file a lot of grievances and run a clean garage but it's still taxi driving which is unhealthy in at least six different ways, i.e., you get your head shot off by junkies, you get pressured by the job to drive dangerously and you can get killed that way, you breathe exhaust fumes, your kidney goes from the constant pounding, your back goes from the position of the seat, you get spat on by drunks, and rich people, who are most of your passengers, treat you like a chauffeur.

Basically, we want a better life. No, I would say we want life, period. We want to save our lives -- and the lives of all working people.



Steve Carlip, Chris Casey, Lisa Dennen, Lew Friedland, Roger Gottlieb, Dean Manders, Larry Miller, Kathy Moore, Karen Morgan, Carolee Sandberg, John Viertel

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

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.

•Dave Watson, vice-president of an Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers local in Melrose Park, Ill., was run over and killed by a scab truck while on the picket line at Capitol Packaging Company. The truck driver was charged with "failure to yield to a pedestrian," and released on \$25 bond. Ten picketers were also arrested, and held on \$1000 bond each.



cpf

labor notes

•The Supreme Court recently ruled that workers accused of violating certain NLRB-requested injunctions against striking or picketing no longer have the right to a jury trial. Under this decision, the president of a large California Teamsters local faces a year's probation and a \$10,000 fine against his local. He was charged with contempt of court after teamsters drivers honored a printers' picket line at a struck newspaper. The NLRB requested an injunction on the grounds that the picketing was a secondary boycott. When the Teamsters still refused to cross the line, the local president was tried and sentenced by a judge and denied a trial by jury.

•Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, has a new idea for fighting inflation. It's simple -- just pay workers less than the minimum wage. In what the Wall Street Journal called a "radical idea," Burns called for the federal government to offer jobs in hospitals, schools, public parks, and the like to the unemployed, but only at wage rates below the \$2.10 an hour federal minimum wage. These new workers would eventually take the place of unionized federal employees.

Nothing Happens at AFL-CIO Convention

by Dan Marschall, Bay Area NAM

The need for cooperation between labor and management was the theme of several speakers at the AFL-CIO's Eleventh Constitutional Convention in San Francisco October 2-7. Some 900 union officials assembled there to set AFL-CIO policy for the next two years, to hear speeches by such staunch champions of working people as John Dunlop and Patrick Moynihan, and to listen to George Meany blast President Ford for his "economic gobbledygook" and policy of "unilateral concessions to the Soviet Union."

Over 250 resolutions flew beneath the swift gavel of George Meany, many passing unanimously through the efficient procedure of, "You've heard the report of the committee. Any discussion? Any objections? Hearing none, the motion is carried." Very few dissenting opinions were expressed on the Convention floor, as resolutions were combined and compromised in behind-the-scenes committee sessions. It all appeared as a carefully stage-managed affair, with delegates largely uninterested in the proceedings and more concerned with meeting old friends and touring San Francisco.

The enormous personal power of George Meany was evident throughout, as delegates tripped over one another to pay him tribute as "a relentless foe of those who would undermine the strength of democratic forces, not only in America but throughout the free world." He was reelected president by unanimous vote, and there was no discussion of a possible successor. One delegate commented that Lane Kirkland, now secretary-treasurer, would be certain to get that position only if the 81 year old Meany named him such; otherwise it would be up for grabs.

"Most enlightened industrial leaders of today realize that dealing in good faith with a good union isn't just good law and good morals -- it's good business."

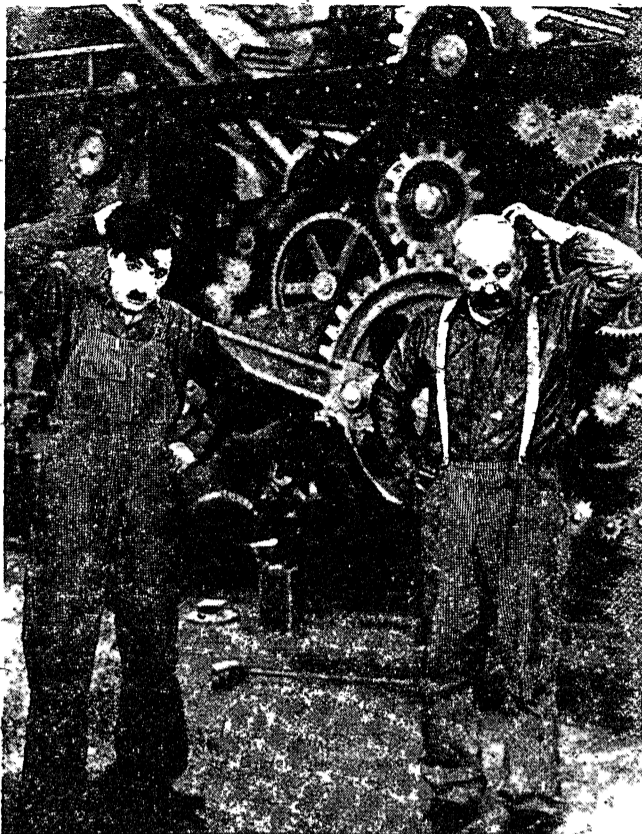
William Usery, Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service

Four new vice presidents, all middle-aged white males, were elected to the AFL-CIO's 35-member Executive Council. There are now no women and only two blacks on the Executive Council, though it's estimated that over seven million women and minority workers are involved in trade unions. A resolution stating that "new additions to the Executive Council be specifically geared to correcting the gross imbalance relating to race and sex" was referred to the current Council for review.

While favoring affirmative action programs, the AFL-CIO restated its "total, emphatic support of seniority systems." When the issue of seniority came up around the layoff of public employees, an amendment urging unions to review layoffs on a case-by-case basis to insure that they were not used in a discriminatory manner to "permit rollbacks of affirmative action gains in hiring and promotion" was rejected. One delegate remarked that this provision would fuzz the issue and weaken the seniority rule.

The National Economy

"We cannot be a great power in the world with 68% of our industrial capacity unused, with 8-10 million people unemployed," George Meany said in his reelection speech. He denounced the Ford administration for policies that "have plunged America into the worst economic crisis since the 1930's." Because the administration has "strongly opposed measures to generate a vigorous economic pick-up and rapid progress toward full employment," the Executive Council declared, "the resulting outlook is for an anemic pick-up, resulting in persistent unemployment, large amounts of idle plants and machines, a sluggish pace of productivity, and continuing large deficits in the federal budget."



The key to economic recovery, according to the AFL-CIO, is full employment through measures like a nationwide 35 hour work week, more public service job programs, and government supported housing, public works, and railroad reconstruction programs. Their national economy proposals include an increase in the minimum wage, extension of income tax cuts through 1976, elimination of tax incentives for U.S. corporations to export jobs and technology, pressure on the Federal Reserve to reduce interest rates, and the elimination of tax loopholes.

"The program on paper says a lot," said Charles Hayes of the Amalgamated Meatcutters, "but there's a big gap between rhetoric and trying to get something implemented. I don't think you can assume a policy of making us appear as a world power militarily, to spend money in that direction, and still have money to take care of the social needs of people. The AFL-CIO ought to clearly point out that our priority has to be to spend tax money to provide jobs, instead of spending money on the implements of war. The AFL-CIO, including Meany, is apparently not prepared to take that position yet. But they could, if they wanted to work in coalition with organizations like civil rights groups or others in the black and brown communities where unemployment is really rampant."

'76 Politics

The coming of the Democratic politicians resembled a gathering of spiritualists, as the Presidential hopefuls invoked the ghosts of Roosevelt, Truman, and Johnson to help guide America through these troubled times. Though not yet a declared candidate, Hubert Humphrey was greeted with applause, whistles, shouts, and standing ovations. "I just come here because I think we ought to talk together," Humphrey told his old friends. If his reception was any indication, he is most likely to be the AFL-CIO's favorite in '76.

Henry Jackson was received cordially but unenthusiastically. His speech was composed of trite one-liners attacking the Ford administration, praise for the AFL-CIO's opposition to detente, and a call for jobs for every American willing to work. Lloyd Bentson and Birch Bayh also spoke to delegates.

CLUW and Women Workers

The Convention's 22 women delegates (out of 900 delegates) met to discuss the upcoming national convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), and how best to work within the trade union structure for the rights of

women workers. Several resolutions to formally endorse CLUW were defeated on the grounds that CLUW includes organizations not affiliated with the AFL-CIO, like the National Education Association. The Executive Council did say, however, that since CLUW is in the trade union tradition, the AFL-CIO will continue to cooperate with it on programs of common interest.

A resolution to institute a special Committee on Women was rejected, although the convention did decide to add people familiar with problems of women workers to the Civil Rights Committee. The AFL-CIO reaffirmed its support of equality of women, adequate child care legislation, the Equal Rights Amendment, and affirmative action programs, but placed no particular emphasis on the importance of organizing working women.

AFL-CIO policy on foreign affairs continues to be guided by anti-communism and opposition to detente. The Convention called for actions "designed to regain America's leadership of the free world," opposed cutbacks in arms spending by fixed dollar or percentage amounts, and rejected any policy of isolationism emerging from the U.S. defeat in Indochina.

The Convention did come out against the military dictatorship in Chile. Although claiming that a majority of Chileans "accepted the coup as a necessary act," the resolution condemned the military junta. This proposal replaced one calling for "an end to all American military and economic aid to the junta, and the withdrawal of diplomatic recognition of the present regime."

WORKINGMEN!

INSIST UPON THE UNION LABEL

MEASURES
SANITARY SHOPS,
FAIR PAY,
SHORTER HOURS,
RELIABLE CLOTHING

974613

ISSUED BY AUTHORITY OF
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF
LABOR
AMERICAN
CLOTHING

USED BY ALL LEADING MAKERS OF MECHANICS CLOTHING

(SEE LIST OTHER SIDE)

Counter-Demonstrations

A few delegates took part in several small demonstrations held outside the Convention hall. The Bay Area Trade Union Committee for Chile sponsored a Labor Seminar on Chile, featuring Abe Feinglass of the Amalgamated Meatcutters. It also organized a demonstration against National City Bank, which supports the CIA-sponsored American Institute for Free Labor Development, and recently granted \$70 million in credits to the Chilean junta.

Bay Area Trade Unionists, a coalition of rank and file caucuses, held a picket line calling for rank and file democracy, fighting discriminatory layoffs, and opposing the Construction Industry Collective Bargaining Act (which the AFL-CIO supports), a law that would allow the government to impose contract settlements. The United Workers Organizing Committee held a rally of about 100 people, as well.

In Vermont, Workers' Mine is Theirs

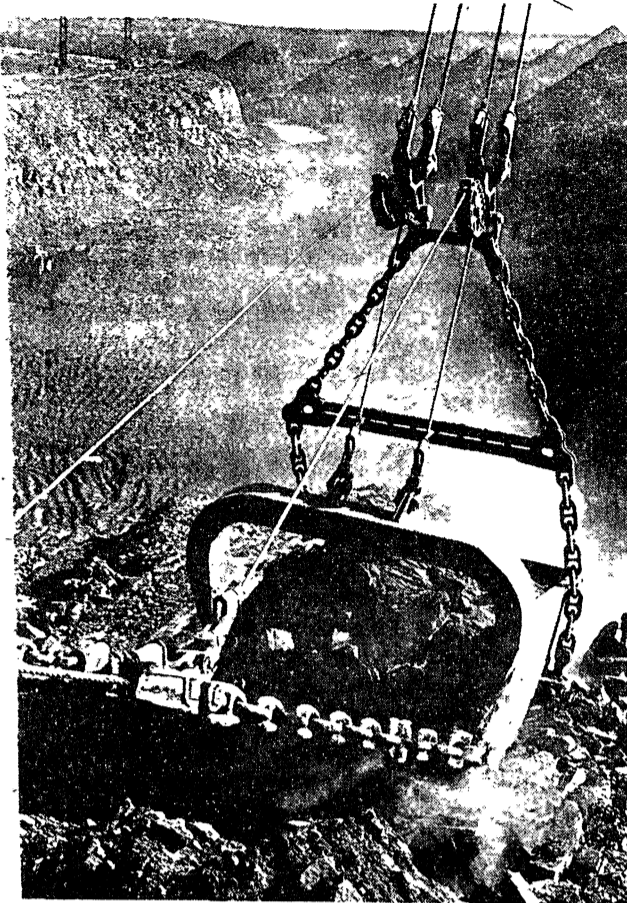
by Steve Carlip, Newspaper Collective

Can a multimillion dollar corporation run without a boss? Can a group of workers with no management experience take over a company and operate it better than the old managers? In Lowell, Vermont, 175 asbestos workers are proving that the answer to these questions is yes.

When the New York-based GAF Corporation decided last year to close its quarry and mill in Vermont, it meant disaster for the town of Lowell. The unemployment rate was already 15%, and the quarry was almost the only employer in the region. As quarry foreman Romeo Myott said, "We had nothing to lose. We already lost it all when GAF announced they were shutting down."

GAF had decided that it would be more profitable to write off the quarry as a tax loss than to install federally required antipollution equipment. At first, the workers looked for another corporation to buy out GAF. When that failed, they decided to buy the quarry themselves. Digging into their savings to buy \$50 shares and persuading banks to provide them with loans, they raised the \$400,000 GAF demanded. On March 13, 1975, the miners, factory workers, and office workers came to work at a company they owned and controlled.

The Belvidere Mountain Quarry and Mill is now run by a board made up of seven hourly workers, seven salaried workers, and a state official who helped arrange the sale. The chairperson of the board, John Lupien, is a maintenance supervisor; his office is in the plant garage. Other directors include a shovel operator, a mechanic, a warehouseman, and two ore testers. The manager, Jerome Hammang, was hired by the workers, and they can fire him if they don't like his work.



At first, many had doubts that a worker-controlled company could succeed. In the words of John Lupien, the new chairperson, "Here we had a bunch of men who have a hell of a time dealing with thousands of dollars, and suddenly we're talking about millions."

Despite predictions of doom, the business did not collapse. In fact, the mine and mill have run at full capacity since April. At the same time, costs have dropped dramatically, especially equipment repair costs. Lupien explained that the workers "realize we all own this equipment

now. It's amazing how careful people can be."

In the eight months that the workers have run their company, they have begun to make important changes. They voted to spend \$250,000 more than the Environmental Protection Agency required to reduce the hazards from asbestos fibers, which can cause cancer. In spite of this additional spending, the company expects to make a million dollar profit by the end of the year.

John Lupien described working conditions: "The employees feel the equipment is their own. The atmosphere is more together than before. Everyone wants to be in on decisions." He added, "It's running better than it ever did before."

The Outside World

The fact that the workers control their own business has not made them immune to the realities of the outside economy. They had to borrow heavily from a group of banks in order to buy the company, and this has given the banks some influence over important decisions. According to *Business Week*, it was the banks that insisted on the hiring of an outside manager, although the workers themselves chose who that manager would be and can overrule his decisions or fire him. If the supply of asbestos from other sources increases, the large corporations that buy from the Vermont quarry may gain influence as well.

In spite of these problems, workers' control at the Belvidere Quarry and Mill has succeeded. The workers own their company, elect their directors, hire their manager, and make basic decisions democratically. While the quarry and the few other worker-run companies in the United States have little impact on the rest of the economy, they set an example for us all.

Labor Law for the Rank and File

by Marianne Goldstein, from an article by Ken Cloake

When rank and file union caucuses become active, the question arises: Will the incumbent leadership seek reprisals? And if it does, what alternatives does the caucus have?

The primary answers to these questions will depend on the political forces in the specific situation -- the strength of the caucus, how much outside support it has, the strength of the union leadership, etc. But a caucus may sometimes find that legal action is a useful tactic, especially when it is backed up by strong support within the union. So individuals and caucuses should know the extent to which freedom of speech and the right to take part in internal union political activity are protected by law.

Before there were any laws specifically regulating internal union affairs, courts had developed common law on the question of a member's relation to his/her union. Unions are considered free associations contracting with individual members on the basis of the union constitution and by-laws. This means that a member is bound by union rules, but only if these are not in

conflict with the law.

In 1951, an Ohio court held in *Crossen v. Duffy* that the constitutional guarantee of free speech extends to internal affairs of labor unions, and that members cannot be disciplined for exercising those rights. In the following years this principle became more firmly established.

The Landrum Griffin Act of 1959 is the main piece of legislation regulating internal union affairs. Title I of the Act, called the "Bill of Rights," lists union members' rights to nominate candidates for union office, vote in elections, meet with other members, and express their views at union meetings and elsewhere. The Act also allows union members to sue anyone who violates these rights.

Other provisions of the Act limit union members free speech, however, giving unions the right to enforce rules about members' responsibility to the union as an institution. The union may also make regulations limiting rank and file activities that would interfere with the union's performance of its legal and contractual obligations, even if these regulations limit members' freedom of speech.

Court decisions since the Landrum Griffin Act

was passed have generally supported the right of rank and file opposition to the leadership. In explaining the purposes of the Act, the 2nd Court of Appeals (*Salzhandler v. Caputo*) described the intention of the law "to prevent union officials from using their disciplinary powers to silence criticism and punish those who dare to question and complain." The court went on to rule that reprisals within a union for expressing unpopular views were prohibited.

Employees and officers of unions are also protected by Landrum Griffin guarantees. In *Retail Clerks Local 648 v. RCIA*, the District of Columbia Federal District Court held that members who were employed by the union itself could not be fired for supporting or being part of an opposition slate in a union election.

The fact that these laws exist doesn't necessarily mean that they will be enforced. Rank and file caucuses have often found themselves bogged down in long, expensive court battles to try to defend their rights. But in some situations, taking a case to court can be useful, and understanding your legal rights can be important.

For more details on rank and file caucus rights, see *Labor Democracy, Free Speech, and the Right of Rank and File Insurgency*, by Kenneth Cloake, University of San Fernando Valley Law Review, spring 1975.

Elections Rigged, Chavez Charges

Editors' note: The following are excerpts from a speech by Caesar Chavez, president of the United Farm Workers' Union, given before the AFL-CIO Convention. The speech details some of the harassment and intimidation directed against the UFW in the course of the "free" union elections now being held in the California fields.

"As you know, the State Legislature passed collective bargaining legislation this year. In our opinion, it is a very good law, something that we looked forward to for many, many years.

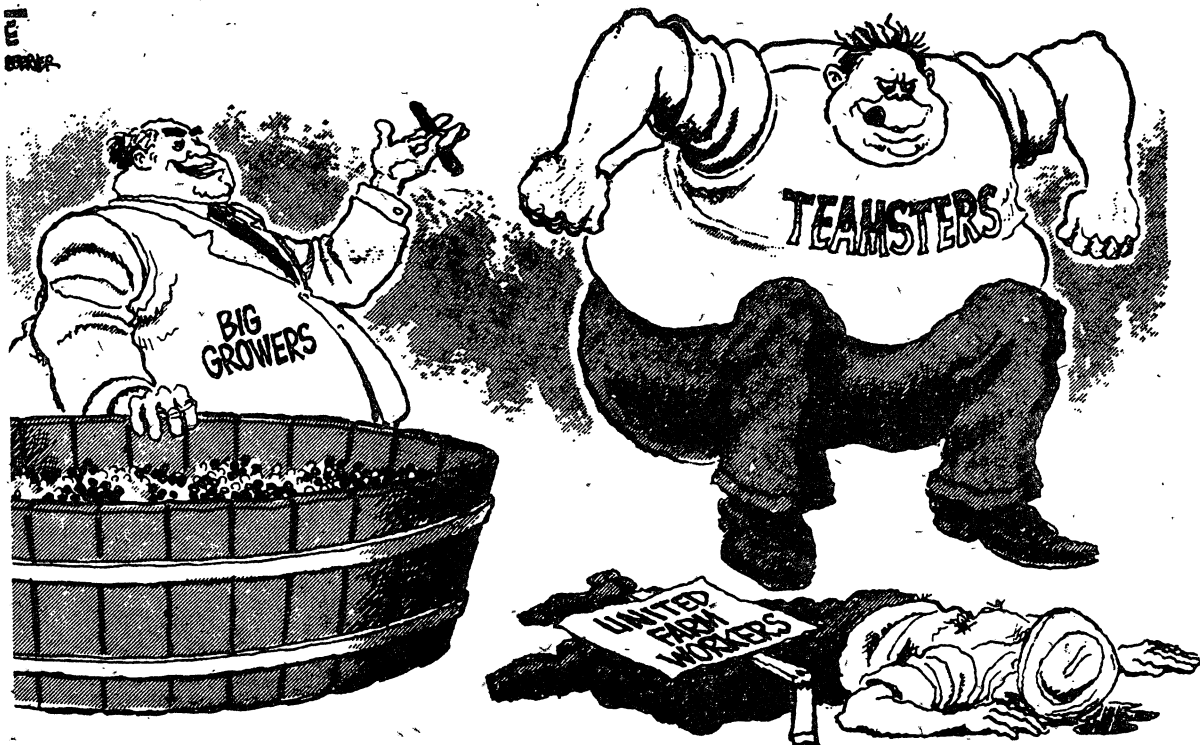
We have great expectations about the law, but in recent days things have gone not so well. The implementation of the law is very bad. The General Counsel Walter Kintz is unwilling to move against the employer and the Teamster conspiracy to frustrate the law. There has been a lot of incompetence on the part of the staff of that Board. As a result, our union has been hurt tremendously.

Firings, dismissals, loss of pay -- captive audience meetings held a few minutes before the election takes place -- sudden wage increases two hours before the election takes place -- these are the guns used by labor contractors and supervisors to intimidate the workers to vote right; all of this has been permitted by Walter Kintz, the General Counsel.

While we have to sign up the authorization card to qualify in the petitions for the elections, the General Counsel permitted to use the dues authorization card to qualify for those petitions. There is widespread forgeries on those cards by the Teamsters' Union. Walter Kintz knows this.

In every single election, over 150 elections; with the exception of two or three, these elections continue to be held at the growers' site and we have been unable to get the Board to agree to have the elections moved to neutral grounds.

The growers are given by the State the right to bus the workers in to vote, and while they have



"TSK-TSK. MY GOOD MAN—THE GRAPES ARE OVER HERE!"

the workers in the busses -- they will not bring them to the balloting place at the ranch until they extract a commitment from these workers to vote right.

There are several instances, we feel, of ballot manipulations.

There is a famous case of the airplane, where one large company, a lettuce company, provided an airplane to collect the ballots from four different balloting locations throughout the state, and brought in a Board agent and a member of the Teamsters' Union and a grower, but forgot to include a member of our union as an observer.

We have a case of a Board agent in a very hotly-contested election at the Mapes Ranch in Kings County where, after finishing the balloting

in late Friday refused to count ballots -- without any excuse put the ballot box in the rear of his car, went to Lake Tahoe for the whole weekend; counted the ballots the following Monday, and we lost the election.

We estimate 20 to 30 percent of the workers are refusing to vote at this time, and those are our workers, because of the shennanigans being pulled by the growers and the Teamsters.

We feel if we can get the state to act immediately and to provide a decent atmosphere so that the workers can truly vote without being harassed and pressured, intimidated, that the results will be much higher.

Now, we stand ready to agree and to submit to the wishes of the workers, but we want those elections to be free and untainted.

Farm Labor Elections

Conflict and Corruption in California

by Janet Corpus, Middlesex NAM

Months may pass before the outcome of the California farm labor elections is clear. Since elections began in early September, the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO, and the American International Brotherhood of Teamsters have run neck and neck, each winning about the same number of elections and polling about the same number of votes. So far the UFW has won 79 elections to the Teamsters' 78, winning the right to represent about 10,400 workers as compared to the Teamster's 9500. Workers at about a dozen ranches have voted against having any union.

Another 28 elections remain undetermined because of challenged votes or run-offs. These elections may prove most important to the UFW struggle. Unfair labor practices have been filed by each of the three major parties -- the UFW, the Teamsters and the Council of California Growers. The outcomes of the suits will tell a lot about the interpretation and enforcement of the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act and whose interests it will serve.

In its first major hearing, the Farm Labor Board ruled in favor of the UFW's demand that elections at separate Salinas Valley farms and ranches be counted separately. The 156-member Western Growers Association, which now has a contract with the Teamsters, had argued that the Valley farms should be lumped together to bargain as a single unit.

On October 6, hearings on the Gallo elections began before the Board. These hearings, which

may last a month, will determine the eligibility of contested votes cast by strikers at the Gallo ranches. The strikers, of course, are UFW supporters. Union people are optimistic about the outcome.

Another major issue before the Board concerns the "access rule" or the rights of union organizers to go into the fields. In an early ruling, the Board voted to allow organizers in the fields during three one-hour periods -- before and after work and during lunch. In an effort to cripple the Board's effectiveness, the growers appealed to the Tulare and Fresno County Courts, which



reversed the Board's ruling to favor the growers. The California Supreme Court and the U.S. Supreme Court have ruled in favor of the Board's original decision, but local sheriffs continue to arrest union organizers for exercising their rights.

Intimidation

Other unfair labor practice charges argue that growers have fired people who were chosen as election observers, and have fired workers at ranches where the UFW has won elections. In one case, a supervisor threatened to kill employees who supported the UFW. UFW supporters estimate that the union might have 15 to 20 percent more votes if it had not been subject to this sort of intimidation. The Board itself has charged growers with illegally dismissing workers because of Union support.

Union observers also describe instance of Board regional workers "fraternizing" with the growers, taking advantage of convenient grower-provided transportation from airports and being "wined and dined" by the growers. Spanish-speaking employees of the Board regional offices are not being used as translators. Growers have visited polling places during elections, in clear violation of the law. Armed guards employed by the grower were present at at least one election site.

Other elections may yet be contested, and elections to come will probably involve similar problems. The Board's actions in interpreting the new law fairly and enforcing it quickly will be indicators of its independence from grower and Teamster influence.

New Yorkers Fight "Road Gang"

by John Farley, Westside NAM

What costs \$4000 an inch and is almost dead? Plans for a new highway through New York City's West Side, that's what.

Last May, a group of activists gathered to drink champagne from little paper cups. A letter writing campaign to Congressmen and senators had killed a proposed law which would have weakened environmental protections and moved the Interstate highway one step closer to reality. Members of the Coalition against the West Side Expressway proclaimed, "Victory is ours!" That same week, in a plush mid-town office, a real estate spokesman raised a crystal goblet with a pro-highway lobbyist. "Victory is ours," he declared.

One of them was wrong.

Less Air, More People

After a three year fight, residents of New York's West Side still face the possibility of an interstate highway in their community. Meanwhile, the N.Y. Air Quality Implementation Plan says that over 1100 New Yorkers die every year because of air pollution, and that automobile traffic entering the city should be reduced by 40%. The proposed Interstate would encourage more suburbanites to drive to work and would increase truck traffic. Much of the expressway would be placed in a tunnel under 175 acres of landfill in the Hudson River. High-density housing planned for the landfill would increase the already tremendous population of the West Side, making rush hour worse than it already is and overburdening recreational facilities and public services. A possible extension of the Interstate to the George Washington Bridge would destroy Riverside Park.

Community organizations advocate repair of the existing West Side Highway, which has been allowed to decay so badly that it has been

closed to traffic. They argue that N.Y.C.'s subways, which have also decayed in recent years but now charge a 50cent fare, deserve more attention than the roads. New York could get as much as \$550 million in federal transit funds if it did not build the Interstate.

Community groups have been fairly successful in getting politicians to line up against the highway, despite tremendous pressure from local banks to go ahead with the plan. It is public knowledge that David Rockefeller sent a letter to Community Planning Board #1 (Wall St. area) urging a pro-highway vote. With the city teetering on the edge of bankruptcy, the Beame team is reluctant to argue with David Rockefeller.

Interstate opponents have gone to court charging that the highway plans violate federal law. Their suit charges that (1) the Environmental Impact Statement regarding the expressway was drawn up incorrectly; (2) the Environmental Impact Statement considers only a small part of Manhattan, ignoring the larger picture; (3) the highway planners have suppressed information, not adequately airing, discussing, or considering the mass transit alternative; and (4) the highway violates the Clean Air Act, the National Environmental Protection Act, and other environmental legislation. This lawsuit seems to be the best hope of the anti-highway forces.

Part of the strategy of the pro-highway forces has been to delay in the hope that the opposition will get tired and discouraged and give up. But the opposition to the highway has actually grown in the last year or so.

How Crazy Did You Say?

Everyone knows that building a superhighway in Manhattan is a crazy idea. A recent UPI dispatch quotes a Federal Highway Administrator saying that the time is coming when "we

will have to say to motorists, 'You can't drive in this area,' rather than permit private automobiles in congested downtown areas." In the past few years, plans for new highways in Boston, California and Washington, D.C., have been scrapped because of community opposition and shortages of funds. Anti-highway activists believe that time is on their side.

The Westsider, a community newspaper, has already announced that the "highway is dead." Interviews with politicians, journalists, and highway planners reveal an unprecedented mood of gloom among the Road Gang. The Federal Highways Administration states that "there is no mileage currently available in the interstate system" for building the West Side Expressway. Actually, the Westsider's obituary for the asphalt bungle is a bit premature. The stake will not be driven through the heart of the monster until highway plans are "traded in" in favor of mass transit.

You're Not Alone

by Harry Boyte

Ever feel that the left is on the "fringes" of American politics? A new poll commissioned by the People's Bicentennial Commission and conducted by Hart Research Associates suggests the opposite -- that most people agree with the basic analysis of the left and would like to see some form of "Economic democracy." Hart, the pollster used by CBS to produce those "voter profiles" and "instant analyses," turned his talents to something useful and produced some surprising results:

- a majority (55%) of the public gives business a negative rating in "providing good quality products";

- a majority (59%) of the people give American business a negative rating in "enabling people to make full use of their abilities";

- almost 3/4 of the people (72%) think business doesn't really care about the individual;

- a majority (57% of the people believe that both the Democrats and Republicans favor big business, and that big business dominates government policies in general (58%);

- 2/3 of the people feel that people don't work as hard as they could because they don't have enough say in their companies;

- and a strong plurality -- 49% -- believe that big business is the source of most of what is wrong in this country today.

As far as change goes:

- "only" 13% (which, it should be pointed out, turns out to be approximately 27 million people) believe that the government should own all the major companies -- undoubtedly a reflection of the strong anti-government sentiment reflected throughout the poll, whose roots aren't too hard to fathom;

- but a clear plurality of 44% -- or 92 million people -- believe that the oil companies and natural resources should be publically owned;

- 2/3 of the people -- 138 million Americans, counting in children -- believe that companies should be owned and controlled by their employees, and the same number express their preference for working for such companies.

How to get started?

- Well, a majority of people (56%) say they would probably or definitely support a candidate for President who favored employee ownership and control;

- 2/3 of the people believe that there has been too little discussion of employee ownership and control;

- and our most immediate base -- a strong plurality of 49%, which comes out to slightly over 100 million people (counting children), believe that a new political movement to challenge the influence of big business would be a good thing.

Working Papers

For a New Society

A Special Issue

left with the democrats?

Politics
and Programs
for 1976

Gar Alperovitz

Peter Barnes

Jeff Faux

Tom Hayden

Christopher Jencks

Andrew Kopkind

James R. Polk

James Ridgeway

Emma Rothschild

Stephen Schlesinger

Derek Shearer

Send \$2.50 for this issue or \$10 for a one-year subscription to: **Working Papers**, Dept. S25, 123 Mt. Auburn St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

(institutional rate \$12; overseas rate \$15)

CRIME...

in the Streets...

by Steve Carlip, newspaper collective

On April 29, police in Jackson, Mississippi ambushed and killed a young black resident, Simmie Johnson, Jr. Johnson apparently got in the way of a stake-out aimed at another man, a suspect in a recent wave of armed robberies. Even after the shooting, police, under heavy pressure from area merchants, have continued to ask community residents to help them "set up" the robbery suspect.

Early police reports stated that Johnson was a suspected criminal killed while fleeing arrest. But when police discovered he was not the suspect they were after, they changed their story: They then claimed Johnson was killed while trying to "hit at" an officer with a hammer. On the night of the shooting, there had been no mention of a hammer, and a local citizen's committee has concluded from the position of the bullet that Johnson was shot while raising his hands to surrender.

The killing of an unarmed man by armed police created widespread unrest in Jackson's black community. The recently formed Citizens' Inquiry Committee, which includes members of over a dozen civil rights groups, has demanded a special investigation of the incident. And Sheriff Noble, who fired the fatal shot and later defended it on the grounds that Johnson "was an ex-convict and he was there", may be defeated in this fall's elections.

The July 28 killing of young black man in Detroit touched off two nights of angry community protest. Obie Wynn, 18, was shot in the back by a white bar owner, Andrew Chinarian. At first, Chinarian, who has close ties with the neighborhood police, was not arrested. A homicide officer told reporters, "I released him because he's a bar owner, a businessman, and a citizen of the area."

After a night of strong community protest, Chinarian was charged with second degree murder. But even though he had no permit for the concealed pistol he used to kill Wynn, and in spite of his record of four previous shooting and weapons charges, he was released on \$500 bail.

Chinarian's release led to a night of rioting which finally forced the courts to raise his bail to \$25,000. (LNS)

Blaming the Victim

On August 25, an attack by a mob of whites on black families in East Boston finally ended when police arrested eight of the victims. Arrested inside the home of a black resident at 4a.m., the eight were charged with disorderly conduct. Police admitted that they were not being violent, but accused them of "causing trouble in the street while using the house as a cover."

Earlier in the day, fighting between black and white teenagers had led up to a large-scale attack by rock-throwing whites on black families in the Maverick Square housing project. As crowds of whites began smashing black families' windows and police refused to respond, black residents called up friends, including a group of white tenant activists, to help.

Lucille Roberts, a white East Bostonian, described the scene. "A group of us walked across the street to assist a black woman who had no phone and was terrified. We got trapped in her hallway by a bunch of white kids, and one woman was hit in the head with a rock and seriously hurt....At that point the police arrived, ad ignoring a vanload of white kids carrying bats that had just pulled up, arrested my husband.



They cursed at us, and wouldn't let us talk or explain anything. They left me there alone, and I literally had to run for my life back to the apartment." (Real Paper)

Shot for a Peach

A 13-year-old black girl was shot on August 17 in Wilmington, Delaware, for stealing a peach. Sheila Ferrell was chased four blocks by John Bailey after he found her raiding his peach orchard. Bailey was arrested, but quickly released on \$25,000 bail.

The shooting was one of a series of recent incidents in Wilmington. Four months earlier, police shot and killed Erevu, a young black man accused of bank robbery. Police said he was raising his hand as if he had a gun when he was shot in his hallway, but no gun was found. The next day, police phoned Delaware Technical Community College and were told that Erevu had been in class at the time of the bank robbery.

The incidents, especially the shooting of Sheila Ferrell, have led to widespread protest in the black community. One peaceful demonstration led by the Congress of Afrikan People was attacked by police, and the chairman of the Wilmington CAP was arrested on charges of inciting to riot. (Workers World)

On September 19 a black New York resident was shot to death for refusing to pay his subway fare. Paul Carlton, 48 years old, was killed by a New York City transit patrolman for trying to go through the exit gate instead of paying the new 50-cent fare. The incident took place at the Fulton-Lafayette stop in Brooklyn. (Guardian)

...And in the Courtrooms...

Less than a month after Joanne Little was acquitted of murder charges for defending herself against rape, two black women in Georgia face the electric chair on the same charges.

Cheryl Todd and Dessie Woods were picked up by a man with a citizens band radio in his car who claimed to be a detective. In fact, he was Elmer Horne, an insurance agent with a wide reputation as a "ladies' man"

Horne talked to another insurance agent over the radio about having sex with the two women, and then pulled off the road in a wooded area. At that point, Cheryl Todd ran from the car, while Dessie Woods struggled with Horne for his gun. When Todd came back to the car, Horne was dead, shot by his own gun.

When the two women were first arrested, their families were not told about the preliminary hearings. The judge has refused to postpone the trial, saying that the two women had already caused "too much trouble" in the local jail. (Great Speckled Bird)

After serving twelve years in prison for a crime another man confessed to, Freddie Lee Pitts and Wilbert Lee were finally released from Florida State Prison on September 19.

Pitts and Lee were convicted of the murder of two gas station attendants in 1963 and received a



death sentence. There were no witnesses to the killings, and no physical evidence connecting the two to the crime; the main evidence against them was confessions obtained by physical coercion, which they later repudiated.

The trial, in which the two black defendants were convicted by an all-white jury, took place in an atmosphere charged with racial tension. Another man, Curtis Adams, confessed to the killings, and his confession was corroborated. But Pitts and Lee were not finally released until twelve years after their trial. (Guild Notes)

...And in the Livingrooms

Two lawyers recently spent three months viewing randomly chosen television crime programs to determine whether TV police violate the law. They found, according to the Wall Street Journal, that "almost every episode of every TV police show contains one or more violations of the Fourth, Fifth, or Sixth Amendments' guar-

antees of freedom from illegal searches and seizures, the right to due process of law, and the right to counsel." But the lawyers went on to say that, "Unlike the situation in the real world, these violations were always fruitful. The illegal search turned up heroin, the coerced confession came from a child molester or husband killer." (LNS)

NY Utilities Play Monopoly

by Bill Nowak, Buffalo NAM

Buffalo-New York State's 7 electric utilities have announced plans to combine into a \$26 billion super monopoly called Empire State Power Resources, Inc. (ESPRI). ESPRI would be set up as a generating company and would build 16 nuclear and 3 coal-fired power plants in New York in the next 20 years. It would sell the power it generates at a profit to the 7 individual utilities, which would then mark up the price of the power and sell it to consumers.

At this point, the plan has the solid backing of New York's big time investors, who see it as a way of injecting stability into New York's utility picture. ESPRI's roots can be traced back to certain "blue ribbon" panels set up by Nelson Rockefeller when he was Governor of New York.

The People's Power Coalition (PPC), which includes over 30 consumer, labor, environmental and community groups in New York State, is trying to stop ESPRI. ESPRI will make it much harder for people to affect the power industry. As a \$26 billion monopoly, regulated in Washington by the Federal Power Commission instead of in Albany by the state Public Service Commission, ESPRI will be practically unapproachable by anyone other than big banks and financial institutions.

The PPC sees ESPRI as a way of forcing dangerous, unreliable and expensive nuclear plants on a public which would not allow these plants if they were proposed by local, more accountable utilities. The plan for double dipping profits, where both ESPRI and local utilities make profits off the same consumer, is also an issue in the PPC campaign. Finally, the PPC, which is dedicated to exploring the potential of publicly owned power in the state, sees ESPRI as a way of blocking and stifling the public power movement.

A National Issue

Bill Nowak, a Buffalo NAM member who is part of the PPC ESPRI research group, sees ESPRI as an issue of nationwide importance. "If ESPRI succeeds in pushing nuclear power, double dipping profits, and isolating itself from the consumer movement, privately owned utilities across the country will be more than glad to leave their troubles behind and follow ESPRI's lead, leaving the rest of us to foot the bill."

In other New York State news, Buffalo NAM's utilities project has begun a campaign to stop rate increases by National Fuel Gas; the local gas monopoly. The campaign includes a demand for LIFELINE rates and will raise the question of public ownership of National Fuel.

LIFELINE rates are a simple solution to consumer's utility bill problems. Under LIFELINE each residential user gets her or his basic gas and electric needs met at a fixed low cost per year, leaving the commercial and industrial users to make up the difference in revenue required by the utility. Under the present rate structure, consumers subsidize large users of energy such as the local Bethlehem Steel Plant, which pays lower rates when its usage goes up. This process encourages waste and penalizes small consumers. LIFELINE is presently being considered in the New York State Assembly and is endorsed by the People's Power Coalition.

1 1/4 inch NAM buttons, smartly designed in blue and white. With safety catch. Excellent for strengthening NAM's presence at many different types of functions, and for helping you feel part of the group. \$.50 for one, \$4.00 for 10, \$7.00 for 20. Joni Rabinowitz, 2300 Pittock St., Pittsburgh, PA 15217.



Senior citizens protest rate hike.

Adjustment Clause Fuels Pittsburgh Protest

by Judy MacLean, Pittsburgh NAM

PITTSBURGH -- Chanting, "Young and old, black and white, pull the plug on Duquesne light," about 80 demonstrators organized by the People's Power Project of the New American Movement and the Action Coalition of Elders picketed hearings in Pittsburgh on the rate increases being requested by the local electric company. The demonstrators represented several community and senior citizens groups which have been fighting the increase.

Paul Garver, spokesperson at the hearings for NAM, pointed out that last year Duquesne Light overcharged consumers about \$18 million by abusing the fuel adjustment clause. "What has come to public view," he told the Public Utility Commission, "is exactly what we suspected -- a vast economic crime by which the energy monopolies robbed the public, and the electric utilities drove the getaway car." He pointed out that the fuel adjustment clause has been used by the coal companies to raise prices to Duquesne Light in violation of contracts with the utility; and Duquesne Light has not protested this because it was merely passing on the cost to the consumer. People's Power Project demanded a return of the money stolen from Duquesne Light's customers, in addition to no more rate hikes, establishment of a lifeline rate, and hearings on public ownership of Duquesne Light.

NAM's People's Power Project has been active in Pittsburgh for about 10 months. With other groups, it has forced Duquesne Light to offer changes in the fuel adjustment clause to the Public Utility Commission. It continues to encourage the public to scrutinize any offers made by Duquesne Light, which are likely to serve the interests of the profit-making energy monopolies at the expense of the consumers.

The following letter, from a resident of South Boston, appeared recently in the Boston Globe:

The latest Edison increase is obviously more income to this utility than we know. So far they have hired three new vice presidents and given raises to 700 management people. And we, the consumers, are going to pay for it all. How cleverly capitalistic of this corporation to make "suckers" of us all.

I am beginning to realize that capitalism stinks. It's a system that wants more and more money for less and less. Eventually the system will demand all of the money for absolutely nothing. We are rapidly approaching this point.

Mass. Consumers Demand LIFELINE

by Kathy Moore, Newspaper Collective

The Massachusetts Citizens Action Program on Energy (CAP-Energy) has begun a withholding campaign aimed at achieving LIFELINE electric rates by this winter. Thousands of Massachusetts households are requesting legal appeals before paying their electric bills this fall.

CAP-Energy organizers are optimistic. Small consumers have already won LIFELINE rates in California. In Massachusetts this October, Boston Edison asked for a \$48 million rate hike, but was granted only \$26 million by the Department of Public Utilities, which prohibited them from applying the rate increase to the first 384 kilowatt-hours of household use. The Department of Public Utilities and the state legislature are expected to make decisions about CAP-Energy's LIFELINE plan within the next several months.



Pittsburgh citizens picket Duquesne Light

North Americans Oppose Chilean Junta



Oliphant, Denver Post

"Save it, general. You'll need it yourself, soon enough."

by Judy Butler, Chile Action Group, and staff

In the two years since a military coup overthrew Chile's elected socialist government, opposition to the Chilean junta in the United States has grown. In September, Laura Allende, sister of the socialist Chilean president ousted in the coup, visited the U.S. A member of Chile's parliament for nine years, she was a political prisoner for six months under the junta. Brought to the U.S. by the National Coordinating Center in Solidarity with Chile, an anti-fascist umbrella organization which includes most groups doing Chile support work, Ms. Allende spoke to tens of thousands of people across the country.

Musicians from La Pena, a Chilean revolutionary music collective, have also delivered their story to North Americans. Angel and Isabel Parra, the founders of the collective, toured the country to packed auditoriums in mid-October. Other members of the collective to tour the U.S. since the coup have included the groups Inti Illimani and Quilapayun.

Their music is of and about the Chilean people and their struggle for freedom and dignity, and is by nature and design political. Following the coup, Angel Parra and many others were imprisoned and tortured. Folk singer Victor Jara, perhaps the best known of the revolutionary singers, was slowly and bizarrely murdered in the sight of thousands of other prisoners.

Until recently, direct political work on Chile in the U.S. has been done locally and independently. Groups in Colorado and Montana have agitated against Kennecott and Anaconda copper companies, large investors in Chile who actively supported the coup. Boston residents have demonstrated against General Motors, which is about to start large-scale investment in Chile. In Washington, D.C., there have been demonstrations at the Chilean Embassy. In San Francisco, a month-long series of demonstrations and political and cultural events in support of the Chilean resistance included a gay solidarity evening which attracted 350 people.

Up until now, the U.S. response to the coup in Chile has been fragmented and uneven, with small, local groups isolated from each other. This is beginning to change, however. Interest in Chile is growing. A newly formed national political prisoners office is operating out of the Bay Area as a center for information and coordinated action.

Internationally, the United Chilean Left has called on all concerned people to assist in isolating the junta from international trade and political participation. They demand that United Nations members reject the credentials of the illegal military junta's delegation.

This effort requires the broadest sort of solidarity movement, with sympathetic people over the world using every means available to them.

For ideas on how people can participate in this effort, contact one of the groups working on Chile in your area. In addition, the Chile Action Group in Boston has published a packet of information and specific ideas for individuals and groups. The packet may be ordered for \$.50 from Chile Action Group, c/o Cambridge Old Baptist Church, 1151 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02138.

campus notes



CUNY

More than 4000 students, faculty, and campus workers at the City University of New York marched on the governor's New York City office last month to protest budget cuts and a threat to As part of their response to the city's fiscal crisis, the banks have demanded cuts in the CUNY budget that would virtually eliminate student programs (such as tutoring and remedial education) that have made open admissions possible. Other budget cuts would mean a 15% increase in faculty work loads, the elimination of 40% of the school's Masters programs, and a sharp increase in registration fees. Over 3700 teachers and adjuncts have been laid off already. In addition, the cutbacks may force CUNY to end its free tuition policy.

University of Texas

7000 University of Texas at Austin students rallied last month in the largest demonstration at UT since the Kent State killings. The rally was part of a massive protest against the appointment of Lorene Rogers as president of the university. Rogers was appointed by the Board of Regents September 12 after having been rejected twice by the Student-Faculty Advisory Committee.

The appointment led to the quick formation of an ad hoc multiracial coalition, Students Helping Academic Freedom at Texas (SHAFT), whose members included a black student group, Mecha, the Radical Student Union, and the Capitol City Young Democrats. SHAFT demanded the resignation or removal of Rogers, implementation of HEW recommendations on racial discrimination, restoration of funds for ethnic studies program development, an end to reprisals against politically active faculty, an end to attacks on the autonomy of student organizations, and a greater student and faculty voice in university policy-making.

SHAFT's activities have included a three day class boycott, a march of 2500 people to the homes of various regents, and a teach-out (classes on the lawn as a sign of protest). The Rogers appointment has also given a strong impetus to an AFT union drive among faculty. The faculty unionization will mean that faculty, teaching assistants, and staff will all be united in one

MONTHLY REVIEW

an independent socialist magazine

Included in recent issues:

CLASS STRUGGLES IN PORTUGAL
by Paul M. Sweezy

MADAME GANDHI: RHETORIC AND REPRESSION
by Harry Magdoff

CHINA'S ECONOMIC STRATEGY
by Paul M. Sweezy
Harry Magdoff
John G. Gurley

Future articles:

CLASS ROOTS OF FEMINISM
by Karen Sacks

MIGRATORY LABOR IN WESTERN EUROPE
by Antony Ward

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN CHINA
by John Ehrenreich

Subscribe now

1 year, \$11; 2 years, \$20;
student rate, \$9

Name _____

Address _____

Zip _____

62 W. 14th St., NYC 10011

Notice to Foreign Subscribers

Ordinary (\$4.00) subscriptions to the NAM newspaper are sent by surface mail for financial reasons. Air mail postage costs us an average of over \$1.00 a month per paper. We will send newspapers overseas air mail, but must charge a total of \$16 for an airmail foreign subscription. (These rates are subject to change if postal rates change.)



Joe Hughes with NVA comrades on Saigon rooftop

Saigon,

continued from page 1

group that although they had made a serious mistake in judgement, the time had come for all Vietnamese to work together and no action would be taken against them. Then he asked for questions. After a nervous pause, one woman raised her hand.

"I have a comment," she said. "I want to tell you that I am very happy that you have come to Saigon instead of the Vietcong who would have killed us."

"She was so brainwashed about these so-called Vietcong that she didn't even recognize them," Joe added.

Almost overnight, an organized infrastructure of the PRG surfaced in every neighborhood, a preparedness which Joe credits for what Time called "the most velvety transition of power ever effected by a communist government."

Industrious students and volunteers began distributing rice to the needy, moving the homeless into evacuated housing, organizing inoculations against disease, and taking a door-to-door census in their school notebooks.

"The organization was lovely, spontaneous, and effective without bureaucracy," Joe said.

Refugees Offered Land

In an effort to revitalize the countryside, urban refugees were offered a plot of land, transportation to it, and a first planting of rice. The U.S. Embassy stood like an empty shell picked clean on the inside, and more serious attempts began to rid the city of its vestiges of 15 years of U.S. cultural corruption.

From what Joe saw and heard, the PRG was managing political restructuring from the top down, while the North Vietnamese troops handled security. They cooperated in peace as they had in war, as coordinated but separate units.

The new government inherited 25 years' worth of worsening conditions, an economy long propped up by American funds, a rice shortage on the devastated land, and the loss of millions in gold taken out of the country by the old regime. With a short supply of money, food, fuel, over

three million unemployed, and a history of corruption, it is no surprise that stealing also became a serious problem.

Joe's brother had a camera stolen on the street. The North Vietnamese Army (NVA) security forces usually fired warning shots in the air, but also aimed at thieves who failed to stop, Joe reported.

A photograph, widely circulated by the media in this country, of a thief being executed on the spot appeared in Saigon's "Liberation Daily." Joe's friends in the NVA were incredulous, since their orders were to take suspects to headquarters, where a warning was given. However, after two warnings a thief might be executed, the NVA told Joe.

"I told them I was against capital punishment," Joe frowned, adding that a discussion ensued for several hours. "They shared my feelings, but pointed out that the first months of establishing a new system were not normal circumstances."

"An Un-Military Military"

As Americans familiar only with the mentality of U.S. troops and their frequent confusion about the cause for which they fight, Dick and Joe Hughes spent hours almost every day in conversation with the NVA in their building.

"They were the most un-military military I ever saw -- very warm and compassionate. They sat beside us when we talked with an arm around us or holding hands," Joe said. They asked about poverty and unemployment in the U.S., and expressed appreciation for the antiwar movement here, but generally came already equipped with finely honed political knowledge. Throughout all the years of jungle fighting, they rarely missed two hours daily of political education, they said.

They told stories of how they tricked electronic sensors set to detect human excrement by tying bags of urine to trees, and how bombing raids were used to clear forests for road building.

As a people's army, they marketed, slept, and lived with village people. Although most had spent their adult lives fighting, the transition to peace time came easily, Joe observed.

"What they fought for was peace. When it came, the guns went down and they enjoyed it --

just became part of the neighborhood," he said.

They told him about being under a carpet bombing in a bunker and emerging with their noses and ears bleeding from concussions. Everything around for as far as they could see was destroyed, gone.

"My God. What power they have," the soldiers exclaimed. But after recovering from the shock, they felt reassured. "We knew if we survived that, we could survive anything," they told Joe.

One 39 year old veteran, who had spent 17 years walking and fighting in the jungles between Hanoi and Saigon, asked Joe to deliver a message when he got home. "Tell the American people that I have a dream that someday there will be no unemployment and no servants in the U.S.," he said.

"They are not gloating in their victory," Joe added. "Their goals are long range. They hope for world liberation."

Committee Defends Indonesian Prisoners

Ten years ago a bloody takeover by right-wing generals turned Indonesia into a military dictatorship. Several hundred thousand people were killed and all progressive organization of workers, farmers, teachers and students were banned. At the present time between 50,000 and 100,000 Indonesians are in jail for political reasons. They are being held without trial and without hope of release. Interestingly enough, in the last few years Indonesia has gotten more foreign aid from the U.S., Japan and West Europe than any other country in the world. The U.S. Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners has been formed to work for the release of these prisoners. It will focus, among other things, on getting the U.S. to follow the Abourezck Amendment, a 1974 law which bans U.S. military aid to any nation which abuses the elementary civil rights of its citizens. For further information, write: TAPOL -- the U.S. campaign for the release of Indonesian Political Prisoners, P.O. Box 609, Montclair, N.J. 07042.

Portuguese Soldiers Defy Leaders

by Larry Miller, Newspaper Collective

Cheered on by their supporters, the striking soldiers of the Army Drivers School recently left the army base outside Oporto that they had occupied for over a week. Claiming a victory over the Portuguese government, they announced that their unit would be kept intact, that there would be no reprisals, and that they would begin publishing a daily newspaper for the rank and file soldiers' movement, to be called *Soldiers' Struggles*.

Ever since last year's coup, rank and file soldiers have been agitating and discussing. Elected regimental assemblies have begun to transform the traditional hierarchy and discipline of armies everywhere. Soldiers have not hesitated to participate in political debate or demonstrations. As long as the pro-Communist Party government of Prime Minister Vasco Goncalves was in power, the soldiers did not run into direct conflict with the government. But the new center-right cabinet of Admiral Azevedo, backed by a coalition of the Socialist Party and the Popular Democrats, sees democracy in the barracks as a serious threat.

As a result, splits have appeared within the Portuguese Armed Forces. Political activity is no longer limited to the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), the coalition of dissatisfied officers who staged a successful coup against the fascist Caetano government in April 1974. The underground organization of rank and file soldiers has appeared. It is called *United Soldiers Will Win* (its initials in Portuguese are SUV). In a document called *An Appeal from the SUV to their brother workers and soldiers throughout Europe*, the SUV describes itself as part of the "alliance of workers, farmers, soldiers and sailors which will lead to workers' power." It seeks to "break down the military hierarchy and contest...the state power of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois army."



When the SUV first appeared, the right did not take it seriously. Azevedo was quoted in *Newsweek* as saying that he would "crush the SUV in four days." But the SUV and the Left in general turned out to be stronger and better organized than was thought. When, in an effort to cripple the Left, Azevedo ordered troops to occupy a number of Leftist radio stations in Lisbon, many of the troops mutinied and sided with the radio station staffs. An anti-Azevedo demonstration in Oporto drew 50,000 workers and 1500 uniformed troops. In Lisbon 10,000 steel workers demonstrated in support of the Left.

The government responded by trying to transfer Leftist troops out of sensitive positions and trying to break up Leftist units. When one such unit, the army drivers school, was ordered disbanded and turned out of their barracks, they went as a unit to occupy the barracks of another Leftist unit, the Heavy Artillery Regiment. Eighteen other units throughout Portugal rallied to their support. And after remaining on strike for almost two weeks, they forced the govern-

ment to back down, reinstate the entire unit, and promise that there would be no reprisals.

Not all soldiers back the Left. Many of the officers, particularly those not in the MFA, and some of the rank and file, support a return to orthodox discipline and an end to political activity. The conservative Socialist Party and the Azevedo government have begun to strengthen their ties with this conservative wing of the military. On October 3 the SP held a rally to support a commando unit with a right-wing reputation. The SP made it clear that they see the commandos as a counter to the Left. In response, Leftist troops in Lisbon and Oporto have discussed distributing arms to civilian militants.

Political developments in the military are crucial in Portugal, not merely for the obvious reasons of armed power, but because, as a legacy of the African colonial wars, the Portuguese military is a large proportion of the politically active population. One fourth of all military-age men are in the armed forces. The polarization within the Army reflects and prefigures developments in Portugal as a whole.

Angola Conflict Threatens Independence

by Leo Casey

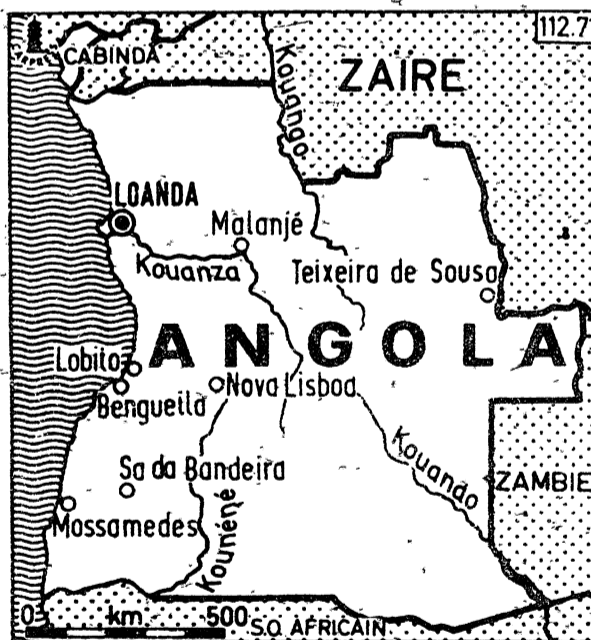
One of Angola's three warring revolutionary movements will declare the Portuguese colony of Angola an independent nation on November 11. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) plans to issue a unilateral declaration of independence on the same day chosen by the Portuguese government for the formal establishment of a coalition government including all three rival organizations.

The balance of power in this area of Africa is fragile and complex. To understand the significance and results of the MPLA announcement, it is necessary to understand something about the nature of the three different movements.

The MPLA is the oldest and strongest of Angola's three independence movements. Formed in 1956 by the merger of several still older groups, it began with a base of support among urban workers and intellectuals with strong socialist leanings. After an abortive urban uprising in 1961, the MPLA withdrew most of its activists to rural areas and bases outside Angola. From these staging grounds, the MPLA began Angola's long "people's war" for national independence.

In 1958, a separatist movement among the Bakongo people who populate the border between Angola and Zaire emerged as a rival "nationalist" grouping, the FNLA. Led by Zaire entrepreneur Holden Roberto, the FNLA has remained a tribally based organization. Roberto, who has received some backing from the United States government, refused to cooperate with the MPLA. Instead, he called upon his brother-in-law, Zairean dictator Mobutu Sese-Seco, to expel the MPLA from its bases in Zaire.

In 1966, a former aide to Roberto, Jonas Savimbi, established a third group, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). UNITA was denied access to any



foreign bases by neighboring African nations. Its range of operation has been limited to Southwest Africa.

Savimbi and UNITA represent themselves as everything to everyone. They have managed at one time or another to sell China on their "Maoist" politics, to demonstrate their "Pan-Africanism" to American black nationalists, to impress the Western powers with their anti-communism, and, most recently and most convincingly, to persuade Portuguese colonialists remaining in Angola that they are the "moderate" solution. The only position that has been consistent in UNITA's work has been its willingness to forgo any principle in return for aid. Despite this, or perhaps because of it, UNITA remains small.

Coup in Portugal

With the April 25 coup in Portugal, Angolan independence became an immediate possibility. Angola is potentially one of the richest nations in the Third World, with large deposits of diamond and oil and extremely fertile agricultural land,

most of which now produces cash crops for export to developed nations. International competition over Angola's future has been as strong as internal competition.

The MPLA has received the support of progressive African states such as Tanzania, along with the backing of the liberation movements in the other former Portuguese colonies in Africa. The Soviet Union and eastern bloc nations have supplied vital material and military aid.

China, in an attempt to counter Soviet influence in Angola, has joined Zaire and the United States in support of the FNLA. China has come under strong pressure from Mozambique and Tanzania to reverse this policy, and in response has now announced an official policy of neutrality. But Chinese military advisors have not yet withdrawn from the FNLA's bases in Zaire.

In May and June of this year, civil war broke out among the three Angolan rival groups. With the Zairean army, the FNLA invaded Angola from the north to attack the MPLA. UNITA declared neutrality, but later joined the FNLA forces. Despite this attack from two sides, the MPLA currently controls most of the Angolan coast, including the major ports and the capital city of Luanda, the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda, and much of the central interior. The FNLA controls the Bakongo provinces bordering Zaire, and UNITA remains relatively strong in the southern interior. Parts of the south are under the direct protection of the South African army, which has invaded from neighboring Namibia.

The military situation is in temporary stalemate, with the MPLA in control of strategic points. It is not clear that the MPLA has the military power to consolidate its earlier victories. What will happen as a result of the MPLA call to independence is unclear. Will the Portuguese recognize MPLA sovereignty? Will UNITA drop the FNLA and join an MPLA-led government? How heavily will the Zairean army become involved? How would the progressive African nations respond to a full scale Zairean invasion? We may know soon.

movie review

Nashville

by John Viertel, Newspaper Collective

No American movie has received as much acclaim this year as Robert Altman's Nashville. And it is a brilliant piece of work.

In the opening shot a politician's sound truck (a recurrent image in the film) emerges, blaring out its brassy message. Cut to a record studio, where Have Hamilton, king of country music, is recording: "We must be doing something right to last two hundred years."

The sound truck's message is recorded on tape, and now we see the elaborate electronic gadgetry and the host of technicians which the singer, brilliantly played by Henry Gibson, manipulates with icy control and a Napoleonic sense of power.

We live in the age of what has been called "the reproducible work of art" -- art that is recorded, photographed, taped and broadcast, art that is mass-produced. All this requires elaborate technology and an enormous distributing and marketing network. Art becomes the product of an art, or entertainment, industry. It becomes corporate art.

That is the central tension of Nashville. Country music is an art form which has its roots deep in the folk culture of this country. Its performers seem to cultivate populist virtues of friendliness, humility, and simplicity. Yet behind the scenes is a sophisticated world where wealth and power and instant fame are pursued with ruthless ferocity.



The Hollywood of 40 Years Ago

Altman knows this world. "Nashville is the Hollywood of forty years ago," he said in a recent interview. "And like that Hollywood, it both caters to the widest audience and shapes that audience to the visions and aspirations expressed in its product. The tone of Nashville is nostalgia, bully patriotism, come to Jesus religion, callow love and vicious sentimentality."

The film doesn't focus only on the performers' world, but also on the audience, presented as a representative segment of America in the 1970's. It tries to present a reading of the country's state of mind.

The product is a corporate product; the visions and aspirations are those which corporate power seeks to propagate. But the audience is not the only object of corporate domination. The business of show business is business. The very lives of the performers become commodities, packaged for marketing. This is shown vividly in the characters portrayed by Ronee Blakely and Keith Carradine.

Altman has been faulted on several counts. One is that the soundtrack cannot be clearly understood. But that criticism assigns to the spoken word the narrative function that it has on stage. Altman succeeds in making sound, in the greatest variety of textures, expressive and representative of the life he depicts.

Some have complained that the characters are not fully realized. Joan Tewksbury's brilliant screen play doesn't show characters as isolated individuals: it shows a social entity, the characters as a part of a whole. That is why they remain in our memory with a greater life than the fully realized characters of many more conventional films.

Cruel Caricature?

In his review in the Nation, Robert Nash charged that Nashville is not a "fair and balanced" presentation, but "a wild fantasy, a bouncy, brilliant, and cruel caricature."

It is more than that. It presents a fundamental and essential truth. Nashville shows the corrupting manipulative power of corporate art, the corrupting and dehumanizing effect on the consumers of this art.

Nashville explores the relation of this art to politics. Art, as Altman stated, expresses the visions and aspirations of a society, of the various forces in that society. It can express the truest visions and the highest aspirations. In that way it will be an important part of politics in the highest sense. But corporate art will express corporate visions and aspirations. Corporate art becomes corporate politics.

But Nashville itself is a movie -- a product of the entertainment industry. This is the source of its weakness and of its greatest interest. The men who control the corporate structure are not all-powerful. They must produce and sell what will attract audiences. If they don't want their products to degenerate into utter dreariness, they must at times employ the services of talented, sometimes even honest, artists. They must occasionally present works which have some relationship to the life their audiences perceive. Thus many works, even of corporate art, are the products of a struggle of contending and contradictory forces. There are even rare occasions when truth and talent win. Nashville is one such victory.

But scarcely a total victory. Nashville depicts people as totally corrupted and dehumanized. Is there really such a faint trace of decency and humanity left? Does Nashville really portray the American people, or does it show instead the anxiety, hostility, and estrangement of an artist in Altman's social position?

Altman portrays what he sees and feels honestly and penetratingly. For him, to include the hope and the possibility for change that we see in America today would make the film false and unbelievable. It usually seems contrived and embarrassing to end a movie review with a call for political action. But that is what a real criticism of this movie demands.



"I challenge the speaker's charge that we have one health care system for the rich and another for the poor. To us, there are no poor!"

by Rick Kunnes, Ann Arbor NAM

All the items below were contained in reports from major research and medical centers or governmental agencies, released in the last sixty days.

- Hospital costs are rising 50% faster than the cost of living.

- Last year, doctors performed at least two million unneeded operations, which resulted in 24,000 unnecessary deaths. As many as 50% of the two billion prescriptions written annually are unnecessary.

- Patients have a legal right to demand to see any part or all of their hospital record and have it fully explained before consenting to any treatment.

- The United Nations World Health Organization says 75% of all cancer is a direct result of air, water, or food pollutants, additives, or radiation. That is, 75% of all cancer is artificially induced. There are no great technical or medical barriers to a cancer-prevention program that could screen and detect cancer-causing agents and remove them from the environment and from home and consumer products. The only obstacles are the economic and political power of pollution-producing corporations.

- Sky-rocketing oil prices have encouraged major industries to turn to coal as their prime energy source. However, coal burning has now dramatically increased sulfate pollution in 24 states. The sulfate pollution, in turn, has greatly worsened the symptoms of people with heart and lung diseases.

- In spite of the fact that the Supreme Court has legalized abortion, as many as one million U.S. women were unable to obtain abortions in 1974. The vast majority of these women were poor and young.

- Children born of mothers who were refused abortions suffer significantly more illness and require more hospitalizations regardless of the economic class of the mother.

health notes

- In Cuba and the Soviet Union, the birth control pill is not considered safe and is not distributed.

- The most effective and safest method of birth control, vasectomy, the severing of the male sperm tube, has not been widely used, because it could not be reversed. Now surgical procedures are available to reconnect the severed tubes.

- Today most women know the value of self-examination for early detection of breast cancer. Fewer men know that they should examine themselves for cancer of the testes. Early detection significantly increases the chance of cure. Self-examination should be done right after showering, when the scrotum (the sac containing the testes) is relaxed. Each testicle should be felt gently between the fingers and thumbs of both hands. The testicles have cord-like structures at the back (the sperm-collecting epididymus), which should not be mistaken for abnormalities. But any lump or unusual consistency should immediately be reported to a doctor. Other warning signs include pain in the breasts or sudden accumulation of fluid in the scrotum.

- Approximately 72% of U.S. nursing homes have one or more major fire code violations. Nursing homes rank number one on the list of unsafe places to be in case of fire.

Fall TV Season

Cops, Corn, and Commercials

by Chris Casey, Newspaper Collective

Due to circumstances beyond our control, the fall T.V. season is upon us with the originality of a summer re-run and the creativity of a cat-food commercial. The main course in this dull diet of stock T.V. formulas continues to be the story of the "super-cop." There's the rookie cop, the sensitive cop, the aging cop, the Broderick Crawford cop, the six-million dollar cop and still more. If you turn on your T.V. during any given night and don't see some crusading super-sleuth in blue jumping off a tenement fire escape onto the shoulders of the local drug dealer, consider yourself lucky.

One of the worst police shows is *S.W.A.T.*, a series about a tactical task force that can be seen charging through downtown streets, dressed in military fatigues and armed with machine guns and bazookas. The show is hardly a harmless Marvel Comics affair because it actively promotes the use of wide-scale, technologically sophisticated violence against the "enemy." Like almost every cop show, it neatly uses the male-role fantasy of aggressive virility and athletic ability to support repression. These latter-day Marlboro cowboys bring back the image of the gun-toting, take-charge male who makes the newspapers while the helpless women watch from the sidelines. These shows condition the viewer not only to accept the sexist formula of male dominance and female passivity, but also to identify with the violence perpetrated by the guardians of the status quo. If a few "revolutionaries" get blown up in a Los Angeles house on the six-o'clock news, it's hardly surprising or shocking. If the National Guard is called in to "swat" a riot, there's yet another real life episode with familiar, easily identifiable good guys and bad guys.

Close behind the cop show, which makes up about 25% of prime time T.V. is the ethnic situation comedy. In the old-fashioned white middle-class sit-coms, an Ozzie Nelson or Fred MacMurray would not be ecstatic at the sight of rigatoni, hominy grits or borscht soup. But in this year of Jeffersons, Vitales, Morgensterns and Montefuscos, T.V. has decided that the public is mature enough to view the secret lives of ethnic America. For after a few years of successful Bunkerisms about "poles" and "mics," the networks realized that exploiting ethnic identity could make them and their sponsors a lot of money.

The ethnic sit-com formula usually presents a kind, comic but stubborn papa and a submissive, warm-hearted matriarch who craftily manipulates things from back-stage. Perhaps the most offensive shows are those that present the black experience as a pleasant middle-class affair where the closest reference to oppression is found in stock-jokes about Marcus Garvey and Huey Newton. The characters in these shows are not simply unreal cartoon cut-outs but frequently reinforce racist stereotypes of black people. For example, in an episode of *That's My Mama*, Cleavon Little's brother is presented as a mindless incompetent who falls for the dumb con-scheme of the local black robber while he's minding Cleavon's barber shop. Later, when he wins \$150 in a poker game, he forgets to pay back his brother and instead rushes out to blow it on the "good booze and women" that can be had for the money.

On The Rocks is another situation comedy that presents racist images of black people. In this show they are lovably lazy and corrupt convicts who enjoy an almost country-club-prison life where the time is passed in locker room horseplay. In the first episode, a black convict denies to a guard a series of prison thefts he has committed by claiming with great sarcasm and insincerity that he was a "poor victim of environment." The show not only sells the stereotype of the shiftless, work-hating black man but it also provides a totally false and propagandistic view of American prisons as resorts which coddle incorrigible criminals.

Another popular T.V. formula closely related to the ethnic sit-com is the photo-album view of the perfect American family of yesteryear. The *Waltons*, the oldest and most successful of these, portrays a close-knit family of simple, God-fearing values that relies on Yankee ingenuity and Providence to see itself through. The stable, two-car garage world of *Leave It To Beaver* is no longer a credible fantasy for most Americans. So the clock must be turned back to an age before inflation, high crime rates and chronic unemployment.

The ethnic sit-com also indicates declining confidence in the possibility of middle-class affluence. In order to sell the myth of the happy and secure American family of 1975, the appeal is made primarily to ethnic or racial identity and not to the viewer's visions of weekend ski trips with the kids.

The other major sit-com formula is that of the so-called independent woman. The role that Cloris Leachman plays in *Phyllis*, the year's lead ratings success for a new show, reveals the total conventionality of T.V.'s "liberated" woman. In the second episode, we see Phyllis, the happily widowed mother of a Caroline Kennedy look-alike, scampering back to the rich home of her

in-laws because she cannot cope with apartment living on her own. The overwhelming image is that of a spoiled, highly emotional overgrown girl who needs the firm, guiding hand of a man. In the first episode of *Fay*, our youthful middle-aged divorcee is immediately besieged by a hip young hairdresser while she fights off her husband's pleas for reunion. The "independent" life of *Fay* still seems to revolve around her emotions and opinions concerning men and, like *Phyllis*, she remains well within the stifling sexist bound of the traditional feminine role.

Toss in lots of footballs, basketballs and hockey pucks, a few *Marcus Welby and Perry Mason* shows, and some movies, and you get the dynamic 1975 "super-season." And we can expect lots more potential Emmy winners like *On The Rocks* in years to come. Only when you begin to notice listings for series like *The Young Stockbrokers*, *Wall Street Story* or *The Loan Sharks* (a *Jaws*-like tale about big banks swallowing N.Y.C.) in your T.V. Guide, will you know that the networks are conceding that there is a lot more than the quality of television that's on the rocks.

MY HUSBAND, WITHOUT TELLING ME, INVITES FOUR COUPLES TO DINNER. I COULD KILL HIM.



I TURN ON MAUDE. HER HUSBAND, WITHOUT TELLING HER, INVITES FOUR COUPLES TO DINNER. THE LAUGH TRACK SCREAMS.



MY YOUNGEST GIRL, OUT ON HER FIRST DATE, ISN'T HOME BY ELEVEN. I'M SICK WITH WORRY. I COULD KILL HER.



I TURN ON FATHER KNOWS BEST. HIS YOUNGEST GIRL, OUT ON HER FIRST DATE, ISN'T HOME BY ELEVEN. ROBERT YOUNG IS SICK WITH WORRY. THE LAUGH TRACK ROARS.



MY HUSBAND GETS CALLS FROM HIS COLLEGE SWEETHEART. MY SON WON'T GET A HAIRCUT, MY DAUGHTER WON'T CLEAN UP HER ROOM. I TURN ON TV. MY WHOLE LIFE IS IN FRONT OF MY EYES. IT'S A SITUATION COMEDY.



THANK GOD FOR THE LAUGH TRACK.



HOW ELSE WOULD I KNOW THE PAIN IS FOLLY?

Field Newspaper Syndicate, 1975

© 1975 MUR 7-10

TV Ladies

Liberation, Lawyers, and Losers

by Elayne Rapping

If you can believe the media hype, the most significant thing about the new television season is its focus on the "liberated woman." According to *Newsweek*, it's "Ladies First" all the way, with three new series -- "*Fay*," "*Phyllis*," and "*Kate McShane*" -- featuring women "leading the liberated life."

But why should you believe the media hype? Look for yourself and you'll soon see that TV's new Ms. America isn't much different from her mother.

First, the good news. "*Fay*," starring Lee Grant, is a comedy about a 43 year old divorcee with a mind of her own. She started the season in good form by defying her ex-husband's demand that she return to him or at the very least let him continue to support her. Moving right along, she scandalized her daughter by spending a weekend with a man. When asked what to tell her, "cute little grandson" about Nana, *Fay* answered spunkily, "Tell him Nana is getting it on."

And it looks like she intends to keep it that way. The show ended with *Fay* turning down a marriage proposal because, after spending years as nothing more than "Jack's wife," she was thoroughly enjoying her independence. Good for you, *Fay*. I hope you survive the season with your spirit intact. The odds are probably against it, though. After all, how long can a militant divorcee, stuck incongruously in the middle of the *Family Hour*, avoid the censor's scissors?

Now for the bad news. "*Phyllis*" does about as much for the image of women as *Kellogg* has done for granola. As played by Cloris Leachman, *Phyllis* is a born loser, muddle-

headed and incompetent. Far from being independent, the first episode had her reacting to her husband's death by moving in with her mother-in-law, who offered free room and board in exchange for the right to insult and humiliate her at least once a minute. Things went from bad to worse, with *Phyllis* being turned down for every conceivable job -- from "change maker in a laundromat" to "sales girl in a live bait store." Finally, she swallowed her pride and went to work for the woman her husband "had really wanted to marry," as her mother-in-law kept pointing out. Like "*Rhoda*" and "*The Mary Tyler Moore Show*," "*Phyllis*" has lots of women characters. But most of them are just that -- characters, of the most stereotyped and unflattering female variety.

As for "*Kate McShane*," a lawyer played by Anne Meara, there isn't much news at all. She's a woman all right, but that's about all that distinguishes her from the more typical male TV lawyer. Taking her lead from last season's "*Police Woman*," *Kate* succeeds in a man's world by doing her job just like a man.

However, her job, so far at least, involves defending rather than shooting down other women. In the opening segment she defends a young woman accused of a political bombing by arguing that her client had gone along only to persuade the bombers not to carry out their plan. From a feminist point of view, I guess "*Kate*" comes out ahead of "*Phyllis*." But I wouldn't want to push the argument much further. Nor would I want to urge all you feminists who never watch television to rush out and buy a set on the basis of this season's new "women's" series.

Peoples Party Meets

by Steve Watrous

Fifty delegates to the Peoples Party National Convention have selected Margaret Wright, a black Los Angeles community activist, as the party's provisional Presidential nominee. Dr. Benjamin Spock, the party's Presidential candidate in 1972, was picked for the second slot after the St. Louis convention.

The People's Party is a loose federation of local groups in individuals, which prizes diversity and local independence. Local groups are unified mainly through electoral politics, especially the Presidential campaign. Spock got 78,000 votes for President in 1972, and People's Party candidates received 115,000 votes in California (for Lt. Governor) and 500,000 in Michigan (for Supreme Court). The party's affiliate in Vermont is considered a major party there.

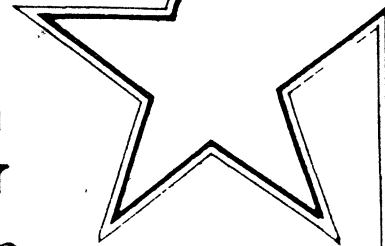
Unity with other left groups was less of a concern this year than it had been at past conventions. The party voted overwhelmingly to end its formal tie with the National Interim Committee for a Mass Party of the People, and refused to set up a working relationship with the Congress of African People on their proposed leftist Presidential campaign. However, Wright and Spock are "provisional" candidates in case the party decides later to work with other groups.

Subscribe to COME OUT FIGHTING

6844 Sunset Blvd. Los Angeles, Ca 90028

12 issues \$2.50
for single issue
send 25¢

The Newspaper of the Lavender & Red Union
A GAY LIBERATION/COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION



Members said the most significant accomplishment of this year's convention was the platform. They see the national slate of candidates as serving to get out ideas and "build the party." Planks were adopted favoring feminist-socialism, workplace organizing and participation in unions, organizing the unemployed, and several other radical and ecological demands.

Although the People's Party has had some success at the ballot box, there is a growing interest in non-electoral organizing. Kathy K. of the Human Rights Party (the Peoples Party affiliate in Michigan) said in a keynote address that the party should make workplace and unemployment organizing its priorities. She emphasized the need for more direction and opposed the present loose structure.

After the convention, Peoples Party members will work to get their candidates on the ballot in a majority of states, to publicize the platform, and to arrange appearances by the nominees, as well as continuing their non-electoral projects.



Join the long march
Read the Guardian every week!

The Guardian newsweekly provides a clear Marxist-Leninist analysis of imperialism's political and economic crises, women's struggles, the rise of the third world, the people's movement at home and abroad, and more. It also features special political columns, cultural and book reviews, on-the-spot coverage from China, Portugal, Southeast Asia, and around the U.S. Try us for 8 weeks, send only \$1.

\$12.50, one year \$20, 2 yrs. \$7.50, one yr. unemployed, student or retired
 \$1, 8 wk. trial offer.

Name.....
Address.....
City..... State..... Zip.....

(Add \$4 per yr. additional postage for Canada and elsewhere abroad.)
Mail to: Guardian, 33 West 17th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.



nam chapters

NATIONAL OFFICE

NAM, 1643 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60647

CALIFORNIA

- Bay Area, 6025 Shattuck, Oakland, CA 94609
- Chico NAM, c/o Reed, 716 Oaklawn, Chico, CA 95926
- Los Angeles 1, Box 24521, Los Angeles, CA 90024
- Los Angeles Westside, c/o Takai, Box 794, Venice, CA 90291
- Los Angeles 3, c/o Katz, 850 Hyperion, Los Angeles, CA 90026
- Los Angeles 4, c/o Healey, 1733 1/2 W. 84th, Los Angeles, CA 90047
- Los Angeles Media, c/o Helbert, 124A Pacific, Santa Monica, CA 90405
- Orange County, c/o Christensen, 306 Lindo, Balboa, CA 92661
- Riverside NAM, Box 2673, Riverside, CA 92506
- San Diego, Box 15142, San Diego, CA 92115
- Santa Barbara, c/o Davis, 6527 El Greco #204, Goleta, CA 93017
- Santa Cruz, c/o Ackerman, 661-38th Ave., Santa Cruz, CA 95062

ILLINOIS

- Chicago 1, c/o Wilbur, 1243 W. Newport, Chicago, IL 60657
- University of Chicago, c/o Patton, 5731 S. Blackstone, Chicago, IL 60637

IOWA

Iowa City NAM, Box 2173, Iowa City, IA 52240

MARYLAND

Port City NAM, Box 7213, Baltimore, MD 21218

MASSACHUSETTS

- Amherst, c/o Buff, 23 Orchard, Amherst, MA 01002
- Boston Area NAM, Rm. 308, Heller School, Brandeis Univ., Waltham, MA 02154
- Middlesex, Box 443, Somerville, MA 02144
- Radcliffe-Harvard NAM, c/o David Price, Lowell A-34, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, MA 02138

MICHIGAN

- Ann Arbor, c/o 331 Packard #3, Ann Arbor, MI 48104
- Red Cedar River, c/o Transue, 1912 1/2 E. Michigan, Lansing, MI 48912

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis NAM, Box 8530, Minneapolis, MN 55408

NEW YORK

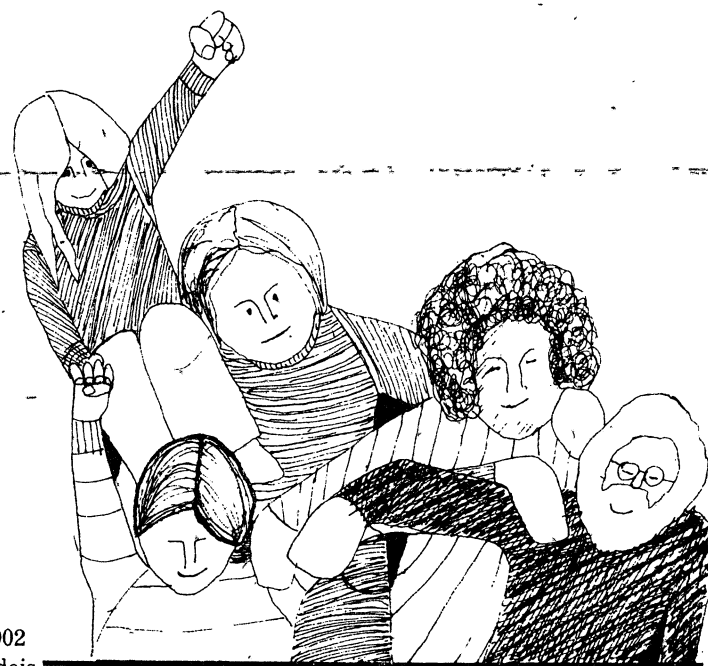
- Binghamton, c/o Walsh, 209 Charles, Johnson City, NY 13790
- Brooklyn Dodgers NAM, c/o Menashe, 575 6th St., Brooklyn, NY 11215
- Buffalo NAM, Box 517, Ellicott Sta., Buffalo, NY 14205
- Metropolis NAM, Box 682, Syosset, NY 11791
- N.Y. Westside, c/o Farley, 415 Riverside Dr., New York, NY 10027

NORTH CAROLINA

C.P. Gilman NAM, 126 Justice, Chapel Hill, NC 27514
Durham Organizing Collective, Box 1301, Durham, NC 27702

OHIO

Hocking Valley NAM, c/o 312 Baker Center, Athens, OH 45701



Mad River NAM, Box 252, Dayton, OH 45401
Yellow Springs NAM, c/o Antioch College Student Mail Room, Yellow Springs, OH 45387

PENNSYLVANIA

- Erie NAM, 402 1/2 Raspberry, Erie, PA 16507
- Pittsburgh NAM, Box 8224, Pittsburgh, PA 15217
- Resistance NAM, 1427 Walnut, Philadelphia, PA 19102
- University of Penn NAM, c/o Wrenn, 4512 Springfield, Philadelphia, PA 19143

RHODE ISLAND

Providence NAM, c/o Weisberger, 45-Larch St., Providence, RI 02906

SOUTH CAROLINA

Columbia, c/o Laitala, 1425 Victoria, Columbia, SC 29201

TEXAS

Austin, c/o Rush, 3105 Breeze Terrace, Austin, TX 78722

PRE-CHAPTERS

- Denton NAM, c/o Parkhill, 2311 Stella St. #120, Denton, TX 76201
- Eugene NAM, 209 E. 30th St., Eugene, OR 97405
- Rosenberg NAM, c/o Suffet, 67-30 Clyde St., Forest Hills, NY 11375
- Suffolk County NAM, c/o Melchoir/Stevenson, 9 White-stone Rd., Sound Beach, NY 11789

Country Music

Work and Marriage

by Elayne Rapping, Pittsburgh NAM

Remember "radical chic"? And "hiking boot chic"? Well, it looks like the people who decide what's chic have spun their little wheel again, and this time it's landed on country music. First came Robert Altman's *Nashville*. Then there was a flurry of magazine articles, culminating in a *New York Times Magazine* cover story. These east and west coast culture mongers have all taken a rather campy approach to the subject. Through exaggeration and caricature they manage to convey the idea that country music is at best corny and at worst inane. But there's a lot more to it than that. Country music, even at its worst, is more interesting, politically, than pop or commercial rock. It is at once more class conscious and more reactionary: more true and more false; in a word, more contradictory, than any other popular art form.

It began as the music of poor working people, and even now, when it's become urban rather than rural, it expresses some of the realities of working class life. One of its distinguishing features, for example, is its use of work itself as a topic. Songs like "Sixteen Tons," "Cotton Mill Man," and "Detroit City" ("By day I make the cars and by night I make the bars") clearly reflect the exploitation and alienation of working class life.

Work and Marriage

But while it's significant that any country songs are about work, most of them obviously aren't. In fact, 75 to 80% of them are about love. Even here, there are important differences between country and its pop and rock equivalents. For love in country music has little to do with the fantasies of Tin Pan Alley. No one ever "climbs a stairway to the stars," or "flies the ocean in a silver plane." If you listen to it for a while you'll see why. Almost everyone in country lyrics is married, while almost no one in pop or rock is.

The importance of this fact can't be overestimated. For while pop and rock love songs are almost pure escapes from social and economic reality, country love songs are rooted in it. They take for granted what pop and rock refuse to notice: that most Americans have to work; and



Your boss probably doesn't like the New American Movement newspaper.

But that's O.K.
We don't like your boss.

SUBSCRIBE

New American Movement Newspaper

16 Union Square
Somerville, MA 02143

Subscription

\$4.00



NAME

ADDRESS

ZIP

that for men this generally means wage labor, and for women housework. Country music is far and away the most sexist of all popular art forms. But that's at least partly because it's far and away the most honest. And because of its honesty, it gives a clear picture of how sexist ideology serves capitalism.

Nowhere else will you find so dramatic a picture of the interdependence of home and workplace in capitalist society. Nowhere else will you see how vital women are to capitalism, not only as houseworkers, but, more important, as symbols of the only pleasure, pride, and power a working class man is allowed.

The "good" country woman is always a housewife, and her work is cut out for her. During the day, she changes the diapers, cooks the grits, and irons the shirts. At night, "behind closed doors," of course, she "lets her hair hang down" and reveals her sexuality to the only man who owns her, legally and financially.

She Makes the World Go Away

Underlying the domestic and sexual services she performs is an all-important emotional function. The country woman is the one who "makes it all worthwhile." She "makes the world go away" after a hard day's work, and sometimes even during it. The working man in a current hit puts it nicely: "While my hands are making a living/My mind's home loving you." When you think of the drudgery of the assembly line, you realize the importance of these "day-dreams about night-things" -- and so, of women and the family -- to the smooth functioning of capitalism. If she wasn't there at night to fulfill his dreams, the whole thing could fall apart.

That's why the most commercialized country music puts so much stress on Standing By Your Man, forgiving him for everything and hanging onto him at all costs, no matter how rotten he is. Tammy Wynette has made a fortune selling women on the (not so obvious) rewards of this, and explaining how to do it. You have to "be proud of him"; make him think "he's better than the rest"; and, most of all, keep loving him -- more than "she" can, "more than yesterday," more than anything. In other words, make him feel like a king so he'll forget the truth: that "after all, he's just a man," which, for the average worker, is a pretty depressing thought.

This is the feminine ideal, of course. It's also, for obvious reasons, what gets the most AM radio play. But a lot of country music is as honest about the miseries of home life as of work. Country women have it pretty tough. And they complain as much as their men. They get bored, jealous, and exhausted. "Left with the kids, three dogs and a houseful of dirty wash," the "little lady" may not find time or energy to think loving thought all day. And, much as she knows that "Good lovin' keeps a home together," she's apt to lose both her temper and her sexual appetite when he comes home, reeking of liquor, "with lovin' on his mind."

Leaving and Cheating

But while country music allows her to complain, its insistence on a strict double standard makes it hard for her to do much about things. The two most common uses of the double standard involve "leaving" and "cheating," both of which are pretty much OK for men, but horrendous for women. Country lyrics often encourage the male fantasy of leaving home and family for the freedom of the open road. One reason may be that a lot of jobs -- most obviously truck driving, which is highly glamorized in country songs -- require it. And since the male urge to escape can be channeled into necessary labor it's presented rather positively. A man may start out "thumbing [his] way to Mexico" but when his money runs out he's going to have to take some kind of job. A woman with a similar urge is confined to daydreaming. No matter how



bored and dissatisfied she is, the best she can do is to change her imaginary destination. "Every day last year I left for California," sings Chrystal Gill, "This is my year for Mexico."

The other form of escape, sexual adventure, is acted upon by both men and women. But the wages of sin are a lot different for each. Country men are always being "tempted," especially when they've been drinking, which is just about every day. While giving in isn't exactly condoned, it is tolerated. The best of men are tempted, and those who resist often do so in the most unlikely circumstances. In one song a husband is "almost persuaded" to succumb to "strange lips," when he looks in his temptress's eyes and sees -- believe it or not -- "the reflection of [his] wedding band."

Well, his wife may swallow that once, but she's bound to wonder what act of God will save him next time. At which point, she'll start singing one of the many nighttime songs of waiting and forgiving. Though she knows "he's been a million places/She never looks for lipstick traces."

Should she start stepping out on her own, however, you can bet he'll sing a different tune. He may be an innocent and passive victim, but she is nothing less than a "cheater," which in country terminology is the moral equivalent of the devil incarnate. No image is better calculated to curdle the blood than a woman making up "her lyin' eyes" and heading "for the cheatin' side of town."

True and False

Someone once described country music as telling "how bad things are, and where to go for comfort." And it's just there that its contradictions are most pronounced. It's at its best and most truthful when telling how bad things are, and at its worst and most dishonest about where to go for comfort. If more and more people are turning to country music, it's probably because more and more people are hitting their heads against the grim realities of capitalist oppression and poverty, both material and spiritual. They want to hear about people with similar problems, and they want to believe the hokey message about love, marriage and happiness. But if the problems ring true and the solutions don't, it can't be long before people start noticing. And all the Tammy Wynettes and Merle Haggards won't be able to sing loud enough to hold things together then.