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Nation's Biggest Rent Strike Still Solid

More than 15,000 people live in the huge New York City apartment complex called Co-op City. More than 10,000 of these residents have been involved in a rent strike for the past eight months, refusing to pay over \$17 million in disputed rent increases. One rumored clue to the strike's success is the number of retired union members and organizers living in Co-op City. The following article is a personal account of the background of the strike.

by Ernest Steiner, N.Y. Westside NAM

Sitting in a sunlit kitchen on the eleventh floor, I am talking to old friends. The outside temperature is 15° and the thermometer in the kitchen, the warmest room, shows 65° at 3:00 p.m. With the wind hitting the window, it's not warm. My remark about it gets the answer, "In the morning, it was only 38°."

When we retire to the living room they have to turn on an electric heater. This is the day when the State-appointed Commissioner's office announced that services, including heating, lighting and security, will be curtailed. This is one of the latest moves by New York State, under whose Mitchell-Lama law this development with 15,372 tenants (mis-named "co-operators") was built, to

break the resistance of the tenants.

When my friends moved in four years ago, they paid about \$1750 in equity and were promised reasonable maintenance costs for long terms. At the start they paid \$106 per month for a three room apartment. Then came increase after increase, and by July 1975 payments were up to \$146.

For a couple on Social Security, having invested about 25% of their life savings, this was not so fair a deal any more. Then the bombshell exploded: "Riverbay Corporation," which managed (or mismanaged) Co-op City, asked for an increase of 25% in the maintenance fee, because heating costs and labor costs had increased, and because they needed money for the mortgage (which the state had backed through the State Housing Agency - see NAM for trouble).

Rent Hike

But that was only the opening shot. Riverbay also asked for an increase of 20% for each of the next five years, which would have brought my friends' rent up to \$377 a month by 1980.

Inside:

- Teamster rank and file
- Food stamps under attack
- Chico student sit-in
- Textile workers
- Rosenberg case
- and more . . .

This is an impossibility for my friends, and for the majority of Co-op tenants, many elderly, many with children, many unemployed. After all, they were enticed there by the promise of decent, affordable housing.

The people not only could not pay an increase of this size, but were also enraged by the knowledge that much of the money they were supposed to

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Portuguese Revolution Down But Not Out

by Larry Miller, Newspaper Collective

Reading the papers, you get the impression that the Portuguese Revolution is over. Even the leftist press seems to believe that the repression which followed the unsuccessful paratroopers' revolt last November 25 (see the last issue of the NAM Newspaper) has broken the back of the revolutionary movement in Portugal.

The repression is serious. Many of the gains won in the year and a half since the overthrow of the fascist Caetano government have been lost. But the Portuguese left is far from defeated.

Military and Press Purged

Immediately after November 25, many leading leftists in the military were arrested. Leftist units in the armed forces, especially the Lisbon garrison, have been demobilized. General Carvalho, a leader of the April 1974 coup that brought the MFA to power, has been arrested, charged with plotting the overthrow of the current provisional government.

CopCon, the leftist internal security command, has been dissolved. Striking workers can no longer call in CopCon to back them up in disputes with their bosses. Today there is a return to a "professional" army and old fashioned military

discipline in place of the soldiers' councils and rank and file movements that grew all last summer and fall.

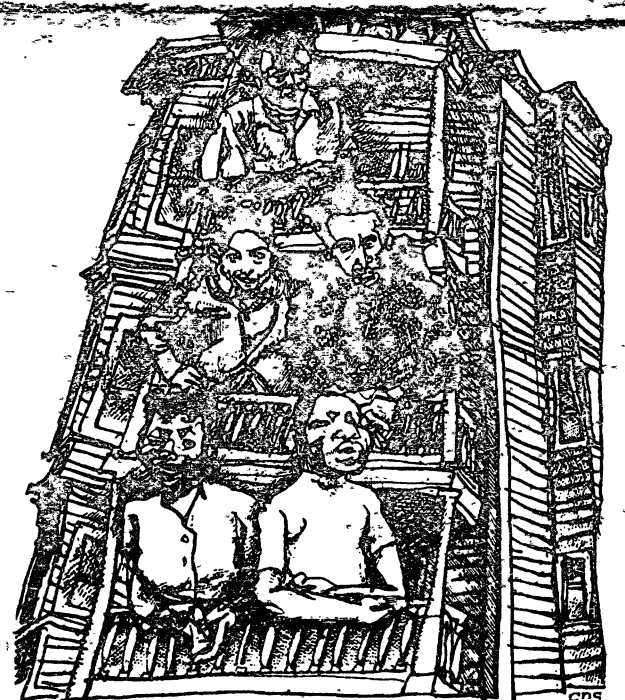
Leftists have been removed from television and radio. Radio Renascença, seized and run by its workers last year, has been returned to the Catholic Church. At least 125 journalists have been purged from the government-owned daily newspapers. (Many Portuguese papers had been owned by the banks, and were taken over by the government when the banks were nationalized last March.) **Republica**, a leftist daily run by its workers, has been shut down pending the outcome of negotiations aimed at returning control to its old owners.

But the newspaper purges have not been completely successful. The nationalized papers, and the private papers like **Republica** that were expropriated, were managed by directors elected by the workers themselves. The workers' commissions of these papers have been officially dissolved, but some continue to meet.

The importance of all this became clear after prison guards fired into a crowd of demonstrators outside Custodias Prison in Oporto on January 1. Four people were killed, and ten others, including a four year old child, were seriously wounded.

The story we got in the U.S. papers was the

continued on page 11



S.F. Supervisors

Block Tenants' Bill

SAN FRANCISCO -- The San Francisco Board of Supervisors has defeated a housing ordinance that would have required developers who plan to demolish a building to find equivalent replacement housing for displaced low income tenants. The city's shortage of low income housing made the bill extremely important for protecting people from the developers.

The ordinance was the product of many years' work by a coalition of community groups helped by lawyers and local socialists. Members of San Francisco NAM participated in the fight for the bill since October. Supporters plan to draw up a new version of the ordinance and will continue to push for its passage.

editorial

ANGOLA

The war in Angola, over ten years old is front page news. Once again the U.S. is supporting one side (or is it two?) in a civil war far away. The excuse is a familiar one: the Russians are on one side, we should be on the other. The debate seems to echo the debate around our long, bloody and unsuccessful intervention in Viet Nam. It raises questions about that war, our opposition to it and the U.S. defeat - the people's victory - have changed the world, changed the American government's ability to rule the world.

The U.S. media describes tribal conflicts in Angola, warring factions or an apparently contentless contest between the Great Powers - the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

The MPLA receives Soviet and Cuban support. The FNLA and UNITA receive U.S. and South African support. The two are not comparable. The Soviet Union, for what ever motives, has supported liberation movements in Africa, movements for African independence, since World War Two, while the U.S. has supported the old colonial powers; Britain, France, and most recently Portugal. The Soviet Union supported the

MPLA in its long war against Portuguese colonialism before the fascist Portuguese government fell in 1974. The Soviet Union also supported the liberation movements in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique.

Until 1974, the U.S. supported the Portuguese government in its wars to maintain its colonies. At the same time, it sponsored non-communist "liberation" movements, hedging its bets in Portugal's wealthiest colony. This is why most African countries do not equate Soviet support of the MPLA with U.S. and South African support of the MPLA's rivals. The MPLA has been fighting to liberate Angola for almost twenty years. It has been recognized as the legitimate government of Angola by 37 countries, 22 African nations such as Tanzania, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. The rival organizations have not been formally recognized by any government in Africa or elsewhere.

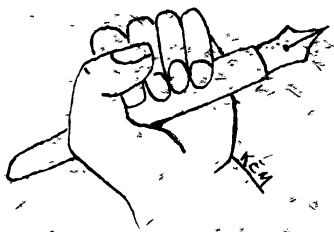
The real motives for U.S. involvement in Angola are more obvious than in Viet Nam. When our government fought on and on and on, for control of that small Asian country, the people asked, "what are we fighting for?." In Angola, the answer is clear: oil, gold, diamonds and iron, for continued European control of southern Africa with all its mineral riches. It is no mystery that the war goes on in Angola, one of Africa's richest

nations after the African people have successfully set up governments in the poorer nations of Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

The white minority regimes of South Africa, Namibia (South West Africa), and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) have been shaken by the loss of two white-settler regimes in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. They are far more threatened by the possible loss of Angola. Those are the sides: the liberation movements of southern Africa, which have received Soviet support for many years, against the white settler regimes of southern Africa, backed by black African opportunists, tribalists and the American government.

In many ways the picture is an optimistic one. The MPLA is winning. The FNLA has retreated to Zaire. Without substantial American support to UNITA or a major intervention by South Africa the MPLA may be in undisputed control of Angola by the time you read this. The events of the last ten years have made an American intervention in Angola less likely. We will not tolerate another Viet Nam. We hope that our government has learned this. By the time they decide how to pacify us, it may be too late. Major intervention by the openly racist South African regime would increase African support for the MPLA. South Africa and imperialism are losing. The people are winning.

letters



To the editors:

It was refreshing to read Elayne Rapping's review of Susan Brownmiller's book on rape in the December issue. It is the first review of it I've seen that is anything less than ecstatic and the first I've seen that recognizes it as a Law and Order book: a new and sophisticated approach to the subject that is, shamefully, picking up liberal support because the victims of crime in this case happen to be an oppressed group.

The most insidious aspect of all cries for Law and Order and the most offensive aspect of this book, however, is not mentioned by Rapping: racism. Throughout the book, Brownmiller returns to a central theme which she plays out to the point of an obsession: that the left, by its strenuous efforts over the years on behalf of black men falsely accused of raping white women, has actually undermined the fight against rape.

She has nothing but contempt for the left for challenging the reputations of the women who sent the nine "Scottsboro Boys" and countless other black men to death row by perjured testimony. The lynch murder of fourteen year old Emmett Till she describes as "inexcusable overkill" - an overreaction by the white mob to the youth's allegedly whistling at a white woman. This adolescent whistle she describes as "...a deliberate insult just short of physical assault ... a last reminder that this black boy, Till had in mind to possess [the woman]." Brownmiller points to the statistical rise in interracial (black on white) rape and in part blames the "radicals" and the "white intellectual establishment" for making "heroes" of the convicted rapists.

Brownmiller does not seem to be aware of the special burden carried by nonwhite women. She refers to the responsibility of white women to join in exposing the oppression of their black sisters, when black women are victims of rape. This admirable sentiment is negated, however, by her failure to understand that white women, to gain real freedom, must themselves take up the general fight against racism and injustice by defending those innocent black men who are framed on rape charges.

Failure to recognize the primary importance of the racism which nurtures false cries of rape against nine "Scottsboro Boys," Emmett Till, Willie McGee, Thomas Wansley, Delbert Tibbs, etc., insures that not only white supremacy but also male supremacy will go unchallenged. So long as womanhood is viewed as property, to be made use of and "protected" by men, women will continue to be oppressed, by rape and other means: 35% of Puerto Rican women of child-bearing age have been sterilized; millions of women all over the world have been supplied with potentially fatal methods of birth control,

like the U.S. made Dalkon Shield; and other barbarities too numerous to mention.

Brownmiller's Law and Order approach may sell books, but as Elayne Rapping points out, it will not stop rape. In fact, an argument can be made that bigger police forces, be they male or female, and more vigorous prosecutions may actually increase rape, since it is common knowledge that prison is a breeding ground for crime, particularly rape.

At any rate, reliance on the U.S. criminal justice system, an automatic railroad for black defendants - male and female - to fight oppression of women is self-delusion on the part of Susan Brownmiller. Worse still, it is an approach which fans the fires of racism and which all women should repudiate. Women should fight together to get rape recognized as the outrageous crime it is, but women must, with equal force, oppose racism wherever it exists. Only in this way will we build a mighty, unshakeable movement. And only such a movement will restructure U.S. society in such a way as will end the crime of rape.

Alison Edwards
S.T.O., NAM

Dear friends:

On December 19, Ellen Grusse and Terri Turgeon were released from Niantic State Prison in Connecticut and their subpoenas were dropped. The two women had spent over eight months in jail for refusing to testify before a federal grand jury investigating the harboring of fugitives Susan Saxe and Katherine Power. Ellen and Terri are free because of the massive pressure put on the judge and the U.S. attorney by hundreds of people across the country.

Jill Raymond has been incarcerated in Kentucky county jails for nearly a year for refusing to cooperate with a similar grand jury investigation. Jail conditions are harsh for Jill and she is the only woman prisoner in a predominately male county jail. Up until now, we have not been able to visibly demonstrate national support for Jill's release.

We are asking you to help free Jill Raymond. A massive letter writing campaign to the U.S. attorney in Lexington could help bring about her release. We ask you to send letters and telegrams immediately to:

U.S. Attorney Eldon Webb
Federal Building,
Lexington, Kentucky 40501

We suggest that you stress in your letters that: (1) Ellen and Terri have been recently released. (2) Jill is in jail for the same reason, i.e. refusing to testify before a grand jury investigating the harboring of Saxe and Power. (3) Jill's one year incarceration for not talking is a coercive measure and her continued imprisonment merely punitive at this point, since she is not going to talk. (4) Jill should be released immediately.

Be as creative as you want with the letters and send as many as possible. We are convinced given the experience of Ellen and Terri's release, that a national outpouring of letters, can help get Jill out of jail.

You can write Jill directly at Madison County Jail, Richmond, Kentucky 40457.

If you have any other ideas, feel free to contact the Grand Jury Project, 853 Broadway room 1415, New York, NY 10003. Please join this campaign to free Jill by writing the U.S. attorney today.

The Grand Jury Project



Frank Bove, Steve Carlip, Chris Casey, Lisa Dennen, Lew Friedland, Chris Ghibelline, Roger Gottlieb, Carollee Howes, Dean Manders, Larry Miller, Kathy Moore, Karen Morgan, John Viertel

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The New American Movement (NAM) exists to help organize a movement for democratic socialism in the United States. Our aim is to establish working class control of the enormous productive capacity of American industry, to create a society that will provide material comfort and security for all people, and in which the full and free development of every individual will be the basic goal. Such a society will strive for decentralization of decision-making, an end to bureaucratic rule, and participation of all people in shaping their own lives and the direction of society. We believe the elimination of sexist and racist institutions and the dismantling of American economic and social control abroad are central to the struggle for socialism.

Teamster Rank and File on the Move

by Roger Götthlieb, Newspaper Collective

At midnight March 31, one of the most important labor contracts in the country will expire. This is the Master Freight Agreement, which covers over 400,000 Teamsters who work for the major freight companies and which serves as a model for other contracts.

Negotiations between Teamster union president Frank Fitzsimmons and the Teamsters' Employers Inc. began on December 12. Like Jimmy Hoffa before him, Fitzsimmons tries to run the union with an iron hand -- usually with more concern for his own power and wealth than for union members' needs. But a rank and file group called Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC) is working to change the situation.

The TDC is a nationwide group of Teamsters, founded in August, who have been organizing a petition drive in support of a group of minimum demands for an acceptable contract. The TDC doesn't trust Fitzsimmons, who used to play golf with Richard Nixon and who gives speeches at hundred-dollar-a-plate dinners. Nor do they have much trust for his fellow union leaders, 80 of whom make over \$100,000 a year from their dues.

In the past, Fitzsimmons has raised large-scale demands in the first round of negotiations, only to back down in the final round. In 1970, for instance, he raised hopes for a big wage boost of \$3.00 an hour. But he quickly settled for \$1.10, until a national wildcat strike forced the contract to be rewritten for \$1.85.

Problems

TDC was formed in response to the serious problems facing Teamsters. These problems include declining real wages, massive layoffs, and an ineffective grievance procedure.

Teamster unemployment is high, due to the general problems of the economy. The slump in steel, auto, and manufacturing generally has meant that there is less freight to haul. Scores of smaller trucking companies have been driven out of business. Those that have survived have done so by laying off some workers and pushing those who remain harder.

In cities like Chicago, large companies have bought out many smaller ones. Big trucking companies have been allowed to wipe out their competitors and create huge trucking monopolies. Buyouts result in layoffs, speed-ups, and often an end to the seniority rights of drivers of the bought out company. The result is growing Teamster unemployment, with some workers forced to work 60-70 hours a week while others are jobless.

Rent Strike

continued from page 1

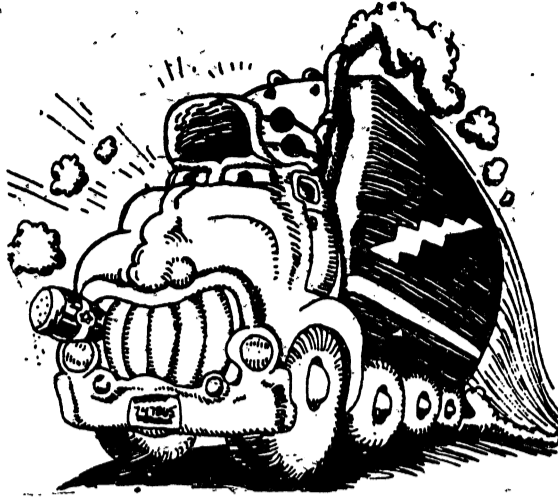
cough up has to cover the costs of mismanagement and nepotism, not only by Riverbay, but originally by the "sponsor" of the housing, Harold Ostroff's United Housing Foundation.

Among other escapades is a power plant, built to provide electricity for the development, not able to function when finished, repaired at high cost, and now workable but unused.

The tenants (let's drop the fancy "cooperators") organized and tried to negotiate with management first, and since this proved useless, with the State. The tenants' request can be summed up in one phrase, "rent stabilization" -- no sudden, unexpected increases.

Governor Carey, who promised at election time to help Co-op City, was not available after getting the job.

To force negotiations, the tenants did not stop paying their rent, but also did not accept the one-sidedly decreed raise, and therefore sent management the old amounts. Management refused to accept the payments. Upon return, the tenants now hand the checks over to the Steering Committee to keep them in escrow.



The TDC has adopted four general sets of contract demands as the basis of their petition drive. They are asking for a \$1.00 an hour raise to make up for buying power lost to inflation, plus a \$1.00 real increase and full cost of living protection.

To deal with unemployment, TDC has three proposals: Companies should have to pay health and welfare for one year for laid-off workers. Teamsters should be paid double time for overtime, and all overtime should be voluntary. And no layoffs due to mergers or other changes in operations should be allowed.

The TDC is also demanding changes in the grievance procedure which will make for more protection of individual workers. They are calling for more autonomy for individual locals. Finally, the TDC demands that all locals be brought up to the highest standards, to prevent companies from running from one area to another to try to avoid strong locals.

The TDC is a rank and file group that is fed up with the consistent sellout of their interests by Teamster bosses. As a member of Local 249 in Pittsburgh said at the founding conference, "The reason I'm here is because I'm tired of waiting for the union to respond to the needs of the rank and file. They keep saying, 'Wait til the next contract.' These contracts come and go and we still have the same problems."

The TDC doesn't trust Fitzsimmons. They charge that his bargaining proposals, although they show some sense of the growing rank and file activity in the union, indicate that he is "not willing to use our power to deal with employers who are determined to make us pay for the economy's woes while they prosper with high profits."

The State has now replaced the old management with its own appointees, and Riverbay Corporation has started a number of legal actions against the tenants. All of these -- surprise? -- have ended in the tenants' disfavor.

After eight months, the strike is 80% solid, despite intimidation and heavy fines (about \$1/2 million) against the strike leadership and a freeze on their personal bank accounts. In the last few days, support by other "Mitchell-Lama" tenants has appeared in the form of a joint press conference held in the lobby of Governor Carey's Manhattan office. 150 Co-op City residents also took part in a sit-in in Carey's office.

A funny story appeared in one of the two area newspapers, City News. The other, Co-op City Times, is a house organ of the "Grand Street Boys," as the management is called by the people.

A city Councilman, Stephen Kaufman, was caught this summer paying the increase to Riverbay while telling the strikers that he is fully supporting them. He denied it, of course, but the paper reproduced the check.

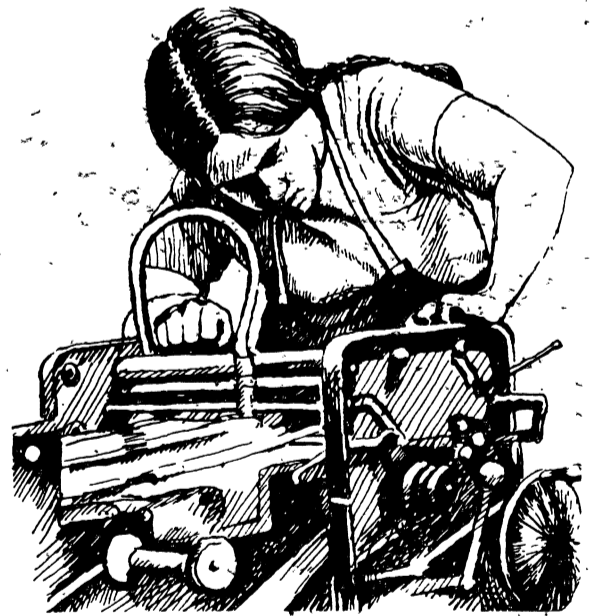
I think that shows the power of the people united, that the skunks have to hide. In answer, the Co-op City Times, has printed a red-baiting letter against Rosen, the leader of the steering committee.

•Over 40,000 Massachusetts state employees have voted overwhelmingly to unionize. The AFL-CIO Alliance, a coalition of AFL-CIO unions including AFSCME and SEIU, won in bargaining units representing 85% of the workers covered by the elections. The Massachusetts State Employees Association, widely viewed as a company union, was soundly defeated, losing by as much as eight to one in some units. Over 80% of the clerical, hospital, maintenance, and social workers and paraprofessionals covered by the elections turned out to vote.

•More than 12,000 Illinois clerical and paraprofessional workers have voted to join the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees. Earlier in 1975, AFSCME had won elections to represent 15,000 Illinois state employees in other bargaining units, and 12,000 more are expected to vote later this year. Nationwide, AFSCME picked up over 75,000 new members in union representation elections in 1975.

labor notes

•Ununionized workers at two runaway shops in the South have decided to join the United Electrical Workers. UE recently won representation elections at the GE turbine plant in Charlestown, South Carolina, and the Westinghouse turbine plant in Tampa, Florida. Both companies had begun to move their operations South in an attempt to avoid a unionized work force. The Charlestown victory came after a two-year union drive during which the company engaged in an intensive campaign of red-baiting, antiunion propaganda, and coercion in its attempt to defeat UE.



•Canadian unionists are calling for a boycott of Seagram products. The company is engaged in a lockout against employees of its British Columbia bottling plants in an effort to break their union.

•The United Farm Workers Union has widened its margin of victory in union elections in California. According to the latest figures, the UFW has won 191 elections representing 50% of the workers who have voted so far. The Teamsters have won 102 elections, representing 22.6% of the workers. 20 elections (4.2% of the workers) have voted for no union, and 42 (23.2% of the workers) are undecided because of challenges. The Teamsters have not won a major election since mid-October.

what we mean Capitalist Crises

by Roger Gottlieb, Newspaper Collective

Last month in this column we defined capitalism as a total system -- economic, political, and ideological. This month, we will look at how capitalism itself creates crises which can lead to its own overthrow.

The first and most important tension within capitalist society is its separation into two fundamentally different classes: those who own the means of production, and those -- the vast and growing majority -- who must work for wages. This second group, the working class, produces the wealth of society. Yet we have little control over that wealth, and we suffer from that lack of control. The capitalist class, those who own the means of production, can only make a profit if they can sell what we produce. Capitalists cannot exist without the existence of a class which is fundamentally opposed to them.

This opposition appears in the struggles of working people for decent wages, working conditions, and social services. We see it in the demands of oppressed groups such as blacks and women for social and economic equality, and in the attempts of communities to control their own institutions in their own interests. But our oppression cannot be overcome until we transform capitalism into socialism, until we organize

society to meet our needs rather than to make a profit for the capitalist class.

In America today, according to a recent government study, 40 million people are malnourished. We all know about inadequate health care, lousy public transportation, crushing poverty in city ghettos and rural areas, and the spread of pollution. At the same time, an estimated 25-35% of America's productive capacity is unused. This happens because the capitalist class will only produce when there is a profit to be made, regardless of what people need. This inefficiency of capitalism creates a society which does not meet our needs.

As capitalists compete with each other, they use more and more machines to increase the number of products they can sell. They can accept lower prices and profits per product if they can sell more. But the increased use of machinery makes new investment incredibly costly. The capitalists have to produce more and more as profits on each item they sell become slimmer and slimmer.

The spiral of increased investment and smaller profits continues upward until it comes down with a crash -- in a depression. Profit margins become too low, the market becomes overloaded with too many unbought goods. Investment stops, factories close, unemployment skyrockets. Eventually, when it becomes cheaper to invest again, the whole cycle starts over. The capitalist system produces economic crises of unemployment and poverty.

Under monopoly capitalism, a small group of corporations gain control of all or most of the market in a given industry. They agree not to compete by lowering prices, but fight it out by

advertising and sales campaigns instead. And they deal with investment costs and trade union demands by steadily raising their prices. This is why inflation becomes worse as monopoly control of industry increases. As a result, we find that our wages are worth less and less -- the buying power of working class wages has gone down steadily since 1967.

"Our" Government?

Finally, capitalism requires an enormous government apparatus to protect its interests. In the last fifty years, federal, state, and local governments have grown until they are by far the biggest employers in the country. These governments help the capitalist class make a profit, but they must appear to serve us all equally.

Tax breaks, oil depletion allowances, aid to corporate research and development, and staggering military budgets all help the capitalist class. Military expenditures, for instance, allow defense contractors to make a profit they couldn't make on a normal market, as the government buys their products with our tax dollars. And they help create a force for intervention when corporations' overseas investments and supplies of raw materials are threatened.

Depressions, inefficiency, wasted productive capacity, military budgets, inflation, and unemployment can all be seen as direct consequences of the capitalist system. Since some people argue that new government regulations can make capitalism more efficient or can protect us from its greed, next month's column will examine in greater detail the behavior of the government in capitalist society.

letters, cont.

Dear Newspaper Collective:

Elayne Rapping's regular culture column has proved a welcome addition to the newspaper. Her talent, wit, and insight have provided a critical and readable dissection of capitalist culture. Yet while applauding the general merits of Elayne's contribution, we have been critical of the condescending tone and superficial analysis found in many of her articles. A look at the January article on men's liberation will show what we mean.

First, Elayne consistently writes as an "outsider" sarcastically poking fun at people's behavior and experience. She writes, "I suppose it was inevitable that the media success of 'women's liberation' would bring an echoing cry for 'men's liberation,' with its own C-R groups, Men's Centers, and books about 'men's oppression.'" While the limits of this "male liberation movement" seem obvious, it would seem equally obvious that this "movement" arises from real unmet needs and is not merely the mindless response to manipulation of the media.

In many cases these "C-R groups" may be able (and to our experience often do) provide vehicles for developing a broader understanding of the male role in capitalist society. In criticizing the ahistorical approach of the two books (which is true), Elayne herself proceeds to put forth an ahistorical analysis. We don't think that all men, unlike Elayne's male friends, can come to an instant understanding of the relationships between capitalism, imperialism, sexism, and racism.

Elayne further reveals an ahistorical analysis by asserting that sexism is produced by capitalism. While it is true that a capitalist economy enhances and determines the particular form of sexism, we cannot escape the fact that male supremacy preceded the emergence of capitalism, and also exists in socialist countries. By passing over these historical facts, the credibility of her analysis can only suffer.

Another example of her superficial analysis is her facile way of dealing with the authors' assertion that "there is no hierarchy of oppression." She criticizes their poor understanding of the historical oppression of women, yet neglects the use of class analysis in her own critique and thereby fails to acknowledge the double oppression of working class women or the triple oppression of third world working women. She attacks the authors' indiscriminate, but then does not recognize her own.

This kind of class analysis seems connected to Elayne's "outsider" writing style and often reveals very little understanding of the everyday experience of working people. It is a type of analysis and attitude that is not only reflected in the "men's liberation" piece, but in the TV soap opera and country music articles in earlier issues as well. We don't win people over to our side by laughing at the stupidity of their experience.

We're reminded of a friend's remark after reading Elayne's article on country music. While agreeing with the criticism made of sexism in country music, the feeling remained that "this sounds like it was written by some

snotty kid still looking down her nose at working people." Hopefully these problems will be recognized and taken into consideration in Elayne's future work.

Sandy Carter
Valerie Maxwell
members at large



Socialist-Feminist Response to Susan Brownmiller and her book "Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape"
-- Gillian Booth

Today, the mountainside
was slow with white cold
and a silence profound enough
for a solitary leaf to startle.
In the snow ahead, I see
footprints, not mine,
one pair, and larger.
This is my analogy of rape:

I turned back.
If he'd found mine, he'd follow.

This much under the membrane
of this sky, I'll share.
I would be riven as much to meet him there alone
as with the insult of his body.

Tonight, I toy with words
before a fire, listening to an underground stream
beneath the cabin floor.
The flame
is moving closer to the log.
In dark places across America
across the world of Free Enterprise
men are feeling free to rape
riding the sharp blade of machismo
into our bodies.

You took this reality, and made it book:
my teeth are set on edge
by your solutions.

Eight years ago
you mined a place for us
upon this mountain with your angry leaving;
neither a foothold, nor a niche
but solid bedrock.
Shivering against the polar winds
we have been waiting for you.
One year ago, I wrote:
"Our daughter may ride a Harley
but we'll be damned if she'll become a cop"
and on the back of a car in Pennsylvania
a fierce sister wrote
"Equality to whom?"

On page three hundred eighty eight
you slap us with your vision:
against your star punctured sky
we see Amerika's solution to rape:
a proud profile
of fully sexually integrated
National Guard
Police
State Trooper and Judicial System.
I am not struck dumb by your organic visions.
But it seems tedious to have, to tell you
that machismo, like justice
is dispensed by the power of money
through people, who until your time comes
happen to be men.

Dear Newspaper Collective:

I have watched the newspaper grow into a readable and stimulating publication. I enjoy it and feel good about giving it out and leaving it in crowded waiting rooms.

One comment, however: It was good to see the coverage of the New Haven teachers' strike. As Alan Kay mentioned, its importance was undeniable, specifically in how it: (1) proved to be more than an economic strike by criticizing the current state of public education and demanding quality education; (2) showed rare solidarity of workers, breaking down divisions of white and blue collar workers as teachers realized the proletarianization of their trade; (3) evidenced unprecedented community, both black and white, support (a community that is largely Roman Catholic and servicing Yale University); and (4) demonstrated again the militancy of workers in fighting budget cuts.

But, equally important and unmentioned by Alan is the fact that the jailing of striking workers was met by a unanimous threat from 92 unions for a General Strike -- a General Strike to defend not the teachers per se, but the legal right to strike. Let's hope this portends the nature of the struggles coming in '76 contracts!

Valerie Maxwell
member at large, Amherst

Ford Vetoes Picketing Bill

by Steve Carlip, Newspaper Collective

On January 2, as one of his first acts of the new year, President Ford vetoed the only piece of labor legislation passed by Congress in 1975.

The "common site picketing" bill would have broadened the rights of construction unions to picket building sites. Organized labor had wanted it for 25 years.

A week after Ford's veto, the heads of nine unions quit the President's Collective Bargaining Committee in Construction (CBCC), charging that Ford had double-crossed them. Frank Fitzsimmons, head of the Teamsters union and a strong supporter of Richard Nixon in the 1972 elections, warned, "If Ford can't support labor, I don't know how labor can support him." Labor Secretary John Dunlop resigned, charging that he and the Ford administration had lost their credibility with labor.

Yet a few days after the veto, Quinn Mills, acting chairman of the CBCC, warned that Ford's action would mean higher wages for construction workers.

Defeat for Organized Labor?

How can the President's veto be a "defeat for organized labor," as the newspapers reported, and at the same time mean higher wages? The answer depends on who you mean by "organized labor." The veto was not a defeat for rank and file construction workers, so much as a defeat for the construction union bureaucracies.

The most widely publicized part of the common site picketing bill would have allowed a union striking against a particular subcontractor to picket an entire construction site. For instance, the carpenters' union could picket a site where bricklayers were also working, even if the bricklayers were hired by a different subcontractor. If this legalization of "common site picketing" had been the only provision of the bill, the veto would indeed have been a great loss for construction workers.

But the bill had a second section which received less publicity. Title II, written by Labor Secretary Dunlop, essentially gave the national leadership of the building trades unions absolute power over union locals.

Title II set up a 23-member Collective Bargaining Committee for the construction industry, whose members would be appointed by the President. It would represent the national

building contractors' associations and the national construction unions' leaders.

The Committee could forbid strikes for 60 days before and 30 days after any contract expired. It could take part in any local negotiations. Most importantly, it could insist that any local settlement be approved in writing by the national heads of the construction unions.

This provision gave the union bureaucracy an absolute veto over any local contract. Furthermore, union locals could not engage in common site picketing without the written approval of the national leaders. The bill would have destroyed the independence of union locals, centralizing power in the hands of a few national officials.

The Nixon and Ford administrations, and the building contractors as well, had supported this power grab by the construction union leadership for years. They knew it would be easier to persuade a few national leaders to be "reasonable" than to bargain directly with local officials, who had to face members beset by unemployment and inflation. This is why the bill would have meant lower wages for construction workers.

Political Pressure

Why, then, did the President veto the bill? The veto was a simple case of naked political pressure. Conservative Republicans supported Title II of the bill. But they didn't want to accept the picketing rights permitted by Title I. By forcing Ford to veto the bill, they hope to get Title II passed separately in the future, without allowing common site picketing.

The Chamber of Commerce and the anti-union National Right to Work Committee led the opposition to the bill. According to *Congressional Quarterly* magazine, opponents "hinted that Ford could lose campaign contributions from Republican contractors and businessmen that he could normally expect." Ronald Reagan quickly joined the chorus demanding a veto. Under combined political and financial pressure, Ford agreed in late December to go back on his earlier promise to support the bill.

Common Site Picketing

Construction workers need the right to engage in common site picketing. Their unions, traditionally among the most powerful unions in the country, have been seriously weakened in recent years.



Non-union building contractors now control 50-60% of the industry, and their share is growing. Thanks to the construction unions' long-standing policy of excluding black and Latino workers, the non-union contractors have found a ready supply of workers, many of them skilled, who have no way of getting union jobs.

St. Louis unions were recently forced to sign a no-strike agreement with a contractor building a nuclear power plant. They gave up coffee breaks, overtime pay for work done on Saturday to make up for rained-out work during the week, and a number of work rules. The contractor threatened to go non-union unless they agreed.

Construction workers throughout the country face a similar situation. Their relatively high wage rates are now offset by frequent unemployment. Weakened unions are being forced to sacrifice work rules. Prefabricated housing is replacing jobs.

Common site picketing is no magic solution to these problems, but it would be a step forward, giving construction workers the same rights that other unionists have. But what construction workers need is not a bill drafted by the Ford administration, but the right to common site picketing with no strings attached.

Chico Students Sit In to Disarm Campus Cops

by Tom Reed, Chico NAM

CHICO -- On December 3, 400 students and faculty at California State University at Chico occupied the campus administration building to demand the disarming of campus police. As we go to press, the occupation is continuing, despite administration harassment and a reduction in the number of students over the semester break.

Over the summer, Glenn Dumke, Chancellor of the California State College system, issued an executive order requiring that all campus security officers be armed 24 hours a day. The response of the campus community was immediate. Many students and faculty saw Dumke's order as an unjustified and intolerable bureaucratic intrusion into the functioning of the local campus which subverted the learning process and increased the likelihood of violence on campus. Many saw it as one more indication of a general trend towards repression in American society.

Throughout October and November, the New American Movement and the ad hoc Students for Gun Control (SGC) held a series of rallies and demonstrations involving from 50 to 300 people. Finally, on December 3, the call went out for a student strike.

Following a rally with speakers from NAM, SGC, the Pan-African Union, and the Prisoners Union, 400 students and faculty marched to the administration building. In the ensuing series of confrontations, administrators once again demonstrated their agility at passing the buck. Receiving no satisfactory explanation of why campus police ought to carry guns, the demonstrators decided to occupy the building.

The strikers began to expand their base of support by contacting other State University campuses. On December 5, 60 students at Sonoma State occupied the administration building in solidarity with the Chico State strike. The next day, 23 Sonoma State students were arrested.

The United Professors of California, the state's largest professors' union, denounced Dumke's actions as a "unilateral and heavy-handed approach to campus safety." They endorsed the principle of "local option" in dealing with questions of campus security (that is, the principle that such decisions should be made jointly by faculty, staff, and students at each campus).

The strikers have formed a "Strike Collective," and make all major decisions democratically at

daily general meetings. They have begun to investigate the salary structure, bureaucratic functions, and past and present political and economic involvements of administrators. They firmly believe that students and faculty are capable of running a university much more suited to learning than that which exists presently.

The administration strategy has been to engage in a series of petty (and sometimes not so petty) harassments, hoping to wear the students down and destroy the strike. On January 12, three students were arrested for singing in the administration building and charged with disturbing the peace.

The strikers are determined to defeat the administration's efforts. They look forward to a major upsurge of activity with the beginning of the spring semester.



Brown Lung Victims Organize

by Len Stanley, C.P. Gilman NAM

After working 28 years at Pacific Columbia Mills in Columbia, S.C., Furman Martin, 50, has an \$8.07 a month pension and a case of brown lung disease which will prevent him from ever working again. "I'm living off a medicine bottle and a breathing machine," he wheezes. "Nobody can live like that."

Martin is one of more than 100,000 cotton textile workers in the U.S. who public health officials estimate have brown lung disease. The medical term for it is byssinosis. Nationwide, over 800,000 workers in cotton processing operations breathe the deadly cotton dust which causes brown lung disease.

Organizing to Fight Back

In North and South Carolina -- where over 40% of the industrial workforce is in textiles (and less than 7% is unionized) -- cotton mill workers are starting to fight back. The Carolina Brown Lung Association started organizing in April of last year; there are now five chapters in the two states.

On April 25, 1975, the first Brown Lung Association meeting in the U.S. was held in Columbia, S.C. There were over 125 retired and disabled textile workers at the meeting, many of them getting together in a group with fellow textile workers for the first time in their lives. The initial nervousness soon changed into an air of excitement and new potential.

As hard-luck stories were swapped around the room, the common knowledge that they had been robbed of their health overcame individual feelings of despair and shame. The apparently simple statement, "It came from the mill," was a new and hard thing to say at that first meeting, but several meetings later Hub Spires, now president of the Columbia Brown Lung Association, testified to the changed consciousness and new militance of members:

"I'm here to tell you that I'm a victim of bad health and bad circumstances from the mills. There is no question about that. I really do know that my ailment comes from the mill. ...and I worked and worked as long as I could and I wanna tell you something: they didn't take any pity on you when you was sick. Now you is put out to pasture to graze, to fight and get something to eat the best you can.

Byssinosis, or brown lung, is not a new disease despite the American textile industry's claims that afflicted workers just have asthma, allergies, or smoke too much. It has been compensable under Worker's Compensation in England since 1941. Byssinosis was first described by B. Ramazzini in London in 1705:

"... those who hackle in the flax and hemp to prepare it for being spun or wove, afford frequent instances of the unwholesomeness of their trade; for there flies out of this matter a foul mischievous powder, that entering the lungs by the mouth and throat, causes continued coughs and gradually makes way for asthma. ... But in the long run if their affliction grows upon them, they must look out for another trade; for 'tis sordid profit that's accompanied with the destruction of health."

Today, the textile industry's attitude -- basically a refusal to admit the existence of byssinosis -- hasn't changed much from this description in the July 10, 1969 issue of *Textile Reporter*, an industry trade magazine:

"[byssinosis is] a thing thought up by venal doctors who attended last year's International Labor Organization meetings in Africa where inferior races are bound to be afflicted by new diseases more superior people defeated years ago."



Lacy Wright, At Right, Talks To Textile Workers In Raleigh

"And I think them companies owes me something for my life and my health that I runned down workin' and making them money. ... And I think we oughta stand up now and fight. It don't make any difference who you are, stand up and fight for compensation where you spent your life and ruined your life."

Aims

The major aims of the Brown Lung Association are to get decent compensation benefits for disabled textile mill workers, and to prevent thousands more from contracting the disease by forcing the industry to clean up the cotton dust in the mills.

Getting compensation is no small task in a state like North Carolina, where the powerful textile industry bankrolled the Commissioner of Labor's campaign. Only 36 workers in N.C. have been awarded compensation claims in the four years since byssinosis has been compensable by law. All but one of those had been settled outside litigation proceedings, which means that the company has convinced disabled workers to settle for much less than they could legally receive.

In South Carolina, where the state motto is "Dum Spiro, Spero" -- "While I breathe, I hope" -- only one worker has ever received disability money for brown lung.

The textile industry, the largest single contributor to Nixon's 1972 campaign, was well rewarded, as shown by a memo uncovered during the Watergate hearings. In the memo, Assistant Secretary of Labor George Gunther stated that as part of Nixon's reelection campaign, "No highly controversial standards, i.e., cotton dust, will be proposed by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration."

But the political power of disabled workers working together may change the record on compensation. On November 12, a total of 57 disabled cotton mill workers from Piedmont mill towns rode in buses and cars to the North and South Carolina state capitols to file for Worker's Compensation for brown lung disease. Ten more who were unable to make the trip filed their claims by mail. They met with the state Industrial Commissions, quasi-judicial panels which decide on compensation claims.

Outside the Industrial Commission, a retired worker from Cone Mills, in Greensboro, N.C., the country's largest maker of denim, carried a sign reading, "Blue Jeans for You, Brown Lung for Us." Other placards read "Brown Lung, Red Tape, Both Are Fatal" and "Cotton Dust is Hazardous to Your Health."

Inside the Industrial Commission, the room was quiet, punctuated by occasional coughing as Lacy Wright, the 71 year old spokesman for the group, addressed the commissioners. "We are completely convinced that there has been no education among cotton mill workers as to what their rights are," he said. "They don't know. But as we began to form an organization, we knew this: we couldn't breathe."

Organizing for Prevention

Preventing the disease by cleaning up the mills is another aim of the Brown Lung Association. On October 30, 1975, members of the Greensboro, N.C. association went to state labor commissioner T. Avery Nye to demand "a vigorous inspection policy" of dust level in the mills.

Of the hundreds of cotton mills in the state, less than 20 have been inspected for cotton dust violations since 1972, when the state Occupational Safety and Health Administration began inspections. Among the few mills inspected, all but two fines and penalties for violation of the standard were removed by OSHA "higher up" officials.

In South Carolina, 65 members of members of the Brown Lung Association met with state senators, legislators, and the labor commissioner in June and July to push for enforcement of the OSHA standard, and to demand cotton dust warning signs in the mills. The signs they sought would read much like cigarette advertising: "WARNING. Cotton Dust Work Area. Avoid Breathing Dust. Prolonged Exposure May Cause Acute Lung Damage." After two hours of testimony by doctors, medical researchers, and cotton mill workers, the labor commissioner's off-the-record response was, "We can't put up those signs. They'd scare the hell out of the workers."

New Militance

Brown lung organizing is an important push to protect and compensate workers' health and safety in a "right-to-work" state where only a few workers are organized. Brown Lung Associations are not only providing an organized group in lieu of a union, but are also part of a renewed effort to break the textile industry's vicious anti-unionism and its stranglehold on Southern wages and working conditions.

Last year, workers at six J.P. Stevens plants in Roanoke Rapids, N.C., won a breakthrough election, voting to be represented by the Textile Workers Union of America. The victory, however, continued on page 7

Fred Harris' Contradictory Campaign

by Frank Ackerman, Middlesex NAM

"What we've got to have is a fairer distribution of wealth and income and power. We've got to make the super-rich and giant corporations pay their fair share of taxes so we can lighten the burden on the rest of us..."

"The basic thing we've got to be for in this country, and it undergirds everything else, is a job as a personal, enforceable right..."

"In America, we have both a race problem and a class problem. And each makes the other worse. We must acknowledge and admit the racism which has plagued us throughout our history -- and decide to end it."

This is Fred Harris, radical populist candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. He is undoubtedly the most exciting candidate in years for either major party's nomination.

"The market is a better planning mechanism [than government or giant corporations]. There are natural market forces that can help hold down prices and unemployment. ... Why not try a little really free enterprise? It cannot be worse than what we have. ... We must fix the tax laws, stop anti-competitive mergers, and vigorously enforce the anti-trust laws."

This, too, is Fred Harris, dreaming of a return to the competitive capitalism that almost existed in the late nineteenth century as the ultimate solution to society's problems. You have to keep both sides in mind to understand him and his campaign.

Contradictory Campaign

Basing his campaign on radical opposition to corporate power and inequality, Harris has good positions on an astounding number of issues. He is for abolishing the CIA and ending foreign aid to military dictatorships. He wants to make taxes more progressive, and provide guaranteed jobs or income to all. He supports affirmative action and

Textile Workers

continued from page 6

has been hard to consolidate. Stevens refuses to negotiate with TWUA, preferring the nominal fines for violations of labor laws.

But a new insurgency may soon drive the owners to the bargaining table. The textile industry, lily white just a decade ago, is in turmoil as young black workers -- in North Carolina, 25% of the mills' labor force -- add a new militance to a resurging tradition of labor struggle. In August, over 1500 workers turned out to celebrate the first anniversary of the union vote, and to kick off a national campaign to publicize Stevens' long history of violence, repression, and racism.

Black and White

The unity of black and white workers has been remarkable. When Stevens circulated pictures of the San Francisco Zebra Murder victims and the black suspect of the case, with the caption, "Would you want this to happen here?", the workers responded by electing more blacks to the leadership of the local.

The clearest sign of the new mood came in a speech by union leader Alice Tanner. Warning fellow workers that Stevens' paternalistic promises to them were just tricks to turn whites and blacks against each other, she said, "The company don't want you black or white. All they want is your green."

The Carolina Brown Lung Association hopes to reclaim some of the profits they have made for the company, through compensation claims to the victims who now have no way to earn a living. The Association is giving a "fightin' pride" to disabled textile workers like Wille Rappe, of Greensboro, N.C.: "If we can get compensation, we deserve it. ... I helped make clothes to put on my back, on other people's backs, and I got paid for it. I think I give them a honest day's work. But I didn't figure on giving them my health. ..."

the Equal Rights Amendment.

Harris opposes strip mining and nuclear power plants. His energy policy calls for prohibiting the manufacture of cars getting less than 22 miles to the gallon, and introducing an increasing rate structure for electricity (making big users pay more per kilowatt-hour). The list goes on: socialized medicine, parent-controlled daycare, better social security, and more.

Trying to Turn Back the Clock

Yet there is a basic problem with Harris' anti-corporate politics, a problem which is easy to understand in view of his background: Harris grew up in rural Oklahoma in the 1930's and '40's, seeing banks, agribusiness, and government squeeze out small farmers like his father. Remember *Grapes of Wrath*? You will if you hear Harris speak. No matter how clear he is on the oppression of other groups, he remains most passionately involved in the plight of the small farmer. By extension, the gas station owner at the mercy of the oil companies, and the general plight of the nation's ten million small businesses "driven to the wall because of monopoly power and the unfair tax advantages of the giants," loom large in his analysis.

Along with the focus on small business goes a fuzziness about workers in large corporations. Harris is strongly for tighter occupational safety and health regulations, and generally supported union-backed legislation when he was in the Senate. But beyond this, he wanders into speculation about worker participation, job enrichment, and profit-sharing schemes -- all presented on a much more utopian and un-programmatic level than his other positions. "Economic democracy" is an important topic of the Harris campaign, but it consists mainly of demands like "break up monopolistic industries," "keep the government from stifling competition," and "encourage small and medium-sized competitive business."

Much as other parts of the Harris campaign deserve support, this part deserves criticism. The clock just can't be turned back to the heyday of the Oklahoma family farm.

All industries, as long as they're privately owned and run for profit, show a tendency toward increasing concentration of ownership. And whether it's GM swallowing up small car companies in the early twentieth century, or McDonald's replacing your local sandwich shop today, there's no evidence that it can be stopped. If by some miracle (for that's what it would take) large corporations were actually split up into small businesses, the process of concentration would simply start again. The federal government broke up the Rockefellers' oil monopoly in 1911, no doubt thinking it had restored competition.

Despite this problem, Harris is worth voting for. The mass media will take his vote total, more than anything else that happens this year, as an indication of how radical the country has become.

That's not to say that it makes sense to put a major emphasis on campaigning for him. The combination of the small-business ideology and the commitment to the Democratic Party involved in the campaign outweigh the advantages. Harris' chance of winning is close to zero. His campaign has not even drawn together all the "populist" grass roots activists around the country in a united effort. Rather, it is based on one portion of those activists, while others, probably the vast majority, remain skeptical of national electoral politics.

After the election, the Harris campaign will probably give rise to an ongoing populist organization within the Democratic Party. This organization will be important to relate to, but far from uniquely important, even within the realm of "populist" groups.

Even in arguing against joining his campaign, one can't be unhappy that Harris is running. No other major party candidate is saying things like:

"The basic issue in 1976 is whether people who have to work for a living will have a President who fights for their interests, or whether the super-rich and the giant corporations will continue to run everything."

and
"I once saw painted on a wall in a Latin American country, 'Arriba con los de abajo' -- 'Up with those who are down.' Not a bad slogan for a citizens' movement."

health notes

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 past 60 days.

In 1974, poorly built motor-driven lawn mowers caused injuries to 161,000 people, including 30 deaths.

The common mixture of household bleach and ammonia is deadly. The fumes from this combination are basically the same as "mustard" gas used in World War I.

Budget cutbacks in numerous states have meant that abortion clinics will go completely uninspected despite state laws requiring routine inspections.

Routine breast X-rays for cancer examinations are unsafe and unnecessary for women without symptoms who are under the age of 35.

If you see any red or purple food and it says "artificial coloring" on the label, don't eat it. Odds are that it contains Red #2 dye, which can cause cancer. Look out especially for sodas, ice creams, hot dogs, cake mixes, gelatins, and candy.

Physicians are prescribing hundreds of ineffective drugs. The Food and Drug Administration says it can't get these drugs off the market because of a barrage of legal assaults from the drug corporations.



Thirteen million children have become the latest target for government spying, this time by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. HEW's cover story is to offer free medical screening tests to all children whose families fall below the poverty line. While the tests will be done, no medical treatment will be offered, regardless of the test results.

HEW will, however, prepare a psycho-social profile of the parent and child in an attempt to predict "deviance" and "criminality." Unknown to the parent, doctors will observe and "grade" the relationship between parent and child. The findings will then be placed in the child's federally computerized dossier. Three million dossiers have already been completed.

Buddy, Can You Spare

What's Behind the World Food Crisis?

reprinted from Inside Sam's Belly

It has been estimated that 10% of the world's population is on the verge of starvation. This occurs primarily in the underdeveloped nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, where the annual income per person is less than \$200.

Why is this happening in an era when technology makes it possible for the first time in history for everyone in the world to be adequately fed, clothed, and sheltered?

The answer usually given is that a) food shortages result from overpopulation and b) there is an overall shortage of food in the world. Both of these reasons are myths designed to hide the real fact that hunger is caused not by scarcity, but by the systematic plunder of poor nations by rich nations, led by the U.S.

The argument that overpopulation causes food shortages falls apart when we compare poor nations with rich nations that have the same or higher population densities. For example, France, a rich nation, has more people per acre of farmable land than do Brazil, Nigeria, Indonesia, and India, all poor nations. Yet France manages to grow enough food to feed its people and have an exportable surplus, while Brazil, Nigeria, Indonesia, and India all have experienced starvation on a massive scale.

Food Shortage?

The argument that the world has an overall shortage of food supplies is also contradicted by the facts. In the twenty years between 1951 and 1971, the world production of grains increased by 200% while the world population increased by only 50%. The bulk of the surplus went to the rich nations. For example, in North America alone, during that 20 year period, per capita grain consumption increased from 1000 pounds per year to 1900 pounds, mostly in the form of increased meat consumption. At present, 60% of the entire U.S. grain output -- amounting to 140 million tons per year -- is consumed entirely by cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. This 140 million tons represents more than twice the total world shortage of grain in 1973.

The world's farmable land is not even close to being put to its maximum use. In the entire world, 2 to 3 times the presently cultivated land could potentially be cultivated, which could support as many as 48 billion people (12 times the current world population).

If -- as the facts above clearly indicate -- there is no real shortage of food in the world, then why are the underdeveloped countries -- which have the best land and climate for food production -- unable to feed their citizens? The answer usually given is technological backwardness. But technology has been intensively applied in these countries. The real problem is that it has been applied to the production of specialized "cash" crops -- things like cocoa, tea, coffee, and rubber -- which are sold to the industrialized rich nations, rather than being applied to the production of subsistence crops that underdeveloped nations need to feed their own people.

Colonial Domination

The emphasis in underdeveloped nations on producing cash crops rather than subsistence crops is the result of over 100 years of colonial domination by the western powers. This has locked them into believing that their prosperity depends on what they can sell to industrialized countries. Any attempt they may make to become agriculturally self-sufficient is met by economic warfare by the western nations, who control the banks that are the sources of loans and credits that underdeveloped countries need to reorganize their agriculture.

This economic control is reinforced by the political control of leaders in the underdeveloped nations who have been bought off by the west. At times when there have been radical attacks on these conditions by enlightened leaders -- in the form of income distribution, land reform, and independent marketing -- they have been overthrown by the CIA. Allende in Chile in 1973 and Arbenz in Guatemala in 1954 are two well-known leaders who perished at the hands of the CIA when they pushed agrarian reform too far.

Technological improvement, by itself, is no solution for these underdeveloped nations. The highly praised, "green revolution" in India increased wheat production from 11 million tons in 1965 to 27 million tons in 1972. But this has only brought benefits to the privileged minority who can afford chemical fertilizer, machinery, and bank credit for irrigation. The 70% of poor peasants in India who have less than an acre of land are no better off as a result of this "green revolution." In Iran 17,000 farmers were driven off their land when it was technologically improved, and the land was leased by the Shah of Iran to agribusiness giants like Shellcott.

Social Reforms Needed

Only extensive social reforms can rescue the people of these starving nations. China, which used to have famines, now feeds all its people and manages to have an exportable surplus by using labor intensive techniques, communal farms, and by distributing farm machinery among the entire peasant population.

Bulgaria went from being a poverty-stricken nation of small farmers to producing a food surplus in a mere 12 years. These are the kinds of revolutions that can really feed poor people, not Madison Avenue advertised "green revolutions" that extend the power of big agribusiness and only benefit the upper crust of poor nations.

The U.S. government would like us to believe that the poor of the world can only eat if they buy food from our gigantic and wasteful food factories. This myth is used to blackmail poor nations that might be considering top to bottom social reforms that would threaten the power, privilege, and profits of agribusiness. We, the citizens of the U.S., have the responsibility to attack this mythology and support the kind of social revolutions the underdeveloped world needs to solve its hunger problem.

Inside Sam's Belly is the newsletter of a food co-op in Baltimore, Maryland, in which members of Port City NAM are active.

Buddy, Can You Spare a Dime?

This song was written in the Great Depression of the 1930's. But with skyrocketing unemployment and cutbacks in government social services, it makes sense again today. By Jay Gornick, copyright 1932, Harms Inc. (ASCAP).

They used to tell me I was building a dream,
And so I followed the mob
When there was earth to plow or guns to bear
I was always there, right there on the job

They used to tell me I was building a dream
With peace and glory ahead
Why should I be standing in line
Just waiting for bread?

Once I built a railroad, made it run,
Made it race against time
Once I built a railroad, now it's done
Brother can you spare a dime?

Once I built a tower to the sun
Brick and rivet and lime
Once I built a tower, now it's done
Brother, can you spare a dime?

Once in khaki-suits, gee we looked swell
Full of that Yankee Doodle-dee-dum
Half a million boots went sloggin' through Hell
I was the kid with the drum.

Say, don't you remember, they called me Al
It was Al all the time
Say, don't you remember, I'm your pal!
Buddy, can you spare a dime?



Bread-line during the Depression.

Spare a Dime?



"Why don't you grow your own Big Mac?"

Food Stamp Cuts

by Milton Takei, L.A. NAM Westside

In economic hard times, more people need food stamps. A 1% rise in unemployment can result in as many as 500,000 to 750,000 more participants in the food stamp program.

But to President Ford, recent increases in the food stamp program were not because of the economy, but because the program is "almost uncontrolled." As part of a general move to cut back on government social services, Ford and others have proposed legislation to drastically cut the food stamp program.

Ford has proposed that a family of four making more than \$5050 a year (take-home) be ineligible for food stamps, eliminating many under-employed working people. He wants eligibility to be based on a person's past ninety days' income not on current income. This 90-day rule would mean that laid off workers, strikers, and seasonal workers like farmworkers would have to wait a couple of months before they could get food stamps.

Other proposals would require state food stamp agencies to send the Justice Department "information indicating that a program applicant may be an illegally present alien," and would eliminate households containing a college student whose studies are "a substitute for full time employment."

Who Gets Food Stamps?

Food stamp recipients are portrayed as driving Cadillacs and buying steaks. A survey done for the U.S. Department of Agriculture (which runs the food stamp program), however, showed that 45% of food stamp households had take-home incomes of less than \$3000 a year, 92% had incomes of less than \$7000, and almost none made over \$10,000 a year.

There is much talk about "food stamp chiselers," yet the Agriculture Department says that less than one tenth of one percent of all participating households commit fraud.

The attacks on the food stamp program are part of a general attack on government social services. The recession has increased the costs of programs, while cutting government income. More important, big business is talking about a "capital shortage" -- they "need" money for investment (about \$20,000 per person in the U.S. in the next ten years), and are willing to beg, borrow, or steal it any way they can. Business interests are concerned about the federal government competing with them by trying to borrow money from the same sources. They want the budget as low as possible, and they'd rather not hurt the profit-making military budget.

With the food stamp program threatened, we need to organize against the proposed cut-backs. At the same time, we must try to look beyond the present food stamp program toward a system that will truly serve everybody's needs.

There are many problems with the present food stamp program. Only a fraction of eligible people participate. As of May 1975, the program had 19.6 million participants out of 29.2 million who were eligible.

Food stamp agencies often do not publicize the program. The application process is a "maze that might discourage even the starving," as one recipient wrote. There are often long delays between the time a person applies for food stamps and the time she or he actually gets them.

Beyond Food Stamps

The food stamp program, in effect, lowers food prices for "needy" people through a government subsidy. We need stable, reasonable prices for all people, along with fair incomes for farmers, farm-

workers, and other workers in the food industry. The government should subsidize food prices if this is necessary. In this manner, everyone would benefit from lower prices, but wealthier people would pay more to the government to provide the subsidy. Right now, the many subsidies used by the Department of Agriculture largely benefit big corporations; we have "socialism for the rich, capitalism for the poor."

We need full employment, at decent wages, with a priority on work that provides necessities such as food, clothing, housing, health care, and education, not wasteful and polluting products such as B-1 bombers. We need nursing stations at workplaces for mothers with babies, and free child care. In this way, everybody would have enough money for living expenses.

Capitalism needs changes in prices and rates of unemployment. Changing prices enable speculators and grain conglomerates like Cargill to make profits by buying food at low prices and selling at high prices. Higher prices for consumers enable companies in the food industry to increase profits. Rising unemployment causes workers to fear for their jobs and demand less from their employers. Capitalism must follow any decreases in unemployment with another time of rising unemployment, to help keep workers down.

We need a socialist economic system, where major industries are owned by a government dedicated to serving the needs of workers and consumers (who are, after all, basically the same people). Under socialism, the government could set prices at fair levels, and provide jobs for all, since it would be the major source of investment money, but would not have to satisfy the demands of company owners for profits.

For now, we need to fight the attacks on the food stamp program. For further information, contact the Food Research and Action Center, 25 W. 43rd St., New York, NY 10036.

The Rosenbergs

Still Innocent After All These Years

This is an edited version of a speech originally given in Feb. 1975. Robert Meeropol is one of the two sons of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The Rosenbergs were executed in 1953 for allegedly passing atomic secrets to the Soviet Union. Robert Meeropol and his brother Michael along with others in the National Committee to ReOpen the Rosenberg Case are fighting to obtain all the secret files held by the government relating to their parents case. They are certain that the full truth will prove the Rosenbergs innocent.

In response to a suit by the Meeropol brothers a federal court ordered the Justice Dept. to turn over most of the 48,000 page FBI file. Previously a federal judge had enjoined the government from further destruction of the files.

by Robert Meeropol

The Department of Justice, the FBI and other government agencies manufactured the phony evidence that was used to kill my parents. These agencies, operating under a cloak of secrecy, orchestrated the creation of a vision of a vast conspiracy. Political dissenters were transformed into grotesque foreign substances spreading disease within the fabric of American society. This scenario has been repeatedly used by the government to this day. Recent tears in the cloak of secrecy have begun to show the American public that these agencies themselves are the real disease. We now have the opportunity to further expose the true nature and uses of the American secret police.

At the end of World War II, the leadership of American Society saw world wide economic expansion within its grasp. The secret police were used by the government to sell the myth to the people that a vast communist conspiracy threatened our national security. The public, made complacent by the promise of affluence and frightened by images of internal subversion, acquiesced. If conspiracy trails and death sentences were needed then that was OK. If the government said massive rearmament was necessary to save us, then that was OK. If we had to become the policemen of the world then that was OK, and if a web of secrecy had to envelop the functioning of our government, then that was OK.

So government secrecy justified by national security became the cornerstone of the American political scene.

These tactics worked, so they were used over

and over again. The American left was attacked in the early fifties. The civil rights movement of the late fifties and early sixties was subjected to surveillance and harassment. The anti-Viet Nam-war movement brought on more conspiracy trials. Anti-war groups were infiltrated by government agents who disrupted their activities. Illegal break-ins occurred, all carried out by the secret police and all justified by national security. As the black liberation struggle became increasingly militant, the secret police tactics escalated once again to murder.

Throughout this period these agencies grew more powerful, and more of them were created. In 1947, the CIA was chartered. Now we discover that it has not only been spying abroad, but it has kept thousands of Americans under surveillance as well. We find out that it was involved in the overthrow of the democratically elected government of Chile.

The FBI continued its operations. Johnson used it to bug Martin Luther King in 1964. Nixon used it to help cover up Watergate in 1972. In 1974 it was involved in illegal activity along with the Department of Justice at the Wounded Knee trials of Dennis Banks and Russell Means.

The Navy, Air Force, Marines and Army enlarged their secret police forces. The Army said that it destroyed its records on American civilians in 1971, but this information is still kept in the computers of the super-secret National Security Agency.

The executive branch of government created a new secret police force after the 1968 elections. Called the plumbers, they engaged in wire-tapping, burglary, pay-offs, obstruction of justice fabrication of evidence, perjury and stealing a presidential election. But we got lucky; they got caught.

Enemy Agents

The National Committee to Re-Open the Rosenberg Case is not a defense committee. We are not out only to clear our parents' names, but to expose the nature of their political frame-up and show how the secret police forces engineered that frame-up. We will create one more hole in the government secrecy that covers up illegal acts. We will show that government illegal action goes back beyond Nixon, past Johnson, and permeates the activities of the FBI, CIA, and others for at least the past twenty years. The secret police and

the Department of Justice have been used as political tools by the executive branch of the government. These agencies are rotten from top to bottom and we are helping to demonstrate that fact to the American public.

Why was it necessary to put on my parents' trial? The American government had to convince the people that the cold war was essential. We established bases all over the world, set up NATO, SEATO, and CENTO. Our economy became global and no-one at home could be allowed to stop it. But the American left and many new New Dealers stood in the way. To the cry that secrecy

By the end of my parents' trial the government had convinced the public that those who stood for peace were either dupes or traitors. The fatal equation had been drawn. People who protested U.S. military policy were enemy agents.

"Go Back to Russia"

It did not end in the fifties. when we protested the war in Viet Nam we were told we were agents of Hanoi. The government said we were aiding the enemy. The hecklers yelled, "Go back to Russia." The government tried to convince the people that Ellsberg did not act out of moral outrage, but that he had turned his information over to the Russian embassy. At Wounded Knee the government claimed that the American Indian Movement had contacts with East German agents.

The secret police helped implement the policy of dissenter equals traitor. We have all been its victims. My parents were killed. Hundreds were jailed. Thousands lost their jobs in the American Inquisition of the 1950's. In the 60's, secrecy hid the facts of the war from many Americans. Since dissent was traitorous, even a massive protest movement took years to bring American troops home. The 55,000 Americans and many more Indochinese who died were all victims of the American Inquisition. We have all been victimized, if not physically then morally and economically. We have lost much of our freedom to the secret police. Now is the time to strike back, before the next war and the next repression when we are once again on the defensive.

For more information contact the National Committee to ReOpen the Rosenberg Case, 250 West 57th St., Room 606, New York, N.Y. 10019.

Spyglass View of the CIA

The assassination of CIA official Richard Welch in Athens last month caused shock waves throughout official Washington. The CIA, for so long the master plotter and executor of political terrorism in other countries, is now itself a target.

Much of the CIA's anger over the incident has centered on a small group of Washington radicals who helped expose the fact that Welch, listed as a minor Embassy official, was actually the Agency's Station Chief in Greece. The group, called Fifth Estate, does research and education on abuses of the U.S. national security bureaucracy. They first published Welch's name over a year ago in their magazine, Counter-spy.

Winslow Peck, a founder of Fifth Estate, emphasized in an interview that they only reprint names printed elsewhere and attempt to verify allegations concerning them. Peck noted that Welch's name had been first published in the 1967 German book, *Who's Who in the CIA*, and more recently in several

Peruvian publications.

"We reprint the names," said Peck, "to reinforce the political facts of what the CIA is and what it does, and to demystify its power." He called the present CIA attack on Fifth Estate "hysterical."

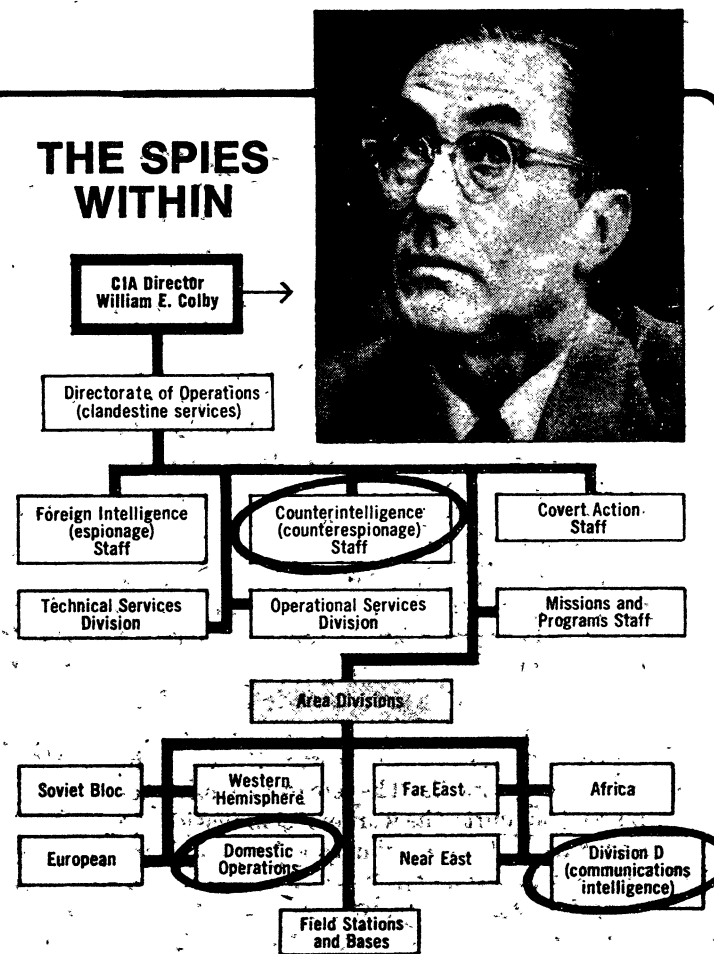
As a result of the affair, government surveillance of Fifth Estate has increased, with some members being followed by government agents "in a very obvious way," according to Peck. He also notes that the group has received a barrage of anonymous threats by mail and telephone.

Many members of Fifth Estate are themselves former intelligence officers who became radicalized by the Vietnam War. Peck, for example, was one an analyst with the Air Force component of the National Security Agency. Another member of the group, Bart Osborn, was a military intelligence agent and CIA consultant in Vietnam.

Will Fifth Estate continue to publish the names of CIA operatives? "Oh, yes," says Peck.

Fifth Estate is a membership organization. For dues of \$15 a year, they will send you their magazine, Counter-spy. Write Fifth Estate, P.O. Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, DC 20044.

THE SPIES WITHIN



Source: "The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence," by Malcolm and Marks

Marines Land in Yermo

based on an article by Michael Klare in *Transnational Link*

In August, 1973, 9000 heavily armed U.S. Marines were flown to the desert kingdom of Argos to repel an invasion by the Soviet-armed Yermónians. After five days of intense combat, the Leathernecks forced the last of the invaders across the border into Yermo, permitting the Argosians to return to their normal peacetime work of pumping oil into a never-ending stream of jumbo tankers.

Argos and Yermo are mythical countries, and the "battle" was a training exercise designed by Pentagon officials to get U.S. servicemen used to desert warfare. Yet this exercise is part of very real Pentagon plans. In the words of Col. J. O'Leary of the Mojave training force, "The Pentagon has a computer plan for the invasion of every civilized country in the world. The Middle East is an obvious powder keg and we'd be fools if we didn't prepare."



CORRAD, L.A. TIMES

Portugal

continued from page 1

Portuguese government's version: demonstrators had rushed the gates of the prison as a car was leaving, probably as part of an attempted jail break.

Despite the purges, most of the Lisbon dailies refused to accept this story. They noted that all of the wounded were shot in the back, and pointed out the presence of large numbers of children and elderly people in the crowd.

The papers therefore accepted the demonstrators' charge that they had been fired upon as they milled past the prison gates on their way home from the demonstration. One paper, *Diario de Noticias*, published this version on the front page, along with a large notice that the (now banned) workers' assembly had considered the government's version, the left's version, and the facts, and decided that the government was lying.

This continued leftist presence in the daily papers is important. But it does not make up for the loss of a left voice on the T.V. or the radio, which reach a much wider segment of Portuguese society.

Left Still Strong

The purge of leftists from the military has made workers' organizations far more vulnerable to repression than they were before. It is hard to imagine an army unit daring to fire on a crowd before the purges, as happened in Oporto on New Years day.

But the purges have been largely limited to the military and the media. The left parties have not been seriously hurt. The workers' commissions in the factories and the neighborhood commissions remain active. Without the leftist military to defend them, Portuguese workers will have to rely even more on these organizations to defend and consolidate the gains of the past year and a half.

What are those gains? In the last year, over 60%

Arab control of oil has the U.S. government worried. And when the government is worried, the military is sure to do what it can to insure the continued flow of oil and profits. On November 25, 1974, the U.S. aircraft carrier *Constitution* sailed into the Persian Gulf. Two weeks later, 2000 Marines landed in Sardinia in a mock invasion of Arab oil lands.

Vice-Admiral Turner told reporters, "We don't want to invade [the Middle East], but we are prepared." Henry Kissinger said in *Business Week* that U.S. military action would not be ruled out if Arab OPEC countries threatened "some actual strangulation of the industrialized world."

How will the Pentagon defend U.S. interests abroad? Given the smaller size of the U.S. Army and the size of its beat, U.S. "police" operations require a new strategy. This strategy involves developing tactically superior mobile forces, the capacity to airlift enormous amounts of men and machines, and the use of small nuclear weapons.

Top administration officials have called for the formation of elite brigades and divisions in the U.S. and at key overseas bases, capable of being transported to distant trouble spots on a few hours' notice, and armed with the most advanced weapons.

But the Pentagon strategy of using elite shock troops to seize the initiative in foreign intervention can work only if troops and equipment can be transported rapidly. The strategy has only become practicable with the development of jumbo transport jets like the Boeing 747 and the Lockheed C-5A. While much attention has been given to Pentagon overspending on the C-5A, few of the plane's critics or supporters have noticed that it is essentially designed for intervention in foreign countries.

Military technology is also concentrating on the development of "bare base kits." These kits convert an unimproved dirt strip into a fully-equipped fighter base in less than 24 hours.

Providing the elite troops with air support is also a goal of U.S. overseas bases. While many of these bases have been abandoned recently, others have been expanded and some new ones are being established.

of Portuguese industry has been nationalized. The nationalized factories are run by workers' commissions elected by the employees of the firm. Technical experts are also elected or appointed by the commissions.

Workers' commissions also exist in many of the remaining privately owned factories. There, of course, they do not run things. But they represent not only the short term interests of the workers, but also their long term interest in controlling the conditions of their work, and their potential to do so. The commissions are very concerned about the return of Radio Renascenca to the Church. Besides having been a vocal supporter of popular power, the station is the first worker controlled institution to be returned to its prior owners.

Agrarian Reform

Great changes have also taken place in the country. Over 2.5 million acres of agricultural land have been nationalized and turned over to the farmworkers. So far, the agrarian reform has been limited to the region south of the Tagus River, where most of the land used to be part of large estates, often owned by absentee landlords and worked by landless laborers.

Today most land in this region is controlled by workers' collectives. Most of these collectives began when agricultural workers seized an estate and then applied to the agrarian reform for retroactive legitimation. Workers have brought a good deal of previously unused land under cultivation, and as a result, last year's harvest was of record size.

The gains of the agrarian reform and the factory commissions are now under attack. Some members of the current government oppose further expropriations without compensation. There has even been talk, so far only talk, of compensating



U.S. policy of being the weapons supplier to the world has backfired in the Middle East. If the government decides to invade, it will have to remember that, for instance, we have already sold Iran "everything short of the atomic bomb." And negotiations are now underway for multi-billion dollar sales of sophisticated armaments to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

The fear that America's ground forces may be out-gunned in future interventions abroad has led the Pentagon to stock up on small tactical nuclear weapons. Many of these "mini-nukes" can be carried by one man in a small knapsack. The Air Force plans to acquire several thousand of these weapons in the next few years, and high-ranking officers in the armed forces have publicly supported a strategy based on their use.

As America's Bicentennial staggers on, it's clear that the memories of our own revolution won't keep the government and the armed forces from demanding that the rest of the world stay in line. Military aid to Angola, CIA actions in Portugal and Italy, and military planning for future intervention are all part of a global strategy aimed at keeping the world safe for U.S. investment.

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the owners of the banks and industries which have been nationalized since last March.

As long as the parties in power are committed to maintaining capitalism in Portugal (and the program of the Socialist Party at best amounts to "democracy now, socialism later"), they will see attacks on these militant sections of Portugal's working class as necessary.

Portugal currently has an unemployment rate of over 24%. The old wealthy classes have been smuggling capital out of the country. A capitalist solution to the problems of the Portuguese economy will require attracting foreign investment.

To do that, Portugal will have to look much safer and more attractive to investors than it does now. Therefore, the government seeks to prevent further expropriations, raises prices, and has declared a freeze on wages.

On January 15, the left responded by holding a mass demonstration in Lisbon, the first since November 25. It protested the wage freeze, the vicious inflation of the last few months, and the continued imprisonment of leftists arrested immediately after the November 25 paratroopers' revolt. It is a sign of things to come.

Despite the intentions of the Social Democrats who are currently in power, the maintenance of capitalism flies in the face of the interests and intentions of the Portuguese working class. Portuguese workers are too militant and too well organized to accept such policies calmly. They have gained too much in the last eighteen months to willingly give it back. It could be taken away, but only by force.

In Portugal today, there is no standing still. Things must either go forward, in the direction of a completely socialist economy and greater popular power, or backward to fascism.

Right-Wing Terror Increases

Civil war has broken out in Argentina. Leftist opposition to the government of President Isabella Peron dramatically increased last year. The Peron government first tried to pretend nothing was happening, but were forced to admit the reality of the crisis after the battle of Monte Chingolo last Dec. 23. This clash between the marxist guerillas of the People's Revolutionary Army and Argentine troops was the largest battle between guerillas and regulars in South American history.

Until recently, Argentina seemed to be a politically stable nation. Despite low growth rates, increased social tensions and corrupt government, there was no serious challenge to the existing system. This has changed and Argentina will never be the same.

The roots of the problem stretch back into the 19th century when Argentina was the bread and meat basket for the industrial nations of Europe, particularly Great Britain. British control of the Argentine economy was not broken until World War II. For the next ten years, from 1945 - 1955, the nationalist government of Juan Peron tried to promote independent economic development based mainly on the expansion of industry.

After the ouster of Peron in 1955, U.S. corporations moved quickly into Argentina. France, Italy, and West Germany also participated in this general economic offensive. The foreign monopolies concentrated on gaining control of automobile manufacturing and the related

steel, petroleum, rubber and glass industries. By 1966 the industrial economy of Argentina revolved around these foreign corporations.

In 1966 there was a relatively bloodless military coup. The new leaders spouted nationalist rhetoric, but their economic policies consistently favored the big foreign companies. Between 1966 and 1970, U.S., German and French capitalists bought up many of the remaining Argentine owned industries including cigarettes, beverages and chemicals. All told, they bought at least fifty of the largest former 'national' companies and banks. By 1973, the native Argentine capitalist class had been seriously weakened. The dominant force was now the foreign 'monopolies'.

The years of military dictatorship (1966-1973) were also a period of increased working class militancy. There was a surge of strikes across Argentina. The most famous working class uprising, the 'Cordobazo' of 1969 (in the industrial city of Cordoba), caused the fall of the government of Genral Ongania. Ongania was replaced by General Levingston who was followed by General Lanusse. But this parade of Generals did not quiet the Argentine working class. In 1972 the military was forced to the desperate expedient of bringing back the populist Juan Peron to "stem the surge of communism."

The Peron government elected in 1973 was unquestionably popular. Peron continued to have the support of the workers and trade union leaders. He tried to carry out a relatively

"nationalist" plan of economic recovery. Foreign owned banks were nationalized. Commercial relations with the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and Cuba were expanded. Limits were set on the amount of profit foreign companies could take out of Argentina.

But the workers wanted more. Continued working class militancy led to deep splits in the peronist movement. When Peron died the political and social 'honeymoon' ended. Leftist guerilla groups like the peronist Montoneros and the marxist People's Revolutionary Army began to attack the government of Isabal Peron, his widow and successor.

The government responded by intensifying political repression and organizing right wing terror squads to assassinate suspected leftists. There have been almost 1200 such murders in the last year. There are thousands of political prisoners. Mass arrests continue; the prisons are over crowded. There are reports of executions taking place in the jails. Most of those killed are not guerillas (who are underground); they are journalists, labor activists, teachers and students.

Meanwhile the economy is deteriorating. Argentina now has a yearly rate of inflation of 335 percent. The military are regaining more and more control. But most of them are reluctant to take over completely. An attempted coup by the Air Force last December failed for lack of support in the rest of the Armed Forces. The Army doesn't believe that it can fight a civil war and govern at the same time. It also recognizes that a military coup would further polarize the Argentine working class and create even broader support for the guerillas.

The guerillas understand that the military uses the civilian government as a screen to disguise the repression. The increased level of guerilla attacks may be intended to force the army to seize power openly. The civilian government might not last long enough to conduct the elections that are scheduled for next October.

If the army does take power it will do so to safeguard the interests of one main group: U.S. and European corporations. Political stability and the destruction of the left would also please the international bankers who are worried about Argentina's ability to repay its 10 billion dollar foreign debt.

A likely economic solution to the present crisis is not at all clear. The crisis will continue. Capitalism in Argentina may be reaching the end of its rope.



TODAY* THE TWELFTH OF SEPTEMBER* IN CORDOBA

by Luis Suardiaz
translated by Lionel Kearns

I don't know who Santiago Pompillon is but he died in Cordoba. His body has just been stolen from the hospital, taken out of the spotlight, so to speak and buried ... this among other expedients. Nor do I know those who seek him, the ones who pound the walls, shouting the name of this companero who fell under the tyranny of Ongania. Even so I must report that this morning as if by some evil spell, Santiago Pompillon suddenly stopped breathing, and now will never again even dream. Yes in his own Argentina, he is undeniably dead.

No, I don't know who he is, I don't know him at all, this unarmed student without a gun at the hour of his death and a group of pimply-faced soldiers stamped him into the dust. This took place today, the twelfth of September, in Cordoba.

Int'l. Women's Year:

Around in Circles

reprinted from Off Our Backs

As International Women's Year drew to an end:

- Saudi Arabia banned the importation and use of contraceptives because the "kingdom needs more and more males for work and more and more females to bear and raise babies."

- The World Moslem League ruled that "birth control was invented by the enemies of Islam."

- The president of the state-run Japan Broadcasting Corporation said it would be "unnatural to alter sex stereotyping in TV dramas" and that "it is perfectly natural that newscasters be men, considering the mental and physical strength required to deal with the bewildering array of news stories that come in."

- The chief psychiatrist of Copenhagen's National Hospital, who specializes in phallus cults, declared the female brain inferior to the male's in abstract reasoning and constructive association of ideas.

- Women in both Germany and Italy fought against fascist abortion laws and were staunchly opposed not only by the Christian Democratic parties and church hierarchies of these countries, but by the Communist Parties as well.

- Women in the United States were fired for participating in "Alice Doesn't" day; and New Jersey and New York State Equal Rights Amendments were voted down, following campaigns against equal rights by a conglomeration of insurance brokers, bankers, and the Communist Party, USA.

- And two world congresses of women were held in Communist countries in October, one in the Soviet Union and the other, which was UN-sponsored, in East Germany. Both extolled the liberation of women under Soviet-brand Communism and both denied the few avowed feminists present the opportunity to raise the issues of worldwide sexism and male supremacy.

Menominees Face 90 Years for Sit-In



On January 1, 1975, the Menominee Warrior Society repossessed a vacant 64 room former abbey in Gresham, Wisconsin, in order to gain a hospital for their people. The Warriors claimed that the land on which the Abbey stands had never been ceded lawfully to the United States by the Menominee Nation. One Warrior explained, "In our minds this was not a takeover by force, but merely a repossession of what was ours by federal law and ancestral inheritance rights." The Wolf River Treaty of 1854 reserves the land to the Menominee people.

The repossession lasted 34 days. During that time, 850 National Guardsmen surrounded the Abbey, and a local white vigilante group attempted to institute its policy against the Warriors; "Starve 'em, freeze 'em, kill 'em."

There was no loss of life during the occupation, and the only property damage was caused by local sherriff department marksmen who shot holes into the heating and water pipes. But five Menominees now face over 90 years in jail for their action, and 45 others face lesser charges.

Negotiations during the repossession led to a formal contract which called for the Alexian Brothers, the religious order which owned the abandoned Abbey, to deed the Abbey to the tribe. Six months later, however, the Alexian Brothers went back on their contract, depriving the Menominees of the building they had hoped to turn into a hospital.

Once Again

This latest betrayal is one of a long series suffered by American Indians in general and the Menominees in particular. By trick treaties and legal manipulation, the U.S. government has robbed the Menominees of the 9½ million acres of land they once inhabited. Today they occupy a single county 18 by 24 miles.

In 1961, continuing a policy started by the Eisenhower administration, a law was passed ending the tribe's status as an independent nation. This Menominee Termination Act violated every treaty signed between the U.S. and the Menominee Nation. It cost the Menominees their federally protected status and subjected

their one profit-making enterprise, a saw mill, to state taxes.

One of the richest tribes in the country before termination, the Menominees have been forced to close down their hospital and sell the tribally owned electric plant and telephone company. Unemployment is over 30%, and the community school is badly in need of repair.

Fight Back

In 1970, the Menominees founded the organization DRUMS to fight for restoration of tribal status. After a great struggle, Congress recognized the disastrous consequences of termination and passed the Menominee Restoration Act in 1973, restoring tribal status upon the completion of technical and administrative tasks. However, the Act does not restore the 18,000 acres sold during termination to keep the county solvent.

The tribe's struggle is badly hampered by the Restoration Committee, a group empowered to organize the return to nation status. Many Indians say that the committee has turned against the Menominee people; but the Restoration Act does not provide for the recall of committee members.

In November 1975, the Menominee Tribe voted to establish an independent school district to remedy the high dropout and failure rate of Indian children in the white school in Shawano. The Restoration Committee is appealing this vote to the state Board of Education.

Until termination in 1961, the Menominee Nation was governed by its traditional tribal council form of government. Today, the Restoration Committee is trying to forced a centralized city manager form of government on the people, denying the tribe any opportunity to vote for a return to tribal council government.

Although it could have performed its functions within a few months, the Restoration Committee has perpetuated itself in power for over two years. It now employs 125 people; only the saw mill employs more.

In February 1975, the Restoration Committee pressured Sherriff Peters from office for not making enough arrests. At the Committee's request, Governor Patrick Lucey installed Kenneth Fish in his place. Fish had no previous law enforcement experience other than the time he served at the state home for delinquent children. He is known to have a drinking problem, and when he ran for Sheriff in 1974 on a "Law and Order" platform, he had lost by a three to one margin.

Since his appointment, Fish has pursued a

policy of false arrests, intimidation, and violence against the community. Despite a law suit charging him with having committed felonies, Governor Lucey has refused to suspend or remove him.

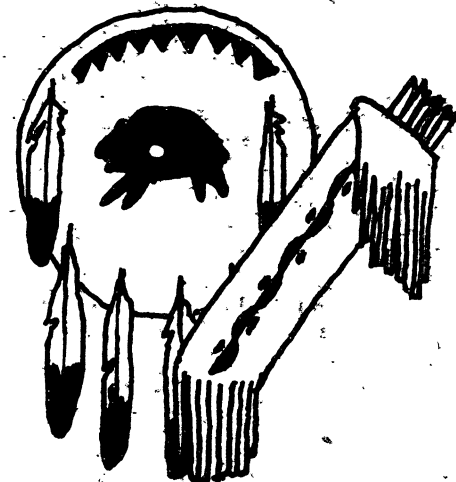
Trial and Defense

The Abbey felony trial will begin shortly in Juneau, Dodge County, Wisconsin -- an all white community of small farmers located 120 miles from the reservation. A survey by the National Jury Project determined that prejudice against Indians in this county was higher than the prejudice against blacks in the original places of trial (before the trials were moved because of that prejudice) for Joann Little and the Attica Brothers. Unchallenged expert testimony established that a fair trial was impossible. Nonetheless, the Judge has refused to move the trial.

In addition, despite the presence of FBI informer and agent provocateur Douglas Durham in the defense camp during two weeks of the repossession, the Judge has refused to dismiss the charges on grounds of government misconduct.

For more information, and to provide badly needed financial contributions for the legal defense of the Menominee Indians in the Abbey occupation case as well as other matters, write to Mary Baum, chairperson, Menominee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, P.O. Box 431, Keshena, WI 54135.

On October 19, 1975, Sheriff Fish, while drunk on duty, accosted a group of young Menominees sitting in parked cars on the reservation. Although no one in the group had a weapon, Fish fired his pistol and threatened occupants with his loaded shotgun, all while shouting obscenities. Fish then asked one of the occupants to shoot him. Fish claims he wanted the group to "move on." Nineteen sworn affidavits informed Governor Lucey of Fish's conduct, and state law requires the Governor to suspend a sheriff if he is "credibly informed" that the sheriff has committed a felony. Despite a law suit, the Governor has refused to suspend or remove Fish.



The Menominee Legal Defense/Offense Committee (MLDOC) was formed to provide legal assistance to those involved in the Abbey repossession. It now serves all Menominee people who want legal assistance. MLDOC is coordinating the defense effort in the Abbey trials and is assisting defendants who are representing themselves. It represents the first president of DRUMS in a suit against the Menominee Restoration Committee; is counsel for clients in a suit against the Governor to suspend Sheriff Fish; has secured an injunction against the state correctional institution from cutting the hair of Indians, worn long for religious reasons; and represents Menominee plaintiffs in police brutality suits.

The MLDOC functions solely on contributions of supporters. Any amount helps. Please send contributions to Mary Kay Baum, chairperson, MLDOC, P.O. Box 431, Keshena, WI 54135.



record review

If Marx Had Played the Electric Guitar

Red Shadow, Live at the Panacea Hilton
produced by The Physical World
distributed by Adelphi Records

by Richard Guelph, Middlesex NAM

I can't find it in *Capital* anywhere, but I'm firmly convinced that the ability of a movement to laugh at itself is an essential revolutionary virtue.

Humor is not a denial of the importance of our work, but rather a way of gaining perspective on it. It gives us protection against our own tendencies to arrogance and self-importance. It allows us to more easily face our crazier mistakes without feeling our whole sense of commitment is being challenged. Finally, it is a way of reminding ourselves sometimes that a revolution is made up of real, live people, not simply an abstract force of history.

This last point is hard for anyone in the academic field to remember. There it is assumed that ideas determine the shape of events, and that a well-argued "good" idea will defeat a poorly-argued "bad" one.

Nonsense, says Red Shadow, and they should know. Billed as the "economics rock and roll band," Red Shadow brings together four professional economists and four of their musician friends, who sing with savage humor about the bankruptcy of bourgeois economics and liberal intellectuals. Their first album, *Live at the Panacea Hilton*, has just been released. For everyone suffering through the government's present economic "policy," listening to this album will be joyous revenge.

Red Rock

Live at the Panacea Hilton is another step forward in the recent trend of Red Rock, or what would have happened if Marx and Engels had played electric guitar instead of burrowing in the British Museum. The group wrote all of the lyrics and many of the tunes. Five of the songs are hard-driving rock and roll, including "Stagflation" and "Hurricane." Several are parodies of rock classics. The Beach Boys' famous "Fun Fun Fun" (til her daddy takes the T-Bird away) has become an attack on the part economists play in protecting big corporations:

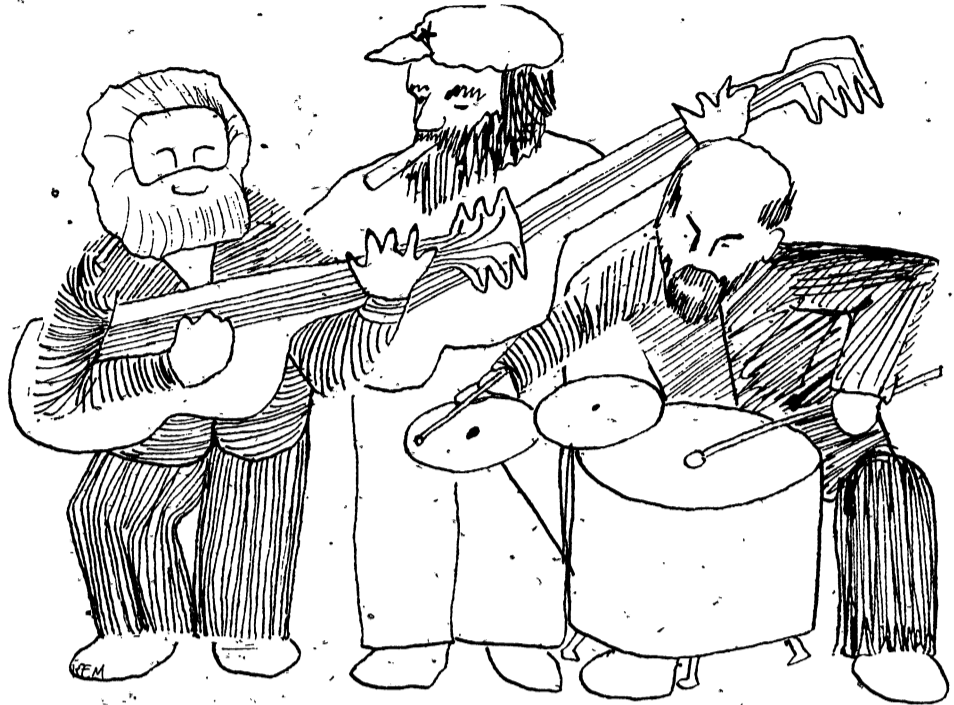
Well working out of Washington they're
drawing up a federal plan now
Then it's off to Santa Monica to spend
some time consulting for Rand now
Where they tried to dream up ways to hide
the rising cost of bombing Vietnam now
But they'll be gone gone gone, when the
people take their power away.

And it sounds like the real thing, even down to the chorus wailing inanities in the background at the end of each line.

The missionary fervor of "put Your Hand in the Hand" has been transformed by Red Shadow into the rebellious invitation to "Get Your Ass in the Class." Cutting through the Germanic prose and forbidding length of *Capital*, the group makes basic ideas of Marxist economics much more entertaining:

Get your load with the mode that will eliminate all classes
Get your load with the mode that will end private property
The division of labor makes you and your neighbor an underpriced commodity
So get your load with the mode that will end all this absurdity.

Not all of Red Shadow's music is hard rock, although they clearly feel most at home with it.



"Understanding Marx" is an easy blues/gospel number with spoken verses of people who make sense of their own anger and frustration through reading Marx or Lenin or Mao. Another blues number, "Hunger," is a more pointed attack at the indifference of the affluent in the West to global starvation.

Fans who tend toward nostalgia will feel the twinges of old heartaches while listening to "Movement Lovers," a facetiously tender ballad of what passed for relationships during those heady days of the late '60's:

Movement lovers smoking reefers by the mimeo machine
Writing leaflets saying that the government's obscene.

The album does have some weaknesses. The musicians, while competent, are hardly exceptional. Likewise the lead vocals, although the background vocals are first rate. Probably the best singer is Evie Rosenthal, who sings with a high, clear voice tinged with a country twang. The album is well-engineered and the overall sound of the music is good, but it somehow falls short of the power it clearly wishes to generate.

Select Audience

More importantly, the album is really geared to a select audience of radicals who went through the student and antiwar movements of the late '60's. It's a kind of in joke between the band and a couple hundred thousand shaggy refugees from the *Doonesbury* comic strip. It is not the sort of cultural outreach that it might have been.

The band seems to realize this. In its last two selections, they offer a different sort of music: serious, intense, and aimed at a non-left, mass

audience. First is "Rise," a very quiet, moving song about the hopelessness most Americans are subjected to every day:

Same weary games in bed
TV dinners, kids are fed
The emptiness inside says nothing's in it.

Sung over a tight background harmony, with a minimum of instruments, the last line declares, "We got to rise up, rip the bars from all our cages." The chorus repeats the line and then just the words, "Rise, Rise, Rise." Each time they sing the notes higher, until finally a cymbal picks up the tension, holds it a moment, and gives way to the electric guitar crashing in on the first notes of "Hurricane":

Miner and maid step out of the shade,
refuse to hide and cower
Housewives and truckers and down-on-
their-luckers take the road to power
Out of the valleys and big city alleys the
currents join and rise
And shape a form to guide the storm that
brews behind your eyes
You're a Hurricane!

The combination of "Rise" and "Hurricane" works well. The latter is a perfect ending song. It adds just the right note of anger and energy that brings out the real meaning of the humor in the other songs. Red Shadow is not out for idle laughs. For all its yuks, their album is a pointed attack on American capitalism and those who serve as its high priests.

The album is available from The Physical World, P.O. Box 125, Cambridge, MA 02140 for \$5.00 All lyrics copyright 1975, Firebreather Music, Inc. -- BMI.

S-1 Forum Draws 250

SAN FRANCISCO -- An overflow crowd attended a public forum on Senate Bill One in San Francisco on January 9. Frank Wilkinson of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, Doron Weinberg of the Lawyers Guild, and Anne Farrar of San Francisco NAM addressed the more than 250 people who attended.

The speakers stressed the racist, anti-labor, and anti-left nature of the bill and urged the strongest pressure to defeat it.

The audience represented many parts of San Francisco's diverse population. Over \$250 was collected for continuing work against S-1.

radical history review

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF
THE MID-ATLANTIC RADICAL
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record review

From South Africa to South Carolina

Gil Scott-Heron and Brian Jackson, *From South Africa to South Carolina*
Arista

by Chris Casey, Newspaper Collective

The capacity of popular music to distort and trivialize the plight of oppressed peoples in America is clearly revealed by most of what we hear on the radio. Pop groups like the Jackson Five are pushed by the record industry precisely because they sing oreo-cookie-sweet songs of love and romance with little or no reference to the oppression of their own people. If blacks only spent a few hundred dollars on the spiritual speed-reading of T.M. or found the perfect mate, it would all but solve every problem.

As the political and economic oppression of black people intensifies, black musicians who do attempt to convey the message of liberation will increasingly find both their contracts and their careers cancelled. Indeed, there are very few musicians, black or white, recording on popular labels who are singing songs of struggle and not songs designed to put feelings of alienation to sleep.

One of the few black poet-musicians who has consistently sung "freedom songs" is Gil Scott-Heron. His latest album, *From South Africa to South Carolina*, is an exciting and moving combination of jazz (Brian Jackson does some beautiful flute and keyboard work on this album), complex vocal harmonies, and good politics.

The title points to the central theme of the album, that blacks are really no better off in America than they are in South Africa. In the song "Johannesburg," Scott-Heron reminds his brothers and sisters that in that South African city black workers are fighting their oppression and refusing to work in the mines. The word Johannesburg becomes a symbolic cry for liberation, a cry that is clearly tied to the oppression of blacks in America's cities. The background vocals resound that "L.A.'s like Johannesburg, New York's like Johannesburg, Detroit's like Johannesburg." The message of the "word" Johannesburg is made clearly and strongly:

Well, I hate it when the blood starts flowin'
But I'm glad to see resistance growin'...
I know that their strugglin' ain't gonna
free me
But we've got to start strugglin' if we
wanna be free.

The song "South Carolina" focuses on the insanity and disrespect for life of the American government symbolized in the construction of the Barnwell complex in South Carolina, designed to store atomic wastes. But the song is more deeply an expression of the hurt and rage over the decline of political activism since the '60's:

Whatever happened to the protests and
the rage?
What ever happened to the voices of the
sane?
Whatever happened to the people who
gave a damn?
Or did that just apply to dyin' in the
jungles of Vietnam?

The hard-hitting music of this refrain delivers a message not of despair or of longing for the "good old days," but rather a call to both blacks and whites to rejoin the unfinished struggle for liberation. Indeed, the the song "Summer of '42," Scott-Heron reminds us of the danger of "livin' in the past" ("What you call nostalgia ain't really what I'm after") and the need to keep "movin' on."

While the need to "seize the time" is central both musically and lyrically to the message of this album, there is a deep awareness of the personal suffering and confusion that oppression brings, and the very real burden of carrying on the struggle in this time of "new beginnings":

We're sliding through completely new
beginnings
We're searching out our every doubt and
winning
We want to be free and yet we have no idea
Why we are strugglin' here
Faced with our every fear
Just to survive.

In a period when the generation of the '60's, and indeed white working people in general, are

beginning to experience the economic oppression that blacks have known for too long, the song has relevance and meaning for all of us.

Scott-Heron's album is a rare one because it touches not only the need to struggle, but also our deeper personal fears. In this difficult period of "new beginnings" we can't forget that "searching out our every doubt" together is an important element in our common struggle and our collective strength.

ON HEADACHES

It's beautiful to be a communist
Even though it gives you lots of headaches.
And the thing is that the communist's headaches
Are supposed to be historical, that is to say
They don't go away with aspirin
But only with the realization
Of paradise on earth
That's how it is.

Under capitalism our heads ache
And they decapitate us.
In the struggle for the revolution
The head is a time-bomb.
In the construction of socialism
We plan our headaches,
Which doesn't make them any less frequent,
Just the other way around.

Communism will be, among other things,
An aspirin the size of the sun.

Rocque Dalton, El Salvador



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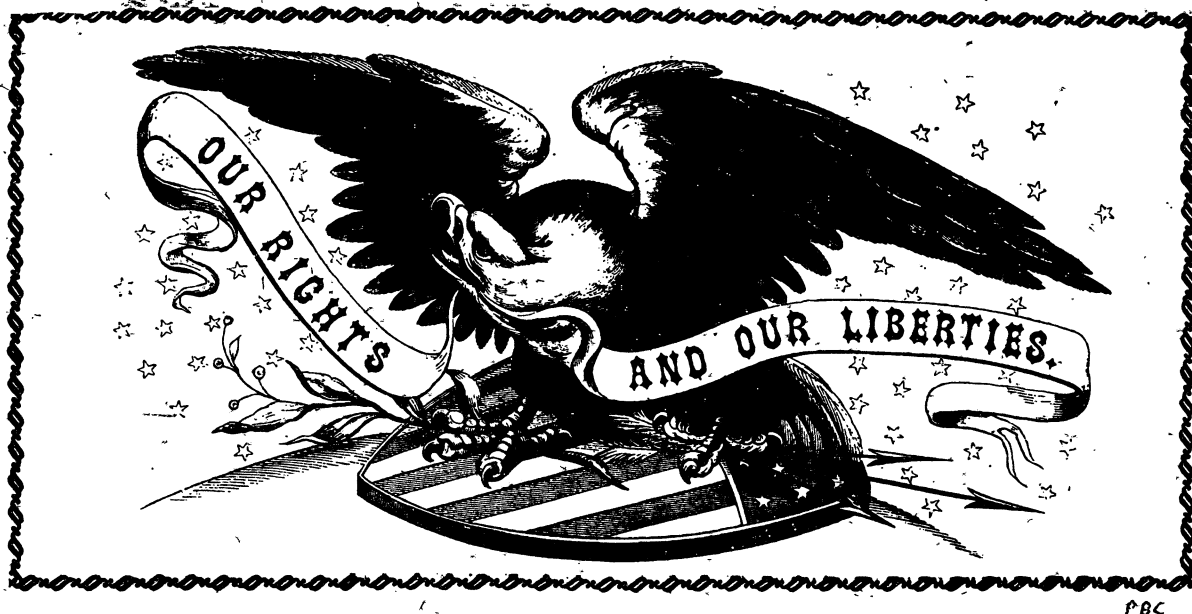
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Selling the Revolution

by Steve Carlip, Newspaper Collective

"If you're looking for money, the Bicentennial can be the biggest bonanza of your lifetime," a sales magazine recently told its readers. "It's not too early to be thinking about how to cash in on the coming wave of patriotism, the likes of which we may not see for another 200 years."

The Bicentennial of the American Revolution has begun, and America's businessmen are taking advantage of the occasion to do what they do the best -- make a profit. In keeping with this new Spirit of '76, the NAM Newspaper is proud to suggest some Bicentennial gifts for your family and friends.

What can you buy for the man or woman who has everything? How about a hand-crafted, solid silver replica of the Mayflower, for only \$30,000?

If that's too expensive for you, you might try a \$2500 reproduction of George Washington's flintlock pistol. Or a \$925 replica of his sword. Or how

about an \$875 scale model of the liberty bell? Or a \$1000 gold and silver chess set with pieces representing Revolutionary War figures?

The Lipton Tea Party

You might want to take your family to a celebration of the Bicentennial. Unfortunately, you may have already missed the best chance -- the "gala high tea party and reception" planned by (who else?) Lipton Tea for the anniversary of the Boston Tea Party two years ago. Lipton's plans, which were xeroxed secretly from the files of the official national bicentennial commission, called for 200 guests constituting "a veritable bluebook of Massachusetts and Boston leadership, together with Lipton's top echelons." The plans acknowledged one minor problem, though. "The Faneuil Hall event will unquestionably be a posh establishment affair excluding the average man, which thematically is not the essence of the

Revolution and it's Bicentennial."

Of course, you don't have to be rich to celebrate the Bicentennial (although it sure helps). You can send your friends Hallmark Bicentennial greeting cards, and give them imitation pewter automobile licenses, Boston Tea Party plates, or "Revolutionary" fiberglass fabrics. You can treat each other to "America's Bicentennial ice cream" by Baskin-Robbins -- Betsy Ross Twirl, George Washington Cherry Tree, or Valley Forge Rum Ration ice cream.

Gerald Ford's Bible

If you weren't invited to Lipton's tea party, you can hold your own, with Sara Lee Bicentennial cake. And you can always pay \$2.00 to see the Freedom Train -- a "museum train," paid for by \$1 million contributions from half a dozen large corporation, where you can see Paul Revere's saddle bags and Gerald Ford's Bible.

And if you're still not satisfied, there's the biggest sales pitch of all -- the selling of corporate America. For corporations, Robert Guelich of Montgomery Ward told the Public Relations Society of America, the Bicentennial is "the biggest of all public relations challenges. It is a vital civic obligation and, at the same time, sound business."

Mobil Oil has started already, with ads claiming that Sam Adams would have opposed oil price controls. Shell is spending \$10 million for 732 one-minute Bicentennial TV spots. American Airlines will sponsor a television series designed to show that "the American experience has been remarkably free of blunders or failures. ITT, AT&T, Ford, Gulf Oil, IBM, Control Data, and John Hancock are all joining in the sales effort that one official of America's Bicentennial Committee described as "the greatest single peacetime public opinion mobilization effort in our nation's history."

Get ready to celebrate the Bicentennial -- but don't forget your wallet.

Seeing the City

Fasanella's City, by Patrick Watson
Ballantine Books

by Anita Diamant

Fasanella's City is a collection of paintings by Ralph Fasanella, combined with an account of his life and art. The big, glossy color reproductions grab you first.

Ralph Fasanella paints pictures of New York City -- big, busy pictures that keep your eyes in motion, searching for a place to rest. Fasanella's New York bursts with people, cars, bridges, ball games, cops, billboards, windows, sidewalks, dogs, signs, lights, streets. The paintings make you dizzy, forcing you to take time to look at what's going on. But there's too much to take in with one look, so you go back and find people doing things you hadn't noticed, signs you hadn't seen.

American painting has always dealt with the relationship between space and people, the landscape and what people have done to it. Again and again we can find representations of the conflict between city and country or the individual and a landscape. But while Fasanella's paintings continually focus on space, they are entirely urban, filled with people and what they have made.

The sky, when it appears, is unimportant, a border. Trees and patches of grass appear randomly, squeezed in. Billboards advertise "space for rent," underlining the fact that there is no empty space. And what is available, is for sale

City Life

For the most part, the city is painted with love, a joyful and vital place. Fasanella's utopian vision, *May Day*, is set in a city of wider streets, with numerous parks, parades, billboards of American heroes, and, off in the distance, a sign proclaiming "For Sale or Rent." The city becomes ominous and oppressive when the subject is the church or Wall Street or when the focus of a painting is a political topic, as in *The McCarthy Period*, *Grey Day* (which deals with the Rosenberg trials), or *American Tragedy*, which incorporates Dallas at the moment of J.F.K.'s assassination.

Patrick Watson's story of Ralph Fasanella's life and art combines excellent art criticism with personal and political history. Watson quotes Fasanella frequently, allowing the painter's language and his coffee-drinking, chain-smoking rhythm to speak directly to the reader about his own life, his art, and his politics:

"I think it is the subjective part of me that is really truthful. And that's funny -- it sounds to me, a guy like me, so off base. I always insisted on the objective truth. Still do. But the reason you collected the objective truth is so you won't go off base on your facts and figures, the world of reality, when you start trusting and really making use of this better part of you, this subjective thing, the most important part."

Fasanella was born in New York City in 1914. His father worked as an independent iceman, with a horse and wagon. His mother raised six children

and remained an active socialist, encouraging Ralph to follow in her footsteps.

Fasanella worked as an organizer for the United Electrical Workers of the CIO until he was 30. He was a talented and successful organizer and horrified his friends when he decided to stop union organizing and paint.

Paintings with a Bite

For Fasanella, painting and left politics should express the lives and feelings of ordinary people. "The guy in the street is always adding up. 'What does it have to do with me? How does it affect me?' The movement didn't have the smells, the bottom of the working class people. You know, you couldn't relate to the people in the movement how you felt about things. They never went through this.... So you found that emptiness. You never really had a place to hang your hat on. They're talkin' talkin' talkin' about this fucking movement, meanwhile Ralph was cryin' inside and a million people are cryin' and I'm talkin' and I can't get a fucking bite."

What is important to Fasanella is the emotional content of his painting. He would ask the laundry man to come up and look at a picture to see whether it did anything to him, "if it had a bite." "If you don't make an emotional connection, then you're beginning to get lost." Making that connection with his audience is what Fasanella's painting and politics is all about.

"I've always been involved with masses of people. Oh, I looked at guys, I had my heroes, baseball heroes, fighters, politicians, sure. But I don't like big shots. When it got right down to it I always looked at people in the total mass. He may be a great guy, but I look over on the side, I'd say 'What's this little guy here who's trying to learn something just like me? I might as well talk to him. He's part of the mass, like me.'

"And these people aren't stupid, either. Imprisoned in their work, sure. Lack of culture, sure. But give 'em a chance once in a while! To talk to each other! Think things out. How else do we get out of this mess with people, don't know where to go, running here, running there? Gotta sit down and talk it out. People aren't that stupid."



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