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# NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

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**budget cuts**

**wounded  
knee**

**dollar crisis**

**mpls left  
and right**



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# WOUNDED KNEE

The occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, has focused world-wide attention on the struggles and growing movement of American Indians demanding respect for treaties and the basic rights of self-determination. Wounded Knee is located within the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, the second largest in the country, on lands guaranteed to the Indians by U. S. treaty. The rights of the Indians have been gradually eroded by the paternalistic Bureau of Indian Affairs administration and by the policy of leasing Indian land to businessmen and to ranchers. The current struggle at Wounded Knee actually began over one year ago when 300 Indians destroyed a trading post. The white owner had beaten a 14-year-old Indian boy and planned with other white entrepreneurs to construct a 10-million-dollar private "national park" at Wounded Knee to reap a profit from current interest in the 1890 massacre.

The American Indian Movement (AIM) has provided some of the leadership for the current struggle which began on the reservation itself. Eddie Benton, Director of St. Paul AIM, has stayed for the most part in Minnesota to provide a communication link for the people isolated in Wounded Knee. This interview was conducted on March 14, 1973.

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Eddie began with the following statement:

"On February 12, 1890, exactly 83 years ago, 300 natives of this land were brutally massacred at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in what the high school history books term as one of its greatest battles. On February 12, 1973, 300 natives of this land took possession of Wounded Knee village in a last effort to put a stop to the injustices, misconceptions and the rampant racism that runs high in the State of South Dakota.

"The Native people there have requested a complete and thorough investigation of the 371 broken treaties. To date all of these agreements are being systematically violated by the United States government at the expense of, and in total disregard for, the very life support system that we, the Native Americans, depend on, to benefit a handful of government officials.

"At this time we are calling for the long overdue support of our sisters and brothers at Wounded Knee."

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Q: What, do you feel, are the chances for an Indian victory at Wounded Knee?

A: Well, they have won a complete moral victory thus far. However, a physical victory is very, very impossible at this stage of the game. I doubt very seriously whether the people can stand up to the armed forces of the United States and win.

Q: What is the situation on the reservation that brought about this crisis?

A: The old people, the traditionalists of the reservation who do not have a strong voice, feel that they are left out and are not being represented very fairly. 2,000 of the Indians on the reservation asked the American Indian Movement to help.

Q: Why has the federal government become involved?

A: We don't know why the federal government is there. We feel that the Ogala Sioux people should be able to settle their differences; but from the standpoint of trying to air their grievances they did call the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department of the Interior and called for a thorough investigation of the Bureau practices on the reservation and, especially, at the Pine Ridge Reservation. They also wanted a recall of the President of the Tribal Council [Dick Wilson].

Q: To what extent has there been collusion between Wilson and the ranchers at Pine Ridge?

A: According to the people, collusion is what really started this thing off. A lot of their land was leased without their consent, without their knowledge and many of them say he leased their land without their signing anything. He has become a real dictator--he controls the police--he controls everything--he uses force.

Q: Wasn't Dick Wilson elected by the people?

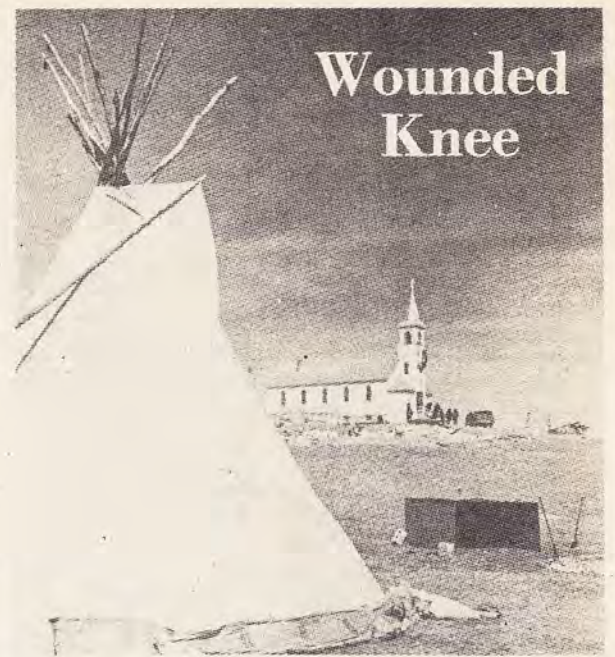
A: Yes, but they are questioning now the elections and what posture he has taken since assuming office. They did, at one point, impeach him, but with his political finesse he was able to reconvene the tribal council and overturn the decision. So, in effect, he has been recalled once. They are now asking for new elections.

Q: What is the federal government's role in the tribal chief issue?

A: First of all, there is an additional step the Ogala Sioux are calling for--to negate their tribal constitution which they feel is not really theirs. It was written by a white man in 1935 and they feel it does not lend itself to a democratic government. So, first of all, they are asking to make the 1935 constitution invalid; that is under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior. Secondly, they are asking that their tribal President be deposed and new elections ordered. This is also under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior.

Q: What has been happening about the blockades?

A: During the time that I was there, there was an order that came from Washington to remove all federal troops from the area. They removed all of the national guard's armored personnel carriers. The marshalls and the reservation police moved out of the area. And then, for about six or seven hours, the FBI began to assemble at various points leading into Wounded Knee. At first, they did not obstruct people from coming or going, but merely sat just off the road and appeared to be taking people's license numbers and noting the make of



## Negotiation Teepee Faces Church

Church was built over mass grave of Indians killed there in 1890

the car. But as time progressed, they would throw up roadblocks and just completely seal the road from traffic coming or going into Wounded Knee. They would do this for maybe two or three hours. Then they'd lift it again. And then it really seemed like it was a complete act of intimidation. It seems like they were trying to intimidate the Indians to make some kind of move to suck 'em into a position from which they couldn't back off.

Q: Why has there been gunfire and the continued need for ammunition?

A: We've never called for a shooting match. We've never tried to intimidate people to that point. But it's simply the fact that we have to defend ourselves some way. They have armored personnel carriers, they have automatic weapons, they have all the fire power that the United States can muster. They have the national guard of South Dakota on standby. It's a matter of trying to protect ourselves.

Q: How was the decision made for an independent nation?

A: Representatives of six districts of the Pine Ridge Reservation met in special session and announced that they had decided to declare themselves an independent nation under the provisions of the 1868 Medicine Hat Creek treaty. The treaty of 1868 dealt with the Pekon-Sioux nation as a sovereign nation. Under those provisions the Ogala-Sioux people felt they were entitled to independence and deserved sovereignty.

Q: How has the news coverage of Wounded Knee been?

A: I think in the early days it was fairly accurate. But the last couple of days now I've begun seeing into these editorials--there's a creeping kind of skepticism on the part of the people producing these editorials. Maybe it's because AIM insists on very close security checks of all news media inside the thing (Wounded Knee).

Q: I thought it was very dangerous when a senior senator from South Dakota, which is a plains state, spoke to the Congress and said, "I've looked at the situation in my district--the rest of you people can't see what it's like in the country. I can, and I can tell you the Indians are wrong and the time for holding off and restraining violence has passed." It's as if he's trying to give the federal government the go-ahead.

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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.

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## Dollar Crisis

# devaluation — false solution

by Fred Block

The second devaluation of the American dollar has failed to halt the latest round of international monetary disorders. European governments closed the international money markets for more than two weeks and have been forced to consider increasingly drastic actions to halt the run on the dollar. Meanwhile, Washington has reacted with a combination of benign neglect and arrogance.

The latest crisis came unexpectedly because the high rates of inflation in Europe over the last year made the dollar appear relatively strong with respect to other world currencies. However, the huge American deficits (our imports exceeded our exports by more than \$6 billion) in 1972 and the prospect of a new inflationary spiral in the United States led to mounting international distrust of the value of the dollar. Finally the Vietnam cease fire, which was expected to strengthen the dollar by ending the heavy balance of payments costs of the Vietnam war (the balance of payments is the sum of all of our international transactions—trade, investment, military spending and tourism), had the opposite effect. It was as if the apparent end of the war focused attention on all of the problems that had been put aside for so long—foremost among these was the future of the dollar and of American-European economic relations.



As the crisis developed, the United States took what has become its characteristic position—it is not our problem, but Germany's and Japan's, whose currencies are undervalued relative to the dollar. A further increase in the value of the Japanese yen over the price established at an international conference in December of 1971 has been a high priority item of American foreign policy, and this new crisis was seen as an opportunity finally to achieve this goal. Furthermore, the possibility of an increase in the value of the German Mark or of a float of the Mark—allowing the exchange rate to be determined purely by supply and demand—was looked on with favor by Washington for two reasons.

First, a higher price for the Mark, as with the Yen, would improve our competitive position in foreign trade. Second, an increase in the value of the German Mark would jeopardize the elaborate arrangements of the European Common Market on agricultural pricing. The Common Market's agricultural policy is unpopular in Washington because it severely limits the exports of American farm products to Europe. An increase in the value of the Mark would upset the carefully worked out arrangements between France and Germany on agriculture, and it could threaten the future of Common Market cooperation on agriculture and on the development of other policies that might conflict with American business interests.

So the United States stood idly by as the Germans and Japanese were forced to buy more than six billion dollars that were sold by speculators who were trying to force a decline in the value of the dollar. As long as Germany and Japan absorbed the dollars that were sold, the existing exchange rate was defended. But such a defense is extremely costly. However, the Germans steadfastly refused to either increase the value of the Mark or allow it to float upwards, and Washington was forced to accept a second-best solution. Washington would devalue the dollar by 10% and

the Japanese would agree to allow their currency to float even higher than 10% above the dollar. Despite the loss of prestige in another devaluation, Washington thought this was a good solution because it would help reverse the trade deficit by making our exports cheaper and our imports more expensive: it should slow the influx of Japanese goods into the American market.

But there was a problem with devaluation. Nixon and Treasury Secretary Schultz did not foresee the extent a second devaluation of the dollar within fourteen months would make the dollar suspect as an international store of value. Why should anybody hold onto dollars as opposed to gold or other currencies if they are subject to annual devaluation? The volume of dollars that accumulated in foreign hands through the years of the U.S. balance of payments deficit made this a serious problem. Only a small percentage of dollar holders would have to exchange their dollars for other currencies to create a new run on the dollar. This was precisely what happened. Even after the devaluation, billions of dollars were sold on the major money markets forcing the Europeans to close the exchanges and find new ways to solve the crisis.

But the latest devaluation was only another pseudo-solution to the balance of payments problem. For ten years or more the U. S. has failed to tackle the fundamental roots of the payments crisis—international overextension and the militarization of the domestic economy. American policy has been designed to patch the crisis, to put the burden on others. But this is getting more difficult to do as our "allies" become less cooperative in international money matters. Thus there will be increasing efforts to solve the problem at the expense of the American working class. Federal social service cutbacks and budget ceilings on spending have already been justified on international monetary grounds. More attempts to raise productivity by speedup and more determined efforts to hold the line on wages can be expected.

These are also not real solutions. They ignore the roots of the problem. First, the costs of American foreign activities—both government and private—are too high for the economy to support. Maintaining the American military presence throughout the world, fighting open and covert wars, combined with the flow of foreign investment by giant multinational firms, puts too great a burden on the balance of payments. Rather than systematically attempting to cut these costs, Nixon seems determined to continue expanding the U. S. international role. When Secretary Schultz announced another devaluation, he also promised the multinational firms that the government-imposed limits on their foreign investment would be lifted soon. The resulting outflow of capital would easily exceed any savings from the



end of the Vietnam war.

Second, the enormous growth of military spending at home is a giant drag on the domestic economy. Every non-military good produced in this country includes the cost of supporting our huge military apparatus. This is a real hindrance to the competitiveness of American goods. Furthermore, the militarization of the economy has been an alternative to major investment in new technology for civilian production. Workers often face speedup designed to increase profits because management has failed to invest the necessary capital to carry through modernization of production.

Yet when the government is trying to cut back the Federal Budget, defense spending is increased. This is because the defense purchases keep the industrial economy going and prevent an even more drastic level of unemployment than our present rate. But the reason for the threat of severe unemployment is that our economy is so mechanized that even with many people unemployed, it could produce far more than people could buy given present income distribution. In other words, all of the goods that people could buy with the wages they presently earn could be produced by a

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# WOMEN & MADNESS

by Lisa Murphy

In this society, women have long been kept out of the "valued" sectors of the workforce. They have been socialized to the point that the only work they feel capable of doing is that which is the least valued (i.e., housework, clerical work or childcare). "Women and Madness," by Phyllis Chesler, reveals how the mental health care system perpetuates this acceptance by women of these limited roles by the assumptions that they are incapable and valueless.

Chesler shows how psychologists, 90% of whom are male, attempt to define the roles that are healthy for women and those that are healthy for men. Traits designated as healthy for men are parallel to those used in defining a "normal" human being. Traits attributed to women (passivity, helplessness, low self-esteem and submissiveness) are considered to be quite unhealthy but, at the same time, "normal" for a woman. Thereby a tremendous double standard is created. Furthermore, whether she accepts or rejects her role, a woman is never considered the mental equal of a man.

Most women become "mad" because they can no longer fight against what society has destined for them to become. Attempts to make something of their lives through careers are usually futile because even their successes are ignored or used as tokenism to pacify those who have not been given the chance to be successful. Because emotional fulfillment is defined in terms of the men they are loved by, when a woman loses that love or never has a man to love her, she feels worthless. This is because women have not been allowed to recognize their worth apart from men.

In her chapter "Asylums," Chesler explains the consequences a woman in an institution must face if she chooses to reject her role. In the past women have been kept in isolation, injected with highly potent and dangerous drugs, given shock treatments and even frontal lobotomies for displaying "aggressive" tendencies. These methods are more overt examples of the contempt this society has for any woman who tries to express her independence.

Also discussed in this chapter are the three main forms of psychoses as they relate to women. The largest percentage of institutionalized women suffer

from depression, a psychosis that is linked to the acceptance of the female role. One outward projection of depression for women, as a resignation to powerlessness, is attempted suicide.

Depression, or the psychotic form, manic-depression, is a phenomenon quite logically experienced mostly by women. It occurs when they cannot express anger toward others --they turn it inward on themselves. The frustrations of repressing this very necessary emotion can build to a point where a woman can no longer discern when she is feeling angry or when she should be expressing anger. When a woman steps out of her passive role to express her hostilities, even if they are justified, she becomes a "bitch" or "castrating." So she must internalize this contempt and sacrifice her self-esteem.

Frigidity has a political basis in a patriarchal society. Women are continually made to feel impotent sexually, kept in mystery about their sexual organs and in fear of pregnancy or promiscuity. When, because of these pressures, it is difficult for a woman to achieve orgasm, she is called frigid and her sense of being sexually inferior is reinforced. As Chesler states, "Women can never be sexually actualized as long as men control the means of production and reproduction."

In discussing schizophrenia Chesler points out that here, unlike with other psychoses and neuroses, persons play the opposite sex roles as well as their own. Female schizophrenics can be withdrawn or display aggressive--sometimes violent--behavior. Women who are rehospitalized for this most often are housewives who cannot accept their role of domesticity. As in most other hospital cases, the patient is not considered sufficiently cured until she has a passive acceptance of this role.

The discussion of women's sexuality in the chapter on "Lesbianism" is inadequate. It has been a long known practice for psychologists to treat and judge homosexuality as a sickness. But in refuting this, Chesler never bothers to delve into the reasons women decide to relate to other women.

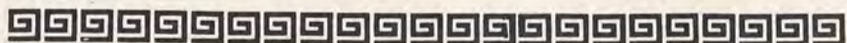
Experiencing emotional fulfillment with women, examining and eliminating role playing and sharing a common societal oppression all make women loving women quite natural.

The section on third world women, also limited, does recognize how they are not affected in the same ways by sexism as many white women are. Few third world women are put on a "pedestal" and confined only to the home. They are the providers for the household in low paying exploitative jobs while they still hold the responsibilities for the housework and childcare. It is true that because of economic differences fewer third world women than white women seek psychiatric help. However, when Chesler passes that off by stating, "...as a psychologist and a feminist, I am really more interested in exploring the laws of female psychology than in exploring their various exceptions and variations," she presents a growing problem within the women's movement that must be dealt with. If feminism is to continue in a progressive direction, women must start to develop a sincere interest in the different oppressions that third world women face and begin to broaden their scope in terms of program and ideology so that it can also relate to third world women.

Chesler raises some questions about modern feminism and expresses the belief that it is vital in the elimination of sex roles as well as in opening the lines of communication between women through consciousness raising groups. These groups provide a place where women can discuss their feelings and problems with an assurance of understanding and feedback that comes from concern. Politically, the women's movement is attempting to seize control of the health care system (and mental health care system) that continues to force women into a disadvantaged role. It is also trying to organize against the male-dominated competitive society that will keep women in those oppressive roles as long as it is permitted to exist.

"Women and Madness" doesn't say much that is new for feminists who have worked in psychology.

But for the majority of women who have not been exposed to the mental health care system and for those who seek help from this system, I feel the book is very informative and valuable in showing how destructive it is. However, the book did not offer any real alternatives to the mental health care system. The pain and problems women experience in this society are very real--telling them what is wrong with the mental health care system does not ease their pain. Until recently, no real support has been given to women when they tried to solve their own problems and form themselves into what they think they should be. Women are beginning to learn to trust one another and turn to each other for this support; in this way they hope to gain control over their lives. ■



I sing the songs of women  
Who were crushed beneath the burden  
Of empty dreams they couldn't call their own  
Who thought they should be happy  
With their husband and then children  
In a house they couldn't make their home  
I sing the songs of women  
Who are lonely and afraid  
To live the lives they wanted for themselves  
People always told them  
They should feel they were in heaven  
But sometimes it seemed much more like hell.  
I sing the songs of women  
Who are sitting on a barstool  
And only live to buy another round  
Who are drowning all the sorrows  
Of empty gray tomorrows  
Whose lives are lost cause love was never found  
I sing the songs of women  
Who are junkies in the night  
Who sell their bodies for another fix  
Who tried to live the high life  
And found they had to buy life  
And shoot up just to keep from getting sick.  
I sing the songs of women  
In a lonely prison cell  
Who wonder if they'll ever get paroled  
Most people never see them  
As they sit there in the darkness  
Of solitary slowly growing old.

I sing the songs of women  
Who are quietly forgotten  
As they lock the door and throw away the key  
Their doctors call them hopeless  
As they drug them into silence  
Cause pain and fear is their reality  
I sing the songs of women  
Who are poor and old and wrinkled  
Who'll never have a visitor again  
Her family has forgotten  
The loving care she's given  
She rocks there waiting only for the end  
I sing the songs of children  
Who are hungry and in pain  
Their mothers cannot give them what they need  
Cause in world of money  
Life is sold there in the market  
And a child is just another mouth to feed.  
I sing the songs of women  
Who have never sung their own songs  
Who've never found a love like you or me  
Who've never known the joy of sharing lives together  
And struggling so people can be free  
I sing the songs of women  
Because I am a woman too  
And we have been forgotten all these years  
Alone we sing a sad song  
But together there's glad song  
A woman's love can wash away our tears.

Elaine Kolb



AT THE VERY MOMENT NIXON was appearing on national TV to announce the Vietnam ceasefire agreement, a meeting was being held in Minneapolis which in its small way may symbolize potential political configurations in the United States during the post-ceasefire period.

The purpose of the meeting was to discuss forming a "left-right" coalition around several specific local issues. Representing the right were members of the T-Party, a right-wing populist organization, and United Neighbors, a community-based group with similar politics. Representing the left were the Minnesota Tenants Union, Residents Unite (a southside community organizing group in Model Cities) and members of NAM.

Although the formal coalition faltered on the T-Party's leadership's fear of public association with a "subversive" organization (NAM), good working relationships were established among the rank and file and the groups continue to work together informally around a referendum to require a city-wide vote on the sale of bonds for all construction over \$15 million.

The coalition emerged around a struggle against proposed "school complexes." These complexes which would consolidate a number of neighborhood elementary schools into a single large building represented the school board's plan to meet a federal court desegregation order. They came under community attack for a number of reasons—such a large school would provide an impersonal atmosphere for the children; removing the school from any base in the community would prevent effective community control; the structures would destroy significant numbers of fine old residential housing and fall into a city-wide pattern of housing being destroyed and replaced by institutions and high-rises.



# minneapolis

# left & right

by Miles Mogulescu



In addition, doubt was raised whether the plan would even accomplish the so-called desegregation goal because it would not touch white strongholds in suburban schools and it placed a 35% maximum on minority enrollment, thus mitigating against any possibility of control by third world people. (Minneapolis has a very small percentage of third world people.)

Several members of NAM and the Twin Cities Women's Union who lived on one of the projected sites became involved in the struggle against the complex. They helped organize a public hearing which voted unanimously to oppose complexes and asked for a six-month moratorium so the community could design an alternative that didn't destroy existing housing and could accomplish integration without complexes.

When the NAM members, Residents Unite people and other community residents attended the next School Board meeting to present the results of the hearing, they found an angry delegation from the northside, many of whom were in the T-Party, there to take the same position. Both groups applauded each other's statements and left with a feeling of unexpected solidarity and exhilaration. The paper the next day puzzled over this strange alliance between "young southside activists and old northside conservatives." It was this experience that led some of the T-Party people to call a meeting to discuss a formal coalition.

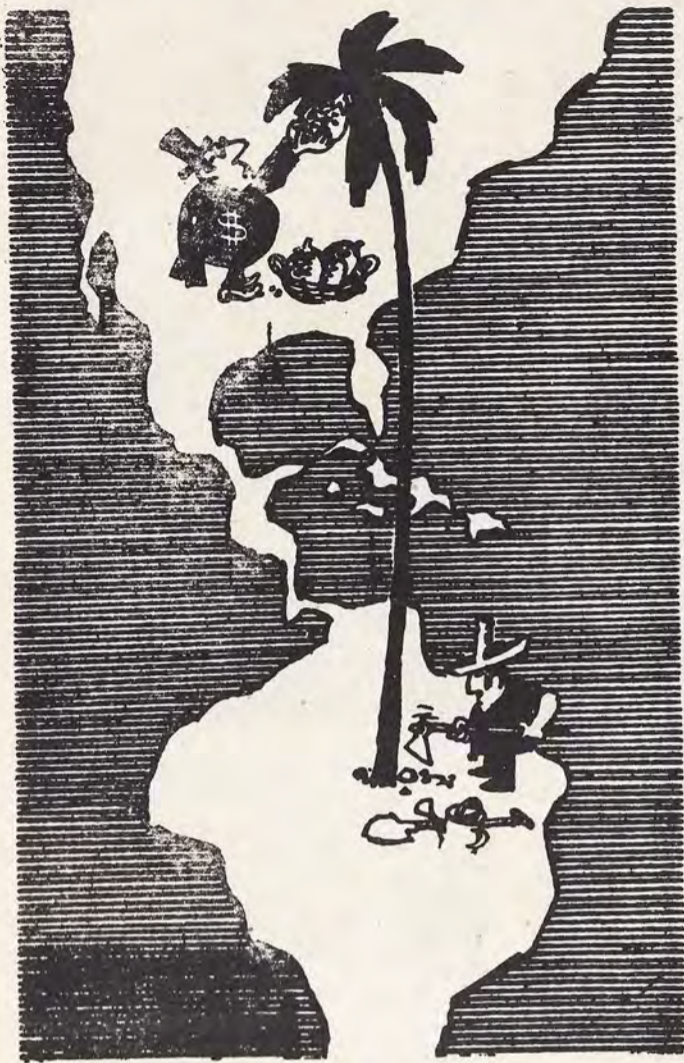
The T-Party (or taxpayers' party) was formed out of Charles Stenvig's law and order campaign for mayor and out of the sentiments of the tax-payers' revolt. Its rhetoric is populist and attacks the alliance of "big business" and big government that jointly picks the taxpayer's pocket. The organization itself seems a somewhat unstable alliance. Much of the membership is made up of working class populists who are fed up with the two-party system and the rule of big business and are, in many ways, as radical as they are conservative. Many were active in the past in the Farmer-Labor Party. The other wing of the party represents small business interests threatened by corporate liberal rule and who are outwardly racist and reactionary.

The first meeting to discuss a coalition began with an hour of random discussion in which left and right discussed their grievances and discovered more and more in common in how they perceived their problems and who they saw as their enemy. It was decided that the coalition would initially function around two specific issues: the school complexes and the proposed downtown domed stadium which would finance private business with city bonds backed by the taxpayers. The stadium has been the hottest issue in city politics in years and a poll showed over 90% of the populace opposing it. The city council just voted to construct it anyway.

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# CHILE:

# ALLENDE GAINS IN ELECTIONS



by Kay Cole

DESPITE THE MUCH PUBLICIZED expectations of the right in Chile and the United States, the Allende government (Unidad Popular) was not swamped by the March elections. The right had led the world to believe that it would gain control of two thirds of the congressional seats. However, Unidad Popular (UP) gained over 7% since the election when Allende came to office. The government gained two senators and six deputies, maintaining well over 40% of the congressional seats.

The U.S. press refers to this as a stalemate, but, because of the plurality which UP has won, Allende will be able to continue in the struggle to complete the UP program. The congress cannot impeach him and they will be unable to override his vetoes. Without a majority in the congress the UP has been able to nationalize all monopolistically held industries and banks in Chile, take over 2,000 major land holdings and modernize many of the food processing enterprises. Social services have been expanded and hundreds of squatter villages all over Chile have been serviced and given materials by the government. All of this has been done without a "majority" government and without a "bloody revolution."

Unidad Popular is a coalition of the Socialist and Communist Parties, the Radical Party and two other minor parties. Outside the UP there is the Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR) that has given the coalition support but which has agitated and organized for a faster pace in land and factory takeovers.

On the right the leading party is the Christian Democrats which has recently rejoined the National Party (right extremist) in a coalition.

The elections took place during a near panic, according to the U.S. press. In an attempt to portray the country's economy as out of control, the N.Y. Times described a disgruntled population running short of life's necessities. Exceptions, of course, existed among the affluent of Chile, one of whom was quoted as saying smugly, "Everyone below us will starve before we start to starve." The U.S. press has represented Allende as incapable of running an economy. The Times puts the Chilean inflation of last year at 160%, although other sources have put it at 60%. The press blames UP for putting an inflationary pressure on the country through high wages and poor management.

The government's interpretation of the inflation, on the other hand, is that stringent scarcities have been deliberately created through cutting production in the private sector, massive hoarding in wealthy homes as well as in warehouses, and in the cutting off of credit and sales by imperial interests abroad.

## CHILE'S UNIQUE CHARACTER

Chile has had, by European standards, an abnormally long survival of a modified feudal landowning system. Although this is similar to other Latin American countries, the great difference is that wealthy bank and land owners began an early Chilean industry. This began in the 19th century.

Along with the development of native industry the Chilean bourgeoisie followed the European and North American example in building a governmental system. They created all the liberal trappings including the three traditional branches of government, universities, a native technology for the development of the vast Chilean resources and a whole range of professions and bourgeois institutions.

After a long and difficult struggle with the land owners the Chilean bourgeoisie instituted civilian control of the military. There had been civil wars and, in one case, the congress had thrown an industrial backed president out of office. It was necessary for the growing industrial interests to have stability and they succeeded in protecting themselves from the latifundists by putting the army, long loyal to the great land owning families, out of reach. The civilian bourgeois control of the military has become a firm Chilean tradition, so firm that even a marxist government can control the military.

This subjection of the army to the civilian branches of the government became clear when, after Allende's election in '70, there was an inner army rebellion

against the chief of staff because of his non-interventionist policy with respect to the new government. The leader of the rebellion was arrested and is in prison to this day. Furthermore, the general who was appointed to the Cabinet last November is solidly with the regime.

While other South American governments languished after foreign penetration of their economies, Chile's liberal system flourished. The liberal state provided a convenient "face" for the collaboration between local and foreign interests. But, more importantly, local liberals had established their credentials as former industrialists, as leaders of a successful war against both Peru and Bolivia (1879) and as the designers of a welfare state. They passed some social legislation in the thirties, forgotten by them, which has been exceedingly useful to the present regime. The Christian Democrats also stirred up hope in the sixties by its program of social reform.

While wealthy industrialists of Chile have somewhat developed a native economy and a liberal state, they have also busied themselves with protecting themselves against "their" workers. Their first indispensable creation was the Guarda Civil which was used to slaughter hundreds and even thousands of workers involved in strikes. For decades there were built-in cheats in the electoral system which made it possible to reject elected workers from the congress. During the thirties and forties the Communist Party was outlawed.

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ON MARCH 6, 1973, the British Trade Union Congress, the equivalent of the AFL-CIO, met at a special conference and decided to call a one-day national strike in protest over the Conservative Government's counter-inflationary wage and price controls. This decision was a victory for the militants within the Trade Union Congress (TUC). It marks the highest point to date in the growing confrontation between the Heath Government and the British trade union movement.

The position of the TUC in the present wave of industrial strife is ambiguous and confused. The one-day strike will not be enough to make the government unworkable and is unlikely to influence the Conservative's incomes policy. The TUC undoubtedly has the industrial strength to bring down the government by calling an unlimited General Strike, but it feels that it does not have enough public support to justify such a course at the present time.

Even so, the present developments show a dramatic increase in open militancy on the part of the trade union movement. This return to militancy, which has developed within the last three years, has been a long time coming. The 1950's, in Britain as elsewhere, were a period of general apathy, even contentment, with apparent "affluence." The election of a Labor Government in 1964 raised some hopes on the left, but these were soon disillusioned. Labor under Wilson bitterly defended the pound sterling against an inevitable devaluation and above all attempted to introduce a "planned" policy regulating incomes and prices. At the same time, trade union opposition to the incomes policy was played down. These actions, as well as the emphasis on technology and productivity, revealed that the Labor Government was actually trying to rationalize and perfect the capitalist economy.

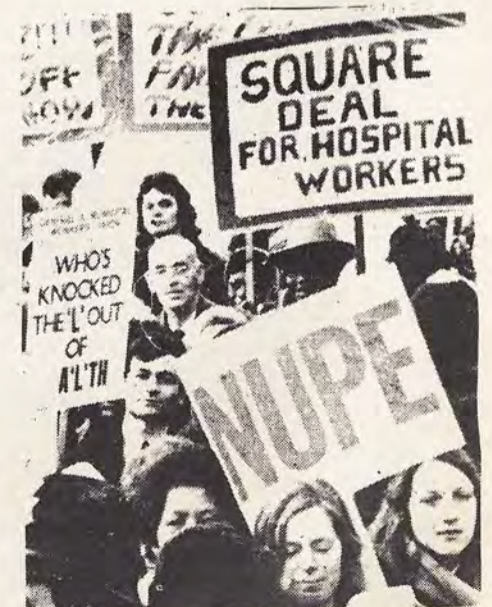
Although the "Parliamentary Labor Party" and any Labor Cabinet in principle is subject to control by the annual Convention of the Labor Party as a whole, in reality it has a great deal of freedom and some autonomy. The TUC is tremendously influential in the Labor Party, and provides the bulk of its funds. Hence the TUC has a strong sense of identification and loyalty to the Labor Party. This sense of identification inhibited an open split over the incomes policy. The whole issue illustrated the chronic tendency of the British left to attempt to "legitimize" itself in the eyes of the electorate by claiming to represent the "national interest" over, and often to the exclusion of, working class interest. Ironically, working class obstruction contributed anyway to a failure of the "Incomes and Prices" policy and thus in part to Labor's defeat in 1970.

The conservative Government led by Heath from the start has been willing to use conservative ideology that

Continued on Page 14

## BRITISH WORKERS FIGHT WAGE FREEZE

by John Stewart



Hospital workers demonstrate against the freeze

# executive POWER

by Robert Jackall

CENTRALIZATION OF executive power has become the hallmark of Richard Nixon's presidency. His strategies of centralization, designed to defend military capitalism and to increase his personal power, are masked by a "localist" ideology embodied in his revenue-sharing schemes. In addition, he is using centralized power to undermine both congressional opposition and the constituencies that form the social basis for that opposition.

## THE GROWTH OF CENTRALIZED POWER

THE RATIONALIZATION of capitalist economy in this century has demanded a centralized political system to coordinate its national and international goals. Of all our domestic political institutions, only the presidency possesses built-in elasticity which enables it to deal "effectively" with the recurring crises of capitalism. Thus, the presidency has become since Franklin Roosevelt the pivotal force in administering and doctoring the economy. Since World War II, presidents have consistently performed this function by establishing crucial links between the economy and the military as a stop-gap means of stabilizing the capitalist order. As a result, the presidency has become the centralized guardian of military capitalism.

Nixon's first strategy has been to accelerate this trend to centralize presidential power. This is exemplified in the broadening of executive war-making power into a completely arbitrary prerogative governed only by presidential tantrum or responsiveness to class interests. This has occurred despite congressional and public opposition. Nixon has also extended the use of executive agreements, often secret, in place of congressionally ratified treaties. Such agreements most often extend U.S. military commitments.

On the domestic level, in order to control more surely the pace of social change, Nixon has further politicized the Supreme Court by loading it with proven political conservatives and by attacking politically disagreeable decisions on busing and aid to parochial schools, for example. He has systematically impounded congressionally approved funds, principally cutting into social services while increasing military spending. Finally, to prevent congressional probes and to minimize criticism of his reach for more power, he has extended the use of executive privilege to lower-ranking White House officials and even to former political aides. Currently he is using this expanded version of executive privilege to prevent key aides from testifying about the FBI's role in the Watergate affair.

## NIXONIZING THE BUREAUCRACY

NIXON'S SECOND strategy involves a thorough reorganization of the executive branch's personnel and structure. In doing so, he is both eliminating any alternative power bases to the presidency within the government bureaucracies and consolidating his personal authority. During his second term, he has eliminated any measure of diversity in his government by filling both the White House staff and the Cabinet with Nixon loyalists. All major department heads fully understand that there can be no opposition to Nixon's policies. In addition to these agents at the command posts of the large bureaucracies, the White House has also expropriated departmental appointments of lobbyists and information officers. These officials, acting within a department, are important in the image-making apparatus of government and can create a subtle tone and direction to policy. Formerly, they owed primary allegiance to the department heads who appointed them. Now they too belong to Nixon. At every level of government, potential or actual opposition is being weeded out and replaced with "the King's men."

The executive reorganization has structural features as well. The most extreme case is the total transfer of foreign-policy-making power from the State Department, which in the past frequently bucked presidential power, to Kissinger's Office of Foreign Affairs.

Even more ominous is the White House's expansion of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) under the directorship of Roy Ash of Litton Industries and Frederic Malek, a reputed super-manager and bureaucratic axeman. The OMB, with its discretionary power over the entire Federal budget, can essentially control the policy of all government departments and regulatory agencies. Recently, for example, the OMB suspended housing subsidy programs without consulting the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Also, according to Miles Kirkpatrick, former Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, the OMB sabotaged several important investigations by cutting the funds of that regulatory agency.

## SILENCING DISSENT

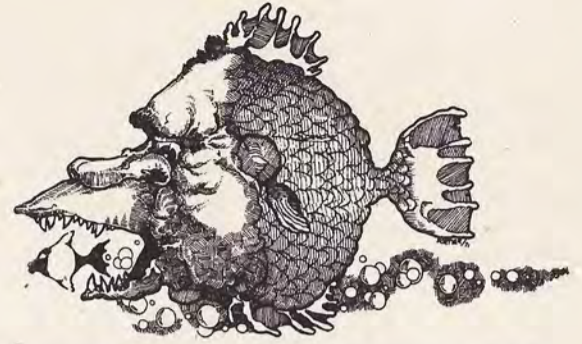
TO REINFORCE THESE centralizing trends, Nixon has tried to mute dissent both in and out of government in ways that can only be mentioned here. He has intimidated the media, increased government surveillance, encouraged arbitrary grand jury investigations, militarized the police through large government subsidies to local departments and further politicized the FBI, making it even more clearly an executive weapon.



## THE IDEOLOGY OF LOCALISM AND REVENUE SHARING

WHILE HE IS TURNING the presidency into a latter day form of monarchy, Nixon is deflecting public attention away from his centralization of power by developing a "localist" ideology instituted in revenue sharing plans. Using people's justified resentment against "wasteful, muscle-bound government in Washington," Nixon says that his accumulation of presidential power is done with the purpose of returning that power to local government. He implies that, over the long run, his actions will actually lessen the jurisdiction of the presidency. Since accumulated power, like wealth, tends to increase rather than diminish, this argument is absurd.

Nonetheless, this "localist" rationale, sweetened by revenue-sharing funds, is being eagerly accepted by local officials despite their chagrin over the loss of other federal funds for social services. Revenue-sharing will restore power over some local projects;



however, it will not alter the basic direction of military capitalism nor the trend towards executive centralization. The easy local acceptance of such a sop reveals a desperate feeling of powerlessness--the realization that political initiative has indeed long since passed to the federal government. The price of revenue-sharing, with its minimal power, is local government's continued surrender of any meaningful voice in national policy making. The national decisions which give the political economy its central thrust and, in the process, shape the broad frameworks of our lives, belong increasingly to the executive office.

## THE OPPOSITION

OPPOSITION TO NIXON'S centralization of power, now focused in Congress, has two themes. The first reflects largely partisan anger at Nixon's managerial style in callously circumventing Congress wherever possible, particularly on appropriations issues. The bureaucratized executive branch sees the slow-moving, status-conscious Congress as an inconvenient obstacle in its plans to further rationalize military capitalism. Many in Congress do not dispute Nixon's goals for the political economy; they merely resent his violation of honored customs allowing Congress the public appearance of power. Apart from a handful of constitutional defenders like Erwin (N.C.) these groups will express their resentment at the drift of affairs by nothing more daring than supporting the Mahon (Rep., Texas) bill. This measure, if passed, will allow any presidential impoundment of funds to stand unless the conservative appropriations committees of both houses approve a concurrent resolution disapproving the action.

More important are members of Congress who, in response to the progressive social forces fashioned in the struggles of the 60's, genuinely question the direction of national priorities. These congressmen, pushing for redirection of military expenditure, directly oppose Nixon's attempt to ensure military capitalism's continued hegemony in the post-Vietnam era. In impounding funds approved for social service programs, Nixon is striking at what he perceives to be one of these congressional opponents' important social bases--the large groups of people, both service workers and clients, whose economic position improved in the 60's through large governmental expenditure in health, education and welfare services. These forces crystallized in the anti-war movement and in movements among minorities, welfare clients, students and women. By shattering the economic basis of these forces, Nixon feels he can break one of the strongholds of liberal voting, an important step in attempting to insure a perpetuation of his policies.

DECENTRALIZE THE POWER STRUCTURE!



REDISTRIBUTE THE INCOME!



OVERTHROW THE WELFARE BUREAUCRACY!



CLEAN UP THE ENVIRONMENT!



REVOLUTION!



ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



RIGHT ON!



THANK YOU. IN NEXT MONTH'S SPEECH ON FOREIGN POLICY I WILL DO MY IMPRESSION OF GAANDHI.



# REVENUE SHARING and

written with the assistance of Harry Boyte

It is not yet possible to evaluate the full impact of the Nixon Administration's budget cuts. In the weeks ahead, some presently threatened programs will probably be restored, and new cuts will be made in areas that have not yet been affected. As with so many of its policies, the Administration's efforts to dismantle the Great Society programs have been obscured by a cloud of secrecy, double talk and political manipulation. In some cases, as with veterans' benefits, announced cut backs have been trial balloons to test public reaction and have been withdrawn when serious opposition developed. The new familiar tactic of announcing a cut much larger than the intended one has also been used, so that the administration appears conciliatory when it carries out a cut of the size that had originally been intended. In addition, the beginning of revenue sharing has been used to cover up and confuse the actual fate of many social programs. It is uncertain which politically popular programs congressional action might save.

The major cutbacks that Nixon seems intent on making are in community development (OEO and Model Cities), housing, child care, medical care (hospital modernization and medical research), education (aid to libraries and student loans) and emergency employment. Additional federal cost-cutting will probably lower the amount of money available for state and local programs for the elderly, for foster children and for those in need of mental health services. From this list, it is clear that the victims of the cutbacks are primarily poor people, third world people and people thought to be too unorganized to protest effectively. Even such a seemingly innocent cutback as ending federal aid to libraries hits primarily the poor. This federal aid supported a number of innovative programs designed to make libraries more relevant to inner city areas, and these programs will probably now fold. The same pattern holds for a variety of other services.

The Nixon Administration's main defense is that many of the programs being eliminated are of little value to the poor, while those that are successful can be continued with revenue sharing funds. Furthermore, Nixon's people argue that budget cutting is an absolute necessity because further large budget deficits would be inflationary and contribute to the deterioration of the dollar's international position (see Fred Block's article, p. ). There is merit in this latter argument and it is widely agreed that even a liberal president would have to make substantial budget cuts or else significantly reform the tax structure. (Higher taxes in the present tax structure would probably be inflationary because new corporate taxes would be passed on to the consumer in higher prices and higher individual taxes would lead to larger wage demands and corresponding price increases.) Since serious tax reform is politically impossible at present, the only question is where spending would be cut--the obvious alternative being a reduction in defense spending. However, both the corporate interests that produce goods for the military and the danger of substantial industrial unemployment resulting from defense economies dictate that Nixon follow the path of least resistance.



"All yours, Boy"



Nixon is aware that there will be resistance, especially from those in the inner cities who are most sharply affected. Revenue sharing appears designed to meet this resistance. It will give localities--state and local governments--less money than they previously received in federal aid, but now the localities will have much greater freedom in deciding how to use these somewhat diminished funds. This means that state and local governments will become the battle ground for deciding the fate of different programs. Child care advocates, community development agencies (including ex-OEO workers), blacks, Chicanos, property tax payers, elderly people and other groups will be forced to compete with each other and against local interests such as real estate developers, for scarce funds. Nixon's hope is that this competition will make broad coalitions for social reform impossible, because the various groups will be too busy fighting each other. Pressure will be taken off the federal government, with the hope that more conservative local powers will be able to block any programs that threaten to disrupt the status quo.

Nixon's strategy here is to continue his successful campaign tactics. He wants to channel the frustrations that millions of Americans feel about rising prices, unemployment and taxes into resentment against blacks, students and intellectuals. His hope is that he can exploit scandals in the poverty programs and reaction to militant protests against the cuts by blacks and browns to consolidate a defensive, reactionary majority that is blinded to its own real interests. The obvious ineffectiveness of many of the Great Society programs that he is eliminating makes the task easier. It is easy to prove that programs which were instituted more to cool tempers than to advance the interests of the poor have done nothing

but line a few pockets. And if, at the same time, he can eliminate those programs that actually contributed to the ability of poor and third world people to organize and fight back, so much the better.

The movement to resist the cutbacks faces two difficult problems. First, decisions must be made about what programs should be fought for and what should be allowed to die. This isn't an easy decision because even the least effective agencies employed people who will now be out of jobs. Second, a broad coalition has to be built to resist the cutbacks. The segments of the population that Nixon is aiming his divisive strategy at must be convinced that they, too, will be hurt by reductions in social service and by increased unemployment.

None of this is easy because the position is a defensive one when we try to defend programs which are often second best alternatives--many are on a totally inadequate scale and others are a poor substitute for programs that could confront the problems more directly. What is necessary is a strategy that moves from defense to offense. This means formulating demands for programs that would meet the needs of large sectors of the population and then developing strong grass roots movements that link people together across racial lines in support of those programs.

This process could begin in local struggles organized around revenue sharing because Nixon's revenue sharing scheme has a positive side for local activists. It puts large amounts of funds in local hands and makes possible coordinated struggles over real resources. Under revenue sharing, governmental units can spend money in two broad categories: the first, "capital expenditures," includes "improvements" in urban buildings, highways, bridges, etc. The second, "priority expenditures," allows great freedom for spending



# BUDGET CUTS

in a range of areas--public safety (including police, fire protection, building inspection), environmental protection, public transportation, health, recreation, libraries, social services for the poor or aged and financial administration (spending money to administer the expenditures!). The law requires that governments publish their plans for spending and accounts of spending in local papers at the beginning and end of each year. The Treasury Department, however, has waived the former requirement for this year, leaving governments free to commit funds without any public knowledge.

A positive campaign could begin with approaching various groups--community organizations, environmental groups, unions, consumer unions, welfare recipients, women's groups--and urge united action for public hearings on revenue sharing--or perhaps joint sponsorship for "people's hearings" if local government refuses.

Within this context, a socialist approach would involve advocacy of a program for action that many diverse groups could unite around. Such a program around revenue sharing should involve two complementary elements--a set of demands for how the money should be spent, and a program of action around local tax structure. One solution might be joint consultation among a range of working class groups combined with the suggestion that this coalition demand direct "public interest grants" to working people's organizations (the analogy--and contrast--is local government funding of "public interest" projects undertaken by groups like the Chamber of Commerce).

It is important, in addition, to couple demands for community-worker control of the funds with challenges to local tax structures. The tax question is of immediate "applicability" in revenue sharing campaigns for two reasons: funds can be used to lessen property taxes and the amount of money given to cities is directly dependent upon local tax efforts.

Property tax is a striking instance of how the most blatant exercises of ruling class power are hidden behind the myths of "expertise" and governmental "neutrality." Consequently, struggles which link property tax to other demands could contribute significantly to working people's unity. The tax is enormously regressive. Families with incomes of \$2,000 spend 20.7% of income on property tax; families making \$100,000 spend 2.2%. The business share of property tax dropped from 41% in 1957 to 33% in



1971.

The most directly challengeable--and politically important--factor in the tax's regressive nature is the differential in rates of assessment. For a number of reasons--including outright graft--business and commercial property and the homes of the rich are assessed at rates far below the rates for middle and low income families. A direct challenge to this tax structure would be a major way of uniting various working class communities.

In developing local movements along those lines, it will be important simultaneously to build national coalitions that can contest government policy at the federal level. This will be necessary both to consolidate local victories and to challenge the uses of federal funds other than those that go into revenue sharing.



## DURHAM OEO CUTS

by Sally Avery

DURHAM, N. C.--Nixon's dismantling of OEO is threatening the existence of Durham's controversial agency--the OEO-funded Operation Breakthrough. The closing of Breakthrough will hurt the Durham community for the agency is the sixth largest employer in Durham, right behind Duke University and the larger textile and tobacco mills. Moreover, Operation Breakthrough has responded to the rebellious mood of poor people more than any other public institution in Durham.

Breakthrough is an umbrella for several federal programs. "Headstart" (the child development component) and "New Careers" and "Neighborhood Youth Corps" (the job training components) hope to find new homes in other federal agencies. But no one is optimistic about the continuation of "Neighborhood Development", the community action arm, even though there is a strong effort to get revenue sharing money for it. Neighborhood Development is the place a person calls when she or he gets the familiar run-around from an agency--when the welfare department turns someone down for food stamps or the public housing authority passes over a family that has been on a waiting list for a house for five years. Besides responding to daily emergencies, Neighborhood Development has been centrally involved in confrontations with the local government and business leaders. There have been numerous tenants' rights campaigns in both public and private housing, a six-month economic boycott protesting racial discrimination, demonstrations protesting welfare cuts and campaigns to change plans for a county hospital and to prevent telephone rate increases.

Operation Breakthrough is not characterized entirely by activism however. There is widespread frustration within the agency at the limited successes of the campaigns, at the cynicism in the neighborhoods and at the attempt of the agency to control the activity of the community groups it sponsors. There is the unresolved tension between those people Breakthrough has hired to staff community groups and the other people in the neighborhood. And, although Breakthrough has been very involved in the poor black community, there has been only limited success in the poor white community.

Some people feel that Operation Breakthrough's problems have seriously hurt its effectiveness in community organizing and that without the agency independent groups will form that will be more militant and effective. They argue that in confrontations independent groups will no longer be Breakthrough-baited by the establishment or Breakthrough controlled. The question is whether or not there will be a transition to independent militant groups or whether poor people in Durham will be left cynical, unorganized--and many jobless--without the one public agency that has responded to them.

### IF YOU REALLY DIDN'T LIKE AIR POLLUTION, YOU'D STOP BREATHING

A real news story from the WASHINGTON POST, 1/24/73, p. A 4.

OKLAHOMA CITY, Feb. 23 (AP) — A top Agriculture Department official said today that retail food prices are not too high because if they were "the housewife would back out of the marketplace and the cost would go down."

J. Phil Campbell Under Secretary of Agriculture, stopped short, however, of advocating that the housewife practice this sort of price control, or even of trying to tell her how to spend her money.

"We, the administration, feel the housewife should be free to spend her money as she sees fit," he told a news conference. "I feel she's doing all right the way she is. I hope she keeps on."



"Would you like an armed guard to escort you to your car?"

# electoral politics

## Pre-Convention Discussion

THE MOST ENDURING characteristic of the socialist left in the U.S., especially in the last decade, has been its failure. Whatever encouragements the left has had, as in the widespread growth during the sixties of public action and protest around questions of race, sex, the university and, most dramatically, the Vietnam war, we have entered the seventies without unity and with only very weak organizations. Indeed, the sixties provide a real challenge in that despite massive anger generated around public issues and concerns, socialism has not become a serious public political question.

I. A DISCUSSION OF our future must begin with a recognition and comprehension of our past. Whatever differences exist among the various left groups, their basic assumptions and forms of activity have been essentially the same--on the one hand radical social criticism and education through demonstrations and protest, slogans, slide shows, lecture series, teach-ins; and on the other hand, radical social work such as draft counseling, strike support, abortion counseling, welfare rights and free clinics. At best, left groups have attempted to focus public attention on various issues through these activities, but the result has been mostly to contribute to presently existing and widely prevalent anger, frustration, cynicism, and outrage. We have not developed a visible, serious socialist political organization that could significantly effect any change in present policy let alone bring about a revolution. We have not contested for state power, nor have our programs been adopted by those who do. In other words, we have been socialist academics, opposition intelligentsia and indignant social critics, but we have not built a political movement.

Because most socialist groups have shared common forms of activity--education/protest and social work--socialist debaters have been preoccupied with the literary style of leaflets and slogans, but have suppressed a discussion of basic assumptions and forms of strategy. The net effect of this bickering and lack of basic discussion has been to divert us from our true purpose--a continuous dialogue with the working class as a whole. In a dialogue with working people of all kinds, we can and must develop our tactics, programs, visions in view of the wants and needs of our real constituency--and also learn to express ourselves clearly in a popular manner. Bickering with other socialist groups substitutes an abstracted and imaginary constituency for our real one, distorts our thinking and retards our development. If we are to escape from our present dilemma, we must create means of becoming engaged with the working class as a class (not just with individual workers) and focus our current internal and intergroup discussions on how most effectively to develop such a dialogue.

The main obstacle to this dialogue has been the split in our own thinking between "socialism" and "politics," a split without theoretical validity but with strong roots in American left wing tradition. This approach cannot see any way in action or organization to unite the real world of practical politics, State power, political parties and unions, the "dirty," "corrupt" aspect of life, with an essentially moralistic, idealistic and pure socialism. It has also been the acceptance of the Bourgeois notion that socialism is "foreign" and that socialists are "outside agitators"--and therefore external to capitalism--and that neither could develop from within the "American experience." The result was (and is) that socialists participating in politics have suppressed their socialism, trying to "move people to the left" (from behind) or else they have proclaimed their socialist sympathies, especially in relation to countries in far different circumstances, on large banners in small demonstrations isolated from the political attention, needs and activity of the people.

II RECOGNITION OF THE failures of American socialists must also include a discussion of the political consciousness and activity of the working class in the absence of a healthy socialist movement. It is not necessary for socialists to "agitate" the working class. The

This statement by Melissa Upton and Larry Lynn of the Chicago chapter begins a discussion about an electoral prospective for NAM. The proposal to enter the electoral arena is not a programmatic proposal. It is not a substitute for current educational and agitational activity around American imperialism, social service cutback, inflation or other issues. It is a proposed framework within which these issues can be brought together in a socialist perspective and state power can begin to be challenged. Electoral politics is seen here as a

means to reach large numbers of people, to make clear the need for a socialist party of all sections of the working class and to focus on the process by which the corporate capitalist class now legitimates its rule and enacts policy. We hope to print other arguments both for and against this perspective in the next issues of the paper so that some discussion of this question can be had at the National Convention in June (or July). Chapters and individual members, please send us responses. We will print all that we can.

working class is recurrently agitated and frustrated by the policies of the ruling class and by their lack of power to change these policies. The inaccessibility of the corporate bourgeoisie from public accounting of their actions and decisions in the sphere of investment, production and distribution is the most important characteristic of American political affairs. And, most importantly, in the absence of a socialist political movement, the intertwining of government and the corporations is left entirely to the control of capital and leaves the working class defenseless and fragmented.

The basic lack of a unifying focus for the activity of socialists has helped perpetuate the divisions within the working class. Without a critique and alternative, the basic exploitative relations of capitalism within the workplace and in private and public life stand unchallenged--and the major public discussions center around the competition of various sectors of the working class against one another

III. THE GROWTH OF A socialist party and movement depends on our ability to develop a socialist critique and program within a political context; in this country, as in most capitalist industrial societies, this means the arena of electoral activity. Self-determination and democracy have been identified with and understood through electoral activity throughout American history. This has become even more true as the centralization and concentration of business has permitted diminishing participation in the marketplace. The government is the only force capable of regulating and restraining business activity. But the government actually serves as the throne of capitalism and uses its powers to develop and carry out the policies of the corporate ruling class. The ability of the bourgeoisie to maintain and strengthen its power not despite but through the conflicting systems of representative electoral democracy and capitalist business enterprise will continue for as long as socialists cooperatively refrain from making it a two-



(divided in terms of urban vs rural, white collar vs blue collar, racial and ethnic conflict, high income vs low income, men vs women, etc.). Each attempt by one sector of the working class to struggle for its interest is defined through the government and marketplace as competitive and threatening to others. For example, a strike is seen as an attack on all other wage earners. Welfare is defined as a fight between unemployed and employed. Increased taxes for schools and colleges becomes a fight between "middle class" students and "blue collar" taxpayers.

Building a "multi-issue" movement or organization has been the way the movement has tried to solve this problem in recent years, but to no avail. This mechanical linking of issues has neither unifying principles nor a unifying arena of struggle--no place where each separate activity can be understood as part of a common struggle against capitalism. In effect the typical result has been to have our issues separated and each issue brought into the existing (liberal) electoral arena and explained by liberals as one more competing interest.

sided battle. And it is unlikely that a socialist movement will be able to present itself, no matter how good its program, either as politically viable or as a movement for the establishment of a real democracy, if it refuses to participate in the major democratic political institutions.

While it is true that socialists have participated in the electoral arena before, for the most part they have done so by splitting their socialism from their politics--either by working for "progressive" liberal democrats who could win or by running socialists strictly for educational purposes, disclaiming any intention of contesting for power. Such efforts serve only to strengthen liberal hegemony. A coherent approach to politics requires us to understand the place of electoral activity in the thinking and therefore acting of our constituency. For the working class, electoral activity is central to politics--it is the arena where interest groups bargain; it is where the spending of money, collecting of taxes and framing of laws appear to be regulated; it is where the political action is, or at least the accessible

Continued on Page 13

In the April Berkeley city council elections, the April Coalition, a group of organizations and individuals will run a slate of four candidates. This slate, and the platform it's supposed to run on, were chosen at public meetings in December and January in which many Berkeley leftists--both white and third-world--participated. The end result--a slate that includes two liberal Democrats--has left many socialists who participated in the Coalition wondering what went wrong.

#### THE COALITION BEGINS

The April Coalition was organized for the city council elections in 1971 by the groups and individuals (Berkeley's "emergent left community") that had supported Ron Dellums for congress in November, 1970. Three of the Coalition's four Nominees--Iloha Hancock, D'Army Bailey, and Ira Simmons--were elected.

In spite of their ties through Dellums to the Democratic Party, the formation of the Coalition appeared as a step toward independent left politics in Berkeley. It arose, as did Dellums, from the struggles of the 1960's by white and black new left in the East Bay. Some Coalition members had not participated in these struggles, but saw them as part of their own history. The Coalition was seen as a means of locally realizing some new left objectives. The heart of the coalition program was community control of police--a demand that came out of the 1969 Panther conference on fascism.

During their first two years on the council, Hancock, Bailey and Simmons were a minority beset by divisions among themselves. The Coalition was split between supporters of Hancock and the two black councilmen. Bailey and Simmons fought vigorously for hiring black people and for black community services, but they opposed Hancock on rent control and funding of the Women's Health Center. Their opposition on such issues was seen by whites within the Coalition, and also by some blacks, as a betrayal of the Coalition's original platform.

When it came to reorganizing the Coalition, several different groups remained--Hancock supporters who had continued as "the Coalition," white Berkeley leftists, including Berkeley NAM and a group sometimes called BAM (Berkeley Action Movement), and the Black Caucus, black community leaders united around a long-range program including national health insurance and a guaranteed annual income. While other groups became important as the Coalition developed--particularly Berkeley's "neighborhood organizers"--the initial struggle of the Coalition--whether or not to invite Bailey and Simmons--took place among these groups.

#### THE BAILEY-SIMMONS INCIDENT

The Hancock people were opposed to Bailey and Simmons, charging that they had betrayed the Coalition. One person argued that Bailey and Simmons had consistently failed to recognize "white interests." The Black Caucus, with the support of NAM and BAM, took such statements as denying the positive aspect of Bailey and Simmons' work on the council--their militant espousal of black interests--and argued that this work entitled them to be part of the Coalition.

The Caucus got its way. Bailey and Simmons were invited; They never showed up anyway. But the issue underlying the controversy--whether black people should get special recognition in Coalition programs and internal practice--recurred time and again. When a steering committee for the Coalition was formed, Hancock people, with "neighborhood people" supporting them, argued that the Committee's meetings should be open to anyone. The Black Caucus, with the support of the white leftists, argued that this would mean overwhelmingly white meetings. To avoid this, the committee should be elected and blacks be guaranteed equal representation with whites. Again, the Black Caucus got its way, but only by threatening to leave the Coalition.

The Hancock people were, however, coming from a direction of their own. In the context of the Coalition, equal representation for blacks and whites meant that the Black Caucus--one organization--would have power equal to the remaining organizations and individuals. And it had been the Black Caucus which in 1971 had inserted Bailey and Simmons on the Coalition slate. Thus, what was an issue of principled anti-racism for some was for others an issue of power between mutually distrustful groups.

#### REFORM AND REVOLUTION

The Bailey-Simmons incident raised an issue that was to recur throughout. In supporting the Black Caucus' position, members of the white left argued for class rather than interest group politics. As a small town in the midst of a world capitalist system, most of Berkeley's problems could not be solved without opposition to the capitalist system as a whole. The conflict between Hancock and Bailey and Simmons had

# SOCIALISM? in BERKELEY?!

been a predetermined struggle for scarce resources as long as it occurred in an interest-group perspective.

The left proposed that Coalition members see their special interests within a long-term commitment to creating working class unity and a nationwide socialist movement. This would make it possible to reach acceptable compromises while struggling to create a society in which such compromises would be unnecessary.

Against this, the Hancock people argued that the Coalition should be "issue-oriented" and not get involved in "ideology" or "rhetoric." During the debate over the principle of unity, someone from NAM proposed an amendment that included the phrase "ruling class," which Hancock herself denounced as "jargon." No one argued that socialism was undesirable or that a ruling class did not exist. Instead, Hancock people, with the support of many neighborhood organizers, argued that the main goal was to enact reforms in Berkeley. Talking about socialism would only lose the election.

Neither group answered the other's arguments. By the end of the nominating convention, the two groups were completely polarized. The Hancock people considered the white left irresponsible idealists, concerned about words, but basically unconcerned with reforms in Berkeley. The white left had taken to calling everyone who opposed them "liberals" from the actual liberal Democrats to the many independent "radicals" who identified with neither side.

#### PYRRHIC VICTORIES

About 125 people attended Coalition meetings to draw up principles of unity and adopt a platform. The white left and the Black Caucus, with a small majority, showing a willingness to do a lot of the work and using the threat of a walkout, dominated the early stages. The Principles of Unity directed the Coalition against "an economic and political system that maintains racial, sexual and class oppression in the city of Berkeley and in the nation." The Platform proposed far-reaching reforms--funding and services that would significantly aid working people and students in Berkeley--as well as a clear statement of the connection between Berkeley's problems and the world's.

But these victories had an unreal quality. Each left plank in the platform met fierce initial opposition, followed by the threat of a walkout, followed by trivial compromise. The same occurred in struggles over black representation. Everything was accepted--short, however, of a system of weighted voting during the nominations. But, as gradually became apparent to the idealistic white left, the nominations were the central issue.

With that in mind, members of BAM and NAM got together to organize a caucus to select left candidates. The Caucus, which was to include the white and third-world left, was organized around the two struggles that had dominated the Coalition--black representation and socialism. Anyone who agreed with the white left and the Black Caucus on these issues was invited to become part of the Left Caucus.

#### THE RON LAI INCIDENT

On Friday night before the Sunday Convention, the left caucus selected four candidates of its own. The Black Caucus arrived after the meeting had already started and proposed that the left support not only the blacks' candidate, Margot Dashiell, but also Ron Lai, an Asian, who could be paired against Ying Kelley, a Democrat on the other side's slate. Neither Dashiell nor Lai were willing to identify themselves as socialists.

Most whites were willing to go along with Dashiell. She was an independent black radical who had the backing of a left-wing black organization. But Lai had no support among Asians, was unfamiliar with the Coalition's programs and seemed to differ little from Ying Kelley. White leftists resented the pressure that the Black Caucus exerted on Lai's behalf. The left caucus had been set up to reconcile its long-term commitment to socialism with participation in the Coalition. Now it seemed the Black Caucus was using the left in a power struggle with Ying Kelley.

After two nights of bitter debate, Lai withdrew his candidacy. But the incident seriously damaged the alliance between the blacks and whites. Blacks ended up seeing the white left the way the Hancock forces did. The important thing was to form a united front around radical reforms, not to bandy about words like "socialist" and "revolution."

#### THE CANDIDATES

On candidate selection day over 1,200 people showed up. Most newcomers had been recruited by the Hancock forces--reportedly from among McGovern volunteers. The left had not been similarly successful. It was outnumbered about 650 to 400, with 200 somewhere in between.

The Hancock forces proposed a slate consisting of Margot Dashiell (supported by both sides), Ying Kelley, Peter Birdsall, and Veronica Fuchson. One candidate was selected at a time. The first three ballots went to Dashiell, Kelley and Birdsall. Between the third and fourth ballots, the Hancock forces indicated they would support Lenny Goldberg, a left caucus candidate, over Fuchson, their own candidate. Goldberg was the least outspoken of the left caucus candidates and had previously worked closely with Hancock.

The left caucus withdrew its other remaining candidate in favor of Goldberg who was nominated on the fourth ballot. The final slate left much to be desired. Birdsall and Kelley were both Democratic Party workers. Neither could be expected to help develop a socialist movement in Berkeley. Dashiell seemed the least radical of the blacks and Goldberg was the least socialist of the white left.

#### THE MILLER ENDORSEMENT

The white left's isolation has been confirmed and further aggravated during the first weeks of the campaign. Within the campaign committees, members of BAM and NAM have had little effect on the rightward drift of the Coalition.

During the first weeks the candidates have been seeking endorsements from leading Democrats. John Miller, a black Democratic assemblyman, endorsed all coalition candidates except Goldberg. Miller explained that Goldberg was a "radical ideologue," while the others were "liberal Democrats" and therefore acceptable. Despite an earlier decision not to accept mixed endorsements, Birdsall, Dashiell and Kelley and their campaign committees refused to reject Miller's endorsement.

The Miller endorsement, and the response to it, brought about a final meeting of the white leftists. For many the question was whether to run a separate campaign as socialists or to withdraw. Goldberg clearly would be isolated by Democrats close to or opposed to the Coalition. In this situation, Goldberg could treat his radicalism as an unfortunate accident that voters should not take seriously or he could make it the heart of his campaign. But Goldberg disagreed. He wanted to win. To further isolate himself by running a socialist campaign, he argued, would mean defeat for himself and would sacrifice his effectiveness as a councilman.

The same conflict that had divided the white left from Hancock and then from the Black Caucus now divided it from its own candidate. These events demonstrated the inescapable logic that prevails in an electoral coalition based simply on immediate issues and without a long-term commitment to building a socialist movement. Given the desire to win and to enact programs, the project of building an explicitly socialist movement--a project that will initially involve defeat--will be postponed indefinitely. Meantime, as is already happening, the once radical movement will find its success increasingly rewarded by a welcome into the Democratic Party--the traditional graveyard of radical movements. For Berkeley socialists the only viable alternative will be a long-term socialist coalition.

Continued on Page 13

# Wounded Knee

Continued from Page 2

- A: I think that's true. I think, too, that you have to understand whom he really represents. He doesn't represent the interests of the Indian people nor is he interested in representing that. He represents the ranchers, and the ranchers control almost all of the grazing land that the Indians own on the Pine Ridge Reservation. The Indian people who have called AIM in there are asking for an investigation of all the leases that have been given out over the past years. The people who hold the leases have a virtual dead-lock on these things. In fact, the Indian people control only 13% of their land base. It's one of the real issues. All of these things are attached to their request for an investigation and a re-election.
- Q: In the last couple of days the government cut the water, cut the electricity. It appears now that there is an attempt at starvation as a smoking-out device on the part of the authorities.
- A: We know that's exactly the case; but they're going to wait a long time and they're going to grow very old waiting for us to come out of there if they think that we can't live without food or water. They're going to change THEIR life style.
- Q: Will Wounded Knee become a permanent community?
- A: Regardless of what happens here, politically or otherwise, Wounded Knee is going to become a village, a self-supporting village. We feel very strongly about this, and this is why we're asking the people from all over the world to make a pilgrimage to Wounded Knee some time during this coming summer.
- Q: What kind of support would be useful to the efforts of the Indians at Wounded Knee?
- A: All kinds of skills are needed: marketing specialists, agriculture, carpenters, brick layers, road builders, air strip builders.
- Q: What about for the crisis that's occurring now?
- A: I think it's very important if we cannot be there in person, to support these people by either donating blankets, non-perishable food or money. Money especially, because they have made a commitment to buy the property which is 2½ million dollars for 13 acres from the existing owner, the existing white owner. That has been committed already and on this ground the village will be built.
- Q: How do you feel Wounded Knee has helped the Indian cause on a nation-wide basis?
- A: I think it has helped to unite the tribes from all over the country. Five years ago it would have been difficult to assemble Indians from every tribe in the nation. But certainly this issue, and symbolically Wounded Knee, has brought to the attention of the Indian people across the country and other people, other oppressed people, and people who are interested in freedom for people, the way in which America deals with minorities. They have looked upon Wounded Knee as one of the best places to have a confrontation. If one is to die under the fire power of the United States government, I too would choose to die at Wounded Knee.

Support is badly needed. Supplies and money should be sent to St. Paul AIM, 553 Aurora Ave., St. Paul, Minnesota 55103. The 24-hour number is (612) 224-4398. Specific needs are: generators, high-powered flashlights, two-way radios (hand held and otherwise), medical supplies, doctors, blankets; money (checks should be made out to Wounded Knee Fund). Please also send a telegram of support. ■



## Devaluation

Continued from Page 3

fraction of all the people who need jobs. Instead of redistributing income so that people could buy more the government artificially holds down production of consumer goods by ordering huge quantities of military goods. This way millions can be employed to produce waste and the quantity of consumer goods produced is kept down. This transforms a situation of potential surplus into a situation of actual scarcity. In short, the government, to avoid a crisis of unemployment, deliberately diminishes the productiveness of the economy by producing military goods. The money that is invested in producing military goods is not available for increasing the efficiency of civilian production. But it is the diminished civilian economy that must face the brunt of foreign trade competition and the deliberate impairment of productiveness makes that competition extremely difficult to meet. This is the reason why American goods face such difficulties in world markets. It is not that American workers are too highly paid or insufficiently productive, but it is because American capitalism, to save itself from an employment crisis, is forced to frustrate its own ability to produce goods in great abundance and with extraordinary technical efficiency. Whatever the outcome of the current international monetary disorders, the problems of the American economy are deepening. We now face the simultaneous intensification of foreign competition, inflation and an unemployment crisis. Many business forecasters are already predicting a new recession for 1974, and it could easily be more severe than the last one. It is important to bear in mind as we struggle to resist social service cutbacks, mounting unemployment, industrial speed-up and the other evils of the coming months that the problems we face result from the effort by the capitalist class to preserve a system that is so irrational that it must suppress its own ability to overcome economic scarcity. ■

## Foreman

### Review

Continued from Page 16

"I love all people," I explained, nervously voicing my moral self-righteousness.

"Well, we don't love you, you goddamn yankee. And we think we might kill you."

Needless to say, I was terrified. But I wasn't a yankee. And I proceeded to explain why I was down there. "I'm a socialist (I said for the first time in my life). I'm here because I think blacks and whites have got to get together to kick the fatass politicians out of office and the bigshot businessmen out of the country." And as I talked, I realized that I really believed what I was saying. For the next half hour, all of us talked about the south, about the "fat asses," about the problems "ordinary folks" faced. When they left, they wanted to shake hands. And next time the Klan marched through the black section of town, the man who had first spoken to me saw me in the crowd and waved.

That conversation began a long and painful process for me. It began a self-discovery that I'm not "different than everybody else." It began the realization that I'm not "better" than, or even much different from, those kids I had learned to call "poor white trash" in school--while I was favored by teachers because I was "bright." The fantasy of a revolutionary movement in which massive numbers of whites take part became a passion for me as I worked with unions and poor whites in North Carolina over the next several years. And I constantly discovered common roots. Listening to "mill people" think about the role of religion in their lives, I thought about the terrors of "southern religion" that had chained me (as they did Foreman) to "obedience" and "morality." I remembered--for the first time in many years, the "vacation" I'd had when I was two and a half, when my mother was sick and expecting my sister. I spent several weeks with my grandmother, in the poor white neighborhood in Charlotte in which she lived; she would take me in the mornings to show me the picture--in full color--of people burning in hell "because they'd been bad." Or, listening to school children talk about their experiences in school, I remembered the shame I'd felt in first grade when the teacher had "demoted" me to a "slow reading group" because I was "sloppy" in my coloring book.

I have more reason to feel in solidarity with Jim Foreman than I did in the most brutal days of the civil rights movement. We both are moved, out of different heritages, to revolutionary opposition. And I can understand and feel his future, voiced at the end of his book, "I am filled with visions of a new day, a world without racism, a Chicago without slums." ■



# Electoral Discussion

Continued from Page 10

part of it. Whether people are cynical or hopeful, disillusioned or active, disappointed or gratified or even indifferent about politics, electoral politics and the parties and people in it provide the only existing avenue to expressing these feelings in thought and action.

The dangers of participating in electoral activity are clear: a falling into the belief that state power can be won by socialists through elections, or the cooptation of socialist officeholders by the existing liberal state apparatus. Avoiding these dangers by keeping clear of electoral activity will no doubt keep us pure; unfortunately, it will also keep us removed from active engagement with the great mass of working people. The point is that any serious engagement in politics faces danger of cooptation because to become engaged must mean going into the current arenas of struggle, all of which are now dominated by liberals and liberal

ideology. For a socialist in a union this problem also exists. If you fight for and with the other workers, the workers will expect you to run for shop steward if the opportunity arises. Doing so involves the danger of becoming a part of the union bureaucracy, a mediator between the company and the workers, rather than a representative of the workers. But not doing so will mean that the workers will see you as frivolous, not serious about confronting power and struggling over practical matters. The electoral situation is analogous, particularly on the local level at this time.

Socialism does not come from thin air but is rooted in the potential of existing productive technology and social relations, which are suppressed by corporate class domination. Similarly, socialist consciousness and politics do not come from thin air but are developed from the experience and expectation of democracy inherent in electoral activity but suppressed by capitalist class hegemony. The essence of transformation is the idea of going across, through and beyond existing social forms. Transformation means beginning with the power relationships of our society as they are expressed formally in various existing institutions and traditions and working to move through the institutions to challenge, redefine and go beyond the relationships they now represent. Through electoral activity, socialists have a forum from which to analyze every event, whether a local tax assessment, or a major shift in foreign policy as an aspect of class

relations and capitalist oppression. All aspects of life are unified into a political struggle against capitalism and for the establishment of a socialist democracy. The various educational and social work activities not only are part of our concern for the immediate problems and needs of people, but become part of the attack against a regressive society. Union and other work-centered organizing, a complimentary focus of socialist activity which we leave to future discussion, is strengthened by the integration of struggles for workplace democracy with the political struggles for socialist democracy.

Through a synthesis of socialism with the traditional form of American politics, we can expose and develop the conflict between representative democracy and capitalism. We can also, as part of the process, create a constituency and movement much wider than the organizations and parties involved. The development of a class-conscious constituency committed to socialist principles is the basis for expanding politics and democracy beyond electoral activity. It is the basis of people's or workers' councils, and the expansion of democracy through the expropriation of capitalist state power and the private property that sustains it. Without such a constituency we will be relegated to that infamous but real "dustbin of history."

Melissa Upton and Lawrence Lynn  
Chicago NAM

## BERKELEY

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### THE APRIL 17TH ELECTIONS

After the left caucus meeting on the Miller endorsement, many leftists quit the Coalition. The Berkeley Tenants Organizing Committee withdrew its endorsement of the slate, subject to further discussion with the candidates. Berkeley NAM decided not to be active in the campaign.

As the election approaches, people are not optimistic about the Coalition's prospects. In 1971 the Coalition faced several other liberal and conservative candidates. This time they face a united slate of "moderate" Democrats. The absence of white leftists, who had previously done much of the campaign work, will make things even more difficult.

## MINNEAPOLIS

Continued from Page 5

A press conference was planned to announce the coalition. However, before the press conference could be held, the T-Party members called to say they had conferred with Norm Selby, the business executive who is chairman of the T-Party, and he didn't feel they could proceed with the coalition until the party could officially review it.

A second meeting was called to make plans. Again the same exhilarating experience of discovering common purpose was felt. Again a press conference was planned by those present. This time a press statement was written which read, in part: "We will no longer allow ourselves to be divided by labels like radical and conservative. We recognize that those of us who work in factories, offices and homes and own or rent homes have more in common with each other than with the corporate executives and government bureaucrats who try to run our lives for us."

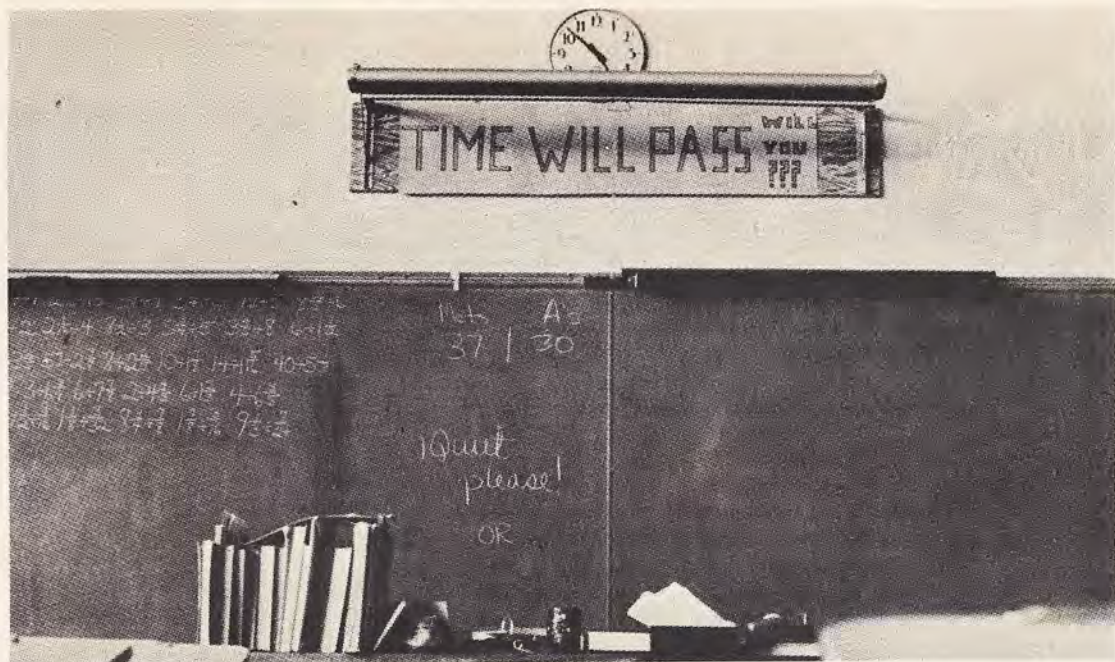
A NAM member conferred with the T-Party representative at 5:00 the night before the press conference and got a final OK on the statement. At 7:00 two members of the "respectable" left were summoned to an emergency meeting at T-Party Chairman Selby's house. He had seen an anti-stadium leaflet put out by NAM and remembered appearing last Spring on a TV debate with two NAM members. NAM was a "subversive" organization and the T-Party, which he said "supports the American way of life," could never be publically associated with such a group. He insisted the press conference be cancelled.

Nevertheless, left and right as well as a cross section of the Minneapolis working class appeared at a stormy public hearing and cheered each other's speeches against the stadium (Gordy Raup, speaking for NAM, appeared on a 1-hour televised recap of the hearings).

No further steps have been taken to announce a formal coalition. However, representatives from the left and right groups agreed to appear together at a

### NEWSPAPER COLLECTIVE

Fred Block  
Joan Bodner  
Kay Cole  
Barbara Easton  
Bob Jackall  
Lisa Murphy  
Jean Nute  
Joel Parker  
Jain Simmons  
John Steward  
Jim Weinstein



press conference to announce, without naming a coalition, that they will work jointly on a referendum campaign requiring all city bond issues for construction over \$15 million to be passed by a city-wide vote.

The coalition, formal or informal, represents an exciting possibility of creating a political formation which could unite various strata of the working class. It also poses certain dangers. The coalition is, to date, all white. Because of Minneapolis' small non-white population, visible black leadership tends to be liberal

and tied to the corporate elite. Indians, under AIM leadership, tend on the other hand to be highly nationalistic. Therefore both groups would tend to frown on any alliance with working class whites. Despite the difficulties, it is extremely important that the coalition begin to establish contact with third world people if it is to be a viable grouping. Strangely, many of the working class populists seem more receptive to this idea than some of the forces on the left.

Further complicating matters is the extreme fragmentation and disorganization of the left. Much of it is involved in very small community groups that make no attempt to raise issues beyond immediate neighborhood concerns. The right, on the other hand, is well-organized and has a city-wide political party to use issues to build on. If the left does not become better organized, radical community organizers may find that the only political alternative for those reached by emerging issues is to vote for the right.

LATE BULLETIN: 15,000 signatures were collected in three weeks on the referendum petition--5,000 more than necessary. The City Council is delaying accepting them on a technicality. We are going to court tomorrow to force them to act. A referendum will probably be held in 90 days.

# CHILE

Continued from Page 6

## WORKERS' PARTIES.

The workers had begun to organize in the mid-19th century. In spite of extreme measures taken by the employers and the liberal state, Chile is today the only country of South America which has had a century of working class organization, and, most significantly, political parties membered by and led by workers. The Communist Party was founded in the early twenties and the Socialist Party was founded in the thirties. They have had a steady coalition since then.

It is impossible to understand the startling recent events in Chile without keeping in mind the existence of a very adaptable liberal state system, civilian control of the army and the aggressive development of marxist parties membered and led by workers.

## FOREIGN PENETRATION

In those things Chile has been unique. However, it is not unique in its penetration by foreign interests. The huge copper mines and nitrate fields had been taken over by U.S. corporations and gradually U.S. interests penetrated almost every part of the economy except land. Why, then, has the U. S. not followed its established custom when other south of the border states have misbehaved? Why no military intervention? One obvious reason is that when the UP came to power, the U.S. was losing in its largest military intervention in Vietnam. Another reason is that even Richard Nixon hesitates to invade where all changes have come about through constitutional means.

Nevertheless, there have been extreme imperial measures taken against Chile. ITT was involved in trying to block the coming to office of President Allende, then of disrupting his first six months in office and also of breaking into the Chilean Embassy (using people later involved in the Watergate incident).

Kennecott Copper has gone even so far as to try to get Dutch, Belgium and French courts to place an embargo on copper sent to those countries by the newly nationalized copper mines.

The copper giants, Anaconda and Kennecott, and other foreign interests in Chile, controlled 80% of Chilean export value and earned as much as 200% in returns on their investments.

Further aggression against the Chilean people and their government has been organized on the level of international finance via the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. Credit has been cut by these U.S.-dominated agencies and for a time banks in Western Europe refused to extend credit.

## CRITICISMS FROM THE LEFT

There are many critics of Unidad Popular in Chile. Among them are those on the left. Both the Socialist and the Communist Parties have rebellious left groups within them. MIR, though apparently in disarray now, has been the critic farthest on the left and most active in organization. So far, all these groups have agreed that Unidad is moving too slowly in the takeovers of enterprises and in the infusion of funds into the existing public sector. It is hoped by UP that if they remain within the bounds of the Chilean constitution, they will not invite military intervention locally or from their "powerful neighbor in the north." The fear is that if UP breaks the rules, the old ruling class will break the rules and call in the military.

There are also the left critics, at home and abroad, who say that UP will have to resort to violence to protect its gains. Some of them maintain that since UP came to power through a bourgeois liberal electoral system, it is incapable of establishing even the precursor of socialism.

A recent criticism surfaced in Allende's own Socialist Party directed against what was called the 'go-slow' policy of nationalization and expansion of the state sector. Several factories taken over by workers during the October trucking strike were returned to private ownership. These socialist critics thought that since the workers had run the enterprises competently and the owners had put the national interest in jeopardy the factories should remain in the hands of the workers. Allende and Communist spokesmen in the government defended their policy, saying that the economy should be stabilized before further expropriation takes place. The dominant force in UP may be stalling partly because of the blows suffered by the economy by imperial embargoes and local sabotage. It may be that neither UP nor any other government could afford to expand through expropriation or investment at this time.

A reactionary engineer in Chile is quoted as complaining after the recent elections, 'trying to win is like throwing rocks at God.' This seems like an overstatement but, in view of the way the Allende government has seized control of the liberal state and has involved masses of workers and peasants in the new economy, it does seem as if it will take either serious mistakes, a badly split left or violent intervention to dislodge the Unidad Popular.



Everywoman / LNS

# british workers

Continued from Page 6

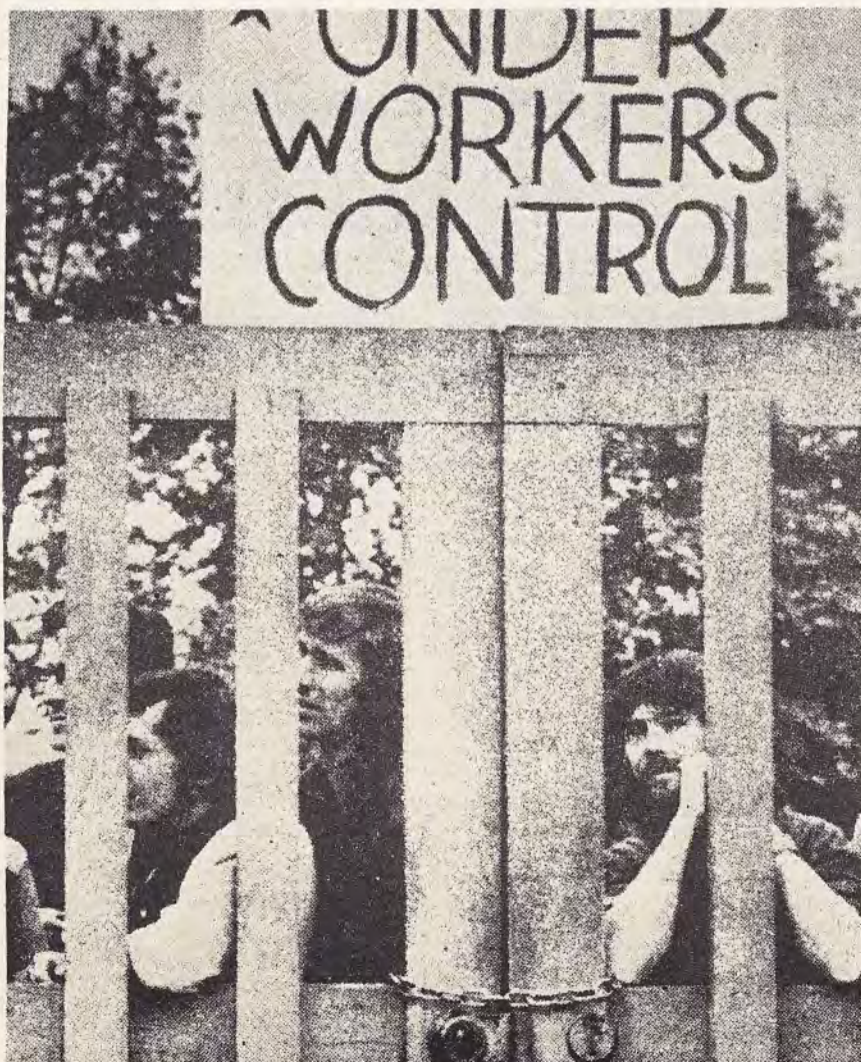
borders on the deliberately provocative. One of its first acts was to introduce the Industrial Relations Act into Parliament, an approximate equivalent of the American Taft-Hartley Act, that severely limits the legal rights to strike of trade unions and particularly shop-floor workers. Unfortunately, opposition to this Act was initially sidetracked by the issue of British entry into the European Common Market (EEC). The Heath Government offered an invitation to a so-called "Great Debate;" obligingly, not only the Labor Party but the entire British left joined in vociferous opposition to entry. This was not only futile (entry was naturally approved anyway in spite of highly adverse public opinion), but ideologically damaging since the left confused itself with a narrow, chauvinistic, flag-waving nationalism.

ONLY RECENTLY, THEN, has the British left been able to emerge from the dismal sequence of 1950's apathy, the 1964-70 Wilson Government and "debate" over the EEC. The present series of events started with that classic ill of capitalist economies, a high rate of inflation (at close to 6% the worst in Europe). Initially, the conservatives attempted to negotiate a wages and incomes policy with the TUC. In these talks the Government essentially refused to budge from a line of strict controls on wages with only "voluntary restraint" on prices. This left even the moderate TUC leadership with no choice but to break off the talks even though the Government was managing by clever public relations and advertising techniques to put the blame on the TUC. Heath then unilaterally introduced a three-phase wages and prices program very similar to Nixon's New Economic Policy. Phase I, a total freeze, was generally accepted. Confrontation has come with Phase II and implementation of the wage "guidelines."

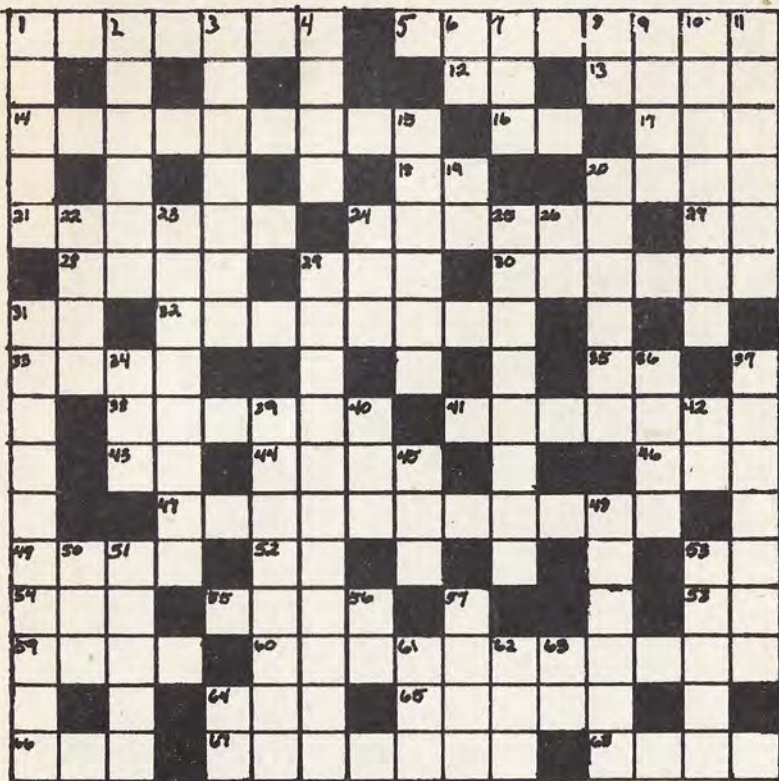
Major labor disputes broke out early in 1973, with strikes in the American-owned Ford plant and also in the gas industry (which is nationalized and hence directly under government control). Over the last month, the tempo has accelerated with strikes and slow-downs causing chaos on British Rail and London Transport. Strikes by non-medical hospital workers and nurses closed many hospitals to all but emergency cases; and strikes even in the traditionally conservative Civil Service, including Customs and Immigration workers, threatened to close many airports. Altogether 700,000 workers in public and private industry are involved in industrial action. The gas workers are still involved in slow-down actions and partial strikes (a total strike would create grave dangers of explosions). They will benefit greatly from the March 6th TUC conference, which, in addition to the call for a national strike, pledged support for all unions in conflict with the pay restraint legislation.

Heath has handled the situation in a high handed and arrogant manner and has not even attempted to hide the fact that his policies are intended as an attack on the trade unions. This has been an important factor in causing the widespread strikes.

The moderate leadership of the TUC, in the person of General Secretary Feather, have bemoaned the "inflexibility" of the Heath government and pleaded that it would be in the interest of "the nation as a whole" for the TUC and the government to get together, discuss the Industrial Relations Act and come to some compromise. Feather's defeat at the March 6th conference clearly shows labors growing unwillingness to compromise and its refusal to identify with the "national interest." In the past these moderate forces have effectively clouded the development of any widespread class-consciousness around major issues. Their defeat now symbolizes the opening of new possibilities for British socialism.



British workers occupy printing factory



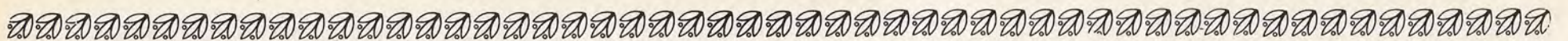
ACROSS

1. Boss of SSS under Johnson; was target of protests
5. A fine and venerable demand, needed a bit less nowadays
12. The slang title of a person processed by 1 across
13. Davenport a wide chair
14. The direction Nixon is trying to move working people
16. On the way up, it comes after 58 across
17. More than one of
18. Collective
20. A module, part, subsegment or entity
21. Topics
24. An enticing beginning with no follow through
27. Civil Engineer (abbr.)
28. What one plays with (two words)
29. I am, it is, you ----.
30. Kennecott is now fighting in French courts for copper that is ----.
31. Please repeat what you last said.
32. A tile-like flooring, but better.
33. A Japanese politician
35. A kind of current (abbr.)

38. Waif
41. To submissively love, along with others, as a group emotion
43. The formal leader of a group being entertained (abbr.)
44. An elevator brand-name
46. What every successful capitalist does "legally"
47. One who sells short on futures
49. Abbr. (abbr.)
52. Fifty suburbs in search of a city (abbr.)
53. Unit of distance (abbr.)
54. Black, gooey road-patching substance
55. The best way to travel in 52 across is holding onto one
58. A word found at the beginning of memos
59. According to Victor Hugo, it's unstoppable if it's on time.
60. Optimum construction material for children's houses.
64. A living leader of a successful revolution
65. When you get disgusted with the article you're writing, you ---- it.
66. To say yes with your head.
67. Not musical; not kept track of
68. Breadline

DOWN

1. If it involves heroin, hard to break
2. An illegal business
3. An American weapon used against Indochina
4. Three feet
6. Two thirds of an egg.
7. To accurately point a weapon
8. The nineteenth letter
9. When Gary Cooper and the sun got high together
10. Where paperwork is done
11. Paid for with cost overruns in Defense Department contracts
15. An author of "Monopoly Capital"
19. Each (abbr.)
20. Where aim is of the essence
22. A laugh sound
23. A polluter of cities
24. ---- la la
25. What liberals think will cure U. S. of our interventionism
26. Try 31 across instead
29. A strikebreaking tool of the government when it's binding
31. Bombing civilian targets more today than yesterday
34. A popular stomach medicine (singular)
36. A small wagon
37. Paid back
39. An inept, poor criminal, generally loathed
40. The egg of a head-lice, often picked at
42. The little word that comes before a verb
45. A sexist magazine
48. In a socialist society, what is done with the riches
50. Evil, awful, terrible, rotten
51. Money (slang)
53. Weak, about to crumble
56. The fourteenth letter



# the Farmworkers Health Health Group Program Column

professionals are available to plan the program with the people. Two other farmworker health facilities now exist--in Delano and in Calexico. The workers of Salinas Valley have been promised their health professionals soon.

United Farm Workers director, Cesar Chavez has

said: "Healing bodies while simultaneously healing the social ills that create conditions causing illness is truly a revolutionary and innovative approach to preventive medicine." The basic need of the Health Group is for people dedicated to people--doctors, nurses, lab and x-ray technicians, dentists, pharmacists, mid-wives--all who would contribute their medical skills while learning with the people what it means to be a community organized to live healthy lives.

For further information or if you would like to join in the great Health Campaign among Farmworkers contact:

Sister Pearl McGivney  
National Farm Workers Health Group  
Box 131  
Keene, California 93531  
(805) 822-5571

UNDER THE AUSPICES of the National Farm Workers Health Group, men and women of the fields are pioneering a health care delivery system that will make a significant contribution to the new national model to be developed. The Farm Workers Health Group Program is based on the fact that a strong union contract that brings decent wages and healthy living and working conditions does more to promote good health than all the doctors and medicines in the world. Preventive medicine grows from the awareness that healthy people are the product of a healthy life. And farmworkers are organizing to live healthy lives!

Health professionals have a new roll to play in this approach to rural medicine. Clinics are being "doctorized" and the myth of the sacred powers of the doctors is being dispelled by the sharing of knowledge and skills through "physician expanders." New roles for nurses, nurse practitioners and midwives are being developed. Training of farmworkers to serve as paramedics in the clinics, in the fields and in homes is an essential aspect of the plan. The staff acts as a team in which the health care consumers participate fully. The integration of traditional and modern medicine and of various cultural beliefs and practices is a hoped-for goal as the program develops.

Each Farmworkers contract negotiated provides for a ten-cent per worker-hour contribution by the employer to the Robert F. Kennedy Farmworkers Insurance Plan. A prepaid plan is then developed between the National Farm Workers Health Group and the Robert F. Kennedy Plan for the development of a health care program for the workers under contract. All out-patient ambulatory care is directly provided through the clinics, as is referral to specialists and hospitalization as needed.

Since farmworkers are organizing to take responsibility for their lives through the union, it follows that the enforcement of health and safety clauses in the contract are theirs to enforce. The Health Group is undertaking a campaign to educate the masses of people to carry health care into the field--to inspect sanitary facilities, to keep regulatory check on pesticide usage, to recognize need for medical attention, to promote and carry out basic preventive testing and diagnosis. With a strong, active representative ranch committee on each ranch under contract, there would be no problem of indifference, apathy or lack of participation on the part of the consumers. The Health Group is the Union is the Farmworkers!

This design is currently being carried out among the farmworkers of Fresno County. A core team of pro-

by Harry Boyte

I first met Jim Foreman when he came to our house near Monroe, North Carolina, towards the end of the summer in 1961. Freedom Riders had come to Monroe to help the civil rights movement that was led by Robert Williams. Williams was an amazingly brave man who urged armed self defense against both police and white repression. My father had maintained contact with Williams and had helped in the movement. Many of the Freedom Riders were camped on our lawn during the "hot" period of mounting white violence against the black community.

Foreman had a huge bandage on his head, covering a wound he had received in the city. I remember being impressed with him as a strong man possessed with determination. When he left Monroe he suggested that I write him in the future to tell him what I was doing. Maybe he was curious to see how the Monroe events and the growing southern movement would affect me, a young white southerner. Before they left, several Riders, with whom I'd become friendly, suggested I get some friends together and picket segregated businesses downtown. I couldn't tell them, but the idea scared me and made me feel ashamed--I had been frightened all summer that my friends would "find out" about my very marginal involvement and I was certain that I would have no friends left if I picketed. Out of my embarrassment I never wrote Foreman.

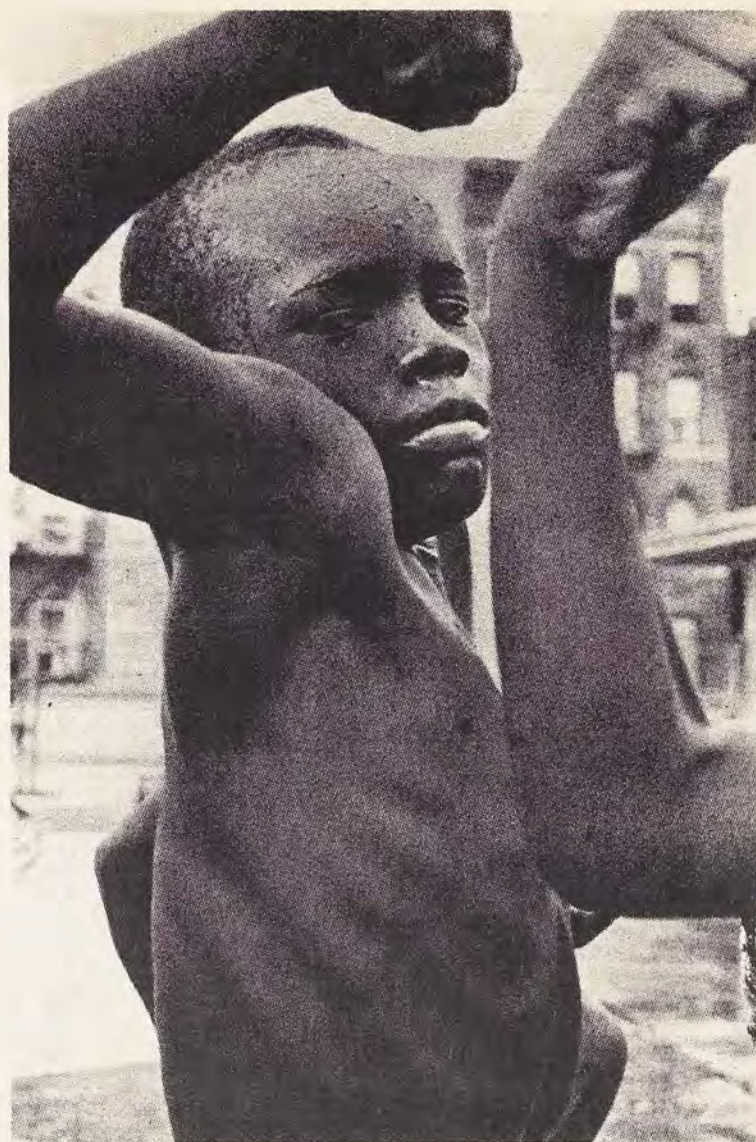
James Foreman's book is the story of his "self-creation in the process of struggle." It's an intense account of his experiences and reactions as a black man growing up in the United States, of his long involvement with SNCC, and of his emerging politics. Inseparably, it is also an account of the civil rights movement "from the bottom"--a detailed narrative of SNCC, its campaigns, its successes and its final disintegration. The book has weaknesses--most important is its failure to deal with the oppression women experienced in SNCC and the civil rights movement in general (in more intense form). Yet his history is a sort of call to awareness--a challenge to understand how masses of people come to revolutionary opposition to the American reality and a summons to reflect upon our own experiences.

Foreman begins with the story of his life, from childhood to early manhood. Several themes struck me with special force: the bitter and deep gulf between him as a black male and "white society;" his growing rebellion, an angry, militant assertion of his humanness, a refusal to submit to any label of inferiority; and his deep roots in the black community. "Refusal to submit" became for Foreman increasingly central to his identity. As he describes it, "Conscious submission to racism seemed to me worse than death. It killed a person's spirit. It took a little from him each time he knew he should not submit--and did." Yet running as the constant counterpoint to his personal rebellion was his consciousness of being a part of a people. While recounting the Little Rock desegregation, he remarks on the pride he felt in the young children who faced daily threats. The Montgomery bus boycott was for him, and other blacks around him, the dawning of a new era, a period of massive struggle. People in bars would comment with excitement, "at least the people in Montgomery are sticking together." And he writes of his own reactions, "The boycott woke me to the real possibility of building a nonviolent, mass movement of Southern black people to fight segregation."

Foreman's consciousness of his roots in the feelings and hopes of "his people" contrasted with my own experience as I became involved in civil rights. I felt most acutely an isolation from my peers. I was "different" from my friends, from my community, from some members of my family and proudly so--and I was driven to assert that difference as an individual act of defiance. In my senior year, I withdrew from the state track meet to "protest the segregated athletic system" in North Carolina, partly I think to purge the shame and humiliation I had felt the year before, when my fear of my friends' reactions made me "forget" what I believed in deeply. That was an act I made in loneliness, expecting few to understand, feeling morally "superior" to those who would not understand. A year later, in St. Augustine, Florida, I remember feeling "at home" only in the black community, and yet not at home. I fantasized a future place for myself in a "white" movement--but gave it up as a fantasy. Why, I thought, would whites rebel?

Foreman movingly captures much of the spirit of the early sixties. It was a time when it seemed history itself stood still, when each act was drama. It was a time of heroics, a time of individual actions that acquired great force through the fusion of the individual and the collective. "I registered so that my children could get their freedom," explained a woman who had since been kicked off her land,

# THE SIXTIES SOUTH



"I registered so they won't have to stand around at the back door like I stood in the rain and cold and Mrs. McNamee sat in the front until she got ready to come back to see what I wanted." And in reaction to night riders who had fired through the tent in which she lived: "You know, people like that--they can't turn me around. You can drown this old body, but you can't harm my soul. I gone too far. . . I came down too many roads."

The SNCC staff reflected that courage and intense sense of mission. It was "anti-capitalist by its very existence," to quote Foreman. Rebelling against American racism, American materialism, American corruption, SNCC found itself constantly at odds with "conventional wisdom" and the established forces for change in America--the "liberal-labor left, in Foreman's words. Its staff lived on 25 dollars a week. They lived and worked with the poorest folk of the deep south and rebelled against the myths of "leadership," of the "communist menace" and "political realism." Foreman is highly critical of SNCC's lack of internal political debate and discussion, and of the growing influence in SNCC of northern middle class young people, who romanticized the poor, rejected all form of leadership and "did only what they felt like." His criticism makes sense. Like myself, many others among the white middle class joined the struggle, not only in protest against racism, but in an effort to "get away from" the paralysis in the lives we had lived, the casual hypocrisies, the boredom, and the loneliness. We were freed by that movement as well, opened to a new sense of history and community, a vision of an order in which each person's every word, every relationship is vital. "Something has happened here in Southwest Georgia," wrote a SNCC field secretary, describing the mood of poor southern blacks--but also the mood of countless "organizers." "We go about our way feeling in the darkness. . . And the world listens and looks on."

SNCC's progression to black consciousness and "black power" reflected a growing discovery among blacks in the organization, and in the country, of their heritage and their strength. After the Mississippi project in 1964, the first group of SNCC workers travelled to Africa. There they experienced a liberating sense of their origins and the necessary connection between the struggle in Africa and the American movement. That solidarity grew increasingly strong through the next several years, leading Foreman and others to voice their confidence in the Blacks' power to determine their struggle alone, and to voice a challenge to whites to return to their communities.

For me and many others that challenge fit into a process of self-discovery that was just beginning. I first "realized" I was a socialist at the end of the summer of 1964, in St. Augustine. I had gone to the county jail several miles out of town to visit a friend. As I went back to the car several Klansmen and a woman cornered me next to the door of the jail.

"You're one of them nigger-lovers," said a short man with a red face and a stick in his hand.

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