

NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

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NAM Impeachment Actions

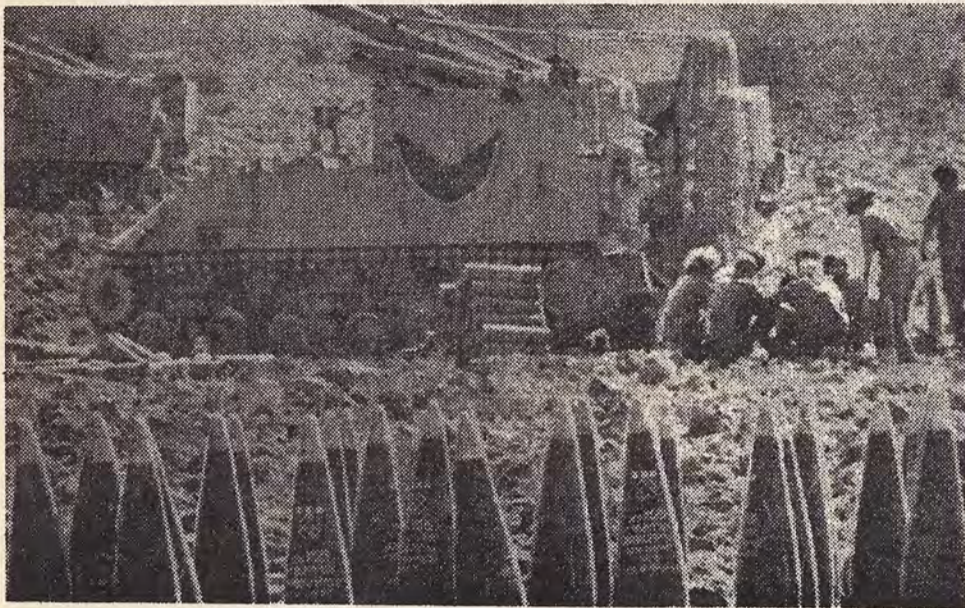
NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

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ISRAELI HOWITZERS IN SYRIA

Mideast Power Play: Palestinians Lose

by the Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP)

THE CURRENT fighting in the Middle East between Israel and the Arab states poses yet another challenge to President Nixon's Doctrine of "stability and world order." The Nixon Doctrine, based on "negotiation, partnership, and strength," is designed to maintain American political and economic hegemony throughout the world. Nixon has sought to avoid the dangerous overcommitments of Johnson's foreign policy, and to take into account the interrelated nature of United States worldwide interests.

This approach, developed by Henry Kissinger, attempts to deal with threats to American interests, particularly from popular revolutionary movements in Third World countries by attempting to induce the USSR and the People's Republic of China to keep hands off (negotiation), by supplying military and technological aid to regimes that will protect American interests (partnership), and by continuing to threaten the use of nuclear weapons if an American ally is attacked by a hostile nuclear power (strength). In the Middle East, Israel and Iran have been the cornerstones of this strategy.

In the Persian Gulf, American interests means oil. This region has some two-thirds of Europe's oil and 90 percent of Japan's. American companies control 100 percent of Saudi Arabian oil, 50 percent of Kuwaiti oil, and 40 percent of Iranian oil.

U. S. oil companies have over \$2 billion invested in the Gulf and the U.S. balance of payments is bolstered by more than \$1 billion in oil profits remitted annually from oil in the Gulf. In 1967 the U. S. imported only 15 percent of the oil it consumed, but now it imports 36 percent of oil consumed. In Europe and Japan, where the U. S. has major investments, oil consumption is increasing at the annual rate of 9 to 14 percent. Only the Middle East has known reserves sufficient to meet the ever increasing demands of the industrialized nations.

The Nixon Doctrine calls for the building up of "partners" in a particular region of the world to maintain American interests and do their dirty work while the U. S. supplies the necessary training and equipment. In the Persian Gulf, Iran is America's "guardian" assisted by Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. In 1953, a

CIA-directed coup d'etat overthrew the popularly elected government of Dr. Mohammed Mossadeq which had nationalized Iranian oil. The Shah was installed as ruler of Iran and the U. S. poured military (and economic) aid to Iran. With the aid of other client states in the area, Iran's task is to prevent revolutionary movements from threatening American interest. Since a successful revolutionary struggle in the area would also undermine the Shah, he has gladly taken on the task.

Just as Iran serves as the "guardian" of American interests in the Persian Gulf, Israel, aided by Jordan, has served as America's "policeman" in the Eastern Mediterranean. By the early 1950's Israel was generally recognized as the "watchdog" of Western interests in the Middle East. The importance of this job grew, in the eyes of the United States, after the 1956 Suez crisis when Israel proved its military superiority over Egypt. The decline of Britain's power and the increasing autonomy of the Arab states from Western control during the 1950's and early 1960's formed the basis for Israel's role.

The June 1967 war provided an even more dramatic example of Israel's willingness and ability to "police" the neighboring Arab states. Led by Nasser, Egypt was the source of dissidence and rebellion in the Middle East prior to 1967. Arming of reactionary monarchies in the Persian Gulf predated the Nixon Doctrine, but arms alone could not blunt the appeal of Egypt's determination to oppose Western imperialism through Arab unity. Egypt was powerful enough to restrict the United States to a relatively low level of visible involvement in the affairs of Arab and non-Arab client states alike. A crippling offensive against Egypt was required. Israel, facing serious internal economic problems and increasingly hostile relations with Syria as a result of Palestinian commando attacks, decided that war with the Arab states could solve its problems.

By winning the 1967 war so decisively Israel's value as the defender of American interests was demonstrated again. American troops could never have furthered U. S. goals so well or at such small cost and risk as the Israeli forces. By knocking the props out from under

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energy crisis? a bum deal...

ANOTHER HOAX

by Economic Research Group
Middlesex NAM

IT'S TIME-OUT during Sunday afternoon's pro football game, and on comes the commercial. It's Bud Wilkinson, former coach of great teams at the University of Oklahoma, speaking to us for Exxon. He is there to explain how, if we drive our cars at 50 miles per hour instead of 60, we can save four gallons of gasoline every 250 miles. Isn't that something. "Exxon," he says, "believes that together we can keep things moving."

This message is simply a new form of an old idea that is sold to people in this country over and over again: when there are problems in the United States, it is the people who are at fault. The big corporations are supposedly doing all they can—in spite of the greedy Arabs and the ecology nuts—to solve these problems.

However, with the "energy crisis" the effort to blame shortages on fast driving and supposed greediness of the people is only a small part of the hoax being perpetrated. Insofar as there is an immediate energy crisis, it is not nearly so severe as the daily deluge of concern would have us believe. Furthermore, the "crisis" was surely anticipated and allowed to develop, if not actively created by the oil companies and the government.

The idea of an energy crisis is not so hard to sell. Throughout the 1960's the United States accounted for about 34 percent of the total world use of energy. During that decade, per capita use of energy in this country rose steadily at a little over three percent a year, or at about the same rate as per capita gross national product. Except for Canada, which consumes energy at a per capita rate 80 percent that of the U. S., no other nation uses even 60 percent as much energy per capita as we do.

This growing use of energy does move the U. S. ever closer to a real energy crisis, but such a crisis has not yet arrived. To be sure, there was a shortage of gasoline this summer and there may not be enough fuel oil this

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One Dealer's View

by Dan Marschall
Berkeley NAM

IT LOOKED LIKE A typical rush hour scene: honking cars lined up for blocks with traffic cops trying to maintain order. But it was 2 a.m. at one of the few all-night gas stations in the San Francisco Bay area. The next day was the beginning of a four-day shutdown of some 9400 gas stations in Northern California. Motorists were frantically filling their tanks with every drop of gas they would hold.

Such shutdowns have spread across the country since mid-September in protest to the government's freeze on retail gasoline prices. Faced with a steady increase in the wholesale price of gas charged by the major oil companies, independent service station dealers are beginning to fight back. I interviewed one of these boycotting dealers to get his views on the current "gas shortage" and to find out exactly where he stood in relation to the big oil companies.

He runs one of the few gas stations in the Bay area that has been able to survive and prosper throughout the "gas shortage." That he's been in business for four years is an accomplishment in itself. More than half of the independent dealers in California go out of business within the first year.

"It's designed that way by the major oil companies who own the properties leased to the independents," he said. "It's really a conspiracy against the independent businessman. If he succeeds, he's a liability; if he fails, he's an asset."

A dealer cannot possibly survive on the sale of gas alone. A few years ago, the normal procedure was for dealers to sell as much gas as possible through promotional gimmicks such as triple blue chip stamps. The dealer, of course, paid most of the bill for these gimmicks.

But as the dealer sold more gas, his operating expenses increased tremendously: he had to hire more help and pay more rent as a percentage of the gallons that were pumped. If he was lucky, he could make a few pennies profit per gallon and break even. In many cases, however, the business went bankrupt.

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Photo by Joan Bodner

Mideast

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Egypt's position of influence in the Arab world, Israel opened new channels of action for the United States. The war also stimulated Israel's economy through a massive inflow of capital.

There were other benefits from this action: the constraint of feared reprisals from oil monarchies collapsed when an oil embargo failed. (The failure was at least partially due to Iran's refusal to participate in the embargo.) And, the Suez Canal closure kept the expanded Russian fleet bottled up in the Mediterranean just as Britain was abandoning its positions in the Persian Gulf.



EGYPTIAN SOLDIER NEAR THE FRONT LINES IN THE SINAI

The lines were 10 and one half miles east of the Suez Canal in the Sinai Desert

PALESTINIAN MOVEMENT

The present fighting grew out of Israel's victory in the 1967 war and two other events since then that fundamentally changed the Middle East: the emergence of the Palestinian Resistance Movement and the death of Nasser. Israel captured large amounts of Arab land: the Golan Heights from Syria, the West Bank territory and Jerusalem from Jordan, and the Gaza Strip and the Sinai from Egypt. These areas became known as the occupied territories and were put under the control of the Israeli military headed by Defense Minister Moshe Dayan.

In the year following the war, the Palestinian Resistance Movement emerged as a new political force in the Middle East. Prior to this time the Palestinians had been virtually ignored by all others even though their homeland had been conquered and occupied. The growth of the Resistance, viewed with alarm in Israel and the United States, was initially supported by the Arab states as a way to ease the stigma of their defeat.

By the spring of 1970 the Arab regimes, particularly Jordan, began to have second thoughts about the desirability of an armed autonomous Palestinian force whose interests did not always coincide with their own. For one thing, as the left groups within the Resistance moved from Arab nationalism toward Marxism, they came to define the enemies of the Palestinian people not only as Zionism but also as Western imperialism and reactionary Arab regimes. In Jordan, this meant the overthrow of the monarchy, the seizure of state power, and the creation of 'liberated zones.' Further development of a popular revolutionary movement among the Palestinian people might encourage similar movements among their own oppressed populations. To the Israeli government, which had never even recognized the existence of the Palestinians as a people, such a movement could only be discussed in terms of "terrorists" without any legitimacy as the representative of a people's aspirations. For the United States, the Resistance was a threat to the "stability" of the region.

By the spring of 1970, the Palestinian movement was opposed not only by Israel and the United States, but also by the Arab regimes that had previously given support. In Jordan, where two-thirds of the population are Palestinians (mostly refugees from the 1940 and 1967 wars), there were almost daily clashes between the army and the Palestinian commandos. At this juncture, the United States proposed a ceasefire to end the sporadic fighting between Israel and the Arab states. The purpose was to implement the 1967 United Nations resolution calling for Israeli withdrawal to the pre-June 1967 borders in return for Arab recognition of Israel.

In effect, the U. S. was asking Jordan and Egypt to control the Palestinians in return for Israeli withdrawal. In what has since become known as "Black September" the Jordanian army attacked and defeated the Palestinian forces in September, 1970. This was accomplished with the active support of supposedly antagonistic forces: Egypt, whose acceptance of the U. S. Plan signalled to Jordan that it would not interfere with the planned slaughter of the Palestinian movement, Israel, which mobilized its forces on the Jordanian border prepared to invade should the Resistance not be defeated, and the United States, which conducted a massive airlift of supplies and ammunition to the Jordanian army and mobilized the sixth fleet for possible intervention.

Immediately following the Palestinian defeat, Nasser died and Sadat came to power in Egypt. The death of Nasser marked the beginning of a significant shift to the right in the Arab world. Sadat made peace with the conservative, oil-rich states, particularly Saudi Arabia, and began a purge of leftist and pro-Soviet elements in his government. This was followed by the ouster of the Soviet advisors in 1973. Sadat's purpose was to gain the support (financial and political) of the anti-communist Arab monarchies and to indicate to the U. S. that Egypt was ready to negotiate a settlement with Israel.

The problem was that Israel was neither ready nor willing to negotiate a settlement on anything but complete surrender by the Arabs. This meant that Israel wanted to keep all or most of the occupied territories and gain recognition from the Arab regimes. Sadat, believing the U. S. could and would influence Israel to come to more favorable terms, continued to press the U. S. through the U. N. and through emissaries to a number of countries. Egypt was able to get the support of the smaller and poorer countries of the world, some sympathy from the Europeans, talk but no action from the Soviets, and an American veto over any U. N. action. Israel remained unmoved.

EGYPT'S LOSSES

In Egyptian eyes the situation was becoming critical and options were being narrowed. Israel continued its refusal to negotiate with the Arabs on any terms but complete surrender. Right-wing annexationist forces had gained more popular support as well as an increased voice in the Israeli government. Simultaneously, Israel had increased its colonization and annexation (de facto) of the occupied Arab lands. Close to 100 kibbutzim, moshavim, nahals, and other settlements had been built in the occupied territories. Over \$100 million worth of oil was being pumped out of the Sinai each year and in 1972, 30 percent of Israeli exports to the Common Market were refined oil products.

In Egypt, opposition to Sadat and his policies continued to grow. The economy of Egypt was in poor shape and not getting better. Action had to be taken. With the failure of the diplomatic initiative in the spring, Sadat turned to the other Arab nations for support, particularly Saudi Arabia, which was ready to back him. Through the support of the Saudis, Sadat hoped to neutralize the United States with the threat of an oil boycott and also to gain the necessary financial backing for a long struggle. Agreement

with the Saudis was followed by a unity pact with Syria and reopened diplomatic relations with Jordan as a first step in re-establishing the "Eastern Front" against Israel, a move that allowed Syria to withdraw troops from its border with Jordan.

WHY THEY ATTACKED

The Egyptian and Syrian attack which began on October 6 is the result of several factors. All of Egypt's diplomatic attempts had failed. The Israeli's were daily increasing their hold on the Arab territories. Internal conditions in Egypt-economic problems, continuing opposition to Sadat's policies despite widespread arrests-were forcing Sadat to take some form of action. The only option left seemed to be a military attack on Israeli forces in the occupied territories, and for a number of good reasons. If the Egyptians gained control of the east bank of the Suez canal, at minimum the canal might subsequently be reopened and increase Egyptian revenues by \$250 million a year. Regaining control of the east bank would also include many of the oil fields. Finally, a prolonged struggle in the occupied territories in which the Arab armies performed well, whether or not they won, could only favor the Arabs, for the longer the fighting the greater the risk of fracturing the U.S.-USSR detente and the greater the possibility of an Arab oil embargo led by Saudi Arabia. The U. S. would then be under great pressure to force the Israelis to come to a settlement.

THE FUTURE

It is impossible to predict what will happen, but several points should be kept in mind. The myth of Israeli military invincibility and Arab military ineptness are shattered. Oil-rich Persian Gulf states can no longer be kept separate from the Arab-Israeli conflict. The ability of the United States' policemen in the Middle East, Iran and Israel, to fulfill their role is open to question. Israel apparently miscalculated Arab capability, and members of the government will have to account for this mistake. In Israel many heads will roll. The reverse is true for Egypt, assuming some kind of negotiations begin. Any movement toward a settlement can only strengthen Sadat and the present ruling clique in Egypt.

Most important, the struggle in the Middle East is not over. The central issue of the Middle East conflict, the self-determination of the Palestinian people, has thus far been ignored by all participants. Both the Arab states and Israel have implicitly agreed to limit the issues to the occupied territories and recognition of Israel by the Arabs. This was the essence of the 1967 U. N. resolution 242, and of the trade-off in the American plan in 1971. Both failed to produce a lasting settlement. The Arab regimes would like the Palestinians to go away quietly. Israel has never even recognized the Palestinian's existence as a people with the right to self-determination. But until the rights of the Palestinian people are recognized and justly met, no real peace will be possible in the Middle East. ■

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.

For more information on NAM, please write:

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Minneapolis, MN 55406
612-333-0970

NEWSPAPER:

New American Movement Newspaper
388 Sanchez Street
San Francisco, CA 94114

IMPEACH NIXON

NAM, IN ASSOCIATION with the People's Party, the National Students' Association, and the Movement for Economic Justice, has called for coordinated local grassroots activity for impeachment beginning November 10 and continuing through the month. Such activities should be sponsored by broad coalitions of working people—students, women, labor, third-world, and consumer groups. Local actions around the country may include demonstrations, town meetings, teach-ins, peaceful rallies at congressional headquarters, and petition campaigns in communities and workplaces. Every effort should be made to obtain broad media coverage. We see this as the beginning of a long-term fight against corporate tyranny that can bring about a major realignment of popular forces. We feel huge numbers of people are losing faith in what they see as the democratic process and are increasingly open to socialist analysis and ideas.

CHILE COUP U.S. PRESSURE DOES THE JOB

by David Plotke
Berkeley NAM

DURING THE COUP against the Popular Unity government of Chile, thousands of people who resisted the military were killed. Factories and schools which were centers of pro-government activity were destroyed from the air. Several entire poor and working-class neighborhoods were levelled. Since the coup, intense repression has continued. Estimates of the number of deaths range up from 15,000. In some ways, the repression is more like the massacre that occurred in Indonesia in 1965 than the "normal" military coups in Latin America.

The coup followed years of planning by leaders of right-wing political parties, leaders of the business and landowning classes in Chile, and the military. It is clear that the U. S. government and corporations with investments in Chile played a major role in creating economic difficulties by denying credit, trying to build a blockade around Chile (preventing Chilean exports and imports of needed equipment), and sabotaging production.

The extent of direct American involvement is not yet clear, but there's considerable evidence to suggest that it was substantial. The U. S. ambassador, Nathaniel Davis, spent the weekend before the coup in Washington and then flew back. Many of the people on the embassy staff in Santiago had CIA connections and experience with U. S.-sponsored coups in other countries in Latin America. There is evidence that U. S. funds subsidized the long truck owners' strike which took place before the coup.

The question of immediate U. S. responsibility is secondary given the years of anti-Allende statements by this government, ITT-CIA plotting to prevent Allende from taking office, and the attacks on the Chilean economy. The new military government has extended a warm welcome to American business, and has received offers of loans from the World Bank and other agencies that the U. S. dominates.

American corporations are a little cautious about immediately returning to Chile. They are right to have doubts about the stability of the new government. For despite the brutal repression, resistance continues in both military and non-military forms. The intensity of the repression testifies in part to the strength of the socialist movement and the working class.

The Popular Unity government was elected in 1970 with the support of workers and poor peasants. After the election, the government instituted a wide variety of reforms which began the process of freeing Chile from the control of American corporations and their allies in Chile. This control had meant the exploitation of Chile's natural resources, particularly copper; the stagnation of agriculture, to the point that a fertile country, which at one time produced a surplus, was forced to import heavily; limited industrial growth; and constant inflation combined with massive unemployment.

The Allende government took control of important sectors of the economy, particularly mining. The standard of living of working people and peasants

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THE FIRING OF Cox and Ruckelshaus and the resignation of Richardson has precipitated a new crisis of confidence in the Nixon administration. Thousands, even millions, of Americans want Nixon to be impeached. Some liberal Democrats and Republicans have said they will demand that Congress act. But the process of deciding to impeach a president, and then of convicting him, is drawn out and difficult. Nixon will use every means to fight against his ouster. Massive popular pressure is the only guarantee of Nixon's departure and is the only way we can prevent the continuation by Nixon or his successor of the policies and practices that have characterized his administration.

Nixon's role in Watergate was part of his attempt to eliminate opposition to the unpopular policies that he was pursuing—continuing the war in Indochina, cutting social services, and controlling workers' wages while profits soared.

Impeachment is and can be directed not only at his role in Watergate but also at these policies. It should be seen as a means of recalling from office a president who in all his policies has defied the needs of working people and attempted to remove us completely from the process of decision-making.

An impeachment campaign can also be an opportunity to build a socialist movement. Nixon's major foreign and domestic policies were attempts to protect a system that was in trouble both at home and abroad—a system in which our lives are organized around the need of corporations to expand their profits. Democrats, no less than Republicans, are committed to preserving capitalism. And, like Nixon, they will find themselves forced to take unpopular measures to preserve it, and then to suppress opposition to those measures. We have to show people that the only way of finally eliminating Watergates and the kinds of policies that Nixon pursued is by building a socialist movement that will eliminate capitalism.

—The Emergency Committee of the NIC

U. S. INVOLVEMENT IN CHILE

The full story of U. S. involvement in the Chile Coup will take years to emerge. As the following chronology shows, the Nixon Administration, in cooperation with certain U. S. corporations, actively promoted economic collapse in Chile to pave the way for a takeover by the military and by right-wing forces.

SEPT. 4, 1970—Allende elected president.

SEPT. 15, 1970—State Department authorizes U. S. Ambassador in Chile "to do all possible—short of a Dominican Republic type action—to keep Allende from taking power."

SEPT. 29, 1970—CIA contacts ITT with proposal to prompt economic chaos in Chile; to pressure Christian Democrats to vote against Allende's confirmation.

FEB. 1971—U. S. increases aid to Chilean military. By Feb. 1974, \$45.4 million will have been granted (double amount for previous four years).

AUG. 1971—U. S. denies Export-Import Bank credits to Chile—first step in strategy of "credit blockade."

OCT. 1971—ITT vice-president requests CIA cooperation in putting "economic squeeze" on Chile through denial of international credits and ban on copper imports to U. S.

JAN. 1972—Nixon formalizes hard-line policy against Chile, including refusal by U. S. to renegotiate Chilean debts with its European creditors.

FEB. 1972—Kennecott and Anaconda embargo assets of two Chilean agencies in New York, forcing Chile to pay off loans contracted in 1967.

MAR. 1972—Jack Anderson reveals memos implicating ITT in assassination of Gen. Schneider and stating ITT's offer of money to overthrow Allende. (According to memos, Kissinger was aware of negotiations.)

OCT. 1972—U. S. Navy holds maneuvers off Chilean coast—the first attempt at a coup.

APR. 1973—U. S.-Chile debt renegotiation talks break down, U. S. demanding compensation for nationalized industries.

JUNE, 1973—Three Chilean right-wing leaders in Washington just prior to abortive coup of June 29.

SEPT. 1973—U. S. Ambassador to Chile meets with Kissinger; returns to Chile on Sept. 9.

SEPT. 10, 1973—U. S. Embassy in Santiago receives word that coup will occur next day. No U. S. attempt to warn Allende.

SEPT. 11, 1973—Military coup overthrows Chilean government, assassinates Allende. Increased U. S. Air Force activity reported at Argentine border.

FOR MORE INFORMATION: "Chile: The Story Behind the Coup"
NACLA's Latin American and Empire Report, October 1973, 75 cents
NACLA, Box 226, Berkeley, California 94701



LETTERS

Dear People,

I found it incredible that an organization that calls itself Socialist would put forth such a *liberal* analysis of the Watergate Affair as was printed in your September, 1973 issue. As Socialists you should keep a close watch on the American Economy and realize that American Capitalism is facing an extremely grave crisis, which could very well be its last. This economic crisis is the true cause of Watergate: the revelations we have been treated to could only have come about because part of the ruling class believed that *extreme* measures were necessary.

Otherwise, the establishment media would *never* have launched an attack on Nixon that would undermine people's faith in the system to such a great degree.

If you are interested in printing another analysis of Watergate, the enclosed article from the *Free Venice Beachhead* is uncopyrighted. If you disagree with the "Yankee-Cowboy" theory of Watergate, you should say so, and why.

Solidarity
Milton Takei

John Judis' reply:

Kirkpatrick Sale and others have noted the close connection between Nixon and various southern and western capitalists. While I wouldn't deny this connection, I would deny what Sale and Takei see as its significance: that it explains the political direction of Nixon's administration, from his Vietnam policies to Watergate. What the Mafia, Texas oil, and California aerospace have in common is that they are dependent on government favors for their welfare—either in the form of contract awards or the overlooking of illegal practices. They are dependent on Nixon, and in exchange for contracts and cabinet positions, they have contributed handsomely to his campaigns. Of course, different figures from these circles have

influenced Nixon's major policies, but who could say that Bebe Rebozo, C. Arnholt Smith, or H. L. Hunt were more influential than Henry Kissinger, who has long been associated with so-called Yankees like Rockefeller? Nixon's major policies—from continuing the war to wage-price controls to cutting social services—have been supported all along by the majority of big businessmen in this country, and have followed, as I tried to show, from a general policy-approach to the problems of American capitalism shared by most business leaders. Given particular decisions—let us say the Soviet Grain deal, a decision made for overall political and economic reasons—the particular capitalists who profit will in part be determined by domestic connections. And of many contract awards, there is no doubt that Nixon awarded his friends. But there is no evidence to tie Nixon's pursuit of his overall policies to cowboys rather than to Yankees.

I would also reject the idea that the split between Yankees and cowboys explains the Watergate disclosures. Capitalists are usually divided on major issues, except when there is a clear threat to their survival. They were divided on Vietnam and on international monetary strategy, but there is no evidence that this breakdown was between Yankees and cowboys. The New York Times and Washington Post do not in general represent northern capital—certainly not the right-wing DuPont family, or the Mellons, to give two examples. While it is true that the capitalists who own and manage these newspapers were instrumental in forcing Watergate into the open, the full scandal was the result of several factors, Judge Sirica's principled conservatism, the conflict between Republicans and Democrats (which should not be reduced to conflicts between capitalists), conflict among corporate leaders over specific policies, and the horror all these groups came to feel toward the combination of corruption and governmental incompetence that the Watergate hearings began to uncover. These disclosures threatened the credibility of American government, and that was an important reason why the Watergate Committee (purposely chosen to represent different sectional and political interests) pressed its investigation as far as it did, and it is also why the Senate is holding up Ford's nomination. But none of these conflicts is irreparable. Overall agreement on foreign and economic policy still remains, and for this reason the majority of Democrats and corporate opponents of Nixon are unwilling to press the issue beyond its present stage—toward Nixon's impeachment and the full exposure of his policies that such a process would entail. If that is to happen, it will have to be the left that forces it.

Undoubtedly in explaining Watergate I overemphasized the extent to which Nixon's practices followed from his having to carry out unpopular policies on behalf of capitalism. Nixon's seedy character played some role, as did his seedy associates. But these are secondary reasons, and it is important to see them as secondary. Seeing them as primary leads to seeing governmental repression of its opposition, which in one form or another has characterized the history of capitalist government, as an incidental outcome of the coming to power of particular politicians, or of a particular group of capitalists. This view *does* lead to liberalism—to support Yankees or Teddy Kennedy's—rather than to understanding that only through a socialist revolution will we be able to make American society truly democratic.

John Judis



UFW-Teamster Pact

by Hugh Grady
Austin NAM

UNITED FARMWORKERS negotiators have reached a compromise agreement with the Teamsters International, apparently ending the long-standing jurisdictional impasse in the California fields between the two unions. The six-point settlement remains unsigned as of this writing, but UFW sources have made public its major provisions.

UFW sources emphasized that the lettuce boycott continues in effect until the agreement is actually signed. Major boycott activity, including the nationwide boycotts of Safeway and A & P, can be expected to continue after the signing.

While it is difficult to assess at this time the impact of the UFW concessions, the agreement appears to be a major victory for the Farmworkers Union.

The Teamsters had become the most effective tool used by the big growers in their eight-year struggle with the Chavez-led UFW. Coupling sweetheart contracts with terror tactics against UFW strikers, the Teamsters this Spring took over most of the grape contracts won by the UFW in 1970 after a five-year strike and national grape boycott. In effect, they were threatening the very existence of the United Farmworkers Union. However, the UFW held firm, intensified its boycott activities, and staged nationwide actions protesting the deaths of two UFW picketers and

the Teamster goon-squad tactics. Other AFL-CIO unions and the AFL-CIO national leadership rallied to the support of the Farmworkers.

The Teamsters had been engaged in a national image-building drive through their alliance with the Nixon administration. At the same time, they were faced by a small but vocal Teamsters-for-Chavez movement and increasing negative publicity because of their gangster tactics in the California fields.

If signed, the agreement removes the Teamsters from the fields and clears the way for the UFW to concentrate on its struggle with the growers. While the settlement does not guarantee the UFW the return of its lost contracts, it does deprive the growers of the use of the Teamsters to confuse the American public and divide the farmworkers themselves.

TERMS OF UFW-TEAMSTER AGREEMENT

The Teamsters agree to give up all lettuce contracts after July 15, 1975, except with D'Ariago and Finnermann. (These two companies are essentially up for grabs under the terms of the agreement.)

The Teamsters agree to rescind all table and wine grape contracts immediately, as well as lettuce contracts with D'Ariago and Finnermann. Furthermore, they agree to publicize this action.

The Teamsters agree to not organize any more farmworkers under the provisions of the August 1970 agreement. (Essentially, this agreement had given the UFW jurisdiction over field workers and the Teamsters jurisdiction over shed and machinery workers.)

The UFW agrees to halt the boycott of Teamster lettuce.

The UFW agrees to follow the AFL-CIO policy on strikes and boycotts. In general, this means that before one union calls a boycott that would affect another AFL-CIO union, that union must obtain the permission of the affected International before proceeding.

George Meany of the AFL-CIO and Teamsters head Frank Fitzsimmons will act as mediators in any further Teamster-UFW disputes.

letters
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UAW Strike

"Because I Can't Make It on Three..."

by Paul Rosenstein
Los Angeles NAM



AS 1973 APPROACHES its end, unions representing over 4½ million workers have signed new contracts without major strikes. Only the rubber and auto industries have had short strikes, quickly settled. Most of the contracts were signed before the wild summer inflation. The strong economic recovery from the recession of 1970-71 kept most manual workers steadily employed.

By September, the unemployment rate for married men was 2.1 percent, with 2.7 percent the rate for all heads of households. The overall jobless rate remained at the relatively high rate of about 5 percent due to the increased numbers of young people and women who have recently entered the job market.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that the average factory employee worked three hours and 42 minutes overtime per week. As inflation rose with Phase 4, overtime premium pay reduced the pressure for large wage increases. And the Cost of Living Council took the heat off union leaders by convincing workers that big settlements would not be tolerated.

Every three years the automobile negotiations are closely watched. The United Auto Workers' contracts often become pace-setters for other important industries. This Spring, as talks opened, it appeared there would be no strike. The auto industry was fat and booming, setting records every week. Steady overtime was filling workers' pockets and the regular cost-of-living increases won in the 1970 strike helped compensate for inflation.

WORKING CONDITIONS

BUT WORKING CONDITIONS were as inhuman as ever. Few types of work are as cruel to the human body and psyche as mass production assembly lines. The constant pressure for produc-

tion, in old, dirty, hot (in summer), cold and drafty (in winter) plants when added to the monotony of the never-ending, never-stopping, never-slowng line causes incalculable damage to the workers.

Over 40 percent of Detroit auto workers suffer from some symptoms of mental health problems and the use of drugs and alcohol is widespread as workers attempt to combat the strain of the repetitious line.

In the last 20 years the union has done little about working conditions. Since World War II the auto companies have been a basic part of the American boom and they have been prosperous enough to pay the highest wages and benefits for factory work. As long as the demand held up they could easily pass the increases on to the consumer. Furthermore, speed-up and technological innovations were utilized to cut labor costs.

THE UNION'S ROLE

THE UNION IN TURN agreed to recognize "management's rights" to run their operations as they saw fit. The union is obligated to oppose any job actions, or strikes, or other efforts by workers to deal with their problems between contracts. All struggle is channeled into the "peaceful" grievance procedure where six months to a year or more can go by before a case is settled. Over the years the grievance procedure has been increasingly corrupted and workers are openly cynical about this method for resolving disputes. This year in GM plants 45,000 unresolved grievances have piled up.

Only on rare occasions when conditions become unbearable and the international leaders are in full control are limited, local strikes permitted. These strikes are usually meagerly supported by the union and are designed to let

militants "let off steam." After a period on the picket line, workers often become more willing to accept a "compromise" that was earlier unacceptable.

THE "NEW" WORKER

BUT AUTO WORKERS have found individual ways to rebel. In recent years the rates of quits, absentees, and poorer quality work have skyrocketed. In 1969 Chrysler had to hire 44,000 employees to maintain a national workforce of about 100,000. A Chrysler official has said it costs over \$1,500 to "turnover" an employee. General Motors said turnover cost it \$69 million in 1972. Although profits are high, the return per dollar invested has fallen in recent years.

Perhaps half the auto workers are under 35 years old. Many were affected by the new values of "the cultural revolution" in the 1960's. They have more formal education than their elders. They want more out of life than mind deadening work. In contrast to the generation of their parents who were so scared by the depression that they were happy to have any well paying steady job, the new younger worker quits job after job in search for meaningful, satisfying employment. When asked why he only averaged about four days a week, a young worker in GM's Vega plant in Lordstown told *Time* magazine, "Because I can't make it on three!"

When asked about improving conditions on the assembly line, UAW President Woodcock told *U.S. News and World Report* (2/12/73), "It's not the sort of thing, really, that should be a problem of confrontation and collective bargaining. If any of the companies suddenly said to the UAW, 'O.K., we agree: We want to humanize the work place; you do it,' we wouldn't even know how to begin. We really don't understand the extent of the problem--or the basis of

the problem." (The UAW leadership is among the most liberal and sophisticated of American labor!)

THE WILDCATS

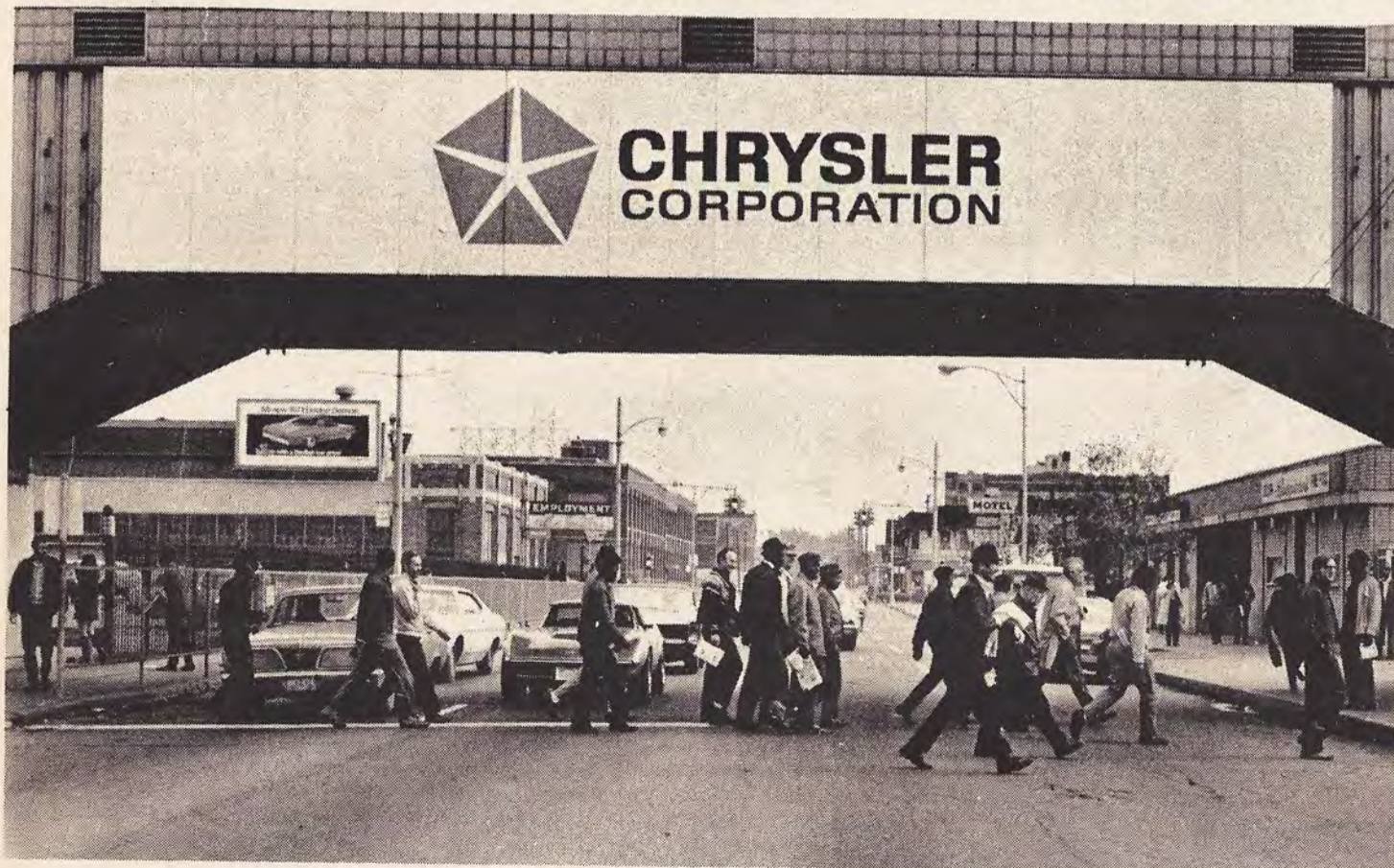
AS THE SUMMER wore on and the secret negotiations progressed, the workers became more and more restless, and Chrysler became a focal point. The baby of the Big Three, Chrysler has recently recovered from the recession in 1970-71. Last year its profits were 90 percent higher than the year before and 1973 brought even more business. Most of its old and antiquated plants were working six or seven-day weeks, 9, 10, and even 12 hours a day for months on end. Overtime is not voluntary since close to 100 percent attendance is required to operate an assembly line. Over half of Chrysler's workers are in the Detroit area and those plants have become predominantly black. Over 70 percent of its Detroit workforce has less than two years seniority. In the sixties those plants were the center of activity for the League of Black Revolutionary Workers (DRUM, ELRUM, etc). While the League's influence was wiped out, many radicals--organized in sects and unorganized--have found their way to the Detroit factories.

In the unbearable heat of summer, the company and the union were caught off guard. For several months black workers in Chrysler's Jefferson Ave. plant had been struggling against a slave-driving and racist superintendent named Woolsey. They had filed grievances and protested to no avail. In July they turned in a petition signed by over 200 of the 300 in the department. On the morning of July 24 Issac Shorter, 26, and Larry Carter, 23, jumped over a fence into a power control cage and turned off the electricity on the conveyor.

For 13 hours the plant of 4,500 was idle as hundreds surrounded the two to protect them from the police and the company. Doug Fraser, the UAW Vice-President leading the Chrysler negotiations, stopped the sessions and supported their demands. They wanted Woolsey fired and amnesty for themselves. They refused the union's intercession and demanded to talk directly to the plant management. Toward the end of the second shift, the company gave in to their demands. They were carried out on the shoulders of their jubilant co-workers. This was the first sit-in since the great Flint struggles in 1937.

Shorter and Carter describe themselves as "revolutionary socialists" without a party. They had carefully prepared for their action. "The main purpose of the petition was to bring the consciousness of the workers up," Shorter told an interviewer. "We talked about Woolsey, the conditions in the plant, Chrysler being capitalist, how the community is, how this country is becoming more of a fascist country. Just relating things, not only things there at the Jefferson plant."

Continued on Page 12



BILLIE BLITZES BOBBY

by Dave Gold

SET IN THE Houston Astrodome on September 20, the Tennis Battle of the Sexes received wide media attention. Bobby Riggs, a 55-year-old self-styled hustler and former men's tennis champion, challenged one of the world's top female players, Billie Jean King. In many respects, the pairing was a natural.

Riggs, the ultimate male chauvinist in life style as well as in media image, was widely quoted as saying that women belonged in two places—the bedroom and the kitchen, in that order. He is reputed to have accumulated a modest fortune by betting on himself in athletic events and by receiving a divorce settlement from a wealthy second wife. In his tennis matches, he often handicaps himself by such antics as playing in an overcoat or with a dog tied to his leg. He is a good media villain with enough negative characteristics to be disliked by many men as well as by most women. He had enough skill to be the favorite in pre-match wagers, but he was pathetic enough to be considered relatively harmless. Only those who consider even the moderate branch of the women's movement as too uppity regarded Riggs as their hero.

King, on the other hand, is a supreme athlete at the peak of her skills who has been a leader of the women's movement in tennis. She plays a tough, aggressive, intelligent game and is reputed to be a shrewd negotiator and a wise investor. Even before the match, she was one of the leading lights of the liberal women's movement.

The snowballing interest in the match undoubtedly surpassed the expectations of participants and promoters. It was, of course, a "freak," being more show business than athletic contest. King's overwhelming victory proved nothing about women's athletics or the relationship between men and women in sports. It's popularity was due to the increasing importance of tennis as a business and as a sport.

GENTEEL SPORT TO BIG BUSINESS

TENNIS HAS CLEAR origins as a country club sport of the elite. Until quite recently, professional tennis players had lower social status than amateurs. It is also a sport in which women have always had an important role. Tournaments for women have existed side by side with men's competitions. The major tournaments even have a section for mixed doubles, where co-ed pairs face each other. This situation stems from the sport's aristocratic origins, as well as its potential for segregated participation. And, to be sure, women's role has always been secondary.

Billie Jean King has described the frustration of her early years in tennis in Southern California. Coaching and travel funds were easily available to promising young male players, but were systematically denied to her. Other women have commented on the type of

teaching they receive. Women are commonly taught how to be good partners to men, learning all the correct strokes but not the aggressiveness that dominates the male version of the game.

Since World War II, and particularly in the last decade, the focus of tennis has shifted from being a plaything of the rich to a large-scale spectator and participant sport. Tennis is now a business—in the words of *Fortune* magazine, a "growth industry." As it has become big business, it has taken on business characteristics. Capitalists (including Lamar Hunt, son of arch-reactionary oil millionaire, H. L. Hunt) are competing with each other for a piece of the action. Show business types with their promotional skills are moving in (the King-Riggs match was promoted by a TV producer). Tennis resorts, tennis condominiums, and indoor arenas are popping up across the country. And the players are feuding over who's going to get the biggest piece of the pie.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN TENNIS

BECAUSE WOMEN always had some role in tennis it is not surprising that the women's movement has made some inroads. Women players benefitted from the rapid growth of tennis in the 1960's. Nevertheless, discontent had been brewing for some time, as the treatment they were receiving from tournament officials and the national tennis associations was clearly inferior. Billie Jean King, as the number one player, the recipient of much media attention, and as an intelligent, articulate person, emerged as a leading spokeswoman, tactician, and tireless worker in the burgeoning women's movement in tennis.

The struggle came to a head in 1970. At a tournament in Los Angeles, the men were scheduled to receive ten times as much prize money as the women. King and other top women refused to participate. In spite of threats from the U. S. Lawn Tennis Association that they would be barred from future events, a number of the top women players participated in a rival, unsanctioned tournament in Houston, financed by Virginia

Slims ("you've come a long way, baby"). In the next and succeeding years, Virginia Slims financed a series of tournaments for women.

The struggle of the women's movement in tennis has been translated into one word—money. The goals of this movement have narrowed to demanding equal pay (prize money) with men—not because they claim to be able to defeat men on the same court, but because they claim to provide equal entertainment dollar. They are achieving this with subsidies from companies like Virginia Slims and Ban Deodorant.

Billie Jean King has urged women to fight against stereotyped roles and to seek achievement in traditional male activities. At the same time, she has adopted a set of capitalist oriented values for herself. She recently argued with the editors of *Ms.* magazine that they should accept advertisements from Virginia Slims, a company whose ads many women have criticized. Businessmen would never turn down ad revenue because they object to the content of the ad, she argued. And business women will not achieve parity until they adopt the same outlook.

The development of a women's movement in tennis (and in other sports), despite its current short-sightedness, holds some interesting possibilities for the future. Sports is one important way that sex roles are taught to people when they are young and reinforced when they are older. Sports, as organized in the U. S., teach men to be aggressive, racist, and sexist. Much of what it means to be a woman in this society is defined by the subsidiary role that women play with respect to sports: to be cheerleaders, football widows, good partners. A girl who attempts to break out of this mold and participate with the boys is labeled unfeminine, while a boy who does not participate will have his masculinity called into question. Today girls are attempting to play with boys in baseball, football, swimming as well as tennis, from Little League through college. The attempt by women to seek some parity with men in tennis and other sports is already calling into question this important socialization mechanism. ■



'Come and get it, ladies!'

Chile

Continued from page 3

was substantially improved, both through wage increases and the improvement of social services. Land reform eliminated some of the worst abuses of the traditional system of large, unproductive landholdings by a tiny section of the rural populations. In many sections of Chilean society, students, working people, and peasants began to take control of the institutions where they work and live. This process intensified in the last year, with occupations of factories and seizures of land. Working people began to take over the production and distribution of many necessities.

This popular process, combined with the material costs of reform to the Chilean ruling classes and U. S. corporations, threatened to become irreversible. The U. S. press has attempted to give the impression that the Allende government was becoming more and more isolated prior to the coup. Although it is true that polarization took place among the population, the UP's support among the working class and peasantry increased and solidified; in the March elections of this year, the percentage of the vote received by the UP increased from 1970, which is extremely unusual for Chile.

Continued support for Allende, and increased popular mobilization, united the Chilean right around support for the coup. For some time anti-government forces in Chile had hoped to force the government to resign through creating economic and political chaos. When it became clear that this would not happen, direct military intervention was used.

one-in a protracted struggle which will assume new forms.) But we ought to begin asking questions whose answers will help in our struggles here.

We should demand that the United States refuse all forms of support to the junta. We should demand the release of the thousands of political prisoners held by the junta, and the right of exit for the thousands of political exiles from Latin American dictatorships who are in danger in Chile. Our demands, if combined with an effective educational campaign, can have an effect on the Nixon administration at a time when it has been weakened by political scandals and economic problems within the U. S.

It would be a mistake to focus on the tragedy of what has gone on if that prevented us from thinking clearly about what it means politically for us. How can we learn from what happened in Chile?

The most powerful groups in the UP (the Communist Party and much of the Socialist Party) believed that it would be possible to gain gradual control over the existing state, starting from the executive. Over and over, the programs of the UP were blocked by the right in Congress and the courts. Could this process have taken place. Would it have been possible for the left to be successful in a sustained transitional period, while the ruling classes continued to control much of the state and economy?

Also, much of the left acted as though it would be possible to gain socialism in Chile primarily through the electoral process. Other aspects of the movement were often subordinated to electoral work. It would seem that the Chilean

experience speaks clearly against a perspective that sees elections as a primary route to power. This is not to say that the Chilean left should have abstained from elections; no major left group advanced such a position (including the MIR). But there were real differences on the importance of elections, and on the relations between elections and building a movement that could take power.

Another question raised by what went on in Chile is the relations between the working class and small property owners and professionals. It seems that these groups became increasingly antagonistic to the UP government, until they played a major role in the anti-government activity which prepared the way for the strike, through sabotage, terrorism and strikes. Yet the material position of these groups was not seriously damaged by the UP; in many cases it was improved. How would it have been possible to prevent these groups from becoming active opponents of the revolution? Would a more rapid transition, accompanied by new conceptions of the social role of such groups, have made their support more likely?

Another element in the anti-government strategy of the right involved large demonstrations of housewives against UP policies and alleged food shortages. These demonstrations employed quasi-feminist slogans. Many observers have said that these demonstrations were composed primarily of bourgeois women. Even if this is true, were there policies that might have been pursued by the UP that would have made it unlikely for these demonstrations to occur? Traditionally, the left in Chile has received a smaller proportion of votes from women than men. Was the UP able to address the oppression of women in a way to end that pattern? Did the UP have a program to encourage the participation and leadership of women in the revolutionary process?

pay and the minimum wage to all workers, and an end to war and the arms race. Not all women who run for office support these politics, it was argued, and the Caucus should support only those who do. It should also support men who espouse such politics, in the absence of such a woman candidate. No one opposed this view. The women who had argued for supporting all women were easily convinced that such an approach was inadequate.

Most of the women in the workshop seemed to be associated with the Democratic Party, but there were a few Republicans present as well. There seemed to be a general agreement around liberal, humanitarian values, as well as a commitment to women's rights. Party divisions did not seem particularly significant in the discussion; the divisions were between the more sophisticated, left-liberal women, and those less experienced in politics.

In the workshop on Affirmative Action, black and chicana women (including Black Panthers and members of the Mexican-American Political Association) accused the Women's Caucus of being concerned only with the problems of white women. The convention had been planned entirely by whites, and the Caucus had no programs dealing with the oppression of black and chicana women. They had no concrete suggestions for such a program, but suggested that local chapters of the Women's Caucus consult with third world organizations when planning their programs. This set off a debate among the white women, and the Statement of Purpose was quoted to support the blacks and chicanas. Arguing that the Women's

Finally, how could the Chilean left and the UP have dealt with the military? From the start, the UP pledged to respect "neutrality" of the military, and hoped that it would retain a professional character. This military had received extensive aid and training from the United States; many officers took U. S. courses in the Canal Zone. In retrospect, it seems fairly clear that much of the military could not have been reconciled to a socialist program. The UP had three main alternatives: to try to conciliate the military and bring more sympathetic officers into leadership through constitutional means; to build support for its program within the armed forces in an organized way, hoping to split the army in a crisis; and building a popular military force. It seems that the UP relied almost exclusively on the first, though parts of the left devoted energy to the other two; this approach made sustained resistance to the coup extremely difficult. How could the UP better have defended itself? How could it have applied the successful experience of the Cubans and the Vietnamese, and the relatively unsuccessful experiences with guerrilla warfare in Latin America in the 1960's, to the situation in Chile?

The coup in Chile raises these questions which don't have easy solutions. In our efforts to deny American support to the junta, and oppose its repression, we should think carefully about them. ■

Non-Intervention in Chile (NICH) in ad hoc coalitions throughout the country is attempting to bring pressure on Congress and the UN to stop the slaughter in Chile. One important type of pressure is to obtain as many signatures as possible on a petition to congressmen asking them to support the Kennedy resolution as a part of the final draft of the Foreign Aid Authorization Bill. This, it is hoped, will cut off all economic and military aid to the Chilean junta until human and civil rights are restored. Sample copies of the petition can be obtained from NICH, P. O. Box 800, Berkeley 94701.

International jurists have just reported to U. N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim that the situation in Chile is far worse than in Greece or Brazil. Torture and executions are continuing.

the Statement of Purpose commits the Women's Caucus to struggle against racism, and to try to reach minority women. How could such efforts be considered partisan? This position was generally accepted.

At the end of the convention the resolutions presented by these workshops were accepted, as were most of the resolutions of the black and chicana caucuses calling for greater third world representation in the Caucus, and more attention to third world problems. The most heated debates in the plenary session took place over the election of officers, a resolution presented by the black caucus that described racism as the primary oppression and sexism as secondary, and a debate over democratization of the structure of the Women's Caucus.

In the convention as a whole, there were two political concerns: getting women into office, stressed by the state leadership, and a concern that the Caucus be a force for women's rights and for humanitarian politics, expressed by left-liberal women. The vast majority at the convention saw the contradiction between these two goals. The state leadership and many other women at the convention, believed that women are inherently good: more power in women's hands will inevitably ameliorate society. This, however, only applies to women who "act like women." A leader of the Women's Caucus told us that the Caucus wants to elect "real women," not women like Golda Meir who are "men with vaginas."

was not clear that they intended to continue to work with the Caucus. Their main concern was to pressure the Caucus around the issue of racism.

The California Women's Political Caucus has grown rapidly over the last year largely based on women's enthusiasm about women running for office. The vaguely liberal and humanitarian politics of the organization, and its concerns for women's rights and women's representation in government, could become more clearly defined and lead the Caucus in a left direction, particularly if left and third world women take an active role in the Caucus. It also seems possible that the concern for simply electing any women to office could lead the Caucus toward narrow and opportunist politics. Since many of its members, especially those in leadership, are active Democrats, the Caucus could become an appendage of the Democratic Party if the tendency toward narrow concern with electing women becomes uppermost. Whatever political direction the organization takes, however, it is clear that there is a growing interest in women's electoral campaigns. ■



Fascist junta leader Gen. Pinochet (seated) and aide.

NEWSPAPER COLLECTIVE

Barbara Easton
Michael Gallantz
Laurie Gitlin
Del Griffin
David Kotz
Dan Marschall
Jean Nute
Jain Simmons
Jim Weinstein

Joan Bodner, Staff Photographer

Ecology & Capitalism

THE INFANT SCIENCE of ecology has taught the environmental movement one overriding lesson: ecological problems cannot be treated in isolation.

The environmental crisis arose largely in this century along with large-scale corporate capitalism. Quite simply, the productivity of the corporate economy surpassed the ability of the consumer market to absorb its output. Since the 1920's industry has had to find ways to expand consumer markets in order to keep pace with economic growth.

Foreign markets and deficit spending (on the military, for example) have been vastly expanded, but have not been enough to absorb growing productivity. The domestic market also had to be expanded. "Private" enterprise chose the only means compatible with its continued existence: consumerism. Corporate interests launched programs of mass advertising to create needs that consumers had never felt before. This advertising played on insecurities and anxieties, artfully suggesting that the purchase of this or that product would solve personal and social problems. The development of a newness fetish, nourished by more and more frequent style changes, caused many to replace perfectly serviceable goods.

But that wasn't enough; planned obsolescence was instituted to insure heightened consumer demand. Now people are forced to replace their cars, and appliances periodically, not merely because they become "antiquated" but because they stop working.

In light of this analysis and the resistance of corporations to environmental reforms, it is clear that our economic system is inexorably carrying us toward environmental disaster—and clear, too, that our political system is unable to remedy this situation because it is controlled by that same economic system. Any serious effort to save our environment requires an assault on our present economic institutions.

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM AND INTERNATIONAL MORALITY

SOCIALISM, UNLIKE capitalism, offers the possibility of a real solution to ecological problems. Under socialism there would be no compulsion for rapid growth coming from surplus profits seeking investment. Personal and corporate profit and power would not be the basis of economic decisions. Finally, and perhaps most important, the control exercised over our political institutions by corporate interests, at the expense of the needs of the people, will cease to exist.

Internationally, we (six percent of the world's population) consume 50 percent of the world's annual production of nonrenewable natural resources. With a socialist economy, we could use considerably less more wisely. We could allow other nations to develop to meet the needs of their people. And the vast empire we maintain around the world to provide us with the excessive amounts of raw materials and markets demanded by our overproductivity could be eliminated under the coopera-

tive and democratic governance of our economy.

The worldwide consequences of the dismantling of our empire would be striking. Nations ruled by dictators who are maintained in power by the United States in exchange for allowing us to do business in their countries on our terms, would have an opportunity to liberate themselves. We would no longer need to fight wars like the one in Indochina. By ridding ourselves of the imperatives of empire, we could demilitarize our economy and reallocate productive effort from the making of war machinery to the satisfaction of our needs.

All these issues are related to the environmental crisis, and the lasting solution of any of them requires the resolution of them all. This is the fundamental lesson taught by ecology.

Finally, installment buying and other forms of credit press us to buy far beyond our actual incomes. And, of course, money is to be made not only on the commodities themselves, but also on the loans we take to pay for them.

Overproduction is no sign of American efficiency: it is endemic to corporate capitalism, which must provide outlets for profits looking for a place to earn more profits. These investments spur the growth of productivity; but to be profitable, increased productivity needs increased consumer buying. As long as our economy continues to be a profit system it will need to grow.

The conclusion that follows from this brief analysis is that piecemeal reform programs can't work. Corporations organized to produce profits cannot curtail production and avoid growth in order to reduce environmental impact. Legislation to control degradation of the environment would curtail economic growth. But enforced nongrowth would be fatal to our economic system. What legislative body would legislate the death of corporate capitalism? How many legislators would bite the hands that feed them?

CORPORATE VS. PUBLIC NEEDS

OUR TIME IS RIFE with examples of corporate interests being served at the expense of public needs: the oil depletion allowance, Congressional permission for mining to continue in Wilderness Areas until 1984 are two glaring ones. These actions cannot be justified by energy needs which are excessive only because of wasteful (but profitable) practices like annual model changes, planned obsolescence, and the satisfaction of fabricated wants

Federal agencies that are empowered to protect the public interest often

turn into mere rubber stamps—if not active apologists—for the industries they are supposed to regulate. The Department of Agriculture, acting on behalf of gigantic agri-businesses, and the Atomic Energy Commission, promoting the narrow interests of the nuclear industry, are classic examples. This kind of conflict of interest is commonplace among regulatory agencies. Lawmakers who create the agencies and monitor their operations fail to correct these abuses because the corporate interests involved are often politically powerful in their constituencies. ■



None of Us Got Caught

by Barbara Easton and Laurie Gitlin, Berkeley NAM

THE CALIFORNIA State convention of the National Women's Political Caucus was held September 28-30 at the Claremont Hotel in Berkeley. Five hundred women from some twenty chapters met to formulate resolutions, elect representatives to the National Steering Committee, and meet female office-holders and candidates. Organized in July of 1971, the NWPC now has 900 members in California. Many chapters have been formed within the last six months. For many of these women this is a first step into the political arena.

At the opening session of the convention, state officials of the Women's Caucus, and various office-holders, including Dianne Feinstein, of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, and Arie Taylor, of the Colorado State Legislature, stressed the need for more women to run for

office. Two reasons were given for having more women in public office. First, on democratic principles, women should be equitably represented in public bodies. Second, speakers stressed the beneficial effects of women in government: women would humanize it and raise its moral level ("none of us got caught in Watergate"). The only women's issues mentioned in these speeches were those that face women in political life: the difficulty of maintaining a home and family while holding office, the difficulty of obtaining credit cards and of gaining access to men's clubs where political decisions are informally made. The speeches at this opening session indicated that the only concern of the Women's Caucus was electing women to office, regardless of their politics. The enthusiastic response indicated a good deal of

support for this approach.

During the workshops later in the day, it became clear that many at the convention saw the Women's Caucus differently. They pointed out that a statement of purpose adopted at the founding convention of the Women's Caucus (held in Houston, Texas, February 1973), stated that women—and men—should be supported only if they stood for a "non-sexist, non-racist, non-poor, non-violent society." The statement also specified that the Caucus should work for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, repeal of abortion laws, comprehensive child care and health care, good housing for all, appointment of women to positions of top responsibility in government, and preservation of the environment. The statement further called for a guaranteed adequate income, extension of equal

Continued on Page 7

Life in These United States

THE LAST FRONTIER

Get in on the ground floor of America's fastest growing industry

by Jim Weinstein
San Francisco NAM

CRIME, BOASTS THE security industry, is the fastest growing industry in the United States. And they are correct. Crimes of all kinds are increasing steadily. Household robbery has spread from the inner city to the suburbs. Violence on the streets is on the rise. Shoplifting has become a national pastime. Virtually the entire Nixon administration is involved in extortion, income tax evasion, or violating campaign practices laws. Even senior citizens have begun stealing steaks and chops from supermarkets.

As with all social problems under capitalism, the answer proposed by government and industry is two-fold: crack down and sell a new product.

The crackdown is in the form of bigger police forces, helicoptersurveillance, and the revival of the gas chamber. Law and order has become the new excuse to continue the oppression of the poor and national minorities.

Crime, however, is not simply the result of poverty. And poor people and national minorities are no more inclined toward theft or violence than other groups. Crime takes many forms in our society—it is caused by the nature of capitalism, not by human nature.

Take Spiro Agnew. Joseph Alsop explained him very well in his column on October 12. "Consider the situation of a fairly poorly paid county official of small means—which Spiro T. Agnew was before he became governor of Maryland," Alsop writes.

"In a place like Baltimore County, in these last two decades, a single change of zoning has been enough to make several large fortunes. Even a sewer permit has been worth hundreds of thousands of dollars. Some states, like Maryland, have a long tradition of political office as a profitable way of life. So it is easy enough to see how Agnew found himself in trouble."

True enough. But if that is so, it is also easy to see how senior citizens on fixed pensions have taken to shoplifting steaks and chops. And it is easy to

see how poor people, being constantly goaded to consume by advertising and being unable to find decent paying jobs, might also be tempted to steal.

But that's not all. It's also easy to see how ex-GI's—who had to kill millions of Vietnamese, who wanted nothing more than to be left alone to determine their own way of life—might be driven to drugs and to drug pushing. Thus, two weeks ago a Congressional Medal of Honor holder was arrested in Petaluma for dealing heroin.

The list is almost endless, but the point is clear. The way in which our society is organized causes crime of all kinds and by all sorts of people.

The response is just more of the same. Instead of addressing the causes of crime—poverty, vast inequality, meaningless and oppressive work, imperialism, and the systematic use of force by the state—businessmen jump at the chance to invest in a new super-profitable enterprise. We are made to feel even more insecure so that every home can have its own burglar alarm. Just as with pollution, where waste and the inefficient but profitable use of resources steadily destroys the environment, the victims are forced to pay for the solutions. Smog? Put pollution control devices on automobiles and raise the price—but don't build mass transit or reorganize living and working places to reduce the number of cars needed. Similarly with crime—don't solve the underlying problem, sell "protection."

The longer capitalism goes on, the worse crime will get—because social problems continually become more glaring and unbearable. Think about the Nixon administration. Other administrations have had corruption, but none in history has been so thoroughly shot through with dishonesty, double-dealing, extortion, and theft. Nixon is now in his second term and there's not a single cabinet officer or major White House staff person left, except for himself and Kissinger.

This is not because Republicans are inherently criminal. They're probably no worse than any other group. It is because capitalism is beyond repair.

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Flashguard was designed to bring the price of security down to a level where the mass market can afford it. Flashguard promises to lend the first new growth dimension to the industry in decades. If ever the timing was right, if ever the need was urgent . . . it's now.

And while short-range market projections are exciting, the long-range future is even more promising. For projections indicate that the security industry has yet to experience its major growth. Crime — and protection from crime — promises to be one of the fastest growing industries of the 1970's and 1980's.

While Flashguard was designed primarily for the middle income and lower middle income home markets where the big crime prevention void exists, Flashguard Systems are perfect for a variety of business

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manufacturer of world famous Preventor Security Systems.

Page 4 Section A ☆☆☆ S. F. Sunday Examiner & Chronicle, August 12, 1973

Shoplifting Wave

Skyrocketing Market Prices Turn Citizens Into Thieves

Examiner News Services

With meat prices rising out of sight, the shoplifting of T-bones and Porterhouse steaks, cans of tuna and tins of kippers is becoming a national phenomenon.

Several weeks ago it was reported that pensioners on fixed incomes in the Miami area were ripping off the chain supermarkets for meat and poultry they could no longer afford.

An Associated Press survey yesterday showed that there is an increased trend

toward shoplifting and shady tactics in areas across the nation.

Cartloads

Ralph Turner, a security officer for Safeway, said: "They are walking out the door with cartloads."

Gary Strand, a Seattle police detective, said the number of arrests and citations for the theft of meat was "skyrocketing."

Sneaky

The manager of a Ralph's Market in Los Angeles said:

"We always have that problem with meat and alcohol, but it has increased about 15 percent recently. Most of it is professional shoplifting, black market . . . We usually catch them though."

Another tactic is switching price tags. A spokesman for the Farmer's Market in Sacramento, said a customer recently was caught replacing the price tag on a chicken. He swapped a \$2.80 tag for a \$1.08 from a less expensive bird.

Bob Coffelt, manager of a Raley's supermarket in Sac-

ramento, said:

"Just the other day we caught a lady with lunch meat in her purse. She had four or five packages. Then we caught another fellow trying to walk out with a big shopping bag of steaks."

Part of the problem comes from the fact that people on fixed incomes are unable to make ends meet.

Milt Stocker, police chief of Tamarac, Fla., near Fort Lauderdale, said: "There have been changes in the whole complexion of shop-

lifting and shoplifters. They are stealing meat now.

"It used to be a mix of kids, teens and adults taking a variety of things like sunglasses or luxury items. Now it's senior citizens taking steaks and chops and small roasts." Stocker said one supermarket lost \$8,000 to meat shoplifters in the past two months.

Filipino Socialists

THE FOUNDING CONGRESS of Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino-KDP (Union of Democratic Filipinos) was held in July, 1973. This represents a significant step forward in the growing progressive movement among the Filipino minority in the United States.

The Congress brought together activist individuals and collectives from different parts of the country.

Three draft resolutions were discussed and passed: on the revolutionary struggle in the Philippines, on the revolutionary struggle in the United States, and an organizational draft. These resolutions constitute the political program of the KDP.

The KDP is an anti-imperialist Filipino organization with two major political tasks: 1) to mobilize support for the National Democratic revolution in the Philippines and, 2) to contribute in building the working class struggle for socialism in the United States.

In accomplishing these tasks the KDP plans to concentrate on educating and mobilizing the American people to support the national liberation struggle of the Filipino people and, in particular, to oppose the martial law dictatorship of F. Marcos. In addition, the KDP will be

in the midst of the Filipino community struggle for the democratic rights of the Filipino minority, as well as those of the whole American working class.

At present there are KDP chapters in most major cities in the U. S. including New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Los

Angeles, San Diego, and Seattle. The KDP national is located in Oakland, CA and can be contacted through P. O. Box 23644, Oakland, CA 94623. In addition, the KDP will publish a bi-weekly newspaper, ANG KATIPUNAN (same address).

The KDP stands for cooperation and unity of all working class forces opposed to monopoly capitalism, imperialism, and fascism.

PACKAKAISA NG MAKIBAKA!
Unity through Struggle!
KDP Propaganda Commission



Demonstrators march in San Francisco September 22 to "prevent the Philippines from becoming another Vietnam."

Photo by Joan Bodner

Not the Place to Begin

by Bob McMahon
Chapel Hill NAM

AROUND THE country, socialists and radicals of all sorts are looking for ways to bring together and widen the political base created by the Movements of the Sixties. One way of doing this is electoral politics, especially around college and youth communities. This strategy is being widely debated, often in a very abstract fashion. Hopefully, as more groups actually try it, and analyse their successes and failures, a more realistic understanding of the potentials and limits of electoral politics will emerge.

This article is about a failure, an attempt at running a socialist electoral campaign in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, which never really got off the ground. Chapel Hill is the site of the University of North Carolina's largest campus with 19,000 students. The total population (counting students) of Chapel Hill and the adjoining suburb of Carrboro is around 30,000. Although activity has died down in the past few years, the town has some history of left politics, and a community of left people has grown up in the area. McGovern carried Chapel Hill overwhelmingly, getting over 90 percent of the votes in the two main student precincts.

For four months this past Spring, a group of local socialists met and tried to develop plans for a socialist race for city council in the Fall elections. After an initial spurt of interest, the effort faltered, lost momentum, and dribbled away by the end of May.

The campaign group had originally been called together by local members of the New American Movement. The NAM people felt that there seemed to be a good number of people in Chapel Hill who consider themselves socialists, but no longer engage in any sustained political activity. The structure of a campaign seemed a way of bringing these people together, giving them concrete things to do, and creating networks or organized people who would continue to work together once the campaign was over. The McGovern campaign the Fall before had shown the existence of considerable left-liberal and radical sentiment among UNC students. By waging an explicitly socialist campaign,

it might be possible to act upon this sentiment and offer a clear socialist alternative to supporting reformist democrats.

After an initial meeting which drew thirty people, a stable group of a dozen to fifteen people emerged. As discussions went on, a number of problems came out which kept us from developing any sense of urgency or reality about the campaign.

1) Isolation from local issues and sentiments. Although the group hoped that an issue-oriented socialist campaign would underline the difference between socialist and liberal approaches to politics, most of us had no clear sense of what issues people in the community were worked up over, let alone what a distinctively socialist approach to these issues would be. When we discussed any sort of mass outreach--such as a referendum campaign for city council election by wards--it was always at least partly with an eye to finding out what people were really interested in.

2) Lack of confidence that a mass campaign was possible. A serious electoral effort would require a tremendous amount of work. It would have required mass outreach on a scale radicals had not attempted in Chapel Hill for quite some time--much more energy and commitment than we could muster in our group alone. Had there been an existing organized radical community which could have been drawn into the campaign, it might have seemed possible. We were already crippled because we had no clear sense of issues around which a campaign could have gathered energy and momentum. We could not draw others into a campaign, creating organization where none exists, because our own confusion and uncertainty kept us from outreach activity and from being able to display the confidence and energy that would encourage others to join.

3) Uncertainty about the desirability of the campaign as a tactic. Not surprisingly, the group came back again to questioning whether the campaign was the best use of our time, or even a good use at all. Could we make enough of an impact so that a campaign would pay off better than other things we could try, such as workplace organizing

at the University? And--on a higher level of doubt--wouldn't local electoral activity lead inevitably toward seeking minor reforms within the system, rather than the revolutionary change most of us desired? Given our ignorance of community issues and political forces, our sense of detachment from groups outside ourselves, we could only deal with such questions in a vacuum, in an abstract way remote from any concrete answers.

We weren't blind to our isolation and ignorance at the beginning of our campaign efforts. We had hoped that the process of a campaign would lead us to make more of a detailed connection between our socialist politics and life within our community, and that it would provide an initial framework for mass outreach and organizing around a wide variety of issues.

We were wrong. Underlying our misjudgment were the problems students have relating to local issues; the decline of radical organizing in Chapel Hill; and the difficulties of using electoral politics as a vehicle to raise new issues.

Students form a permanent presence and interest group in campus towns like Chapel Hill-Carrboro (which may have one of the most heavily student populations in the country). But the individual makeup of this student presence is constantly changing. Few students are around long enough to get a detailed understanding of local issues, even where they directly affect their interests. Because of this, issues of local politics seem just as--if not more--remote to most students as national politics or foreign policy. This can only be overcome by building continuing organizations of students around their interests as they are affected by the local community--around housing and tenant's rights, for example. Such organizations can accumulate and pass on information beyond the stay of any one student. They can make students aware of how their lives are affected by local politics, focus vague discontents into public issues, and offer a basis for coalitions with other groups in the community.

In some places this kind of organization has been built, but not in Chapel Hill. Where such groups exist, they have often been organized by radicals. They provide radicals with ties to

constituencies already starting to move in resistance to ways their lives are now organized. This kind of group puts radicals in intimate touch with what people are feeling and experiencing. And they provide their constituencies with new possibilities of awareness of what is going on in their local community with a new sense of meaningful involvement in local issues.

We built our hopes for a socialist campaign in Chapel Hill on the premise of some sympathy among students at UNC. We looked for issues which would capture student discontents, and bring them into an election campaign. What we didn't recognize was that the issues of local politics are as abstract and unfamiliar to most students as they were to us. Electoral politics builds upon discussion around issues that are widely recognized as problems. New perspectives may be expressed, but bringing an issue into the electoral arena requires considerable public recognition that there is indeed such a problem. This depends on a prior basis of non-electoral organization and agitation which brings issues to people's consciousness.

In the absence of prior organizing among students in Chapel Hill, especially by radicals, local electoral politics seems very remote from whatever discontent students are feeling. While it might have been possible to run simply on a basis of being socialists, to draw whatever anti-establishment votes might turn out, this didn't seem like a meaningful way to build organizing around local issues. Electoral organizing may become possible once other kinds of organizing are done in Chapel Hill. It was not the place to begin. This is probably fairly typical of the situation of radicals in many campus communities. I hope our failure can save them from similar draining and demoralizing experiments.

All of this has relevance to the debate on electoral strategy within NAM. I doubt if there are more than a few places in the country (outside the Bay Area) where the kind of base presently exists for an electoral strategy to make any impact (whatever other defects such a strategy might have). It would be disastrous at this point for NAM chapters to withdraw their energies from other forms of organizing to focus on election campaigns. ■



ENERGY

Continued from page 1

winter. But this is not because U. S. capitalism has run out of energy-producing resources. Even the most pessimistic observers agree that known petroleum reserves would last a few more decades; and other sources of energy, though more expensive, are even less limited.

The problem faced in the U. S. today is not a crude oil shortage but a shortage of refining capacity. No new refineries have been built in the U. S. in the last few years, while the demand for refinery products—gasoline and heating oil—has continued to grow.

Because it takes three or four years to build a new refinery, the oil companies and the government must have been aware as early as 1969 that it would soon be impossible to meet the steady growth of demand for energy. Why didn't they do anything about it?

At first, it would seem that the oil companies had every reason to increase their refining capacity to meet demand. Had they done so, they could have sold more fuel and made more money. But think back to the problems facing the oil companies three or four years ago: the Santa Barbara oil spill and the protests it caused, the developing controversy over the Alaska pipeline, the increasing price and royalty demands being made by the oil-exporting nations, even the beginnings of Congressional opposition to oil depletion allowances and other tax loopholes for the oil companies. Those were not the days in which oil companies could build refineries wherever and however they wished—and things only seemed to be getting worse for them.

Under those circumstances the strategy of the oil companies developed. If they had built the necessary refining capacity, they would have had to accept restrictions to protect the environment. This would have raised costs and established a dangerous precedent for public interference with the "free enterprise" of the oil monopolies. If, on the other hand, they did nothing, the shortages of 1973 would develop. The shortages could be played up with lots of ads on TV implicitly blaming the public and explicitly blaming Arabs and environmentalists.

The companies' strategy, however went beyond simply watching a crisis develop. The shortage, like some brands of gasoline, was carefully blended to suit local conditions. Far from being a world-wide problem, as one might expect if it were really caused by greedy Arabs, the shortage exists only in the U. S. In Britain, for example, U. S. oil companies are still urging people to drive more.

Even within the U. S., the crisis was much more serious in some states than

in others. Colorado was the hardest hit state: stations there received their weekly supply of gasoline on Monday and ran out on Tuesday. Colorado also has had one of the strongest ecology movements in the country—a movement that might interfere with future attempts to develop the rich oil shale deposits in the Rocky Mountains. And Colorado has even more independent gas stations than most states. These gas stations depend on independent distributors and typically undersell the "name brands" by a few cents a gallon. One of the first responses of the big oil companies to the "crisis" was to cut back their sales of gas to the independent distributors.

So from the point of view of the major oil companies, the strategy of sitting tight and advertising their concern has a number of beneficial results. It combats support for environmental protection; it helps to bankrupt some minor competitors; and it prepares the public for future struggles against Arab nationalism. It should surprise no one that in the wake of the "crisis" Congress approved the Alaska pipeline, Nixon is calling on states to reduce their clean air standards, and the U. S. is creating an armed camp in Iran for the preservation of the oil companies' interests.

The oil companies were probably even less startled than most of us at recent reports that U. S. Marines are training in Utah and Nevada for desert warfare. And as they look to the future, the companies can cheerfully anticipate lessened public opposition to offshore oil drilling with its risk of oil spills, tearing up the Rocky Mountains for oil shale, and strip-mining for coal. (Yes, that's done by the same people—the largest coal companies in the U. S. are owned by oil companies.)

In order to implement this strategy the oil companies may have given up some added sales they could have made with expanded refinery capacity. But with rising prices, oil company profits have increased sharply in the last year, and when the shortages are alleviated, the prices probably won't go back down.

On the other hand, the oil companies are running certain risks. Evidently their ruse was a little too transparent. More and more newspaper stories are appearing that reveal the facts of the situation. In some states anti-trust suits have been brought against the oil companies, and at a recent conference of state attorney generals, several indicated interest in bringing more such suits.

Anti-trust suits, though, will not provide a long-run solution. Beyond the immediate shortage of refining capacity, is a *real* energy crisis in the making? There are two sides to the question, one about the sources of energy and the other about the "needs" for energy.

The sources of energy are, in theory, nearly unlimited. Nuclear power, solar energy, and other new techniques provide immense possibilities, even if conventional mineral fuels run out within the next century. But the practical problem is not just whether energy can be supplied, but whether it can be supplied at a reasonable cost. The answer is that without further technological innovations, none of the potential new sources of energy offers a low-cost method of obtaining power, and such technological innovations do not seem to be forthcoming.

As to "needs" of energy, within the confines of capitalism there is really no possibility of significantly altering energy use patterns. Since World War II the U.S. economy has become increasingly locked into dependence on automobile and truck transportation and single-family housing. Today 74 percent of the U. S. lives in single-family houses, and 82 percent of all households have at least one car, while an increasing percentage of freight is moved by trucks. The political decisions to build superhighways and to let the railroads rot and to tolerate suburban sprawl rather than to develop rational city planning force us all to use a lot of gas and electricity in our daily lives and have provided the basis for the long-run profitability of oil companies.

The energy situation indicates the effectiveness of left protest activity. In the same way that Watergate revealed the impact of the anti-war movement, the ruse of energy crisis reveals how the ecology movement and the anti-war movement, which has made it difficult for the U. S. to consider overt intervention in the Middle East, have created obstacles for the oil companies.

However, the strategy of the oil companies to counter these obstacles helps us see what future conflicts are likely to arise. Throughout the country the oil companies will certainly attempt to destroy environmental protection regulations so they can expand their activities without interference. In the Middle East they will push for an increasingly interventionist policy by the U. S.

The writing is on the wall. ■



Dealer's View

Continued from Page 1

"A dealer had very little chance to learn the intricacies of the business within the first 12 months to sustain his cost of operation. He had to fold on the basis of too much production as far as gas volume and not enough production as far as the profitable end of the business such as repairs," this dealer explained.

It was difficult for the typical dealer to survive in this situation. And his dilemma was passed down to his employees in the form of miserable wages. Only the big oil companies really came out on top. The large volume of gas sold was

straight profit for them. When a dealer went bankrupt, his station was simply bought back and leased to some other unsuspecting businessman.

The oil companies could get away with this practice because they control the operation of the stations. As much as 80 percent of the necessary capital would be loaned to the new dealer, giving the company arbitrary control over the dealer.

Various aspects of the dealer's contract also keep him under the thumb of a particular oil company.

"The contractual arrangement is so comprehensive, so unfair and unreal," this dealer said, "that a dealer can be 99.9 percent perfect and live under the threat of being put out of his facility in any three-month period of time."

THE GAS SHORTAGE MYTH

THOUGH SERVICE station dealers have never had it easy, their relative position to the big oil companies has gotten much worse since the "gas shortage." This dealer maintained that there is no real shortage of gasoline, but that the scare is part of a conspiracy by the oil companies to increase prices. He became aware of this conspiracy about a year ago when the company changed its policy of subsidies.

Service stations were able in years past to slash their retail prices because the oil companies paid subsidies for the decrease in price. In this dealer's case, the company paid three-fourths of every penny per gallon that he lowered the price. Though he was still losing 1/4 cent per gallon, this practice allowed him to survive financially while tremendously increasing the volume of gas sold. Subsidies thus represented another bonanza for the oil company at the expense of the independent dealer.

In his words: "The oil companies have always, in my opinion, tried to convince the public that it was the independent dealer that created the gas war situation. In reality, it was the oil companies, for without their subsidies the dealer could not do it. We were forced into the situation because the competition did exist."

These subsidies were abruptly cut off about 15 months ago. The retail price of gas was then brought to its "true" level and the stage was set for a "gas shortage."

bum deal

Continued from page 11.

By claiming that there was now short supply because of the increasing demand, the oil companies could justify an increase in their wholesale prices.

This shortage was artificially created. How could you suddenly go from subsidies and the sale of a large volume of gas to gas shortage in such a short period of time? The demand for gasoline has been rising in recent years, but at a predictable rate that the oil companies were surely aware of. These companies consciously restricted the supply and thereby increased their profits with a raise in prices.

"As far as the demand for gasoline, that's also a built-in feature," he said. "In my opinion, there could be collusion between the auto manufacturers and the oil companies since they've built larger engines over the years to consume more gasoline. The oil companies own stocks in those manufacturers and vice-versa. I can't help but see that they knew exactly what they were doing and knew where they stood as far as oil reserves and the building of refineries."

So the "gas shortage" has been used as the companies' excuse for raising their wholesale prices while independent dealers are prohibited from raising their retail prices because of the Nixon Administration's price freeze. At the same time, the octane content of the gas has been decreased, again adding to oil company profits.

In addition, the oil companies have altered certain terms of their contracts with the dealers to force them to pay more out of their own pockets for the maintenance of the station. This dealer's rent has been increased. An \$80 per month allowance for keeping a clean rest room has now been discontinued. He is also responsible for replacing parts of the station's equipment that the company once paid for—broken gas hoses, door locks, window glass, etc.

All of these measures have hurt the dealers financially and are the underlying causes of the recent shutdowns.

THE OIL CONGLOMERATES: POWER AND PROFITS

THE MASSIVE shutdown of service stations in Northern California did have one immediate effect: Nixon ordered the Cost of Living Council to allow a slight increase in retail gasoline prices. This price hike was quickly offset, however, when the oil companies again raised their wholesale prices.

But the shutdowns are a potential threat to the oil companies' control of the petroleum industry. For the last half-century, the industry has been dominated by eight conglomerates: Exxon, Mobil, Texaco, Shell, Gulf, Standard of California, Standard of Indiana, and Atlantic-Richfield. They control two-thirds of the world's oil and dominate its refining, transportation and final price at the gas pump. They're also heavily involved in other energy sources: mining coal, uranium and natural gas, building nuclear power plants and producing nuclear fuel.

These conglomerates have made windfall profits throughout the "energy crisis." Standard of California recorded a 42 percent profit increase for the second quarter of 1973. In addition, they continue to escape heavy taxation through such provisions as "percentage depletion" and "intangible drilling expenses."

The seriousness of the current crisis and the blatantly monopolistic practices of the oil conglomerates have compelled some government officials to take legal action in the form of anti-trust suits. Even men like Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), a strong advocate of the Alaska pipeline, has commented on "the growing and increasingly widespread conviction that the fuel shortage is a deliberate, conscious contrivance of the major integrated petroleum compan-

ies to destroy the independent refiners and marketers, to capture new markets, to increase gasoline prices, and to obtain repeal of environmental protection legislation."

And the oil conglomerates still complain that they are not making sufficient profits. Texaco, the largest marketer of gasoline in the U. S., expressed disappointment with its 45 percent profit increase for the first half of this year. "In our judgment, Texaco's consolidated earnings are not yet yielding a satisfactory return on total assets and they are not yet adequate to generate the funds required for the company's steadily growing capital requirements," stated Texaco's Board Chairman. In other words, the "energy crisis" and the "gasoline shortage" are here to stay.

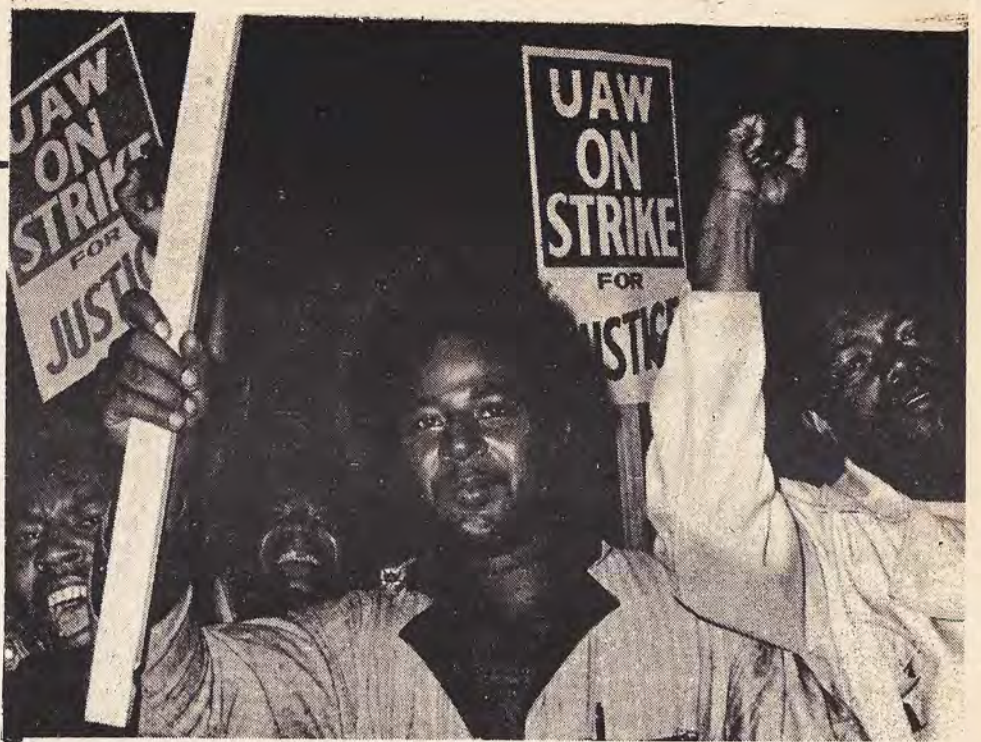
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS in the Middle East as well as further actions by service station dealers will have a major impact on the future of the "gasoline shortage." In mid-October, Persian Gulf oil-producing nations decided on a price increase that may be used by U' S' oil companies to justify another hike in wholesale gasoline prices.

Renewed war in the Middle East may result in an embargo by Arab countries on crude oil imported to the United States. Saudi Arabia, the largest oil producer of the Arab nations, has already announced a 10-percent cutback in their oil production to pressure the U.S. to reduce its support for Israel. A long-term continuation of this policy or an embargo could cause a world oil crisis. In the U.S. such a crisis might result in gasoline rationing and similar measures.

It appears that service station shutdowns will no longer take place on a large scale. A proposed shutdown in Southern California recently failed because of limited dealer participation. Talk of a nationwide shutdown has been quelled by a Justice Department threat to take anti-trust action against the dealers' associations.

Though the shutdowns revealed a new-found unity on the part of the dealers and have focused attention on their exploitation by the oil companies, this tactic has several weaknesses. First, since the dealers are already in such a weak economic position, any sustained shutdown would drive many out of business. Second, any price increase the dealers win can immediately be countered by the oil companies arbitrarily raising their wholesale prices.

Third, and most important, the isolated demand of dealers for a price hike merely passes the problem on to the consumer. The dealer I interviewed suggested that this conflict could be resolved by the dealers deciding on one price that they feel is fair to both the consumer and the dealer. They would then stick to that price, ignoring any legal actions by the federal government. But this plan could only succeed if it included the demand for a freeze and rollback of wholesale gasoline prices charged by the oil companies. All of the oil companies' increased operating expenses must be paid for out of their own corporate profits. Only by directly challenging the power of the oil companies in this way will the dealer and consumer come out on top. ■



CHRYSLER

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"It was Larry and I who pushed the button, but after we pushed the button it was the workers who supported it. It became a workers' thing. All the workers supported it, not just the black workers, but white workers too.

"You learn from other people's practice. We've been studying other struggles at the same time that we're organizing, like the DRUM struggle. DRUM was isolated from the white workers. That was their mistake. We learned from that and we corrected that over here."

A few weeks later Shorter was fired in another dispute with the company. But their daring action inspired others. On August 8, Chrysler's Forge plant was shut by a walkout of 1,400 over unsafe working conditions and the firing of 16 workers. This time the company got a court injunction and the union, after five days, convinced a bare majority to return and await the national negotiations.

Across the river in Windsor, Canada, similar struggles were occurring. In this atmosphere it was inevitable that leftists working in the plants would hardly be able to control themselves.

On August 12, at the Mack Avenue Stamping Plant, William Gilbreth, a member of the Progressive Labor Party and its Workers Action Movement (WAM), was fired for leading an unauthorized walkout and for "falsification of application." Two days later he returned to the plant and sat on the conveyor line. Defending himself with a pipe, he sent two guards who tried to remove him to the hospital. The company panicked and closed the plant with a few dozen remaining in support of Gilbreth. Many of the militants in the plant, although critical of him, felt they had to stand by him. Thus there was division in the ranks of the sit-downers as he announced his "communist politics." Outside a crowd of supporters formed. These were made up of all the left-wing sects. WAM people gleefully spread their name to the national media.

The union leadership, seeing its grip loosening, acted to break this action wide open. A call was sent out to all officials and staff within 100 miles and the top leadership personally led a crowd of 1,000 with walking sticks to break up the supporters. The police then arrested the sit-in leaders. The commander of the 5th Police Precinct declared, "I'm glad we're on the same side."

THE STRIKE

THE WILDCATS gave the company the opportunity to finger the militants and radicals. Dozens were fired in those few weeks. But they also forced the UAW leadership to up the demands and talk about working conditions in an effort to regain the support of the membership.

Chrysler was picked as the national strike target and on Friday night, September 14, Woodcock called a strike saying, "We've simply run out of time negotiating." Unions usually extend a contract on a day-to-day basis when they run out of time, but the UAW leaders wanted to appear strong and militant.

THE SETTLEMENT

IN THREE DAYS a settlement was reached and within a week a majority of the workers voted to accept it and return to work. The workers were presented with a sketchy view of the agreement. It will be quite a while before the fine print is available for the new and complex contract.

The main features are:

- * The traditional 3 percent productivity wage increase plus the cost-of-living allowance
- * A dental plan in the second year
- * A full pension after 30 years regardless of age
- * Voluntary overtime—workers will now "only" be compelled to work 6-9-hour days and with perfect attendance they may take every third Saturday off (a 54-hour week!)
- * Machinery will be set up through which the union and the company will work together to improve health and safety.

In the last two items, "adequate protection is given to the company to prevent workers from utilizing these provisions for concerted actions." The Canadian workers who have displayed consistent militancy won, in addition: 1) the end of the lower Canadian wage differential, and 2) voluntary overtime after 5 8-hour days—a 40-hour week!

This contract will form the basis of the new agreements at Ford and GM (although local contracts could produce strikes at those companies.)

IT CAN BE expected that workers in other industries will copy some of these demands. Since the Chrysler contract, the UAW has negotiated a "bonus time off" provision in the agricultural implement industry—John Deere, Caterpillar, International Harvester—affecting over 95,000 workers. The plan allows workers to accumulate 1/2 hour for each week of perfect attendance with one day off with pay granted every 16 weeks. Thus the union continues to play its role of providing the companies with a disciplined work force. The UAW leadership still insists that factory work cannot be "humanized," and thus it sees more holidays and vacations as the solution to the ills of the assembly line. The UAW hopes to expand the "bonus time off" provisions to the auto industry in the 1976 contract if it proves successful. ■

Letters

Continued from page 4

Dear Comrades,

I was very angered and disturbed by Jim Weinstein's article on the NAM convention in the September issue of the paper. What upset me was not so much what Jim had to say (although I disagree strongly with Jim's political strategy and therefore with his interpretation of what went on at the Convention) as the manner in which he chose to air his views.

I presume the headline "Moving Beyond Good Vibes" was meant to suggest we were getting beyond just liking each other in NAM to seriously discussing our political differences. Certainly the DeKalb convention did begin to create the machinery for a much more sustained political discussion in NAM than has taken place up to now. But it is very important as we enter into this process of discussion that we be attentive to carrying it on in such a way that we can maintain good feeling and mutual respect within NAM. We need recognized and observed standards of honesty and fair play that will let us avoid the poisonous swamp of factional suspicion, infighting, and maneuvering that has engulfed so many Left organizations in the past.

This is why I find Jim's article so upsetting, as it was written as a totally factional piece, scornful of those who disagreed with him, and giving only a cursory presentation of their arguments. Such a piece as that should *not* have been the only report on the Convention in the official paper.

Two courses could have been followed. Jim (or someone) could have acted as an official reporter on the convention, trying to give full and fair coverage to all who spoke. Or if such a neutral stance seemed too difficult to manage, reports on the convention written by people representing other tendencies should have been solicited and printed along with Jim's. (Certainly there was time for such a process in view of the inordinate length of time it took for this paper to appear.)

It is very important for the kind of organization NAM hopes to be that our official paper be open to other political viewpoints than just whichever has the majority at a particular time. In fact, the newspaper staff should actively solicit replies whenever political articles on some controversy facing the organization come in, and if possible print them in the same issue. (To help this, authors of such articles might send out advance copies to people they know would want to argue the other side.)

This cannot happen if the newspaper becomes widely seen as the organ of a minority faction. The stage would be set for embittering and disruptive battles between tendencies in NAM over control of our internal media. Jim Weinstein's article on the DeKalb convention could begin to foster such suspicions of the paper, unless in the future you follow openly professed standards for ensuring fairness to all within NAM.

in solidarity,

Bob McMahon
Chapel Hill NAM

Newspaper Collective's response:

Dear Bob,

The issues your letter raises are serious and a reply is difficult. We've all given your criticism a lot of thought and hope our response gives you an idea of the collective's reaction.

First, we agree that Jim's article was both unfair and stylistically offensive. Second, we must emphasize that the newspaper is *not* under the control of any political faction in NAM. Although Jim is a particularly strong member of the collective, the only politics shared

by all of us is a deep commitment to NAM and to building a movement for democratic socialism in the U. S.

It has been very hard to represent consistently all the political tendencies in NAM. In part this has been a result of the disorganization of the paper. Over the past two years the paper has been produced under tremendous handicaps. Until last month we had no regular staff, office, or adequate funding (for example only four people worked on the September issue). We are now in the process of developing a systematic and responsive operation.

But that has been only part of the problem. Major responsibility also falls on chapters and individuals in NAM who have not taken seriously enough the need for diverse viewpoints in the paper. Although we have made a practice of soliciting articles that would represent differing political positions, the *only* political issue that has been thoroughly debated in the paper is the question of electoral strategy. Until now there seems to have been a tendency in NAM for those who see other questions as important to refrain from airing their politics in the newspaper. In fact, many NAM people have recommended keeping questions of organizational strategy out of the paper altogether.

The newspaper collective stands opposed to keeping NAM's politics solely within our organization. We feel that one way the paper can best do outreach is to let people outside NAM know, through this paper, not only what questions we think are important, but also that we are committed to building an open and democratic revolutionary movement where debate is not confined to the membership.

Jim Weinstein's reply:

Bob McMahon is right to criticize parts of my article on the NAM Convention, and to raise the question of how to conduct a discussion of our political differences fairly. My article was patently unfair to Ed Clark. By inserting the word "somehow" in the sentence about electoral institutions being more corrupt than other institutions in capitalist society, I simply ridiculed his position and dismissed it out of hand. That's no way to conduct a serious discussion, and I apologize both to Ed and the paper's readers. In addition, in describing and criticizing the Minneapolis chapter's perspective on its work I said that their position was criticized widely, which was true, but I did not say that it also had substantial support. Further, I did not say that Minneapolis has been in the forefront in NAM in conducting public activity and engaging large numbers of people in struggle. I did not mean to be critical of the Domes Stadium referendum as such. I did mean to be critical of the lessons that the chapter spokespeople drew at the Convention.

But I stand on the political content of my article. I believe that there are important political differences within NAM about the necessity to make the question of socialism vs. capitalism an explicit public issue in the immediate future. I believe that those who have a two-stage theory are going back towards the kind of politics that has characterized the left since the 1930's. This is a vital question for NAM and one that should (must) be discussed publicly. If we are serious about building a democratic and open organization then readers of the newspaper should know and be involved in the major political differences within NAM. My article was a somewhat inept attempt to start doing that (as was the pre-Convention discussion of electoral politics). I hope that we can carry on this discussion in a friendly but straightforward manner in the paper and throughout NAM.

Jim Weinstein

chapter briefs

After doing extensive research, the PITTSBURGH CHAPTER has prepared a People's History Slide Show on the lives of steelworkers and their families around the turn of the century. They are now presenting their slide show to various community groups. If you'd like to present the show or learn how to produce one of your own, contact People's History Project, c/o Joni Rabinowitz, 2300 Pittcock, Pittsburgh, PA 15217.

Former members of the CHICAGO CHAPTER have been successful in organizing a pre-chapter in EAST DUNDEE, ILL. They created interest in NAM by holding socialist-feminist rap groups.

The LOS ANGELES CHAPTER joined local members of the Socialist Party and the Peace and Freedom Party in a food caravan to the picket lines of the United Farmworkers in Southern California. They were able to speak with the strikers and gain information on organizing effective support in the L. A. area. They suggest writing the United Front Press, P. O. Box 40099, San Francisco, CA 94110, for bilingual material on the UFW struggle.

The SOMERVILLE-MIDDLESEX CHAPTER and the BERKELEY CHAPTER are involved in impeachment drives.

The INTERBORO CHAPTER OF NEW YORK CITY has been developing programs around the Public Transit and Public Utilities Systems. Calling for the public control of these commissions, they have organized meetings with independent socialists, displayed their proposals in local NYC papers, and broadcast several radio programs. They are now extending their efforts to include gatherings of non-socialists and to gain the support of their local communities.

The HARVARD-RADCLIFFE CHAPTER has been doing extensive work around the Chile crisis.

Dear NAM newspaper collective:

We are writing regarding the Health Column on breastfeeding in the June issue of the NAM newspaper. We do not want to argue with the facts presented in the article but rather with the perspective within which they are put forth. Jain Simmons, perhaps in reaction to the medical world's blinders where breastfeeding is concerned, seems to be suggesting that breastfeeding is the only logical or legitimate way to feed a baby. We can think of numerous reasons why this is not the case. Factors such as convenience, personal style, health, etc. all could lead to choosing some other method. The right to choose is crucial. Accurate information about all aspects of child development should be readily available. But no woman should be made to feel that there is some moral superiority involved in breastfeeding a child, or any reason to feel guilty about not breastfeeding.

J. S. does not take into account that the objective conditions of most women's lives limit the choices we can make. She is puzzled that most women who breastfeed today are "young, white, middle class and college educated." Yet she writes:

"...the most common deterrents to the lactating mother are fatigue and tension and poor diet. Rest and relaxation are the greatest assets to the successful lactating mother."

For many women responsibilities for jobs, housework, or other children or the desire to be involved in other activities make fatigue and tension almost inevitable companions of childbirth. Rest and relaxation is not an option open to everyone.

More fundamentally, the article implies a position on child care (using the term in its broadest sense) with which we disagree. Its entire focus is on the ultimate responsibility of the biological mother. We believe that it is essential for a socialist movement to foster the development of the concept of social responsibility for children. Breastfeeding could still be possible and desirable within the framework of collective child care, but it would not need to be based on any mystical relationship between the biological mother and her child.

One final point: the article suggests writing to La Leche for further information. La Leche pushes an ideology along with its information and it is one that reinforces the traditional social role of women. Witness the title of its chief publication: "The Womanly Art of Breastfeeding."

While we hope that you will continue to print articles that deal with the concrete conditions of women's lives, we urge you to be sure that future articles reflect a better political understanding of those conditions.

In struggle,

Judy MacLean
Roberta Lynch
Pittsburgh NAM

Dear Judy and Roberta,

In the Health Column of the June issue, I was attempting to discuss only one topic--breastfeeding. Perhaps I would agree with your initial criticism had the article focused on child care in general, rather than breastfeeding in particular. I felt a need to discuss breastfeeding because the medical world does not offer enough information--the techniques, advantages, etc., of bottle-feeding are more widely discussed than those of breastfeeding. My discussion was not an attempt to minimize the need for a choice between the two. It was an attempt to make that choice possible.

Also, I feel that I was encouraging the shared responsibility of breastfeeding when I reviewed the ways another person could carry on the role of the biological mother in her absence. As a working mother, I have found that rest and relaxation can only be achieved due to the support of others. Furthermore, my statement on white, middle-class, college-educated women was in reference to the relative abundance of information available to these women; it was not in reference to their relative abundance of free time for rest and relaxation.

My suggestion to contact La Leche League could have been qualified with an explanation of their perspective on social roles. However, I find the factual information they provide to be a tremendous asset. Indeed, one would not be pleased with their ideology... I myself challenged them frequently. Nonetheless, I feel that they are one of the very few organized groups of women who can offer knowledge to the mother who wishes to breastfeed. Despite their approach to social roles, much of their literature reflects opposition to the medical world and offers women guidelines in achieving their rights in the hospitals, clinics, or doctors' offices.

Solidarity,

Jain Simmons
S. F. NAM

Review: **And Never Is Changed Into Today**

by Pam Rosenthal

The Mother is one of Bertolt Brecht's lesser-known works. When not confused with *Mother Courage*, it has been dismissed as "primitive," or "didactic" or "Stalinist," and scanted in favor of the later, more elaborate plays like the *Caucasian Chalk Circle*, or the musicals like the *Threepenny Opera*. Before the current San Francisco Mime Troupe production, it had only been done once in the United States, when in 1935 the Theatre Union of New York presented a watered-down Popular Front adaptation, rewritten to rally all people against Hitler. Brecht is reported to have stalked out of a rehearsal shouting "Dreck!"

He would not have stalked out of the Mime Troupe's production. I think he would have loved it. In any case, I loved it. It's the first production of a Brecht play I've seen in which the play's politics are taken seriously, and in which the theatrical effects are understood to be an aspect of the politics rather than used in the service of some director's hazy notion of "experimentation" or "avant-gardism." Understood and used correctly the play works beautifully.

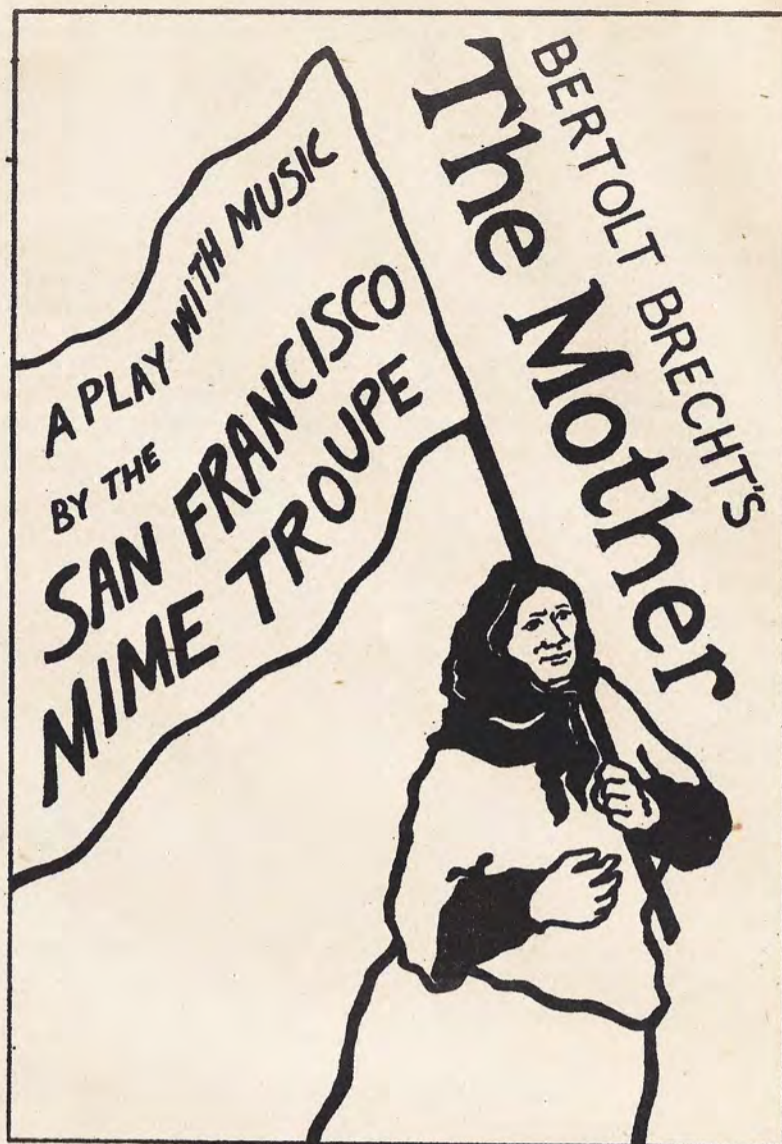
Clearly, this is a didactic play. Brecht called many of his earlier plays *Lehrstuecke* (plays for learning), and explained, in his notes on *The Mother* that only under capitalism is learning so devalued, treated as a commodity and banished from association with that which is enjoyable and entertaining. The *Mother*, Mrs. Vlassova, is "the widow of a worker and the mother of a worker," and the action follows her radicalization and growth from passive bewilderment about shrinking wages, to tireless commitment to communism, culminating in her participation in the 1917 Russian Revolution. What Brecht knew how to use, and what the Mime Troupe understands and the "experimental" directors never understand, is the fact that growth and change are deeply theatrical events, allowing for contrast, irony, comedy--all aspects of widening awareness.

For example, the *Mother* visits her son in jail, in order to learn the names of revolutionary peasants. To fool the prison guard, she affects a loud monologue, about the heartache and plight of old people whose children have deserted them; at the same time her son whispers the names of the sympathetic peasants to her. As Brecht pointed out in his notes to the play, the contrast between her past and present selves is as clear to Mrs. Vlassova as it is to the audience--she is able to fool the guard *because* she understands the historical situation that has caused her both to change and to pretend that she has not changes. This is didactic theater in the best sense, a complex (and extremely humorous) understanding of the consequences of widening awareness and changing perspective. And clearly, it is not primitive.

This is the first time in recent years that the Mime Troupe has done a play that is not their own, and that is not about current political events. It must have been a difficult and brave decision to depart from a successful formula, and to do a little-known piece that features Russian revolutionaries waving the red flag (you'll have to see it to believe it, but the flag-waving scenes are perhaps the most beautiful and effective in the play). It was also an important decision, I think, because radicals interested in theater have long been echoing catch phrases about Brechtian theater or epic theater without too much involvement in the plays themselves. There is a lot to be learned from *The Mother*, and it is a tremendously deep and involving theatrical experience.

The Mime Troupe goes on tour in the mid-West this Fall; see *The Mother* if you possibly can.

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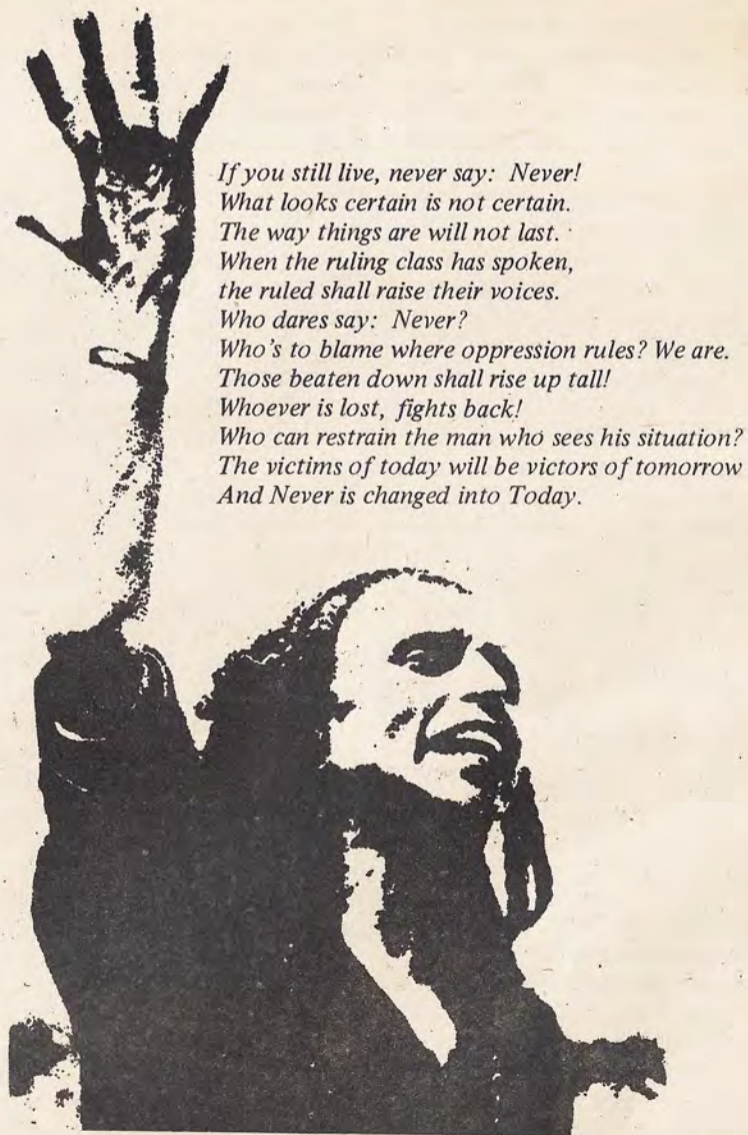


S. F. MIME TROUPE SCHEDULE

Oct. 26-28	Minneapolis, Minn.	Nov. 17	Appleton, Wisc.
Oct. 30-31	Madison, Wisc.	Nov. 18	Milwaukee, Wisc.
Nov. 1	Chicago, Ill.	Nov. 19	DeKalb, Ill.
Nov. 3	St. Charles, Mo.	Nov. 21-25	Chicago, Ill.
Nov. 5-6	Charleston, Ill.	Nov. 27	Toledo, Ohio
Nov. 7	Fort Wayne, Ind.	Nov. 28-30	Detroit, Mich.
Nov. 9-10	Rochester, N. Y.	Dec. 1	Rochester, Mich.
Nov. 13	East Lansing, Mich.	Dec. 2	Detroit, Mich.
Nov. 14	Ann Arbor, Mich.		



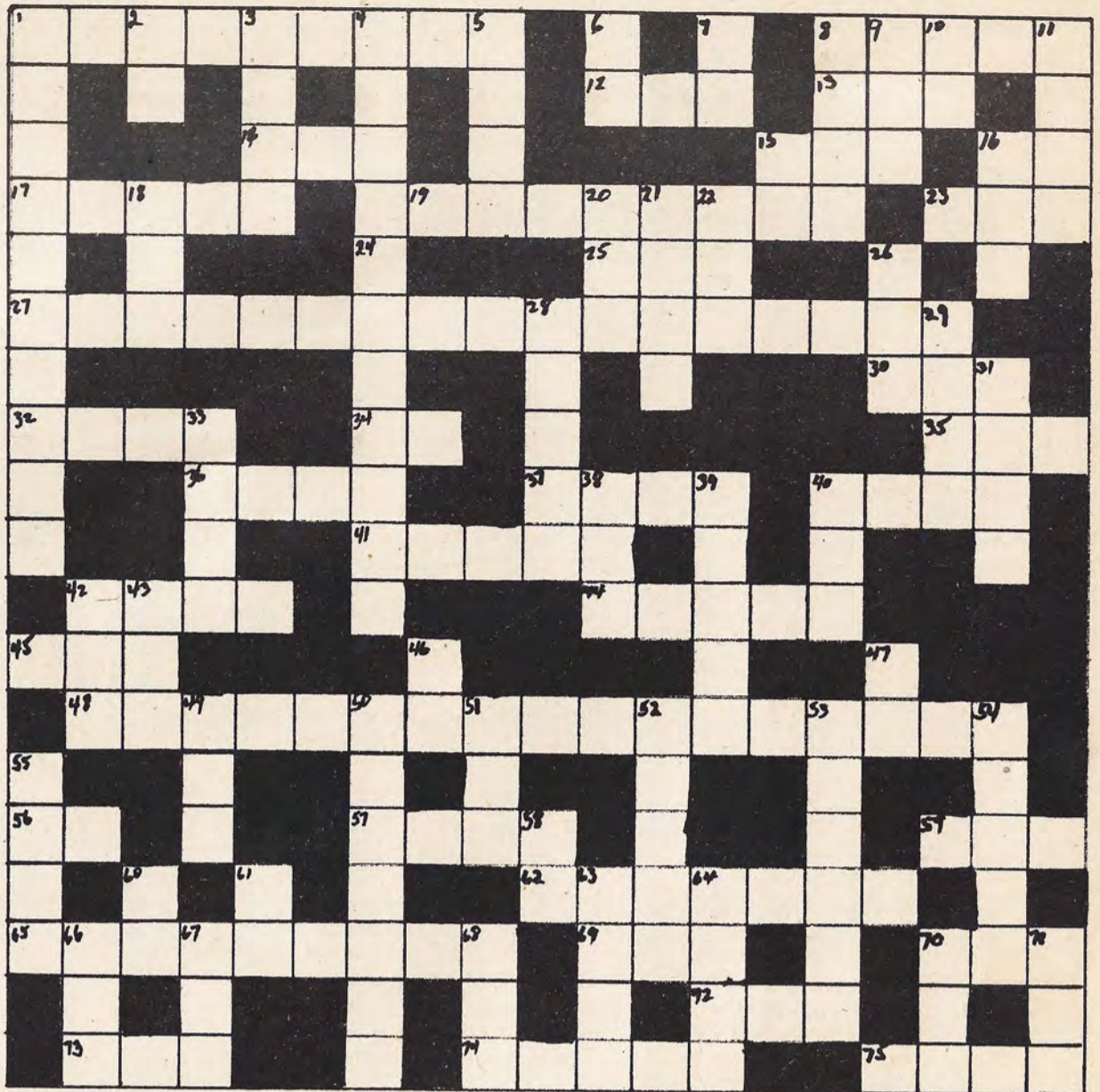
At first spelling lesson, *The Mother* insists on learning more relevant words.



If you still live, never say: Never!
 What looks certain is not certain.
 The way things are will not last.
 When the ruling class has spoken,
 the ruled shall raise their voices.
 Who dares say: Never?
 Who's to blame where oppression rules? We are.
 Those beaten down shall rise up tall!
 Whoever is lost, fights back!
 Who can restrain the man who sees his situation?
 The victims of today will be victors of tomorrow
 And Never is changed into Today.

ACROSS

1. Late German democratic socialist feminist.
8. Nearly a burn.
12. A big issue in U. S. Chile policy.
13. "Socialism in country?"
14. Take your
15. How Nixon learns.
16. Democratic Socialist sect group.
17. ". . . . Blanket Bingo."
19. "Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile"
23. A reflection of life.
25. City of Sunny, fascist Brazil.
27. Attica murderer; Ludlow genus.
30. Kind of tent or dog.
32. What Abbie should keep his nose out of if he wants to be political.
35. We used to sit-in when the recruiter came.
36. Mardi
37. Promises of it tend to mobilize peasants.
40. *Captain Swing* author.
41. If there were but one, there would be none of them.
42. State capitalist party organ.
44. Take a
45. Late great guitarist Montgomery.
48. Book by 50 Down.
56. Catch-all, escapist mantra.
57. The Machine.
59. Cartel fighting the nation's health.
62. Weapon.
65. Acts of 29 Down's group, in the present situation.
69. "All We Saying."
70. American Revolutionary Media.
72. The League, Abbr.
73. Native American group.
74. Russian revolutionary leader.
75. Ky's only hero was one.



DOWN

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "Class War, Not Imperialist War" was his phrase. 2. . . . Square statistic 3. Lenin attacks him in <i>Materialism and Empirio-Criticism</i>. 4. . . . Value. 5. A desert. 6. "Hell no," with 7 and 55 Down. 7. See 6 Down. 8. . . . grapes. 9. Noun ending. 10. Muhammad Ali, Clay. 11. It's Red. 15. "People everywhere just got to . . . free." 16. Belfast military force. 18. <i>We Shall Be</i>, by Dubovsky. 20. See 12 Across. 21. Summer, 1969, witnessed one in SDS. 22. A female deer. 24. <i>Modern Prince</i> author. 26. Meggyssey reports football players are full of these pills. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 28. Marx and Kautsky. 29. Mark , Columbia radical who eschews meteorologists. 31. Late Pablo Neruda's vocation. 33. A staple food now costing a dollar for twelve. 38. "Get your in the class that's a wage away from hunger." 39. Its abolition paradoxically hurt the 60's New Left. 40. . . . Lib. 42. It spelled LBJ's downfall, among other things. 43. Annual Wednesday. 46. Freudian category. 47. A great uncle. 49. It's only human to do it. 50. Author of 48 Across. 51. Berkeley radical education group. 52. Colson made one to McCord. 53. <i>Obsolete Communism</i> author. 54. . . . Rouge. 55. See 6 Down. 58. I. F. 60. Do die. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 61. . . . It, by Jerry Rubin. 63. Spain's plain gets most of it. 64. Inert gas. 66. Every . . . has its own Zeitgeist. 67. Weatherman was No. 1. 68. Acid fascist Lyman. 70. Coca Cola pusher. 71. "La France, c'est" |
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NAM CHAPTERS & PRE-CHAPTERS

NAM chapters are numbered; pre-chapters are starred.

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"The time has come to recognize that the only way to bring us—the participating citizens of a great country—together is to forthrightly declare our rejection and contempt for those who practice subversion, lawlessness, and violence."

—April 24, 1970

"Most of these young people who depend upon the ideology of 'the movement' for moral and mental sustenance will in time. . . return to the enduring values, just as every generation before them has done.

But unfortunately, there is a much smaller group of students who are committed to radical change through violent means. . . . This is the criminal left that belongs not in a dormitory but in a penitentiary."

—April 28, 1970



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