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COALITION OF LABOR UNION WOMEN

by Renate Jaeger, Pittsburgh NAM, and Candace Cohn, Pittsburgh ACOSH

ON MARCH 23-24 approximately 3,200 women representing nearly sixty unions from forty states gathered at an unprecedented meeting at Chicago's Pick-Congress Hotel to form the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

The conference was designed to bring "together union women members and retirees of bona fide collective bargaining organizations," to deal with their special concerns as unionists and women in the labor force in an "inter-union framework." CLUW will consider "positive action" around equal pay, equal rights, and equal opportunity; women's legal rights, maternity benefits, and child care; equitable hiring and promotion practices, adequate minimum wage, upgrading, and affirmative action; organizing unorganized women workers, and equitable representation of women in union structures and in policy-making.

It quickly became clear, however, that there would be little time to discuss any of these issues adequately or effectively. There was a tremendous amount of work to do in two short days—and the leadership had its own ideas about how the Coalition should function.

The leadership instrumental in establishing this conference consisted of women influential in the trade unions, many of whom have been active unionists for over 25 years. These women had met several times in Chicago during 1973 and in a June meeting of some 200 temporary officers were elected to organize an interim structure for the organization and to initiate regional conferences to plan for this conference.

ADOPTION WITHOUT DISCUSSION

There was much talk the first morning of birth, of labor pains, and of the new-born Coalition's potential. We were all aware of taking part in a great historical occasion. There was a tremendous feeling of strength and solidarity, which culminated in 3,200 women raising joined hands.

Continued calls were made in the name of unity, to put aside "private agendas" and to accept the proposed structure and guidelines for the organization. On a motion by the Chair, all resolutions were referred to the new National Coordinating Committee (NCC), the policy-making body of CLUW. The rules for the conference were adopted in full, without discussion, even though several had significant political implications. For example, no amendments were presented from the floor and only amendments and resolutions not in conflict with the Statement of Purpose would be considered.

Many overcrowded workshops—some with over 100 women—were

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Auto Company Crisis

Shifting To Small Cars

by Frank Ackerman and Arthur MacLewan

IF THE ENERGY CRISIS was a conspiracy, why wasn't GM in on it?

The oil shortage has worked wonders for the oil companies' profits, but not for the auto companies'. With many customers scared away from Detroit's latest gas-guzzlers, GM's sales for the first ten weeks of 1974 were down 36% from last year; Ford and Chrysler are selling about 20% less than a year ago. At GM alone, 120,000 workers have been laid off or put on "temporary furlough;" the total layoffs in the auto companies and in their dealers and suppliers are probably over 300,000. Auto industry profits, of course, are collapsing. Why did the oil companies do this to the auto companies?

Part of the answer is that the energy crisis was not simply a conspiracy. Rather, it was the result of normal corporate planning in the oil industry. Seeing actual or threatened decreases in their profits, the oil companies cut back on investment and production—just what any capitalist does when profits are going down. In the crisis atmosphere created by the shortages, the oil companies have been able to scare the country into allowing them higher prices, higher profits (\$10 billion in 1973; it will be more in 1974), and freedom from interference. This restores their "incentives" to produce, and so the oil starts to flow again.

As neat as the process sounds, it is subject to a good deal of uncertainty. In any corporate planning, there is room for disagreement over timing and degree of impact. Moreover, while the energy crisis has shown that the oil companies are enormously powerful, they are not

all-powerful. They cannot control all the effects of their actions on the rest of the economy. Their goal is to maximize their own profits, whatever that may do to other industries' profits.

AUTO PLANNERS

But the auto industry has plenty of its own long-range planners. Were they blind to what was happening? Why didn't the auto industry see the energy crisis coming and switch to small cars?

Actually, all the auto companies did foresee a major shift to small car production within the 1970's. They differed in their predictions about how soon the change would come and in their strategies for making the change. GM's strategy was by far the worst and it lost the most due to the energy crisis. At the opposite extreme, American Motors, which could never afford to compete in the big-car market, has benefited from the recent shift to small cars: its sales are up 18% over last year. (American Motors is a small company only by comparison with other auto companies. "Little" American Motors is one of the 100 largest industrial corporations in the U. S.) Ford and Chrysler fell between these two extremes, suffering serious losses, but not nearly as bad as GM's.

THE COMING OF SMALL CARS

It has been clear for several years that small cars are the wave of the future. Small, low-priced imports were winning a growing share of the market. Five-sixths of all U. S. households already have one car, and most of the growth in the auto

Impeach Nixon!

Action in Streets and Congress

by Judy MacLean and Nick Rabkin

THE NOOSE IS tightening around Richard Nixon's neck. At this writing the House Judiciary Committee has taken a first important step toward a genuine showdown with the President—a showdown that will almost certainly lead to impeachment proceedings. It has subpoenaed tapes of presidential conversations with John Dean, H. R. Haldemann, and John Erlichman from February through April, 1973.

Nixon has been tenaciously holding on to the tapes since the Committee's first request for the material last February. After the last protracted tapes confrontation Nixon delivered a tape that included an 18-minute deliberate erasure. Press Secretary Ron Zeigler's contention that some of the subpoenaed tapes do not exist may suggest another such evasion in the works. In any case, Nixon will be required to respond by the subpoena by April 25, two days before scheduled national demonstrations for impeachment on April 27 in Washington. His response

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will surely move the House another step toward impeachment as it will move thousands of angry people to the Washington streets.

DEMOCRATS VS. REPUBLICANS

Democrats are trying to turn Nixon's eventual ouster into a victory for their party. Special congressional elections this spring have shown traditional Republican support dwindling. Recently Nixon went to Michigan to campaign for a Republican candidate in a district where a Democrat hasn't been elected in forty years. If the Democrat there wins, as is predicted, it is likely that Republican support in Congress, which was rocked recently by James Buckley's call for resignation, will virtually dry up.

The Republican's best hope is a quick replacement of Nixon through resignation. Remembering Johnson's comeback after Kennedy's assassination, they hope to use Gerald Ford's relatively untarnished image to capitalize on the inevitable wave of public insecurity that would follow Nixon's stepping down. If Nixon resigned quickly Ford would have almost two years to rebuild the coalition of forces that elected Nixon in 1972.

Democrats, on the other hand, could benefit from an impeachment trial, televised this summer, and win big victories in the Congressional elections this fall. If this year's reorganizing convention discards the quota system of delegates and consolidates the leadership of the party's center, as it is expected to, then the newly unified party, purged of many left elements, could look forward to control of both houses and good prospects in the 1976 elections. Even if Nixon

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business since at least 1960 has been in second and third cars; very few families buy large second cars. Furthermore, in every recession, when unemployment rises, fewer people can afford big cars. The share of the market going to small cars shot up during the 1970-71 recession.

The auto companies watch these trends very closely. Ford and Chrysler responded by shifting a large part of their capacity into small car production.

General Motors knew about the growing
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mideast war U.S. Only Winner

by Fred Lowe and Suzanne Roff-Lowe

Ed. note: This is the first article in a series by the Lowes giving a comprehensive view of the major issues in the Mid-East. Over the next eight months articles will cover such topics as Zionism, People's Yemen, the history of anti-semitism, and the political economy of Egypt.

FOR MANY AMERICANS who understood the implication of the Vietnam war the Mid-East is still a misunderstood bundle of contradicting issues. It is very hard for them to conceptualize two poles in the struggle parallel to the NLF versus U. S. imperialism in Vietnam.

The American radical who looks at the Mid-East political picture sees 15 Arab states ranging from feudal monarchies, such as Saudi Arabia, Morocco, and Jordan, to Marxist-Leninist People's Yemen. In between there is a whole spectrum of different nationalist governments: Libya's form of Islamic populism, the staunch Syrian and Iraqi nationalist anti-imperialist governments, the fluctuating nationalism of Sadat's Egypt.

Then there is Israel and memories of six million Jews killed in World War II. There is a mention of Israeli Kibbutzim, moshavs, and egalitarianism fighting against blood-thirsty Arabs who want to "kill all Jews and throw them into the sea." Yet, Israel's only friends seem to be the U. S., South Africa, Portugal, and South Vietnam. On the other hand, the North Vietnamese, Chinese, and Cubans support the Arabs. And Israel is placed by some in the same category as South Africa: a foreign imperialist settler-state rooted in the Mid-East against the will of the natives.

Then we hear of the Palestinians, those who had lived for thousands of years on the land that is today Israel. The Palestinians are seen as freedom fighters by the great majority of Africans, Asians, and Arabs. Yet, in the U. S. and Western Europe they are considered "terrorists" who fall in the same category as the S.L.A. To Israel's former prime minister the two-and-a-half million Palestinians "do not exist." To King

Hussein of Jordan they exist and proved to be a great nuisance hindering his imperialist policies; in 1970 Hussein killed 20,000 Palestinians.

We also hear of the politics of oil. We hear of an energy crisis caused by the Arabs. We hear of Iranian intervention in Dhofar to smash a long people's war that threatens to destroy the imperialists' control of oil wells. We hear of Kissinger's trips to the Mid-East, of the Mid-East's effect on U. S.-Soviet detente and of Senate liberals voting to send Israel \$2.5 billion in gifts to buy phantoms.

What is actually happening in the Mid-East. Why the wars? Why the energy crisis? Why the contradictory policies?

U. S. MID-EAST TRIANGLE

One of the best and most concise comments on the political reality of today's Mid-East was given by U. S. Senator Henry Jackson. Jackson's analysis is thorough and is the viewpoint of a friend of Israel in the Senate. Its greatest virtue is that it beautifully ties together all those seemingly disconnected Mid-East happenings. In May 1973 Jackson issued the following statement:

Such stability as now obtains in the Middle East is, in my view, largely the result of the strength and Western orientation of Israel on the Mediterranean and Iran on the Persian Gulf. These two countries, reliable friends of the U. S. together with Saudi Arabia, have served to inhibit and contain those irresponsible and radical elements in certain Arab states—such as Syria, Libya, Lebanon, and Iraq—who, were they free to do so, would pose a grave threat indeed to our principle sources of petroleum in the Persian Gulf. Among the many anomalies of the Middle East must surely be counted the extent to which Saudi Arabia and the sheikhdoms—from which, along with Iran, most of our imported oil will flow in the years ahead—will depend for regional stability on the ability of Israel to help provide an environment in which the moderate regime in Lebanon and Jordan can survive and in which Syria can be contained.



Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat

For astute Vietnam experts, Jackson's statement should bring back memories of Nixon's pet theory of Vietnamization. In the Mid-East the guardian of Pax Americana seems to be a three-poled affair, each with its own specialty.

First, we have the Iranian pole, and, as Jackson said, its purpose is to secure the oil resources of the Persian Gulf. Iran has recently been supplied with over \$5 billion worth of U. S. arms and 30,000 Iranian troops are busy trying to defeat the Marxist Popular Front in its struggle for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf (PFLOAG) against the feudal Sultan Qabus. After eight years of strong going the revolution in Dhofar is healthy and controls most of the country except for the towns that are controlled by Iranians and British mercenaries.

The second pole in the Mid-East is the royal alliance of Saudi Arabia and Jordan. Their job is two-fold: first, to destroy or contain the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (Dhofar's Marxist neighboring state), and second, to neutralize the Palestinian resistance and its potential for unleashing social revolutionary struggle in the area of Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, etc. Thus in 1970, with Saudi Arabian, U. S., and Israeli aid, Hussein brutally attacked the Palestinian resistance, killing 20,000 people inhabiting the camps in what came to be known as the month of Black September. In May 1973, with Saudi Arabian and U. S. help, the rightist government of Lebanon tried to repeat the Jordanian feat but failed to destroy the Palestinian resistance. Instead it appeared that the flames of civil war were going to spread through Lebanon itself.

The third pole of the triangle is

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LIGHT AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL

Struggle Continues

S. Vietnam Since 'Ceasefire'

by Paul Joseph

IN JANUARY 1973, the United States, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, and the Republic of South Vietnam (Saigon) signed the Paris Peace Agreement. The pact provided for "the withdrawal of all troops, military advisors, and military personnel of the United States and those of other countries from South Vietnam," for the exchange of all prisoners, civilian and military, the reassertion of the "independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity" of Vietnam as recognized by the 1954 Geneva agreements, for a contribution

from the United States to the postwar reconstruction of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and for the right of the South Vietnamese to determine their political future through genuinely free and democratic elections. The elections were to be organized by a Council of National Reconciliation and Concord consisting of three distinct and equal segments: the Provisional Revolutionary Government, the Saigon regime, and the so-called "Third Force" or neutralists aligned with neither of the other two parties.

It is helpful to remind ourselves of the political context surrounding the Paris Agreements. Any illusion about the success of Vietnamization was drama-

tically smashed by the NLF Spring Offensive of May 1972. Only unprecedented levels of American bombing halted the route of the Army of South Vietnam (ARVN). The Paris Agreements did little to resolve the actual differences among the parties. But it did establish a framework in which anti-Thieu sentiment could be expressed.

In fact, hostilities never halted. As Saigon continued land-grabbing and "nibbling" operations against the liberated zones, the level of violence has steadily increased. Kissinger now claims that the agreement was designed simply to prepare for an honorable withdrawal and the return of the POW's, leaving a final resolution to the Vietnamese.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Washington continues to see the struggle against anti-imperialist forces as one of the top priorities of its foreign policy. As always, they fear that the success of the Vietnamese Revolution will serve as a catalyst to national liberation movements elsewhere in the world.

Military personnel and advisors are banned by the Paris Agreements, but the United States continues to maintain forces in disguised forms. One of these is an increasingly elaborate system of private contractors employing former military men. Over three thousand Americans, belonging to one hundred companies with contracts totaling more than \$144 million, are currently engaged in the war effort. The old Agency for International Development (AID) and CIA programs, including pacification and the notorious "Phoenix" assassination program, all continue under new labels. The American Embassy in Saigon remains the largest mission in the world. North

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

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Wiretaps at Wounded Knee

by Martin Bunzl
Minneapolis NAM

THE SPECIAL hearing on government misconduct and wiretapping in the trial of Dennis Banks and Russell Means has been dramatically transformed into an investigation of a possible high-level government coverup. Means and Banks are indicted on ten felony counts arising out of their role in the so-called "occupation" of Wounded Knee last year. In the past three weeks Judge Fred Nichol has been receiving testimony on a defense motion to dismiss all charges against Means and Banks on the grounds that the government illegally monitored the only telephone line into Wounded Knee.

In early April, the defense received a copy of a letter written by W. Mark Felt, former acting Assistant Director of the FBI, to Assistant Attorney General Henry Peterson. Written on March 20, 1973, Felt's letter is an apparent response to a letter from Peterson that rejected the FBI application for a legal wiretap at Wounded

Knee. Peterson's reason for rejecting the application was his suspicion that the application was based on information obtained from an illegal wiretap. Felt assures Peterson that the information was obtained from informers, not an illegal wiretap. This assertion conflicts with the prosecution's claim that there was nothing significant in the FBI's informer files on this case that could be of any use to the defense. (The prosecution, by court order, is required to give the defense any material helpful to its case.)

In his letter Felt states: "Agents admit one accidental 'overhear' on the party line. I am not so naive as to rule out other overhears. I do know that the agents discussed the situation with Carl Belcher who at first felt it could be monitored. . . ." The importance of this statement is that Carl Belcher, chief of the general crimes section of the Justice Department, considered it legal to monitor the only telephone line into Wounded Knee by listening in on an extension installed at an FBI roadblock. If, as the letter indicates, Belcher conveyed this opinion to FBI agents at Wounded Knee,

it would be in direct conflict with sworn testimony from those agents.

Felt's letter concludes with the statement to the effect that the FBI was withdrawing its application. Again, this is in direct conflict with the testimony given in this case.

At the defense's request, the judge has ordered Peterson, Felt, and Belcher to testify. The FBI agents in charge at Wounded Knee, Joseph Trimbach and Roy Moore will also testify. The defense will attempt to show that Belcher told Trimbach and Moore that they could monitor the telephone line into Wounded Knee without court authority. In doing so the defense hopes to establish that Trimbach committed perjury when he testified that he knew nothing of any monitoring or wiretapping in this case. (The judge is already considering holding Trimbach in contempt for inconsistencies in his previous testimony.) The defense will also attempt to show that the prosecution lied both when it said that there was nothing in the informer files and when it said that the Justice Department rejected the wiretap application—in fact

the FBI withdrew its own application. Finally, the defense will attempt to show that knowledge of the telephone monitoring extended to the highest echelons of the FBI and the Justice Department.

As defense attorney Ken Tilsen put it: "I cannot believe that Mr. Hurd, the U. S. attorney, went to Washington to meet with Saxbe and Henry Peterson and Carl Belcher and had lunch with them as described in court in order that they could discuss and make a decision on the question of these documents, and the questions of these conversations. . . was never mentioned at all. We are getting closer to an involvement of those people."

Commenting on the recent revelations, Judge Nichol stated that he did not think that there was government misconduct comparable to the Ellsberg case. However, the judge stated, "at some point there is a cumulative effect of all these late discoveries it could then be considered, if it reaches that point, to be gross negligence, and gross negligence equals, within the law, willful misconduct. . . My dilemma stems from the fact that if I dismiss the Banks and Means case it may well dismiss, on kind of a domino theory, the one-hundred and thirty other cases."

Unions Endorse Nationalization

We Can't Trust The Trusts With Our Oil

by Dan Marschall
Berkeley NAM

THE END OF THE Arab oil embargo has brought an end to long gas lines, but it's just the beginning of big problems of the major oil companies. The "energy crisis" has been a serious trial for the United States, and all the evidence points to one conclusion—that the crisis was deliberately contrived by the major oil companies to increase their own corporate profits. To prevent another such crisis, a nationwide campaign has begun for public ownership of the energy industry.

A TVA FOR ENERGY

"We can't trust the trusts with our oil," chanted 800 men and women in the United Electrical Workers at a recent demonstration in Washington, D. C. The UE is calling for a publicly-owned energy agency similar to the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA).

Along with nationalization, the UE has presented a comprehensive energy program demanding such measures as a rollback of gasoline prices and a tax on oil companies' windfall profits. Several UE locals have already endorsed the national program. In February, a

Milwaukee meeting of the UE's District II Council said that "the nation's resources are essential to the needs and welfare of the people and cannot be left to the ownership and control of private profiteers."

The Milwaukee resolution calls upon Congress "to act immediately to place all energy and energy-related enterprises into a quasi-governmental corporation, the U. S. Energy Authority. The Authority shall be operated on a non-profit basis and for the benefit of the people."

The UE points out that public ownership will meet fierce opposition from private industry, as the TVA did when initiated by President Roosevelt in 1933. Growing out of a study of utility companies that Roosevelt authorized as governor of New York, the TVA was branded as "palpably unconstitutional" and even "communist inspired."

Private power companies brought 34 separate lawsuits against the TVA and eventually had a federal court issue an injunction barring TVA from extending services and construction. Only in 1939 was the TVA allowed to extend its power throughout Tennessee and into other Southern states.

The TVA failed in its long-term purpose of stimulating such agencies in other industries, mainly because of intense pressure on the federal government. But it was immediately successful in bringing inexpensive electric power to rural areas. On the average, TVA still sells power at half what is charged nationally by private utilities.

As the UE News said in a recent article on the TVA, "The struggle to establish and maintain TVA indicates the kind of battle that has to be faced if the oil companies are to be challenged effectively. This one for providing the people with fuel at reasonable prices will be even tougher because, unlike the previous battle, the President is on the side of the enemy."

UNIONS ENDORSE PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

Along with the United Electrical Workers, several other unions have endorsed public ownership of the energy industry. In the February issue of the Butcher Workman, Patrick Gorman,



Secretary-Treasurer of the Amalgamated Meatcutters, said, "Our nation and government can do no less, under the circumstances, than to take over and operate the oil industry in behalf of our people, rather than in behalf of the profits of greedy industrialists and bankers."

Gorman further proposed that Congress "form committees of engineers, administrators, workers, and consumers to operate the industry in behalf of the American people."

In California, the Riverside County Central Labor Council and Local 2859 of the United Steel Workers of America have passed a resolution serving as a model for similar statements by union locals. The resolution concludes that "the only way to break the oil monopolies' stranglehold on the economy, increase production, and prevent a recurrence of the crisis is to put the whole fossil fuel industry, from the earth to the pump, under public ownership."

The United Auto Workers (UAW) has also presented a comprehensive program dealing with the energy crisis. In their 37-page statement, the UAW proposes the establishment of "a Federal Energy Authority to plan and coordinate the nation's energy activities" that would be controlled "through the democratic process."

The UAW statement continues: "The authority would be responsible for a number of different bodies, some purely governmental, some private, some joint government-industry, some linking government with independent research institutions, and some semi-independent

corporations along the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority. . . ."

On February 22, 1974, the AFL-CIO Executive Council issued a statement urging the "creation of TVA-type fuel development agencies, including oil shale, to develop and expand energy sources and provide cost yardsticks for the benefit of consumers."

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP: ITS POLITICS AND ORGANIZATION

THE CREATION of a Federal Oil and Gas Corporation modeled after the TVA is the basis of a bill introduced into Congress by Senator Stevenson of Illinois. As an amendment to the Natural Gas Act, it would provide for the development of oil and gas resources on federal lands.

A federal energy agency of this type could be an important step towards public ownership and democratic control of the entire energy industry. But it would be only a step, since it suffers from many of the same inadequacies of the original TVA.

The TVA was intended as a "yardstick" with which to regulate the prices charged by privately-owned utilities. By creating a federal corporation and pitting the public sector against the private sector, it was to serve as a check and balance system against high utility rates.

Stevenson's bill would form a federal corporation whose power and resources would be very limited in relation to the

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"You Were Possessed By An Energy Crisis, But We Exorcised It"

Spanish Unionists Start Jail Terms

by Bob Nelson and Judy MacLean
Pittsburgh NAM

TEN TRADE UNION organizers in Spain are presently serving jail sentences of 12-20 years for "illicit association" in one of Spain's most bizarre legal cases of the decade. The actual crime is "illicit association having the character of an illegal workers assembly," in other words, having a union meeting.

The real meaning of the case is that the meeting did occur, and that it happened at a time when many of the forces that had strongly supported the government in the past are splitting in different directions. Some have moved to the extreme right, for example, the Guerrillas of Christ the King, while others, most notably the Catholic Church, have endorsed petitions calling for greater freedom.

THE WORKERS COMMISSIONS

Since the successful overthrow of the Spanish Republic by the forces of Generalissimo Francisco Franco in 1939, only one type of workplace organization, the vertical syndicate, has been allowed to function freely. This structure encom-

passes workers, supervisors, and employers. Officers of the vertical syndicates hold their jobs only at the whim of the government.

In recent years, many workers have shunned the vertical syndicates and have used clandestine means to organize a wave of strikes, slowdowns and other job actions. In spite of statutes specifically outlawing strikes, and providing severe penalties for those who do strike, Spanish workers have organized more strikes in recent years than have workers of any other European country.

As these protests spread across the country, the need for a national democratic union became apparent, and the workers commission movement was organized. Under these commissions, each local group of workers democratically elected a representative to a national body. These delegates were preparing to meet at the convent of Fr. Garcia Salve when the police raided the meeting and arrested ten of the delegates, including Fr. Salve.

All of the arrested delegates were put in Carabanchel prison except for Fr. Salve who was put in a special prison for priests. He, too, was transferred to Carabanchel after he organized a hunger strike among the prisoners.

THE TRIAL

After eighteen months in jail, the defendants were brought to trial last December. Many observers came from other countries; those from the U. S. included Ramsey Clark, former Attorney General; Henry Foner, President of the Joint Board of Fur, Leather and Machinists Union; Eric Schmidt, executive secretary of the U. S. Committee for the Carabanchel 10; and Henry Giler, a West Coast attorney.

The trial was a farce. According to Clark, writing in *The New York Times*, "...the government did not present a witness, nor produce a single document. It stood on the police charges and the inquisition of the defendants. The police were nameless, faceless, absent; they could not be confronted or cross-examined. Each defendant denied wrongdoing. Most spoke sincerely, articulately, even nobly until cut off by the court, which demanded yes or no answers. The defense, seeking to call scores of witnesses, including the Cardinal of Madrid, was limited by the court to three who testified only briefly."

Schmidt recalls: "...despite the provocations of the judge, the police, and the paramilitary fascist group (the Guerrillas of Christ the King), the defendants and their lawyers presented their position with firmness and dignity. Despite the fact that witnesses corroborated the statements of the defendants and contradicted the government's allegations, no one was in doubt about the outcome of the trial. As predicted, the government returned a verdict of guilty."



THE SENTENCES

While it is customary in such showcase trials for the defendants to be found guilty, often the court placates the defense by handing down sentences that are somewhat less than the prosecution requests.

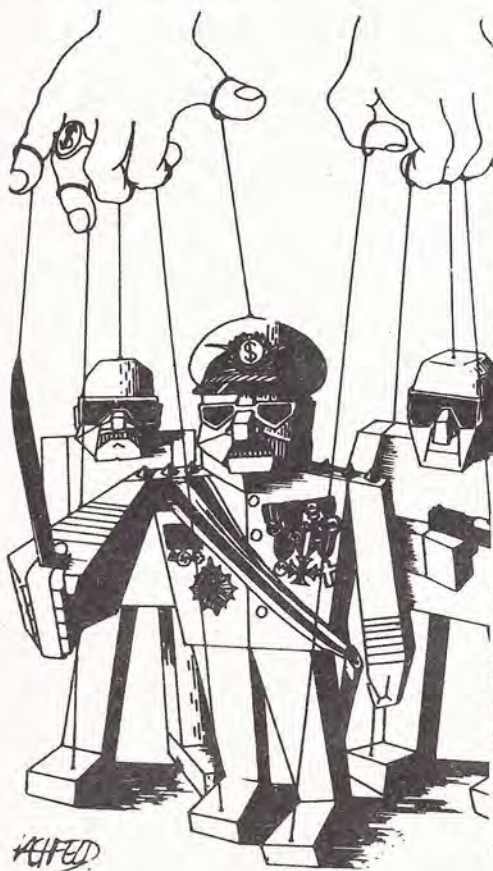
This did not occur in the Carabanchel case, probably due to the assassination of Carrero Blanco, Franco's hand-picked successor, on the eve of the trial, coinciding with a visit to Spain by U. S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. The Government blamed the militant Basque independence movement (ETA), and immediately arrested six Basques. Eric Schmidt notes that even responsible sources such as the *Manchester Guardian* and *Le Monde* have suggested the assassi-

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Guatemalan Election Terror

(Compiled from *Guatemala Report* and *NACLA's Latin America Empire Report*.)

ON MARCH 12, 1974, the Guatemalan Congress declared General Kjell Laugerud Garcia the winner of the March 3 Presidential election. No one in the entire country believed them. The *New York Times* reported on March 8 that "extensive fraud" guaranteed Laugerud's victory. But, backed by a significant portion of the military and economic elite, Laugerud is expected to assume the Presidency on July 1.



But the 1974 election will haunt Guatemalan ruling circles for years to come. After the direct U. S. intervention in 1954 to oust the progressive national capitalist government of Jacobo Arbenz, mainstream politics in Guatemala has been designed to maintain a stable climate for foreign investment, and to eliminate all traces of popular or working class organization

(as had begun under Arbenz) and prevent such mobilization in the future. Achievement of these goals, particularly since the rise of a revolutionary guerrilla movement in the mid-1960's, has required a counterinsurgency campaign internationally known for its brutality.

The election changed this situation. The government wanted to preserve the appearance of an open election and could not apply the customary measures of brutal repression. Instinctively understanding this opening in the political process, and squeezed by the the deepening economic crisis (during 1973 Guatemala experienced an inflation unprecedented since the 1920's), several sectors of the population moved decisively.

The first action was a several-months-long teachers' strike in mid-1973, which received widespread support from parents, students, and other labor organizations, and brought thousands of Guatemalans into the streets for the first time since the massive student-worker protests of 1962. Having essentially won its wage demands, the teachers' movement served as a catalyst for a broader popular movement (including a street demonstration of more than 4,000 people in August) against the rapidly rising cost of living.

These movements were spontaneous and not highly organized. Thus their impact was limited. But they were crucial, insofar as they indicate—after twenty years of the most systematic repression—a revival of popular militancy and developing consciousness among certain sectors of the Guatemalan people. The country is polarized and politicized to such a degree that heightened activity of both the revolutionary left and the extreme right is inevitable.

THE CANDIDATES

Within this unstable context, all three presidential candidates were military men. The two obvious civilian candidates—Manuel Colom Argueta on the left and Clemente Marroquin Rojas on the right—were by-passed by the major parties because everyone understands that civilians have no chance of governing the

country. Colom Argueta's and Marroquin Rojas' attempts to set up new parties were blocked by the government.

The government candidate, General Kjell Laugerud, was a personal aide to current President Carlos Arana Osorio during the 1966-68 counterinsurgency campaign in Zacapa that left 7,000 dead. Laugerud has trained at Fort Benning, Georgia, and Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and was defense minister in Arana's cabinet. His running-mate was Mario Sandoval Alarcon, head of the right-wing party of large landowners, the Movimiento Liberacion Nacional (MLN) and leader of the paramilitary terrorist groups—La Mano Blanca (White Hand), Ojo por Ojo (Eye for an Eye) and now Escuadron de la Muerte (Death Squad)—that have claimed responsibility for assassinations of many opposition leaders in the past several years. Laugerud and Sandoval ran under a coalition of the MLN and the PID (Partido Institucional Democratica), the party of the army.

The main opposition, called the Frente Nacional de Oposicion, was headed by General Efraim Rios Montt, a centrist figure backed by the Christian Democrats and other center-left groups. Rios Montt, also noted for counterinsurgency work, was highly placed in the army and had been Chief of Studies of the Interamerican College of Defense in Washington, D. C. His Vice-Presidential candidate, Alberto Fuentes Mohr, was a liberal reformist, exiled from the country by the Arana government in 1970-71. The third Presidential candidate, Colonel Ernest Paiz Novales of the centrist Partido Revolucionario, was essentially in the race to split the opposition vote.

Laugerud and Rios Montt presented more or less the same substantive platform. Both gave lip-service to nationalism without challenging the increasing penetration of foreign capital in Guatemala; both promised a better life for workers and peasants without advocating land or tax reform. Yet a Rios Montt government would be less repressive, less corrupt, and more serious about making minor changes. To Guatemalans, who had experienced assassinations, states of siege and "disappearances" for so long, the first of these differences became

important. In hope of relief from the brutality of the government and right-wing, many liberals and progressives rallied behind Rios Montt.

THE CAMPAIGN

During early 1973, Laugerud confidently paraded around the country as the "future President." But the upsurge of grass-roots political activity in 1974



Gen. Efraim Rios Montt

was stunning. Rios Montt became an important symbol of opposition to the government.

As prices rose and strikes multiplied, the campaign heated up. The Frente Nacional de Oposicion vigorously denounced the crimes and corruption of the government. Rios Montt and the Christian Democratic party referred to the MLN as the "party of organized violence," and huge Rios Montt ads pictured the MLN banner dripping with blood. The government party responded with full-page newspaper ads linking Rios Montt with guerrillas and Communism. Rios Montt charged that the government was preparing to commit fraud in order to win.

Rumors of a coup in the event of a Rios Montt victory abounded. Eight days before the election the Escuadron de Muerte threatened Rios Montt and Fuentes Mohr with death if they came to campaign in a southern province of the country. In late February, four leaders of the Christian Democratic

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Brookside Inquiry

Return To
Bloody Harlanby Bob McMahon
Chapel Hill

DURING THE Thirties, some of the greatest battles in the history of the labor movement were fought to unionize the coal fields of Southern Appalachia against the bitter resistance of the coal operators. Harlan County, Kentucky, became notorious throughout the country as "Bloody Harlan" when a panel of famous writers headed by Theodore Dreiser held an inquiry into conditions there. The operators beat the miners and Harlan mines have been non-union since the Communist Party ended their organizing effort in 1932. Forty-two years later another citizens' panel of inquiry has come to Harlan to draw attention to a prolonged battle now going on there.

The panel includes Willard Wirtz, a former Secretary of Labor, Fred Harris, former Senator from Oklahoma, and other noted liberal activist spokesmen with close ties to the labor movement or Appalachia. The panel was invited to Harlan by the United Mine Workers to investigate an 8-month-old strike at the Eastover Mining Company's Brookside Mine.

BROOKSIDE STRIKE

The strike at Brookside began when the miners overwhelmingly chose representation by the United Mine Workers

(UMWA) rather than the Southern Labor Union (SLU) which formerly represented the miners. On July 26, 1973, five days before the contract between the company and the SLU expired, the miners walked out. They have vowed not to return to work until they obtain the full benefits of the standard UMWA contract.

The strike has been long and difficult. Eastover Mining Company is a subsidiary of the Duke Power Company, one of the nation's largest public utilities. Duke purchased the mines in Harlan several years ago to ensure itself a steady supply of coal. At present it seems determined to ride out the strike, purchasing whatever coal it needs on the open market to make up for the loss of production at Brookside. With over half a billion dollars in operating revenue each year, and close to ninety million dollars in profits, Duke seems prepared to hold out as long as necessary.

Duke has consistently opposed workers' efforts to organize since it moved into Harlan County. To block genuine unionization, Duke imposed the SLU—a notoriously weak and company-dominated organization—on its workers. After it purchased Eastover, Duke began operations by hiring a small crew who agreed to enroll in the SLU and sign a contract with the company. Miners they hired to fill out the work crew were forced to accept the SLU as their representative until the three-year contract expired.



Members of Brookside Women's Club testify at hearings

Discontent with the SLU grew during this period. One miner recalled, "The only times we'd see the SLU representative, he'd come driving up to the office in his truck, and go in to talk to the management. Then he'd jump back in his truck and tear out of there like a scared cat before any of us could talk to him." Miners who complained about working conditions were fired or transferred to work in the most dangerous sections of the mines.

At the hearings miners also explained their discontent with hospitalization benefits claimed by the SLU. "A UMWA health card is good anywhere, but most doctors won't take an SLU card. They'll look at it and say you'll have to pay the bill yourself." The reason for the difference in coverage is simple: the United Mine Workers' Welfare and Retirement Fund receives an \$.80/ton royalty on all coal produced by UMWA mines; SLU has never asked for more than \$.50.

THE KEY ISSUES at Brookside are medical and retirement benefits and health and safety on the job. Mining is among the most dangerous occupations in the United States. The Brookside Mine is especially dangerous because of "bad top" in many sections of the mine the roof is unstable and subject to frequent falls unless proper safety precautions are taken. Roof-bolt operators, whose job it is to insert bolts to pin the roof in place, told of repeated cases when they were not allowed enough time to complete their job properly before miners were sent into a new section to dig coal. Equipment is not properly maintained, and often hazardous to use. Communication with the surface is bad. Phones in some

salaries behind the wages of industrial workers.

Last year, the NEA and the AFT agreed that the two organizations should merge under the aegis of the AFT. NEA members' money wages are roughly \$1,000-\$2,000 less per year than those of AFT's members. The "professionalism" of the NEA is slowly giving way to the collective bargaining, union approach of the AFT.

The recent two-week San Francisco teachers' strike demonstrates the need for this merger and that the unification will take time. In San Francisco the AFT and NEA affiliates are separate organizations. As the latest contracts expired, the

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AFT President David Selden.

sections of the mine do not work. In case of an accident, it would be impossible to send for the man-trip—the train which carries miners into and out of the mine.

A UMWA contract would set up a health and safety committee at the mine, chosen by the men themselves, with the right under the contract to close down sections of the mine where an imminent danger to life or limb existed. Duke Power President Carl Horn has indicated this is the section of the UMWA contract he is most unwilling to accept.

IMPORTANCE OF STRIKE

For the UMWA the Brookside strike is an important test. During the fifties the union collaborated with operators as automation and a declining market for coal threw hundreds of thousands of miners out of work. Many smaller mines went non-union. Little effort was made to re-organize these mines during Tony Boyle's reign as union boss, despite an improved situation in the coal industry. Today, the UMWA only represents about 75% of the miners in an industry once totally organized. A pledge to organize the non-union mines was one of the key promises in the insurgent candidacy of Arnold Miller, the union's new president.

Harlan County is a symbol of the bitter history of operator union busting. Besides the striking workers at Brookside, the UMWA only represents two other mines in the county. The men in the other mines are watching the Brookside strike—the outcome there will probably determine whether other mines in Harlan County will be organized by the UMWA.

The Harlan Coal Operators Association knows this and has ranged its forces strongly against the Brookside strikers. Local officials, tied to the coal operators, have been hostile. An injunction by Judge Hogg, himself a coal operator in nearby Letcher county, has severely limited picketing by the UMWA. Miners have been sent to jail for defying the injunction. Union men have been shot at by company supporters.

But the Brookside miners have strong support in Harlan County. First, there are their wives and the wives of other UMWA miners. These women have often swelled the picket line at Brookside to prevent Eastover from sending in scabs to work the mine. Together with their children many have been to jail. The efforts of the women have kept Eastover closed despite the restrictions on picketing. The women have organized the Brookside Women's Club designed to lend aid to strikers' families.

A number of other power companies have acquired their own coal mines in recent years. If the UMWA is to organize these mines it will have to find new ways to bring pressure on the companies besides just striking at the mines. Otherwise, like Duke, the companies may try to use revenue from their other operations to ride out the strike.

Meanwhile, the Brookside miners continue to hold out. They are determined not to go back until they win.

Persons wanting to help the strike can send money to the Brookside Relief Fund, UMWA District 19, Middlesboro, Kentucky.



"I WONDER HOW THE POWER COMPANIES PASS THAT COST ALONG TO THEIR CUSTOMERS!"

Meany's Tune

AFT Swings

The American Federation of Teachers (AFT) has arrived. The fastest growing union in the country, the AFT in 1973 became the first white collar union to be granted a seat on the AFL-CIO executive council. Current plans for a merger between the AFT and its old rival, the National Education Association (NEA) can mean increased power for teachers. Seeking this power for himself is Albert Shanker, a vice-president of the AFT and the AFT's delegate to the AFL-CIO executive council. Shanker would like to transform the AFT into the kind of union George Meany (AFL-CIO president) can relate to: a union controlled by a dictatorship of the officers. These recent developments can be understood only in the context of the history of teacher organizing.

TWO ORGANIZATIONS have traditionally vied for the allegiance of teachers in the U. S.: the National Education Association (NEA) and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). The NEA,

founded in the nineteenth century, has been a lobbying organization with participation by principals and higher administrators, as well as by teachers. The organization has until recently spurned collective bargaining and unionism as "unprofessional."

The AFT was formed in 1916 by a small group of class-conscious teachers. During the 1930's the AFT supported the CIO struggle within the AFL for industrial unionism. The teachers' union came into its own during the 1960's—in the big cities the AFT won collective bargaining rights and wage increases through a series of militant strikes. The union grew from 75,000 members in 1960 to its current size of about 400,000. The AFT's strength is in the Eastern cities, where, except for New York City, Albert Shanker's biggest base of support, large percentages of the union's members are black (e.g., Chicago—40% black, Detroit—50% black, Philadelphia—60% black, Washington, D. C.—60% black). The AFT's rapid growth is largely accounted for by the example set by the civil rights movement and the lag of teachers'

BOOKS

Plots Within Plots

The War Conspiracy, by Peter Dale Scott, Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1972.

by Ted Lieverman
Middlesex NAM

PETER DALE SCOTT, a former Canadian diplomat, has written an excellent, penetrating study of how American foreign policy is planned and executed. By examining certain crucial incidents connected with America's involvement in Indochina, he offers a compelling view of the sordid, vicious escapades of the spies, generals, mercenaries, and dope pushers who ply their trades in our "national interest."

Released in 1972, *The War Conspiracy* has been virtually ignored by the media. The fact that the publisher, Bobbs-Merrill Company, was bought by ITT just about that time may be of importance. A more likely reason for its obscurity, however, was its appearance after the publication of the Pentagon Papers. How could a book on Indochina written from public sources (only later updated with references to the Papers), be half as exciting or accurate as the "inside" account?

The answer begins with Scott's critique of the Pentagon Papers:

They are insufficiently cognizant of the *covert* decisions and operations in Asia of U. S. intelligence agencies. . . They say far too little about the domestic political and economic pressures influencing presidents and their advisors. And they tend to focus our attention on the past.

Scott, by contrast, goes beyond the bureaucratic limits to examine certain strange or inexplicable events of war in their larger political context. He discovers a purposefulness and planning behind these events which has been missed (or suppressed) by the Pentagon analysts.

The "war conspiracy" which Scott refers to is "the sustained resort to collusion and conspiracy, unauthorized provocations, and fraud by U. S. personnel, particularly intelligence personnel, in order to sustain or increase our military commitment in Asia." Yet the author is neither crude nor paranoid in his analysis. He cautions the reader that "the war conspiracy is to be seen as a general syndrome, not as the work of a single private cabal; nor is it necessary to think that war was always the intention of these collusions, as well as their result."

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Vietnam

(Continued from Page 2)

Vietnam has registered thirty-five violations of their air space by SR-71 reconnaissance flights. Visitors to the "Pentagon East" Command Center report that activity has not slackened from the height of the war. Other Americans are assigned to the newly organized Defense Attache Office, which supervises the flow of supplies, munitions, and equipment. The total number of U. S. civilians in South Vietnam is now over twenty thousand.

Washington currently supports Saigon to the tune of two and a half billion dollars a year. This is only the official figure. Additional funds are channeled into South Vietnam from other budget allocations, such as the redirection of funds from Food for Peace into munitions and military transport vehicles. AID supports an army of 1.1 million men, paramilitary forces numbering 1.3 million, and a national police force of 122,000. AID also bolsters an anemic economy in which imports currently run fifteen times larger than exports. Rice production has dropped so low that South Vietnam was forced to import over three hundred thousand tons last year.

Graham Martin, the U. S. Ambassador to South Vietnam is an outspoken Thieu supporter who argues for the most expensive package including modern sophisticated weaponry. Even though Chapter II, Article Seven of the Peace Agreement states that "the two South Vietnamese parties shall be permitted to make periodic replacement of armaments, munitions, and war materiel which have been destroyed, damaged, and worn out, or used up only on the basis of the same characteristics and properties," older F-5 fighters of the Saigon Air Force are being replaced by new F-5E's. The new planes fly half again as fast, cost twice as much, are more modern; in short are similar to the original equipment in name only.

A few well-publicized prisoner exchanges have occurred but the vast majority of the two hundred thousand political prisoners are still in Thieu's hell holes. In the exchanges so far Thieu has accused the potentially powerful "third force" of being loyal members of the PRG. At the

point of exchange, neutralists are forced to choose between acceptance by the PRG—which is what Thieu desires—or confess past sins of treason and aid to the "communist cause." Several neutralists facing this dilemma and wishing the establishment of a credible "third force" prefer to remain in jail.

Thieu has consolidated control in three ways. He has squashed civilian political opposition, both in and out of the National Assembly. A recent decree by Thieu ruled that only political parties that have enrolled at least five per cent of the registered voters in half the provinces and control at least twenty per cent of the seats of the National Assembly are eligible to appear on the ballot. Only Thieu's Democratic Party meets this

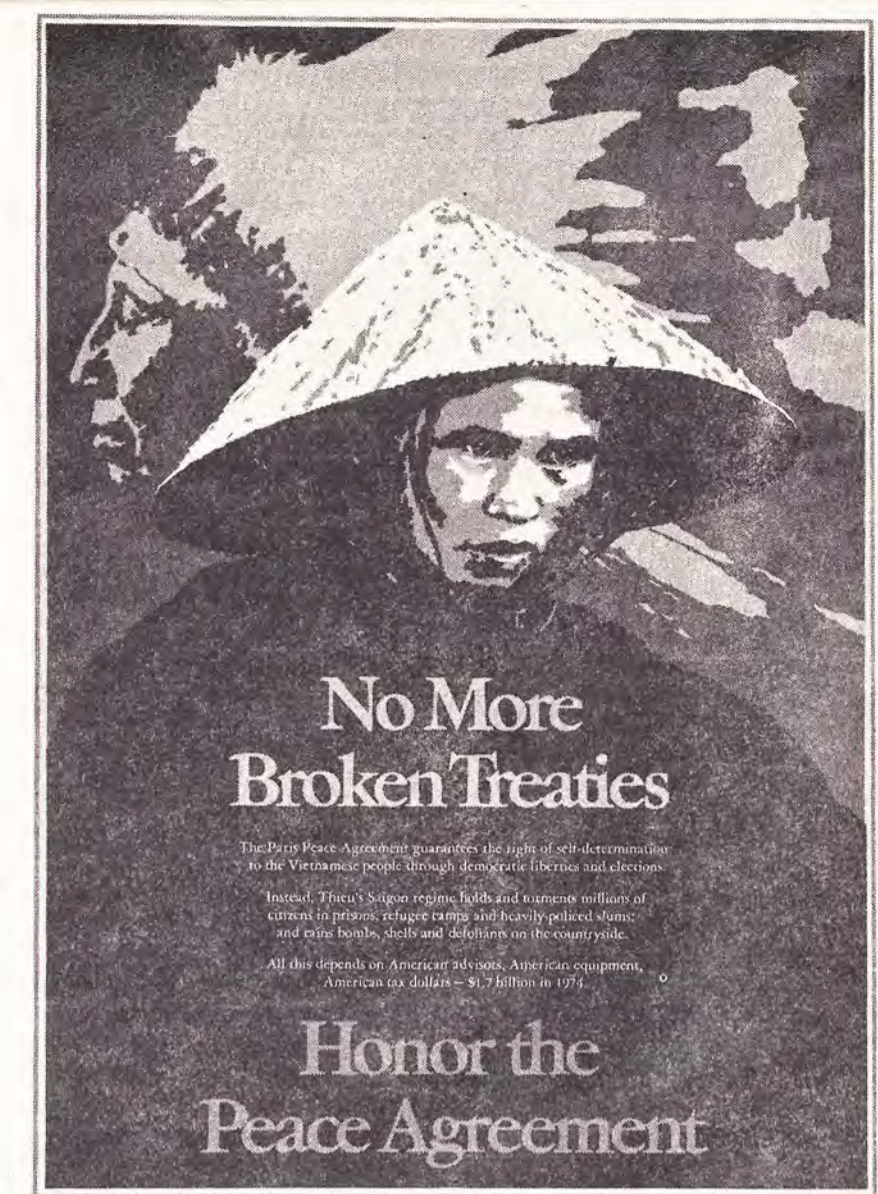


U.S. aid is keeping him up there—for now.

requirement, so legal opposition through elections is impossible. Within the National Assembly the opposition has been reduced to a powerless fraction. Thieu controls 10 of 12 committee chairmanships, the speaker of the Assembly, and he "won all thirty-one seats open in a special election last August.

The possibility of any spontaneous or popular uprising from the Buddhists has been eliminated. Buddhists who have continued their tradition of protest and anti-government demonstration have had to accept military protection from the PRG, or have ended up in jail.

Thieu has also centralized his own power. The clause limiting the President to two four-year terms has been abolished. The requirement that provincial chiefs be elected rather than appointed has also been eliminated. Members of the Supreme Court—which Thieu ignored anyway whenever he found their rulings objectionable—are now chosen by the



No More Broken Treaties

The Paris Peace Agreement guarantees the right of self-determination to the Vietnamese people through democratic liberties and elections.

Instead, Thieu's Saigon regime feeds and tortures millions of citizens in prisons, refugee camps and heavily policed slums; and rains bombs, shells and defoliants on the countryside.

All this depends on American advisors, American equipment, American tax dollars — \$1.7 billion in 1974.

Honor the Peace Agreement

loyal Nationalist Assembly rather than appointed from an independent panel of jurists and lawyers.

AT THE TIME of the Paris Agreements the territory controlled by the NLF and administered by the Provisional Revolutionary Government ran in a long corridor down the western side of South Vietnam with significant bulges towards the east at Quang Tri in the north and Binh Dinh province in the central part of the country. There have been few significant changes since then. In several points, the PRG has extended its territory along the Cambodia border and Saigon continues to push at points that it considers vulnerable.

The pattern of fighting is familiar. The NLF, after extensive preparation including political groundwork among the population, concentrates its forces on an outnumbered and dispirited unit of ARVN and quickly overwhelms them. The use of Soviet-made tanks is a new feature in these battles. A few hours later, the Saigon forces counterattack with the indiscriminate bombing of the South Vietnamese Air Force causing high levels of civilian casualties. According to official figures supplied by Saigon, 11,425 SVN have been killed and 51,364 wounded in 1973. During the same period 41,027 NLF forces have been killed and 43,166 civilians hospitalized. These figures should be treated with the same caution that Thieu's honesty generally deserves, but they do indicate that the level of fighting has not significantly tapered off. The fighting, in the argot of the Pentagon, has also "generated" 818,700 refugees since the "ceasefire." Thieu has refused the right of resettlement guaranteed by the Paris Agreements for those refugees returned to the liberated zones represent an additional source of strength for the PRG.

Pentagon speculations about the possibility of a new offensive are for the most part disguised appeals for more military aid to Saigon and propaganda appeals for higher defense spending. Estimates of the number of North Vietnamese in the South (about 175,000), the number of Soviet tanks (about 600), the quality of the weaponry, the positioning of the troops, and the like, are altered to suit the political balance within the Pentagon and between the executive branch and Congress. *Airforce*, for example, recently combined warning about a new offensive with a pitch for bombing the

"heartland" of North Vietnam and an appeal for higher budget allocations for the development and procurement of more advanced aircraft. Similarly Nixon has repeatedly warned that the "enemy" might interpret the domestic situation in the United States as conducive to a new offensive. But this is more an attack on his Watergate critics than an assessment of the possibilities of an offensive.

The PRG has repeatedly stated that they do not intend to carry out an offensive because it would encourage interference on a larger scale. Attention is being devoted to consolidation within the liberated zones including educational programs (frequently using the Paris Agreements as a text), road construction, and expansion of production. For the moment, the PRG appears content with a go-slow policy, capitalizing on gains that have been made elsewhere in Southeast Asia and on the economic and military difficulties of Saigon. The PRG believes that a full complementation of the Paris Agreements will result in a peaceful seizure of power and eventual reunification with the North.

Nixon and Kissinger have periodically tested the political waters in the United States in an effort to determine the level of opposition to renewed bombing. Nixon has directed his legal staff to study the question and has warned that any large-scale offensive would be met by the "resumption of hostilities." Kissinger has directed the Pentagon and State Department to draw up bombing options, while warning that the United States can still act in the midst of domestic crisis. So far Watergate and widespread antagonism towards re-intervention in any form have effectively stymied these machinations.

Last August Nixon suffered another tactical defeat in the Congressional Resolution preventing the use of direct military intervention in any form throughout Southeast Asia without further Congressional approval. Nixon and Thieu can be weakened still further by a program aimed at cutting aid to Thieu. But we must be careful. Given Nixon's track record it is not legalisms but the fragility of his political situation that will force him to observe legislative action. Popular pressure is a vital element of Nixon's political dilemma and can serve the double purpose of accelerating his downfall and securing the ultimate victory of the Vietnamese revolution. ■

Secret Agreement

"No-Strike" Taken To Court

by Pamela Harding, Renate Jaeger, and Mark Cohen
Pittsburgh NAM

In the Pittsburgh District of the Federal Court. March 4, 1974.

Plaintiffs: 35 rank-and-file steelworkers from 14 locals.

Defendants: Ten companies composing the Basic Steel Industry and the International Officers of the United Steel-

For the first time a major union and industry determined to eliminate the right to strike before negotiations for the contract even came up. The agreement includes a provision guaranteeing the right of steel companies to engage in lock-outs.

In exchange for giving up the right to strike the workers receive a wage increase of 3% a year, cost-of-living increments and a "bonus" of \$150 for a three-year contract.

Rank-and-file workers are suing the Basic Steel Industry and union officials. As Gene Moser of the rank-and-file group, Workers for Democracy, said, "The right to strike is not something that can be bought for \$150."

Company and Union officials argued that: 1) the suit does not fall within the jurisdiction of the federal courts, 2) the ENA is in the interests of the workers and the public as it guarantees uninterrupted production and supply of steel, and 3) the union constitution does not require ratification of contracts by the rank and file.

THE SUIT AGAINST the ENA has been the focal point of the movement to democratize the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). The suit charges that the defendants secretly and unlawfully bargained away the unions' right to strike. The plaintiffs argue that Abel's negotiations were unwarrantedly clandestine and that the substance of the ENA is in direct contravention of union policy set forth in previous USWA conventions:

In 1967 the International Executive Board (IEB), composed of the 24 District Directors, the Canadian President, and the International Officers, issued a statement that under no conditions would a no-strike agreement be reached without a vote of the IEB, the Wage-Policy Committee, and a "poll of the membership."

At the 1972 USWA convention a resolution binding on all members and officials was passed declaring the preservation and maintenance of the right to strike on unresolved contract demands.

The legal basis for the workers' suit is: 1) a broad view of the fiduciary duties of unions set forth in the Landrum-Griffin Act, and 2) the guarantee by the National Labor Relations Act of fair representation by a union of all of its members.

Section 501 of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act requires that the union be open in its dealings with the membership: that there be procedural propriety, good faith, and adequate notice. The 3rd and 8th Circuit Courts have interpreted this to extend to stealing rights as well as money. Implicit in this decision is that unions must not act in ways adverse to the interests of the membership.

Evidence has been offered demonstrating that the ENA was negotiated in complete secrecy with the Industry. The *Wall Street Journal* reported that Larry and Abel had been negotiating the ENA for five years. On the stand, Abel admitted that the negotiations were secret "... in order to achieve the agreement."

THE EVIDENCE

Abel's testimony established that informal discussions between the USWA "Top Committee"—the International Officers and Bernard Kleiman, chief counsel for USWA, a total of five people—and the Industry had occurred after 1967, when the union first opposed an Industry ENA proposal. Abel had guaranteed the membership that he would not give up the right to strike without first taking a "poll of the membership."

The Industry and USWA brought in William J. Usery as their star witness. He is Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Commission. Usery argued that secret negotiations keep the media quiet and decrease the pressure on the company and the union. In fact, Usery contends that membership ratification hurts the union's bargaining position and that "... ratification is not necessary to achieve the ends of the collective bargaining process."

The secretive nature of the agreement was underscored by the testimony of the steelworkers (no steelworkers testified in favor of the ENA). Not only were they unaware that negotiations had been going on, but they claimed that the ratification vote of the IEB was unacceptable. They explained that once Abel reached an agreement with Industry, he invited the IEB to Pittsburgh for a meet-

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(Editor's Note: These two articles deal with rank-and-file struggles of steelworkers against the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) signed between the basic steel companies and the leadership of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) on March 29, 1973. The ENA commits the Steelworkers not to strike under any circumstances at the end of the basic steel contract on August 1, 1974.

The agreement forfeiting the right to strike was negotiated in secret and represents a complete aboutface for Steelworkers president I. W. Abel who was elected in 1965 on a program of bringing the union back to the members. On March 28-29, 1973, presidents of basic steel locals were called to a conference in Pittsburgh without being told what was to be discussed. They were given no chance to receive instructions from the membership. When they arrived in Pittsburgh, they were presented with a completed document and asked to immediately vote it up or down.

Alice Peurala, co-chairperson of the District 31 Defend-The-Right-To-Strike Committee, writes about how the rank and file first became aware of the agreement, the reactions of some union officials, and the campaign against the ENA. She is a product tester in the metallurgical lab at the South Works



Steelworkers picket-line in Atlantic City, N.J.

Tuxedo Unionism

by Alice Peurala

WHEN I. W. ABEL was running for president of the International of the Steelworkers union, he attacked David McDonald, the incumbent, because of McDonald's "mutual trusteeship" relationship with the major steel companies. Abel argued that the union should represent the interests of the membership and that the company could take care of its own problems. He campaigned against "Tuxedo unionism," i.e., the union representing both the company and the union membership. As long as management was primarily concerned with making profits, he said, our interests could not be mutual.

Now Abel is saying that our interests are mutual. He is becoming a representative of management rather than of the Steelworkers. The ENA, which the

rank and file had nothing to do with, is a complete betrayal of the rank and file.

The first I heard of the ENA was from the newspapers. I remember people saying that they were really shocked at the agreement. At our first union meeting in April, when Frank Mirocha, the local President, made a report, he was angry because he had been called to Pittsburgh without being told why he was going. He objected to the ENA being laid out before the local union presidents without their having had a chance to think about it. He felt he should have been able to have his policy-making committee, the executive board of the local, look at it and discuss it before he voted on it. He voted "no" on the agreement. He objected strenuously to International staff representatives being at the meeting and he had a fracas with Brother Abel on the question of whether or not they should vote. Presidents from some of the large locals in the area voted against the agreement.

In our local, Brother Willie Ross moved that we oppose the no-strike agreement. He also called for a referendum vote on any agreement or contract made by the International. It passed unanimously.

At that point I recommended action for rank and filers to express themselves a picket line, a demonstration at the International headquarters. John Chico, financial secretary, and Frank Mirocha agreed to feel out other local union presidents, see what their locals were doing and what we could do about the agreement.

At the next local union meeting in April, we questioned them about this. A brother from the floor suggested a petition campaign. Mirocha agreed that it might be a good idea to have the grievance men and others go into the plant to get the petitions signed. A motion was passed to do that.

At the next meeting we asked why the motion had not been carried out. Brother Frank answered that the agreement had been signed and there wasn't anything we could do about it especially since people had become calm in the last weeks. That was the attitude of most of the officials at that point.

Many of us in the local felt that we should follow through on the petitions. So we went out and got rank and filers to sign petitions. We went to the plant gates and talked to steelworkers about the agreement. Four out of five people very willingly signed. It took a few people only two or three weeks to get some 1,500 signatures from members of Local 65 in spite of being harassed by management about being on plant property on non-union business.

In all the discussions at the plant, the question of not being consulted was the big issue. They couldn't understand how the International union president could

(Continued on Page 14)



Gary, Ind., March 3. Steelworkers protest no-strike agreement.

MAY DAY

What Happened to the Worker's Holiday?

by Jim Weinstein

IN RECENT YEARS, if it has meant anything, May Day has been a day of "Loyalty" demonstrations, a time for right-wing politicians and labor leaders to extol the moral values of the "free world" and to condemn "godless" Communism.

It was not always so. In the 1930's and 1940's May Day was a day of celebration for left-wing unionists and Communists. Celebrated by parades in New York City, and by demonstrations in San Francisco, Oakland, and Los Angeles, May Day was a day to stop work and express solidarity with working people throughout the world. Of course, not many people actually stopped working, and only the few that did felt a sense of solidarity with workers of other lands. But until the early 1950's the May Day Parade was an annual institution in New York, and for a few years after that demonstrations were held in Union Square.

The tradition ended with the Cold War and the expulsion of eleven left-led unions from the CIO. Identified as a Communist holiday, as an import from Russia, May First was "Americanized" by an act of Congress establishing Loyalty Day (or Law Day) as a patriotic substitute in 1958.

FIGHT FOR AN EIGHT-HOUR DAY

May Day, like Labor Day, began in the U. S. in the 1880's as a day for American workers to demonstrate. Labor Day was initiated in 1882 as a festive day for labor to parade through the streets of New York City. May Day began in 1886 in Chicago and other cities

as a demonstration to establish an eight-hour day. Both holidays were sponsored by the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, which later became the AFL.

For many years May Day and Labor Day were both regarded as the holidays of American workers. But May Day was a day of struggle for shorter working hours, and from its inception was closely tied to the socialist movement and to the overall struggle of unionists to reduce the workday from 10 to 14 hours to a uniform eight-hour day. The May Day demonstrations, combined with other struggles, had an immediate partial success in reducing hours of work in Chicago and other cities by an average of an hour a day. The intensity of the eight-hour movement forced reductions in some industries, and the adoption of state laws in about half the states by 1915, calling for the eight-hour day in various industries. In 1916, under the threat of a nationwide railroad strike, Congress passed the Adamson Act establishing an eight-hour day on the railroads.

But many industries still worked 12 hours a day, and some worked seven days a week through the 1920's and early 1930's. Finally, in 1938, largely as a measure to spread work during the Depression, and under pressure from the newly-organized CIO, the Fair Labor Practices Act established a universal eight-hour day in industries covered by federal law. This remains the legal framework for hours of work today.

SOCIALIST HOLIDAY

While May Day started in the U. S. around the question of hours of work, and for many years had that as its focus, it also became an international day of



— Police attack May Day marchers in Cleveland, 1919.

labor solidarity. Until the First World War, the old Socialist International celebrated May Day in Europe, but increasingly as a festive holiday in the style of Labor Day (which the United States government recognized as a legal holiday in 1894). After the Russian Revolution, May Day became the leading holiday of the world Communist movement.

As early as 1900, V. I. Lenin had stressed the political nature of the holiday, and its connection to the fight for socialism. He opposed the tendency in most of the Second International to change May Day from May first to the nearest Sunday (which meant that workers did not have to take off from work). And he opposed the reduction of the demand for an eight-hour day to just another grievance, like better treatment by a foreman or a ten percent wage increase.

"The demand for the eight-hour day," Lenin wrote in 1900, "is the demand of the whole working class, presented not to individual employers, but to the government as the representative of the whole of the present social and political system, to the capitalist class as a whole."

In the United States after World War I,

massive May Day demonstrations were held in cities like New York, Cleveland, Chicago, and Los Angeles. But as these became sectarian affairs in the middle twenties and early thirties, May Day ceased to be a genuinely popular holiday among working people. This enabled the Hoover administration, in cooperation with the AFL bureaucracy, to declare in 1928 that May First would be known as Child Health Day, and no longer "will be known as either strike day or Communist Day."

But the next year came the crash and the beginning of the Great Depression. For the next ten years the Communists were active in helping build the CIO and were able to revive May Day as a socialist trade union holiday. This ended with the entrance of the United States in World War II. After the War, May Day returned for a few short years as a sectarian holiday of the isolated Communist movement. Then in 1958 Congress tried to lay this working class holiday to rest once and for all by replacing it with Loyalty Day (or Law Day). ■

MOVIES

The Exorcist

by Michael Rosenthal

The Exorcist is on its way to becoming the most popular (i.e., most profitable) film ever made. This makes it a public monument of some kind, although exactly what kind is unclear. People are likely to ask if you have seen it yet or if you intend to see it, with the clear implication that not seeing it must be intentional, a matter of principle, or cowardice.

Social critics, whose job it is to comment upon sweeping social phenomena, have tended to get caught up in the religious aspect of the film. (I assume that it is unnecessary, at this late date, to summarize the plot. Suffice it to say that a little girl is possessed by the devil, who is driven out by two priests, a noble God-the-father type and a bellyaching suffering-son type.) Since it deals with the devil, and Roman Catholicism, it is taken by these critics to indicate how deeply we as a nation have fallen into unreason. If progressively inclined, they see it as a ruling-class plot to distract us from our real enemy (what else but Capitalism?)

But all this is quite apart from the reason people are lining up in the cold, not to see a religious picture, but to see a horror picture. It is a time-honored principle of the horror film that since the audience goes to be scared, they will believe whatever they are called upon to believe toward that end. The

principle works just as effectively for the umpteenth television rerun of the most rickety "creature feature." While the police are futzing around trying to puzzle out the curious amulet found near the corpse, we are all fidgeting and screaming silently "It's the Mummy, you assholes," as if that should be the very first solution to occur to any sane and right-minded officer of the law.

True, there is a difference in that Roman Catholicism is now more available than Egyptian ancestor worship. But while the Church may benefit marginally, it is not the key to the film's popular appeal (and in turn its social meaning). People are going because they've heard it's a scary film, or, more precisely, the scariest film ever made. Its appeal is virtually a dare—are you heavy enough to take it? It hit me—while I was listening to the muzak, waiting for the picture to start—a feeling like I had just swallowed a tab of LSD. My apologies to those who are excluded from the reference, but I can think of no more precise equivalent to the feeling that I had irreversibly let myself in for a fundamental threat to my mental and spiritual well-being.

As it turned out, that feeling was to be the peak of my emotional involvement with the film. There's no point denying that the film can be unsettling; when people come out unable to sleep for a week, it's a silly thing to argue about. But there's a difference between

unsettling and terrifying, and *The Exorcist* tries to palm off one as the other. I will try to show how this works.

Basically, the strategy of every horror film is the same. It is built around two components: the shocker (the mummy strikes!) and the futzing around ("There's something I don't like about that man."). The shockers are what the audience remembers and talks about, but the futzing around generates the tension that actually carries the film. In most cases, that tension is built by drawing on the reserves of horror within us. The better the film, the more deeply buried the unresolved emotional disquiet it draws upon. *The Exorcist*, however, builds tension in a purely physical manner. It bypasses the mind and emotions, and simply attempts to put our nerves on edge, drawing on a whole arsenal of technical resources to produce in concentrated form the same effect as chalk screeching on a blackboard.

A simple example: the noise track is mixed vastly louder than we are accustomed to, louder even than most of the voices. The sounds of doors and telephones, the machine sound of metal on metal are amplified to rock concert level, grating on our eardrums. This could be done to the soundtrack of any film, with similar effect.

A more complex example: during an ordinary conversation between two people, the camera starts with a close-up on the two, zooms out to include the whole room, cuts back to the close-up, zooms back out, in, out through the whole conversation. This movement has nothing to do with the emotional situation. As movie-goers we are conditioned

to unconsciously entrust our eyes to the camera eye on the assumption that its movements will make some kind of sense. In this case that trust is exploited to project in us, through our eyes, the feeling of untrollable spasmodic twitch, setting our stomachs churning through what would otherwise be a silly and uninteresting scene.

Thus the futzing around performs its function, setting up the audience for the shockers by dint of sheer technological manipulation, similar to the devices used to discourage homosexuality by inducing nausea at the sight of an "inappropriate" sexual object. By contrast, the shockers themselves, the parts that are supposed to induce nausea, are curiously flat. The Evil One seems to have taken the trouble of manifesting himself on this earth with no other end in view than to gross out the spectators and steer clear of an X rating. There is no sense of evil as we experience it in daily life—of hatred, bitterness, callousness, etc.—just a kind of grotesque mischief, playing for the grandstands. The hideous make-up and animal noises are effective, but you get used to them after a while; the trick of rotating his/her head 180 degrees around, a bit show-offy the first time, is routine the second (the devil has such a meager repertoire of evil tricks that he has to run through most of them twice). But everybody knows that these are merely sideshows. The heart of evil, and the basis of the most violent shocks, consists of the devil having Regan urinate on a carpet, spew brilliant green vomit on people's faces, utter an endless stream of curses, and

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BOOKS

The Sexual Politics of Sickness

Complaints and Disorders: The Sexual Politics of Sickness, by Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English. Feminist Press, 1974.

by Kathy Johnson
Berkeley NAM

THE WOMEN'S self-help movement has been a significant development within the health movement in recent years. It has spawned clinics nationwide where women learn about their bodies, particularly their reproductive systems. In these clinics, women use speculums to examine their cervixes, test for V. D. and pregnancy. Some of the political lessons the self-help movement has taught include: demystifying sexuality, gaining access to privileged professional information (that had been the exclusive property of male doctors), sharing collective work, and the understanding that menstruation and childbirth are normal, not pathological, functions.

To date, however, the self-help movement has been linked to the counterculture as well as to the feminist tradition.

MEDICAL SYSTEM AND WOMEN'S OPPRESSION

An analysis of the relationship between medical science, technology, sexism, and capitalism is at the core of the Ehrenreich/English pamphlet. The authors write, "The medical system is strategic for women's liberation. It is the guardian of reproductive technology, birth control, and the means for safe childbirth. It holds the promise of freedom from hundreds of unspoken fears and complaints that have handicapped women throughout history. When we demand control over our bodies, we are making that demand above all to the medical system. It is the keeper of the keys."

The authors develop this perspective by describing and analyzing theories of women's illness. The pamphlet's format is historical, beginning in the 1860's and America's early industrialization, and ending in the 1920's. One of the theories designed to explain women's illness was the law of the conservation of energy. The theory states that a given individual has a limited energy supply. For women,

the energy resides in the womb. Any displacement of the womb's energy causes illness. Too much higher learning, for example, would displace energy from the womb to the brain, not allowing women to fulfill their primary purpose of childrearing. Bed rest, leeches to the genitals, clitorotomies, and hysterectomies were the medical professions prescribed cures. At the turn of the century the spread of Freudian psychoanalysis from Europe to America shifted the explanation of women's illness from the body to the mind. But the implicit biological determinism continued.

The law of the conservation of energy and psychoanalysis dealt with middle class women while a different rationalization applied to lower class women. Middle class women were viewed as weak and asexual; working class immigrant women were regarded as sexually insatiable, lustful animals who would breed incessantly if unchecked, spread disease, and take over the human race. The germ theory of disease, couched in Social Darwinism ("survival of the fittest,") explained why working class women got sick. Women living in conditions of near starvation, certainly weren't fit. Where there was dirt, there were germs, and both were equated with sin in the propaganda of the day.



Women's Ward, Bellevue Hospital, New York City, 1900

This contradictory view of women was functional to capitalism's needs at the time. The authors argue that America's early industrialization required a cheap labor supply. Immigrant labor was cheaper than Anglo female labor. This brought for the first time sufficient affluence for the middle class wife to stay at home. It also became a sign of social status for the middle class woman to be leisured. The medical system, by encouraging the view of middle class women as almost chronic invalids, legitimized their isolation in the home and removed any economic competition.

For working class women, the germ theory legitimized the Public Health movement. While it accomplished many progressive things (birth control, sanitation, garbage removal, etc.), in its early phases the Public Health movement organizationally associated with the police. Middle class women, who were in the forefront of the movement to uplift their working class sisters, actually benefited the ruling class in its attempt to contain the poor. Ehrenreich and English thus reveal how capitalism pits women against each other. In this way they go beyond a narrow feminist approach and try to integrate women's oppression as a caste and class.

The political themes running through the pamphlet are numerous. But the authors' main point is that while control over technology is necessary it is not sufficient. The real political struggle is for control of the system that makes the decision about access utilization and production of technology. Science and technology are inseparable from the ideology that supports and sustains the political and economic system.

No doubt the pamphlet will be widely read. The authors have done a brilliant analytical job. The pamphlet is rich in period cartoons and quotes, making the reading interesting and humorous. In the best feminist literary tradition, the authors are straightforward about their personal views and what could be rhetorical political abstraction becomes full and alive. The reader finishes with a

sense of her history and a feeling of strength to carry on the struggle.

NEED FOR WORKER-CONSUMER ALLIANCE

Translating the Ehrenreich/English political message into practice is a more difficult task. The long-term implication for practice is that the women's health movement must move from being an alternative institution to becoming part of a larger health movement that is confronting the health care system as a whole. There needs to be an alliance between activists within the health system of health workers and health consumers—the women who are in the self-help movement for the most part.

Such an alliance might take the form of a health worker-consumer organization which in the distant future might also be a part of a broader organization like the New American Movement.

To date, health organizing has reflected the basic division between health workers and consumers that exists in the health system itself. Workplace and community organizing have been separate. Groups like MCHR and Health PAC have concentrated on institutional organizing in hospitals, medical schools, etc. They struggle to raise broad economic issues of profit, health financing, and control of access and services. Their strategy has been confrontation and health worker organization building when possible. By contrast, the clinic movement has been countercultural.

There has been antagonism between these two groups. Clinic activists have criticized those in the health system for not relinquishing the privilege of jobs and serving the immediate health needs of the poor. Those within the health system have challenged the utopian clinic vision that sees "liberated zones" as possibilities. The feminist anti-male cast to the women's clinic has compounded the problem of cooperation. MCHR has been in part a male left organization, and has suffered from the

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Their focus has been building alternative institutions outside the system rather than confronting the medical establishment. Their strategy has been to generate revolution by example in the belief that the mere power of ideas would convince people to leave those institutions that oppress them. As a consequence, links to the health system have been few, in part because most doctors are men with whom there is no common ground. Little attention has been directed toward developing an analysis of the economic system of which the health system is a part, or toward understanding the relation of women to other oppressed groups within the working class. The clinics have gone a long way in providing humanized care, treating the underserved, and working on deprofessionalization. Unfortunately, the speculum euphoria has made it seem that knowledge and control over technology do indeed mean power.

It is this assumption that Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English challenge in their pamphlet *Complaints and Disorders: The Sexual Politics of Sickness*.



cluw

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activities which a union involved identifies as related to a jurisdictional dispute." This guideline was specifically included to prevent the Coalition from taking a position on the United Farmworkers boycott, since that struggle had been deemed a jurisdictional dispute by the Teamsters. It was feared that 300,000 Teamster women would possibly be excluded from participation in CLUW if a resolution supporting the boycott were passed. The struggle around guideline 14 became the major concern of many rank and file delegates at the conference. Delegates (including most rank and file Teamster women) who supported the Farmworkers boycott and pushed for support of the UFW, were regarded as divisive by the leadership. Yet the majority of delegates saw the farmworkers as the front line in the battle to organize the unorganized. There was overwhelming support by the delegates for their heroic struggle in the preservation of their union. It took a tremendous amount of parliamentary maneuvering to delete guideline 14, but the victory was decisive for the UFW women and made it possible for CLUW to consider a resolution in support of the boycott. However, in the final plenary, when UFW women and other delegates attempted to propose a resolution in support of the boycott, parliamentary and democratic procedures were suspended by the leadership thus preventing a vote on the motion. Again this resolution is safely in the hands of the NCC whose officers consist of leading members of conference organizers and the previous National Planning Committee.

THE FOUNDING of the Coalition of Labor Union Women is a historic feat. It is the first time in many decades that organized working women have gathered to form a national organization. The direction the Coalition will take is not now clear. Much will be determined by the activities at the local level, in organizing CLUW chapters and in rank and file struggles within the unions. Unlike the struggles of the autonomous Women's Liberation Movement in fighting discriminatory practices of various institutions to which they hold no particular allegiance, there seems to be a strong sentiment, particularly among the leadership and older women in CLUW, for loyalty to the union as the most viable structure to effect change. As Addie Wyatt of the Amalgamated Meatcutters put it: "The objective and goal of union women's movement is to build a stronger labor movement than we ever had before, to unify it where it has already been divided; to ensure and strengthen participation of women at all levels of trade union movement. We are concerned about filling a partnership role in the labor movement."

It is certainly important that more women become organized and participate more fully in their unions. In this way they can play a key role in making unions more effective organizing tools against the capitalist system and wage the struggle for internal democratization of the unions. The problems most working women and men face will not be resolved, however, until union leadership becomes more responsive to the needs of its membership—needs that reach beyond bread and butter issues. The American working class has seen enough of collaborationist union leadership. Only through the active participation of the rank and file women will CLUW make social and economic change possible. ■

Exorcist

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masturbate with a crucifix. Now this is a little peculiar. Pissing, cussing, and barfing are all activities in which every member of the audience has been involved at one time or another. What makes them so horrifying on screen? The fact that a sweet little girl is doing these things, and that she isn't ashamed of them as we think she ought to be. Director Friedkin and author Blatty have realized that some of our most ordinary physical functions are subject to stronger taboos than those applied to sexuality. They do not call into question our conditioned disgust with our own bodies; they take it for granted and exploit it, in the same way pornography exploits our conditioned fear of sex. Pornography presents sex as depraved and sub-human; the image of the little girl as sex object, with its undertones of sadism and rape, is a long-time standby. Similarly, Friedkin and Blatty use a caricatured, apple-cheeked, cute-as-a-button little girl for their pornography of physical functions. Regan is not a person—she's only interesting to us when making her nasties. Otherwise, she barely exists.

The masturbation sequence would seem to require some variation in the formula, since it involves sexual activity. But Regan (acting at the devil's prompting) does not take any pleasure in the act. Instead, she masturbates as if performing hatchet murder on herself, swinging the crucifix in and out with sweeping arcs. It appeals to the prejudice that female masturbation is a savage violation of decency—this is the point at which strong men had to be carried fainting out of the theater.

The other characters aren't treated any better than Regan is; they're shock types from old Sunday morning TV shows, just barely fleshed in enough to give them something to do on screen. It is remarkable, considering the high minded religious claims Blatty has made for the film, how little interest it shows for the humanity, much less the immortal soul, of its people. Its heartlessness and insensitivity to human suffering extends even to the walk-on roles. At one point the young priest visits his mother in a geriatric ward—primarily, it seems, to supply him with a reason for looking guilty and dejected thereafter. As he enters, he is set upon by ghastly drooling old women, who claw at him like demented ghouls, while his mother sits still and quiet as a saint. The effect that is aimed for is intense physical revulsion; nobody likes the idea of being slobbered over by a bunch of senile wrecks.

A final point. In a *Newsweek* cover story, it was reported that Friedkin and Blatty were thinking about shooting a new ending for the film. It seems that a poll had been taken, showing that a large number of people came out of the theater thinking that the devil had won. They can easily be excused their error. As the ending now stands, the old priest dies of heart failure, whereupon the young priest screams "Take me!" and, as the devil does so, plunges out the window, putting an end to them both. Apparently all the powers of darkness could not withstand a two-story fall, or perhaps it was a gesture of nobility and self-sacrifice. In any case, the rite of exorcism itself was a failure, and the only thing that really did the trick—the officiating cleric diving out a window—is unlikely to be amended to the rite by the Church, depriving the exorcism craze of a good deal of potential color. Two significant conclusions can be drawn from that poll. First, that the logic of the film is so sketchy and garbled that it could be completely misunderstood by a large number of viewers. And secondly, that it made no difference to them anyway. ■

PLOTS

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In documenting this assertion, Scott deals with a number of key events: the Gulf of Tonkin incident in 1964, the capture of the U. S. intelligence ship *Pueblo* in 1968, the invasions of Cambodia in 1970 and of Laos one year later. Through his reconstructions of these events, it becomes clear that Scott is actually describing two different conspiracies. The first is the collusion of the highest civilian leaders to deceive the Congress and the public so that they may prosecute a way to attain certain policy goals. The other, more ominous conspiracy is an intra-executive one *against these very leaders*, in which middle-level operatives of the CIA and other intelligence agencies team up with the military to provoke and exaggerate international crises to which the President must reluctantly respond with military escalation.

Thus, Scott suspects that U. S. intelligence agencies forged a key radio interception of North Vietnamese patrol boats during the Tonkin incident in order to "end the fateful and unexpected indecision in Washington" with regard to escalating the war in Vietnam. Scott details how, between 1965 and 1968, "accidental" bombing attacks on Soviet ships and those of other Communist countries docked in North Vietnamese harbors came just at a time "when the Communist nation in question was moving toward some kind of political understanding with the United States."

Scott builds his conclusions on a mountain of documentary evidence, which he carefully weighs and sifts through in the narrative itself. The effect of this is to draw the reader into the analyst's task, offering a continuous lesson in how to read the public record and critically evaluate it. His methodology, his reliance on publicly available sources, and his precision in thought and expression is comparable to that of I. F. Stone at his very best. In fact, *The War Conspiracy* strikes the same theme as Stone's *Hidden History of the Korean War*, first published twenty years earlier. Stone then documented how the belli-

gerence of U. S. policy during the Korean War was largely set by General Douglas MacArthur's deliberate attempts to escalate the fighting in defiance of Truman's own strategy.

Yet it would be wrong to think that Scott's investigations imply a "Seven Days in May" approach to understanding American foreign policy. Although the plots to frustrate Presidential plans that he describes are no doubt real, they rarely, if ever, attempt to contravene general policy goals. The conflict is over tactics and strategy, with the military and certain intelligence sectors attempting to insure a militant commitment against socialist movements and governments, and the unrestricted use of their talents to meet that commitment.

As long as the U. S. was determined to maintain an anti-communist regime in South Vietnam, elected civilian control could be undermined by intelligence agents in the field desiring stronger action. As long as the U. S. policy had to be enforced by military action, the Joint Chiefs of Staff received more legitimacy in the eyes of Congress and the nation with which to challenge civilian authority. It appears that the success of inner conspiracies depends upon the existence of a larger plot to carry out foreign policy illegally, in secret, and against the wishes of the public.

Scott does not substitute intra-bureaucratic conspiracies for a class analysis; he is very clear about linking policy decisions to the specific needs of certain corporate interests. However, Scott does see the need for having foreign policy made by the President and Congress as a means of subjecting American power to public scrutiny and constraint. If the public had known how the Tonkin incident—and dozens of others like it—came about, he implies, they would have given the national security managers less of a carte blanche to carry their imperial dreams to their logical ends. We owe it to new potential victims to revoke that credit: *The War Conspiracy*, unlike the Pentagon Papers, was written for the future. ■

auto

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steel shortage, American steel producers are selling as much as they can produce, and are still unable to fill all their orders, despite the reduction in sales to the auto industry. Specialized auto parts and suppliers may be hurt by the auto cut-backs, as are auto dealers; but the basic materials-supplying industries have been unharmed.

The people who have been hurt the most, of course, are the workers who have been laid off. Many of them will eventually be rehired, as the auto companies finish retooling for expanded small-car production. Meanwhile, however, the workers are once again paying for their employers' mistakes.

OIL AND AUTO: COMMON INTERESTS

The energy crisis has created real problems for the auto industry, especially for GM. But it doesn't show any long-term divergence of interests between the oil and auto companies. The foundation of the profits of both industries is the structure of our entire society which requires almost every adult to own and drive a car. Remember: the alternatives to big Detroit cars which most people will be buying are—little Detroit cars. They will use less gas and may cost less than the old models, but they still keep us dependent on the same companies.

The bonanza which GM has enjoyed in recent years has ended a few years sooner than it expected. In the last ten years, GM's profits were between a 17% and a 28% return on investment every year except 1970, when there was a strike (the average for all manufacturing is around 10%). They won't soon return to that level, but they will still be the world's largest industrial corporation, still making a profit from our dependence on their mode of transportation. ■

TRUSTS

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major oil companies. It applies to only 20% of the oil and gas reserves on federal lands; other aspects of energy production (coal, geothermal energy, solar power) would remain in the control of private industry. Appropriations for this corporation would be limited to \$50 million per year and its ability to refine and market crude would be severely restricted. Public ownership and democratic control of the energy industry would differ in several critical ways from Stevenson's bill and the proposals of some labor unions. All aspects of energy production would be nationalized—oil, gas, nuclear energy, coal, solar power, etc. Since the major oil companies hold considerable power in these alternative energy sources, their monopoly control would be undercut in this way.

But this type of public ownership will require more than a congressional bill to be put into effect. A mass movement will be necessary to force the major oil companies to relinquish control over energy resources. The first step in such a movement could be a national petition campaign around a statute for public ownership. Other activities could include demonstrations, public forums on the roots of the crisis, support for workers directly affected, and pressure on local oil companies and on local political officials. For more information on these activities, contact the NAM National Office or the Movement for People's Power, Institute for Policy Studies, 1520 New Hampshire Ave., NW, Washington, D. C. 20036. ■

opinion

Socialism or Feminism?

by Barbara Easton
Berkeley NAM

ONE OF NAM'S strengths is its concern with women's oppression and its support of the autonomous women's movement. In part as a way of expressing this concern and support, we have called our approach to women's oppression "socialist feminism." By using this term, and by taking a largely uncritical attitude toward the women's movement, we have stunted the development of a specifically socialist or Marxist approach to women's oppression. By calling ourselves "feminists" we have (1) discouraged any sharp criticism of feminism as it appears in the women's movement, and (2) tended to exclude ourselves from any programmatic or theoretical leadership in the struggle against women's oppression—because most of us understand feminism as the domain of the women's movement.

Our description of our politics as "feminist" has tended to exclude men from discussions of women's oppression, and from discussions of the larger area of social relations that the women's movement has raised; we have not made this area a concern of the whole organization. The sacrosanct atmosphere that surrounds the word "feminism" in NAM is due in part to the fact that many of us, women and men alike, suspect that a "real feminist" wouldn't be caught dead in a mixed organization. Guilt, self-righteousness, and moralism have distorted our discussions of women's oppression. Our "feminism" has meant following the women's movement; it has kept our politics around women's oppression a pale imitation of the "real feminism" of the autonomous women's movement.

SOCIALISM VS FEMINISM

By linking the words "feminism" and "socialism" we have implied that the two are entirely compatible, that our job is merely to bring them together. We have thus avoided making any contribution of our own. We have avoided the question of strategy, of the relationship between the women's movement and the socialist movement, of whether women's oppression can be overcome by a women's movement alone, or whether it requires a mixed socialist movement. We have criticized the autonomous women's movement for failing to espouse socialism and for often underestimating the significance of class relations, but we have not gone very far in developing a socialist or Marxist analysis of sexism.

There is a real tension between feminism and socialism, and there has been throughout the history of the American left. Women's oppression has been either ignored or treated gingerly by the Socialist and Communist parties, while the issue of socialism has often been seen as divisive and therefore dangerous by the women's movement—both the contemporary women's movement and that of the nineteenth century. Over



(Editor's Note: The third national convention of the New American Movement—NAM—will be held in Lexington, Kentucky, beginning July 11. The opinion columns in this issue are concerned with two important topics to be discussed at this convention: workplace organizing and socialist feminism. We encourage NAM chapters and individuals to respond to the views expressed.)

the past few years many people, especially women, in both the socialist and the women's movements, have tried to bring the concern for socialism and the concern about women's oppression together, to find the connections between them. Such efforts have gone on not only in NAM, but to a greater extent in the various socialist-feminist women's unions.

Since the women's movement and not the socialist movement has provided most of the initiative and leadership on the question of women's oppression, the discussion of socialist feminism has been much more influenced by trends in the women's movement than by those in the socialist left. As of now, the socialist feminist unions are but a small tendency in a women's movement that is for the most part, not socialist; its two main tendencies are liberal and radical feminism. The former tendency, exemplified by the National Organization of Women (NOW), accepts capitalism but demands equal treatment of women within it. The latter tendency, radical feminism, sees the oppression of women by men as the basis of all oppression.



SEPARATISM

To the extent that radical feminism poses a solution for women, it is separatism rather than socialism—the building of a separate women's culture, separate women's institutions, perhaps even a separate society. Where Marxism sees productive relations as the basis of oppression and calls for the abolition of capitalism, radical feminism sees personal relations between men and women, especially in the family, as the basis of oppression. Radical feminism tends to see men as the enemy and to call for the abolition of the nuclear family.

Liberal and radical feminism have different analyses of the basis of sexism, and different visions of the kind of society that they want, but they agree that the answer to women's oppression is to build an autonomous women's movement, that it is the job of women to overcome women's oppression.

The autonomous women's movement has been crucial in pointing to women's oppression, and fighting it; women's organizations and caucuses will continue to be necessary for this, probably even under socialism. But socialists have to point out that while it is possible that legal and economic discrimination against women could be overcome by women's efforts alone under capitalism, the social hierarchies, the relations of dominance and submission that the women's movement has raised as political questions are part of the structure of capitalism and cannot be abolished except through

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Socialism or Syndicalism ?

by Bill Burr
DeKalb NAM

DURING THE relative labor peace of the fifties, the fortunes of American socialist organizations, which saw workplace organizing as the key element of their strategy, were in steep decline. The protest movements of the sixties shifted the locus of militant struggle from the workplaces to other capitalist institutions: the universities, the family, the communities. As the civil rights, student, women's, and anti-war movements came to see themselves as revolutionary they rejected electoral activity at the same time that they rejected the capitalist electoral parties—the Democrats and Republicans. The experience of many people who participated in these movements, though, was that they were powerless in themselves to fundamentally change society. SDS, for instance, found that massive upheavals in most of the country's universities barely changed higher education, much less the course of American imperialism.

RE-DISCOVERY OF WORKING CLASS

A crucial element was missing in SDS's strategy of campus organizing, and it began to search for new constituencies. In the course of this search the new left re-discovered the working class. As early as 1968 Mike Klonsky was arguing for integrating SDS's fight "into the struggles of working people." It is not a long way from this position to the position of many of the new revolutionary groups which grew out of the ashes of SDS. Klonsky himself chairs one of these, the October League, and their position is characteristic: "Our mass work must be based at the point of production. It is here that the young communist organizations must concentrate their forces at the present time. The trade union struggle is our starting point because this is the basic organization of the working class." ("Building a New Communist Party in the U. S.," October League pamphlet, 1973.)

Even NAM, which retained the new left commitment to struggle in the varied institutions of capitalism, contains a growing tendency which advocates the primacy or workplace organizing in the organization's developing strategy.

This return to an understanding of the importance of workplace organizing is a positive development for the left in this country. But the absolute centrality of the workplace in Maoist strategy and for some NAM'ers grows from a belief that socialism means primarily a system of workers' control of production. This is a limited understanding of the nature of socialism. While socialist democracy in the United States would include workers' control, workers' control, in and of itself is not the same as socialism. Strategies that view the workplace as central are more properly termed left-wing syndicalist than socialist.

LEFT-WING SYNDICALISM

Left-wing syndicalism had a considerable influence on industrial working class movements earlier in this century, in forms ranging from the IWW in this country to the General Federation of Labor in France. Syndicalism, in an abstract sense, is the organization of society under the direction of associations formed to promote the specific economic interests held by the various associations. There have been different

varieties of syndicalism. Fascism is the right-wing version: the corporations, organized into their trade associations, become the immediately directing element in the state apparatus. Left-wing syndicalism, on the other hand, places control of production in the hands of the organizations of the working class: in the IWW and French versions, the trade unions; in the post-1917 version, the workers' councils. Under such a system, steel workers, for example, would own and control, through their association, the steel industry. In the IWW version a union representing all the various workers' unions would administer the national economy.

SYNDICALISM'S WEAKNESS

Organization of the society along syndicalist lines could easily tend to produce vested interests. Would the auto workers always make decisions that are in harmony with the needs of society as a whole? Will there be any institutional means of guaranteeing that the workers in one steel mill will cooperate rather than compete with the workers of another? Indeed, some varieties of workers' control are explicitly founded upon market-place conceptions. This is clearest in the Yugoslavian system of workers: self-management where the factory councils are chiefly guided by material incentives, and the workers' income depends largely upon the council's success in the marketplace.

Part of the impetus behind the idea of workers' control of industry is the belief that this would bring an end to the major cause of alienated labor; the separation of the worker from control of the process of production. For example, under workers' control auto workers would determine what they produce and how it is produced. But the attempt to overcome alienation through such a social organization is self-defeating, for it elevates the immediate interests of auto workers, educational workers, etc. over society as a whole, rather than subordinating economics and production to social and ethical principles rooted in a conception of the human being as a citizen. This is why, for example, our call for a nationalized energy industry should not be limited to workers' control but should call for control by working people as a whole over the industry.

(Continued on next page)



Feminism

socialism. If socialism is necessary for the liberation of women, then so is a united socialist movement of the entire working class. Women must participate in the building of that movement, and the women's movement must see itself in some relationship to that movement.



LIMITS OF AUTONOMY

While an autonomous women's movement can declare itself in favor of socialism, there are few issues that it can raise, few demands that it can make that will speak only to women and at the same time offer opportunities of raising socialist consciousness or of challenging the power of the ruling class. Demands that are strictly limited to women, such as an end to discrimination in hiring or equal legal rights, are demands for full integration into the working class and tend to reinforce an interest-group approach to women's oppression. The broader issues that the women's movement has raised, such as the oppressiveness of sex roles and of invidious divisions of labor, are of concern to the entire working class, even though they affect women most sharply. They can be fully addressed only by a socialist movement. A socialist program around child care, for instance, would try to break down sex roles by pointing out the interest of both men and women in improved and extended child care, and the need for both men and women to be involved in planning and running child care centers. A socialist approach to women's oppression should be as broad as possible, encompassing not only those aspects of oppression that are specific to women, but also those that they share with men. Such an approach should challenge sex roles whenever possible.

As long as feminism means autonomous women's organizations and programs, socialist feminism is a contradiction that cannot help to develop programs around women's oppression, but will rather stunt them. How can a socialist organization limit its organizing and its program to one group of working people, when the basic thrust of socialism is to substitute social control and ownership of production for ownership by one group, the capitalist class? If the socialism of the socialist feminist women's unions is to go beyond the espousal of a socialist goal, they must develop programs through which they will be drawn toward close relations with mixed organizations, eventually with a socialist movement or party.

DIFFICULTY AND PARALYSIS

The view that feminism means autonomous women's organizations and programs creates difficulties for the socialist feminist women's unions in their attempts to develop program. In NAM, this understanding of feminism has meant paralysis in regard to women's oppression. It has put us in the impossible position of having goals that we, as a mixed organization, cannot do anything about. So we develop no programs around women's oppression, and we leave socialist feminism on the level of theory, where its contradictions are not so easily apparent.

I think that we must be critical of feminism not only for its strategy, its view that women's oppression can be overcome by an autonomous women's movement, but also for its analysis of sexism. Here women in NAM, and women in the socialist feminist women's unions have been more influenced by radical feminism than by liberal feminism. The appeal of radical feminism lies in the fact that it is radical, that it tries to get at the roots of sexism. Radical feminism, with its attack on the nuclear family and its focus on male domination as the source of oppression, speaks to the anger of women who are fed up with oppressive roles and relationships. Radical feminism is also attractive because it is these women who have talked about what it feels like to be a woman in this society; they have insisted upon the validity of personal experience and emotions. And they have taught us to reject social hierarchies, invidious divisions of labor, and ideological excuses of any variety for dishonest or oppressive personal relations.

The radical feminist attack on the nuclear family, and the tendency to see men as the enemy, derive from a view of the family as patriarchal, as an institution in which men have most of all of the power, and women little or none. Sexism they see as an expression and defense of this imbalance of power; the struggle against sexism involves a demand that men give up some of that power—or it means a decision to have nothing to do with men because they cannot be forced or persuaded to give it up. The struggle against women's oppression is thus essentially a struggle between women and men, with perhaps a few morally superior men on the women's side.

ANACHRONISM

This was a better description of the basis of sexism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries than it is now. First, the patriarchal model describes the nineteenth century family better than it does that of the mid-twentieth century. Many of the women in the nineteenth century women's movement lived in families of this sort, in which the men had all the economic power, and most or all of the legal power. A man who was a professional or was self-employed had an independence in public life that stood in sharp contrast to his wife's economic dependence upon him and her seclusion within the home as a mother and housewife. His economic power over his wife and children was bolstered by his legal right to rule his family and by his wife's lack of access to the courts.

By the mid-twentieth century men had much less legal and economic power over their wives than did their grandfathers and great-grandfathers. With the mass entry of women into the work force, many women can support themselves if they have to; they cannot be economically controlled by their hus-



Syndicalism

By defining the proletariat in terms of its technical functions in society (as clerk, industrial worker, miner, etc.), left-wing syndicalists regard the proletariat's power as its ability to disrupt, take over, and manage the process of production. In other words, workers' particular interests as workers (their right to appropriate the products of their labor) becomes the standpoint from which the social good is evaluated. But can this be the case for a social class which, when taken as a whole, comprehends every vital sphere of society, and which has the capacity to shape society in such a way as to eliminate the mutilations and fragmentations which now comprise the proletariat's existence (and which syndicalist organization of society would merely petrify)? Put another way, the task of the proletariat is *not* to assert the conditions of existence which have made it what it is, but to seek to abolish them. That is why Marx called the proletariat the "universal class:" its general purpose is not the realization of the particular interests and needs of its members, but the attainment of the classless society, that community in which all citizens have the means of cultivating their gifts in all directions.

THE STATE IS CENTRAL

Syndicalists view the state, or public power, as essentially irrelevant because the real power in society is to be found at the point of production. Further, they claim that working class participation in political life is a corrupting influence on the revolutionary movement because it creates a stratum of bureaucratic office holders with interests increasingly opposed to those of their constituency. Such a view represents a form of economism for they ask the working class to

bands in the same way that their grandmothers could be. And the legal power of men over their wives has also been seriously eroded. Patriarchy has been undermined not only by the decline of men's legal and economic power over women, but also by the declining power of most men in the world outside their families. The state makes decisions for people in more and more areas of their lives; as increasing numbers of people have been drawn into the working class, the demands of industry also limits people's independence. It becomes difficult for most men to think of themselves and act as independent patriarchs.

Patriarchy is insufficient as an analysis of sexism not only because the patriarch is disappearing while women are still oppressed, but also because the patriarchal model sees the oppression of women as located primarily within the nuclear family, or in social patterns that emanate from the family.* Women's oppression comes not only from the nuclear family, but also from the outside forces that tend to undermine and destroy the family without allowing any alternative to it. The forces that have undermined male power are the same forces that have undermined the stability of families: increasing numbers of women can support themselves, child care, while inadequate, is increasingly available; divorce is no longer a scandal. At the same time pressures on families have increased. Communities are disintegrating—in some places they hardly exist—leaving most people nowhere to turn but their families for personal needs. The result of this implosion is that more and more families fall apart.

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forfeit the power of the state to the capitalist parties without even a struggle.

By demanding that the working class remain "pure" and aloof from the hurly-burly of political life the syndicalist demands that it remain politically ineffective. Those who argue that socialist political leaders—representatives of the working class as a whole—are a "socialist elite" are avoiding the question of revolution itself. The syndicalist ignores the reality of this society: a fundamental condition of capital's supremacy in all of society is its supremacy over the state. The liberal politicians' control over the army, police, courts, representative institutions, schools, state budget, etc., is crucial to keeping bourgeois society intact.

SOCIALISM VS. SYNDICALISM

What particularly distinguishes socialists from syndicalists is their attitude toward the state. Socialists, like syndicalists, understand that the object of the working class' struggle for power is the property-production system. Toward this end the socialist movement and party must agitate and organize for the working class' control of the production system (not just the factories, but also offices, hospitals, schools, and communications). But the pivot of the struggle, the means of organizing the class in terms of political and social power must be the political and ideological struggle for state power. State power must be the pivot because of our need to challenge the capitalists in the institutions which are essential to the maintenance of their power and social legitimacy. Leaving this "political" sphere to the corporate liberal politicians will show to our working class constituency a lack of serious intent to transform this society. Though elections will not be the only way we will obtain power and social legitimacy, they are the best means that we have at our disposal now. Abstaining from elections will give the liberals all the room they need to make the political and social adjustments required to preserve capital's hegemony—as the Democrats were able to do in the thirties despite enormous working class militancy at the point of production.

A socialist conquest of state power will provide the working class with the means for the creation and preservation of socialist democracy. We will need political authority not only to implement positive programs, but also as a way to prevent capitalist restoration. It should be stressed, though, that we are seeking a new form of political power, for the state would be subordinate to, and representative of the needs of society, rather than standing over and dominating it.

SOCIALIST PRACTICE

The general implication of this argument is the following: that the New American Movement should develop comprehensive socialist programs that will meet the needs of the proletariat class as a whole. In this way, we will not be restricted to fighting for the interests of specific sectors of the working class, but will be able to address ourselves to every problem and aspect of life under modern capitalism. Here we have something to learn from ruling class politicians: they look upon society as a whole and develop programs that will help maintain social stability. It is up to socialists, as we operate in the U. S. political arena, to articulate equally comprehensive programs based on our understanding that the real choice before the American people is capitalism or socialism. ■

If you're wondering what happened to issue No. 6 of Vol. III, we're happy to say it was the April issue (last month's). Our eager copy typist hurried us on to No. 7 before its time. That explains why this issue is also No. 7. (Maybe we ought to call it No 7a!)

Guatemala

(Continued from Page 4)

party disappeared from their homes near the Pacific coast and two provincial Partido Revolucionario politicians were shot to death. On the day before the election three radio stations were closed by the national police, allegedly for anti-government statements.

TEN DAYS IN MARCH

Sunday, March 3. Election day. Rumors of a Rios Montt victory and a government coup abound. Radio and TV stations are warned to broadcast only those election figures given out by the government's election office.

Rios Montt gives a press conference denouncing irregularities: 850 examples of people voting without proper registration, 4,000 examples of people with proper registration not allowed to vote, people arriving at the polls to find that someone else has voted for them, and the use of erasable ink for marking ballots.

Monday, March 4. Rios Montt declares victory with 52% vs. Laugerud's 31%. In mid-morning the government stops giving out vote totals.

Tuesday, March 5. According to the *New York Times*: Rios Montt "appears to have scored a clear victory," the Guatemalan government regrets that "unforeseen circumstances" have delayed the final results, and government sources have privately conceded defeat.

The government election office announces a Laugerud victory. Laugerud warns Rios Montt not to start violence.

The anti-government mayor of Cuitlan is murdered. Three medical students sent by the opposition to supervise the voting in Zacapa are found dead on a highway.

Wednesday, March 6. Shouting "Viva Rios Montt," hundreds of students confront police throughout Guatemala City and are met with tear gas. The government announced that the three closed radio stations will not be reopened since they have subverted the public order, and warns all other stations. The Guatemalan Association of Journalists protests. Martial music plays over the radio, the usual prelude to a state of siege.

Thursday, March 7. University students hold a mass demonstration to protest the death of the three students in Zacapa and the election fraud. Rios Montt speaks, and demonstrators ask him for arms. Sixty people are arrested in clashes with the police. Sandoval Alarcon warns that if the opposition continues in the streets, "we [presumably the Death Squad] will be waiting to meet them."

Friday, March 8. Student-police clashes continue and several bombs are set off.

Saturday, March 9. Five thousand people gather to denounce the election fraud in spite of attempts by police and armed right-wing partisans to break up the demonstration.

Sunday, March 10. Tension mounts over the army's role. Rumors range between a coup for Rios Montt and a state of siege by the government. Death threats appear against opposition figures.

Monday, March 11. The MLN sends a telegram to President Arana condemning the student unrest and warning "We have blood in our veins." Edmundo Guerra Teilheimer, a leading activist and lawyer for families of previously "disappeared persons," is machine-gunned to death in his Guatemala City office.

The *New York Times* reports that "daily street clashes between leftist students and policemen are keeping this Central American republic in a state of political turmoil," and speculates on what the army will do, citing one source

as saying "The [army] high command knows that Rios Montt won, but it wants to pick the right moment to step into the ring."

Tuesday, March 12. The government-dominated Congress names Laugerud as the next President of Guatemala.

CONCLUSION

With the Congressional action, opposition forces have given up the attempt to reclaim their electoral victory. Following a death threat, Rios Montt has declared his retirement from politics, saying, "I don't want to divide the army." But the army is divided, and with continuing inflation and mass discontent, Laugerud is bound to have a difficult time. A severe wave of repression, with jailings and assassinations, is a strong possibility.

Though as President, Rios Montt would not have changed the country, as a candidate he left a mark. His personal opposition to the government allowed many things to be said that had not appeared in the Guatemalan mass media for years. The government was openly linked with unofficial right-wing violence, a fact previously known by all but stated by none. On one Guatemala City building hung a giant banner with the words, "A vote for MLN-PID is a vote for Death." The anti-Communism of the government campaign backfired; people simply laughed at the concept of General Rios Montt being a Communist.

The Guatemalan election, then, was an intense political education for the country and a demonstration of broad and overwhelming discontent with the prevailing political system. Leaflets distributed by guerrilla organizations predicted the fraud, and the election made clear what the revolutionary left has said all along: that change cannot come to Guatemala through elections. Though the popular mobilizations of election time were not channeled into organized forms, they will feed into the long-term, less visible, grass-roots organizing that is continuing throughout Guatemala.

(Guatemala Report is supported by contributions of \$3 for individuals, \$5 for libraries and other institutions. It is available from American Friends of Guatemala, P.O. Box 2283, Station A Berkeley, CA. 94702.)

Spain

(Continued from Page 4)

nation might have been the work of right-wing terrorists, who wanted to eliminate Carrero Blanco because they considered him "soft on reds" and also ensure the maximum sentences for the Ten.

This hypothesis is also strengthened by the results of fingerprint evidence, which was negative as far as the six arrested Basques were concerned.

[Editor's Note: A few weeks after the assassination of Carrero Blanco, four members of the ETA (Basque Nation and Freedom) held a press conference in France to claim responsibility for his death. They gave detailed information about how the assassination was carried out and how they escaped from Spain.]

Whoever was to blame for the assassination, the big losers were the Carabanchel Ten. The court pronounced maximum sentences on each of them. Marcelino Camacho and Eduardo Saborido were each given 20 years. Fr. Garcia Salve and Nicolas Sartorius were sentenced to 19 years. The remaining defendants received 18, 17, and 12 years.

THE POLITICAL CLIMATE

The trial of the Carabanchel Ten occurred at a time of great changes in Spanish political life. The forces of the right, previously kept in line by Franco, have begun fighting among themselves for more power after the aging Generalissimo dies. Furthermore, some of the forces that were solidly in Franco's camp have deserted entirely, most notably the Catholic hierarchy.

A national meeting of Catholic priests last year stated that the Church had been on the wrong side during the Spanish Civil War by siding against the workers. Recently, when the Bishop of Bilbao spoke in favor of the Basque independence movement, the government ordered him recalled by the Vatican. When the Vatican refused, the government tried to get a meeting of all the bishops in Spain to expel him. Instead, they endorsed the bishop. The bishop remains under house arrest, allegedly for his own protection, and the Vatican has forbidden the government to expel him by force.

SPAIN'S FUTURE

Since the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39, the left throughout the world has had a falsely optimistic hope that the Spanish people are on the verge of overthrowing the Franco regime, only to see those hopes dashed. Nonetheless, the support given by the international left to struggles inside Spain has helped keep the spirit alive so that movements against fascism are able to rise again and again.

One reason for the lack of support for the Carabanchel Ten within the U. S. has been the almost total news blackout within this country. The U. S. government is not interested in the promotion of democratic rights in Spain; keeping Spain under Fascism is part of the U. S. strategy for Europe. The U. S. pays about \$400 million per year to the Franco regime for military bases and direct investment amounts to \$1 billion. U. S. corporations plan to use the cheap labor force of Spain (the average wage of a worker there is one-third that of a West German worker) to produce automobiles and other consumer goods at lower prices. If Spain is allowed to join the Common Market, U. S. capitalists can breach the tariff wall which was erected by Common Market countries to protect themselves. Europe can then become a market for the goods from Spain, with U. S. capital profiting. (The activities of U. S. capital are more highly restricted in the present Common Market countries than in Franco's Spain).

The catch has been that Pompidou's France opposed the admission of Spain to the Common Market unless the Spanish government grants certain basic democratic rights. But any loosening of Fascist control opens the way for workers to organize and substantially raise their wages - thus frustrating the aims of U. S. imperialism. The U. S. strategy is to prop up the Franco regime, work on the French to give in on the refusal to admit Spain through diplomatic channels (and they show signs of weakening on this issue) and blackout the news at home, so the American people won't become outraged by the U. S. role there.

Most of Europe did not have a similar news blackout during the Carabanchel trial and sympathy ran high for the Ten. Getting the word out in the U. S. will be immensely helpful to Spanish workers. With the erosion of Franco's domestic support, the role of the U. S. has become more important in maintaining Fascism in Spain. Any protest here can contribute to weakening Franco's regime.

For speakers, films, and information to encourage local education and actions around the issue of Spain, contact

The U. S. Committee for the Carabanchel Ten
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No-Strike

(Continued from Page 7)

ing. He did not explain the purpose of the meeting so no preliminary discussion of the ENA occurred in the locals. Without any previous knowledge or consideration of the ENA, the IEB ratified the agreement. Nonetheless, a number of local Presidents have opposed the ENA and a good many more requested that a final ratification vote be postponed until they had an opportunity to discuss it in their locals. But this was precisely what Abel feared, so he railroaded the ENA through the IEB.



I.W. Abel

The testimony of the rank and file was as educational as it was revealing. Jim Davis, leader of the Ad Hoc Committee of Black Steelworkers, testified that he had supported Abel against incumbent MacDonald in 1965 because Abel promised to turn the union over to the membership.

Alice Peurala, a white woman, USWA member, and participant in the Chicago-Gary based "District 31 Committee to Defend the Right to Strike," made a telling point about the Union-Industry collaboration. Leonard Scheinholtz, the Industry attorney, asked Peurala if she saw the movie, "Where's Joe?" The film, jointly produced by the Industry and the USWA, attempts to demonstrate that American steelworkers have to be more productive in order for U. S. firms to compete with Japanese and European steel companies. Scheinholtz wanted to know if Peurala learned the lessons of the film. Peurala commented, "My overwhelming feeling from the film was that it was quite racist."

CONCLUSION

The plaintiffs are demanding monetary damages for funds expended in furtherance of the agreement and an injunction against further exclusion of the membership as well as making the ENA null and void.

Ever since I. W. Abel sold the most elementary right of the labor movement for \$150, rank-and-file insurgents have been acting to nullify the agreement. Various locals have passed resolutions re-affirming the right to strike. Petitions have been circulated, and literature and information about the ENA has been distributed. The court suit is but one tactic. As one plaintiff, Dennis Peskin, said, "We will defend the right to strike, suit or no suit. This is just the first step. We'll keep up the battle."

Various issue-oriented rank-and-file caucuses throughout the country have coalesced in the struggle around the right to strike for which the suit and hearings have acted as a catalyst. Before the end of the hearings, an Interim Committee of six representatives was elected by the caucuses. The Committee will determine a place, date, and agenda for a national conference of the rank and file and the caucuses. The purpose of the conference is to begin to coordinate efforts against the ENA and to respond to the fall Steelworkers national convention as an organized force. Another plaintiff said, "There are too many problems we have to resolve... if we have the right to strike we can bring our strength to bear on these other problems," (such as discrimination,

hazardous working conditions, etc.).

The ENA is seen by companies and the government as a solution for "industrial peace." Organized labor is keeping a close eye on the developments surrounding the ENA as many view it as the wave of the future throughout American industries.

Special thanks to the plaintiffs Gene Moser and Dennis Peskin. For more information write: Workers for Democracy, 5305 Hohman Avenue, Room 505, Hammond, Indiana 46320.

Footnote: On March 26 Judge Hubert Teitelbaum dismissed the suit rejecting the argument that the ENA illegally deprived the steelworkers of their right to strike. Said Teitelbaum:

If the unspoken premise behind their thinking is that a union's legally recognized right to strike is so important, so hard-won, that no one, not even the membership themselves can give it up, this court disagrees.

In any system of self-government, in theory and in practice, even the most precious of rights may be waived, always assuming that the system's established procedures making such a decision are followed.

In addition, Teitelbaum claimed that federal labor laws had been satisfied since the ENA was approved by the steel industry conference.

Women's Health

(Continued from Page 9)

weakness inherent in much of the left. Women's demands have seemed "tacked on" to broader questions of economic control.

Today the need to resolve the division between health worker and consumer organizing is urgent. This division benefits the medical profession. The clinics serve as a safety-valve, allowing hospitals to avoid dealing with the poor.

Since the late sixties, there has been a "health crisis," defined as a doctor shortage. At least 50,000 doctors are needed to maintain the present inadequate doctor supply. Although initially refusing to acknowledge there has been a doctor shortage, the AMA can no longer stem the tide and is trying to develop strategies to increase the number of health workers while still maintaining control and augmenting their profits. Their current tactic is to develop allied health professionals (paraprofessionals) and to upgrade nursing jobs by creating positions such as nurse practitioners and physicians' assistants. These professionals would be salaried to the doctors while the doctor collects a larger fee.

The women's clinic movement is playing into the hands of the corporate medical elite strategy in two ways. First, the clinics are carving out new health worker roles. These can be co-opted by the medical establishment and put into a more refined stratification system than now exists. Second, the women's clinics

Peurala

(Continued from Page 7)

possibly sign an agreement saying they wouldn't strike. How would you bargain with management? These guys work in the plant and have direct contact with plant management. They know that they're not going to get anything by asking, that there has to be some muscle behind your demands. They readily signed petitions to let Abel know how they felt.

A few of us opposed to the ENA didn't believe the present officials of our local would inform the membership that the right to strike had been given up, and that arbitrators would make the decisions about our contract. We decided those issued had to be brought

Middle East

(Continued from Page 2)

Israel. Again, to borrow from Jackson, its main strategic value was to neutralize the nationalist Arab governments of Syria, Iraq, and Egypt. In 1956 when Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal the move was hailed by anti-imperialists all over the world. Not by Israel, however, who joined France and Britain in a military expedition to reverse Nasser's historical move. They failed and the Suez campaign of 1956 brought a political victory to Arab nationalist anti-imperialist forces. The Arab nationalist regimes grew in strength between 1956 and 1967 in Iraq, Syria, and Egypt, and so did the Soviet presence in the Mid-East.

The Israeli victory of 1967 neutralized the nationalist regimes. In the period between 1967 and 1973 the U. S. was calling the shots in the Arab countries—which led to Sadat's ousting of Soviet advisers, the return of U. S. business in the area, etc. As long as Israel held Egypt at bay, U. S. business could function. But things were getting rough for Sadat domestically.

The 1973 October war was Sadat's attempt to break the deadlock and to be accepted as an equal partner with the Saudi Arabians, Iranians, and Israelis.

After a brief war, fought for political gains, Sadat quickly signed a cease-fire, ousted General Shazli for crossing the Bar-Lev line, and renewed diplomatic relations with the U. S. The door was opened wide to U. S. business after the liquidation of the remaining progressives in the administration. Today Egypt is neutralized and well on the way to capitulation.

Not so on the Syrian front where a radical alliance seems to be developing among progressive Arab forces (Palestinians and Iraqis). The recent attack on Iraq by Iran and the renewal of Kurdish agitation by Mullah Barazani's right-wing feudal leadership seems to be an attempt to neutralize Iraq's participation in a radical coalition.

In the meantime Kissinger is busy in Geneva and Moscow, trying to buy the Palestinians with a mini-state (bantustyle). Promises and threats are alternatively dished out to the Syrians.

are generating a new market that can be exploited by the doctors. The clinics are at the forefront of preventive medicine, family planning, community work, and abortion procedures. Once these demands become widespread, doctors will move in to capture the market. The power of licensure of health workers and the right to prosecute those who practice without licenses is in their hands. Already women have been busted for practicing without a license in self-help clinics and for encouraging lay midwives to deliver babies in the home.

It is vitally important that women's clinics broaden their struggle to include confrontation over licensure, the right to practice, and the definition of health worker jobs. Women have always constituted a cheap, flexible labor pool within the health field in jobs which have been intended primarily for them. ■

to the membership. We felt a need for greater rank-and-file participation in decision-making in our union. So we decided to run a slate in the local union elections in June.

OUT OF 8,000 MEMBERS, Frank Mirocha got 1,500 votes and I got 575. A woman running for president in a basic steel local is unusual and I think those 575 votes were conscious votes against the ENA, in favor of the right to strike and for doing something about safety conditions in the plant. Medical treatment for injured workers at the plant hospital, the shorter work week, which we emphasized as a way of saving steelworkers' jobs and the health of steelworkers, voluntary overtime—all of these are issues to which the workers responded. ■



ANWAR SADAT

IN BRIEF THIS is where things stand on the Mid-East stage at the moment. The main question is whether the radical forces will be able to strike the first blow in the near future, and threaten the entire Pax Americana structure. Or will they be neutralized? Today's Mid-East is in an extreme state of flux and the outcome is of vital importance to U. S. capitalism. The stakes are high and the dice have been thrown.

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

1. *The Arab World and Israel*, Ahmad El Kodsy and Eli Lobel, Monthly Review Press.
2. *The Other Israel: The Radical Case Against Zionism*, Arie Bober (ed.), Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co.
3. *The Fall of Jerusalem*, Abdullah Schleifer, Monthly Review Press ■

Feminism

(continued from p. 12)



If this description of changes in the family and in the basis of sexism is accurate, then machismo and the patriarchal family can no longer be the focus of our attack. What we have to address is the powerlessness of both women and men in their personal lives, and the fact that women suffer the results of that powerlessness most. It seems to me that a socialist program in this area has to challenge the way in which the state and the demands of the economy push people into nuclear families and then put such pressure on those families that many of them become untenable. People should be able to live in families, in communes, alone, or in any other arrangement without facing obstacles in finding housing. Adults should be able to arrange their time with each other and with children as they want, and not according to the needs of industry for workers to be available at all hours. People should be able to decide where they want to live and be able to stay there as long as they want—rather than being forced to move according to the availability of jobs. Our goal—which can be fully realized only under socialism—should be a society in which people are neither forced into nuclear families by social conventions or loneliness, nor forced by society's pressures to disrupt their families, but can make free choices about how they want to live.



* My discussion of the family, as well as the direction of this piece as a whole, is strongly influenced by Eli Zaretsky's articles, "The Family, Capitalism and Personal Life," in *Socialist Revolution*, Nos. 13 and 14/15 ■

aft

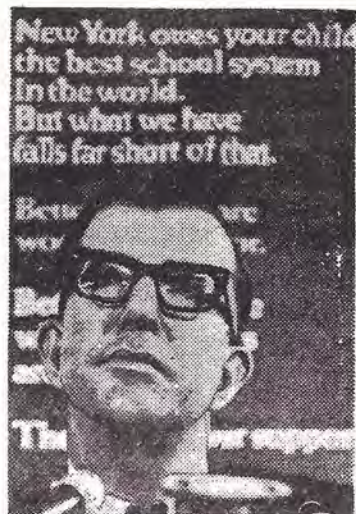
(Continued from Page 5)

two groups put forward separate wage demands: the San Francisco Federation of Teachers (SFFT-AFT) a 15% increase, the California Teachers Association (CTA-NEA) 10%. The SFFT went on strike first, while the CTA waited. Finally the CTA struck for a few days. The teachers settled for a 6% wage increase (the Board of Education's initial offer), which doesn't cover last year's 9% inflation and certainly won't cover 1974's inflation. A unified bargaining and strike strategy might have won a better deal for San Francisco teachers.

ALBERT SHANKER'S rise to power and his future ambitions have been fed by the union's contradictions. Shanker gained national prominence by leading the New York City teachers' strike of 1968. The strike was over the right of the local school district in Ocean Hill-Brownsville to transfer (not fire) teachers it considered racist. The strike was overtly racist as Shanker appealed to the teachers' fear of black students and of parents getting a voice in running the schools.

With the aid of a rapid merger, under his control, of the New York NEA and AFT affiliates, Shanker was able to control 55% of the delegate votes at the August 1973 AFT national convention. At that time Shanker was given the union's (newly offered) seat on the AFL-CIO executive council instead of liberal AFT president David Selden. It is likely that Shanker will oust Selden as union president in 1974. Shanker has opposed AFT's stand against the Indochina War and has, through control of the AFT executive

council, begun to limit union democracy. For example, he helped defeat a move to allow the rank and file (instead of the national convention) to elect the AFT president. Shanker has helped abolish AFT's public review board, part of the union's grievance procedure. He pushed through a measure to make all union publications subject to a review by a three-person committee of his supporters. Finally, Shanker has seen to it that at the national convention, a caucus is officially recognized only if it obtains the signatures of at least 10% of the delegates.



Albert Shanker

President Selden and Shanker have had political differences over Vietnam and over Shanker's attempts to further centralize power in the AFT. But they have the same perspective for the labor movement in general and the AFT in particular: reliance on Democratic Party "friends of labor"—Selden on the party's liberal wing, Shanker on their "moderate" wing. Both wings of the Democratic Party oppose the right of some public employees to strike and supported Nixon's wage freeze policies of 1971-72. Both

wings support the expansion of U. S. capital and empire which led to the Indochina War. All Democratic Party 1972 presidential hopefuls, including McGovern, opposed the AFT position on the war: the union called for "the immediate and total withdrawal of all personnel and materiel from Southeast Asia."

The 1973 AFT national convention showed the similarity between Selden's and Shanker's strategies for teachers. Both officers were members of the victorious Progressive Caucus slate of nominees for AFL-CIO convention delegate seats. Their slogan was: "Elect a Veto-Proof Congress in 1974"—i.e., work for and spend money on Democrat "friends of labor." Opposing the Progressive Caucus was the United Action Caucus (UAC), a coalition of independent leftists and members of the Communist Party and the International Socialists. The UAC won 10% of the delegate votes for the seats for the AFL-CIO national convention. This caucus called for a commitment to community control with participation by parents, teachers, and students. In addition, the caucus' program called for independent labor political action. Some members of the UAC called for a complete break with the Democratic (and Republican—Party and for the formation of a labor party.

Members of the caucus called for greater emphasis on a militant, democratic rank and file teachers' movement than on support for politicians. Instead of using AFT money and personnel to campaign for "good Democrats," a large portion of these resources could be used to build strike funds and to conduct sorely needed organizing drives. For example, teachers can more likely win the *de facto* right to strike by militant action than by waiting for someone else

to give it to them.

Although a labor party may be an empty alternative at this time, the labor movement can still engage in independent political activity. For example, unionists can help build the People's Party nationally, the Human Rights Party in Michigan, or the Peace and Freedom Party in California. In addition, the AFT could run its own candidates for school board positions, instead of relying on the Republicans or Democrats.

The United Action Caucus and other rank and file AFT caucuses are one of the few areas in the U. S. labor movement in which socialists have real roots. For example, socialist members of the California Federation of Teachers (AFT) play an active role in labor struggles there. In the Bay Area, this has meant active picket line support of the UFW boycott and of the Sears employee strike. In San Francisco socialists struggled unsuccessfully against SFFT president James Ballard's (a member of Shanker's Progressive Caucus slate for the AFL-CIO delegates) move to abolish membership meetings.

Socialists in the AFT must oppose the labor bureaucracy by posing a strategy of militancy, political action independent of the capitalist parties, solidarity with other workers, and union democracy. For history shows that the labor movement has made its gains only through militant rank-and-file action.

NAM Chapters and Pre-Chapters

NAM chapters are numbered; pre-chapters are starred

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1) Amherst NAM
Box 1329, Sta. No. 2
Amherst, MA 01002 | 12) Bread and Roses NAM
1734 20th Street NW
Washington, DC 10009 | 24) Minneapolis NAM
2421 E. Franklin Avenue
Minneapolis, MN 55406 | 36) San Francisco NAM
388 Sanchez Street
San Francisco, CA 94114 |
| 2) Radcliffe-Harvard NAM
c/o Dan Goldstein
12 Upland Road
Cambridge, MA 02140 | 13) C. P. Gilman NAM
920 Dacian Ave., Apt. 7
Durham, NC 27701 | 25) Nicollet Avenue NAM
Rm. 4, 1502 Nicollet Ave.
Minneapolis, MN | 37) Berkeley NAM
2022 Blake Street
Berkeley, CA 94704 |
| 3) Middlesex NAM
Box 443
Somerville, MA 02144 | 14) Margaret Sanger NAM
c/o Rose
Rt. 2, Box 491
Durham, NC 27705 | 26) Fargo-Moorhead NAM
Moorhead State College
P. O. Box 279
Moorhead, MN 56560 | 38) ELF NAM
305 Eschleman Hall
University of California
Berkeley, CA 94720 |
| 4) Boston Area NAM
Rm. 308, Heller School
Brandeis University
Waltham, MA 02154 | 15) Asheville NAM
P. O. Box 8486
Asheville, NC 28804 | 27) DeKalb NAM
839 N. 11th Street
DeKalb, IL 60115 | 39) Chico NAM
c/o Reed
716 Oaklawn
Chico, CA 95926 |
| 5) New York NAM No. 1
c/o Blau
306 W. 93rd Street
New York, NY 10024 | 16) Knoxville NAM
310 1/2 16th Street
Knoxville, TN 37916 | 28) Fox River Valley NAM
506 Barrington
Dundee, IL 60118 | 40) Reed NAM
c/o Ratliff
Box 867, Reed College
Portland, OR 97202 |
| 6) Queens College NAM
c/o Welch
674 W. 161st Street, No. 4C
New York, NY 10032 | 17) Lexington NAM
1625 Nicholasville Rd.
Lexington, KY 40503 | 29) Chicago NAM No. 1
c/o Healey
5731 S. Blackstone
Chicago, IL 60637 | * Germantown NAM
5108 Newhall Street
Philadelphia, PA 19144 |
| 7) Interboro NAM
c/o Freeman
142-24 38th Ave., Apt. 511
Flushing, NY 11354 | 18) Cleveland NAM
1816 Chapman Avenue
East Cleveland, OH 44112 | 30) Lawrence NAM
c/o Kershenbaum
1304 1/2 Tennessee
Lawrence, KA 66044 | * Normal NAM
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810 Ferndale
Dayton, OH 45406 | 31) New Orleans NAM
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New Orleans, LA 70176 | * Macomb NAM
c/o Gladys
Newman Center
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Antioch College Student Mail
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Impeach Nixon!

(Continued from Front Page)

is impeached but not convicted the Democrats would be in a good position legislatively. Nixon would remain but wield little power over the Congress.

DEMOCRATS' PROBLEMS

Clearly the Democrats have an excellent chance of coming out of this period a stronger party. But it is not at all clear that the center of the party can hold together the coalition that has been the Democrats' base since the thirties. The McGovern candidacy in 1972 was early evidence that the traditional alliance of blacks, labor, and petit bourgeois liberals that had powered the party since Roose-

fied people to pressure the representatives of the capitalist parties to act in a certain way. They do not begin to challenge the power of those parties within the capitalist state. If Nixon is impeached, the Democrats will get most of the credit for it, just as Nixon took credit for ending the war.

Nevertheless, we should not hesitate to march on April 27. It is unlikely that the intensity and duration of the crisis provoked by Watergate has left the consciousness of the American people untouched. Watergate, we should remember, followed hard on the heels of a decade of protest and repression that taught millions of Americans that the country's problems were systematic. The combination of Watergate and the energy



Chicagoans demonstrate against Nixon

velt was faltering. McGovern's support came primarily from the source of the protest movements of the sixties—anti-war youth, women, some blacks, and young workers. All indications are that the old coalition will continue to disintegrate and that the center party leadership will not be responsive to the new one. This will leave the Democrats in a weakened position in the long run.

Both parties are cautious about the possible undermining of public faith in government that an impeachment trial may bring about. They are throwing up smokescreens of statemanship to cover the essential political motivations of their actions, hoping that only Nixon, and not the system itself will be discredited. The idea that the Constitution is standing another test, and that the impeachment proceeding is proof of the strength of U. S. democracy, will be pushed more and more. The Judiciary Committee has also voted not to consider the secret bombing of Cambodia or Nixon's impoundment of funds for social services as grounds for impeachment. These grounds might have made the question of limiting presidential power more prominent in the impeachment proceedings. The grounds now under consideration will insure the proceeding will be as close to a mere change of personnel as possible.

IMPEACH NIXON!

The national impeachment activities planned for April 27 are important demonstrations that we will not tolerate further procrastination and political maneuvering by Democrats, Republicans, or Nixon. They can provide a powerful context for an analysis that ties the Watergate scandal and repression, the energy crisis, and inflation to the system that produced them—capitalism.

The cynicism with which much of the left has greeted impeachment activities up till now is not without some justification. Marches, like those planned for the 27th, remain within the realm of protest. They are attempts by dissatis-

crisis has again demonstrated that in the absence of a system of economic democracy, political democracy cannot prevail. Within this context Nixon's impeachment will open tremendous opportunities for the left to publicly present a viable alternative to capitalism, to build a popular movement for socialism, and to challenge the hegemony of the capitalist parties within the political arena. Nixon's demise, the consolidation of the Democratic Party around its center, and the continued reliance of the labor bureaucracy on the Democrats make the time ripe for placing socialism on the political agenda. Socialists should seize the time ■

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given thirty minutes to agree on the proposed Statement of Purpose as well as the Statement on Structure and Guidelines, which are to direct the Coalition in its first year of activity. As a result, with the exception of the Statement of Purpose (see box) and the deletion of a controversial point in the proposed structure, most major decisions never reached the floor for discussion, but were referred to the incoming NCC. Rank and file dissatisfaction was expressed over the heavy-handed tactics employed by conference organizers and workshop leaders to avoid discussion on controversial issues.

Although concern was expressed for organizing the unorganized, unorganized women are not to be members of the Coalition. Welfare Rights women, for example, had asked to be present at the conference but had been excluded. The reason given was that while the problems of welfare women, of unorganized working women, and of trade union women were indeed not separate, there must be separate organizations to deal with these problems. Many women, however, felt that membership should

small cars

(Continued from Front Page)

demand for small cars and introduced the Vega to keep a foot in that market.

But large cars are where the profits have been. In 1973 a Cadillac de Ville cost \$300 more than a Chevy Caprice to produce, but sold for \$2,700 more, leaving \$2,400 more profit per car. Similarly, each Oldsmobile brought in \$1,200 more profit than a Chevrolet.

GM, the undisputed leader in large car production, found it harder than the other companies to accept the new trend toward less profitable small cars. After a struggle over this issue within GM's top management, the leading advocate of small car production resigned in early 1973. The company had decided to hang on to its large car superprofits for as long as possible.

They hung on too long. In the 1975 model year, Ford will have seven small car models, and a larger volume of small cars than GM. Chrysler will have 60% of its capacity in small cars. GM will have only 40% of its production in small cars—an increase from 25% a year earlier, but still well behind the rest of the industry.

With the rise of small cars, GM's share of the U. S. auto market drifted down from 52% in 1962 to 44% in 1973, then fell to 38% in the beginning of 1974. Its competitors talk about taking another 5% away from GM in the next two years.

Ford and Chrysler were not the only companies that saw the writing on the wall more clearly than GM. First prize for foresight goes to Hertz. The entire rent-a-car industry, a major purchaser of Detroit's biggest products, became aware early in 1973 that a gasoline shortage and a collapse in large-car prices were on the way. Hertz switched quickly into purchases of smaller cars, signed up long-term contracts with fuel suppliers (as one of the country's largest fuel customers, it wasn't that hard), and hired a former Gulf executive to manage its fuel problems. Hertz even succeeded in selling most of its used 1973 large cars a few months before the prices started falling. And Avis and National were not far behind: all three big rent-a-car agencies bought lots of small cars, well before the oil embargo.

SLOANISM

The difference in strategies between GM and the other car companies is not a new development. In 1921 Ford had 60% of the auto market, and GM only 12%. Ford produced one cheap standard car, the Model T, available in "any color as long as it's black." GM's counter-attack was based on "Sloanism," named for GM president Alfred P. Sloan: bigger is better, sell as many optional luxury

features as possible: offer a variety of styles and prices, and advertise them constantly to create distinctive brand images. By 1927 Sloanism had defeated the unchanging Model T. Ford closed down for most of the year and converted to the fancier Model A.

Since the early 1930's Ford and Chrysler as well as GM have followed Sloanism, usually imitating GM's styles and matching its prices. The other companies could never catch up to GM's level of large car production. Perhaps that is why they were more ready to move back to small cars. But all three companies always made their highest profits on their largest cars.

The new shift to smaller cars does not mean a defeat of Sloanism, only a compromise. The companies hope to regain some of their large-car profits by selling luxury compacts. Ford will have two luxury compacts out in the fall, and within a year GM will introduce the compact Cadillac. Those new little cars will probably get bigger each year, too—the fate of previous "compacts."

THE LIMITED IMPACT

Under normal circumstances such a dramatic increase in the demand for small cars could have wreaked havoc on the U. S. economy. There would have been a boom in sales of imports, and the slump in U. S. auto production could have led to a widespread recession. The present international economic situation, however, makes both of these results unlikely.

Imported cars are not doing well because they have risen in price. U. S. price controls have held down the prices of domestic small cars, while the prices of imported cars have been pushed up by the dollar devaluation, rapid inflation abroad, and increasing militance and high wage demands from auto workers in West Germany and Japan. VWs, Toyotas, and Datsuns, all formerly \$400 cheaper than Vegas and Pintos, are now \$200 more expensive than their U. S. competitors. So the booming demand for small cars has primarily benefited U. S. producers. Many customers will doubtless wait for next year's increased output of domestic small cars, rather than buying higher-priced imports.

Ordinarily a cutback in the auto industry would rapidly spread to other industries. Less car production means less demand for steel, glass, rubber, and less employment in those industries; less people working in auto and related industries means less demand for other consumer goods. But this pattern is broken today by the worldwide shortages of many basic materials. The steel industry, for instance, normally sells 20% of its output to the auto industry; an auto cutback usually has an immediate impact on steel. But with the present worldwide

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be expanded to include those women involved in recognized union organizing drives, while older women in particular (whose struggle to gain recognition in their own unions had been long and hard) expressed the sentiment, "Let them pay their dues; when they have the guts to organize, then we'll let them in."

It is unclear at this point whether the guideline that limits membership in the Coalition to members of bona fide collective bargaining organizations will

remain as is, since the conference did not have an opportunity to vote on suggested amendments to this rule and the decision is to be made by the NCC.

SUPPORT FOR FARMWORKERS

Another closely related controversial point in the proposed Statement on Structure was guideline 14. It stated: National CLUW and area CLUW chapters shall not be involved in issues or

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