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Farah Workers Win Union Recognition

by Sandy Carter
Austin NAM

ON FEBRUARY 24, the strike and nationwide boycott against Farah ended with the announcement of a settlement recognizing the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) as the bargaining agent for employees of the Texas firm.

Farah Manufacturing, one of the world's largest producers of men's slacks, decided to recognize the union and rehire the strikers after ACWA informed Farah that the majority of the workers (67 percent) had signed union cards. After the action was verified by El Paso Mayor Fred Harvey (an

Labor Party Wins

Britain Still Unstable

by John Willoughby
Berkeley NAM

THE RESULTS OF the British election of February 28 were indecisive and confused. Neither major party won a majority in the House of Commons. For a few days Edward Heath, leader of the Conservative (Tory) Party, attempted to form a coalition with the Liberal Party, the Welsh and Scottish Nationalists, and the Ulster Loyalists. When he failed, the Queen called on Harold Wilson of the Labor Party to be Prime Minister. He promptly formed a minority government and settled the miners' strike, ending the dispute which precipitated the election in the first place.

The present situation remains unstable and it is unlikely that the Wilson government will last more than a few months. A minority government will not be able to pass legislation without support from outside its ranks, and to do this Wilson and his "left-wing" Employment Minister, Michael Foot, will be forced to compromise with the right and persuade labor leaders to moderate their wage demands. While Wilson may have some short-term successes, the predicted 15 to 20 percent inflation this year will force labor leaders to be more militant than even they might wish to be.

THE LABOR PARTY AND LEFT STRATEGY

To defend itself against further attacks on its living standards, the British working class will be forced to make a national political response through the trade unions. The Communist Party, which has 25,000 members in England, many of whom are factory workers, is the organization in the best position to lead such a movement. Unfortunately, the C. P.'s strategy calls for an alliance with the Labor Party to form a "progressive

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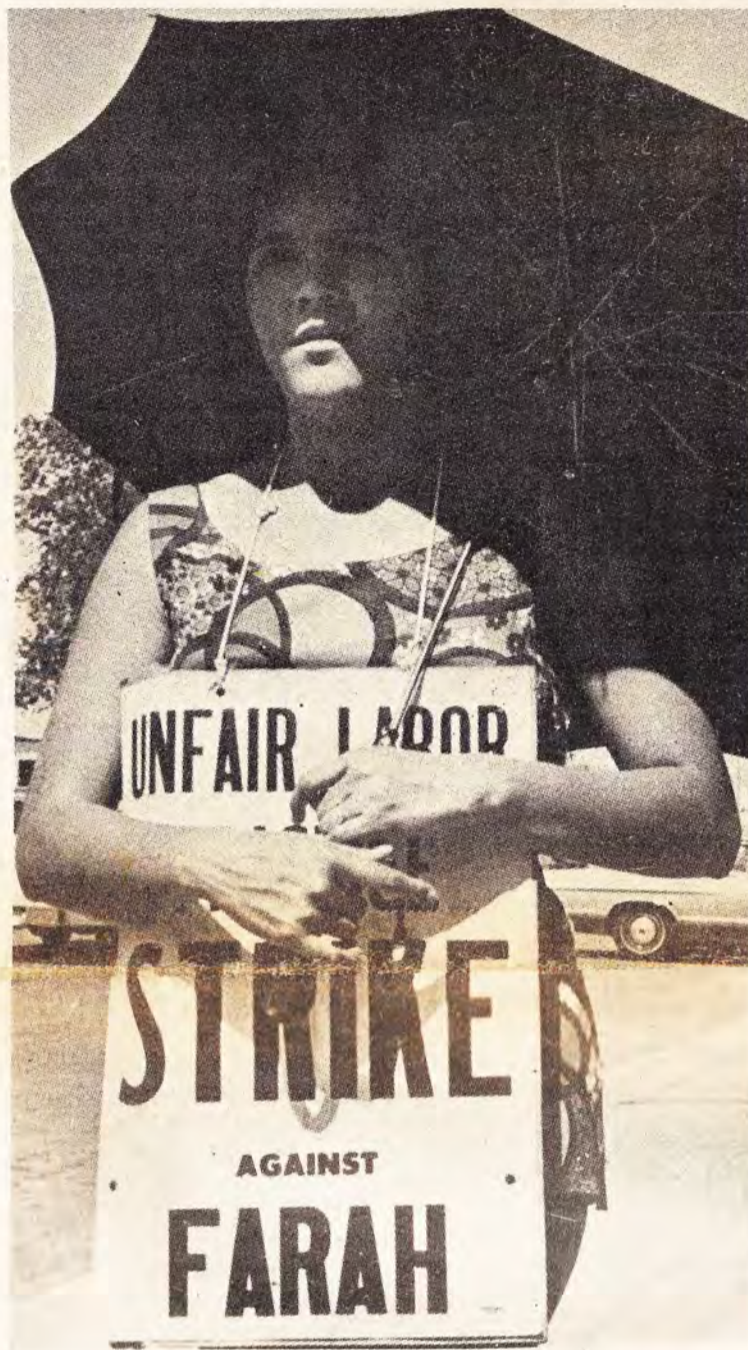
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impartial third party in the dispute), William "Willie" Farah, president of the company, agreed to the settlement.

In a brief statement to the press Farah, who had once vowed that he would close all his plants rather than submit to union representation, stated that the settlement was based on the "process of law." He did not care to talk about the economic losses incurred during the strike, but he acknowledged that the boycott against Farah Pants had "a very vicious effect."

The boycott against Farah products began in July 1972. Since that time the stock of Farah Manufacturing has plummeted from \$30 to \$5 a share. In the last six months Farah was forced to close four of his nine factories. The plants that continued in operation had to cut back to a three-day work week. In 1973 there was a drop in sales volume of 15 percent. For a man interested in maintaining "our historic growth rate," the boycott was indeed "vicious."

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Wounded Knee Trials Begin

by Paula Giese, Minneapolis

DENNIS BANKS, National Executive Director of the American Indian Movement (AIM) who is a Minnesota Chippewa, and Russell Means, an Oglala Sioux AIM leader from Pine Ridge Reservation, are now standing trial as the first of the six "major conspiracy" defendants for the 71-day siege last spring. During the siege, there were two deaths from the fire of government marshalls and federally-armed vigilantes: Apache Frank Clearwater (whom the government first declared to be white), and Oglala Buddy Lamont. In the period since, there have been at least three murders of important Indian witnesses including Pedro Bissonette, who would have been the seventh "major conspirator."

That trial is in St. Paul, Minnesota. About 200 miles away, in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, 300 Indian men and women face sentences of 20 to 140 years. About one-third of those indicted are women, with new indictments coming down daily. A small legal collective, aided by occasional long-distance and "drop-in" legal help, defends them. By contrast with other political trials, all the Wounded Knee trials proceed in

relative poverty and obscurity—conditions that have faced Indians all through the "longest war."

Most damaging has been the near inability of the Indians to tell the public what it is all about.

WHAT THE ISSUES ARE

Results of the St. Paul trials are likely to be far-reaching. Fundamentally involved in the defense is the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, made by the U. S. with the Lakota (Sioux) and Arapahoe Indians. Judicial rulings at some level will affect the property "rights" of powerful financial interests, who have systematically robbed Native Americans of anything valuable turning up on treaty-guaranteed reservation lands.

Minneapolis attorney Larry Leventhal has filed a motion to dismiss (also filed in South Dakota) based on the Treaty of 1868, asserting that the treaty bars U. S. law enforcement officials and courts from jurisdiction over reservation Indians on their land.

Suspension on these grounds at any level would constitute strong judicial support for Indian claims to the stolen 1868 reservation land—all of South Dakota west of the Missouri River, and

strips of land in Nebraska and Wyoming as well.

This has been reduced to some three million acres of "postage stamp" reservations, scattered through the state.

One of the once-reserved stolen lands are gold (the Homestake Mine, the Western hemisphere's largest producer), silver, lead, uranium (a mine that is the main nuclear weapons source), bentonite, beryllium, mica, quartz, gypsum, beautiful mountains with lucrative tourist resorts, a weapons testing range, a bomber base for B-52's with nuclear weapons, and a curious collection of non-Indian earthen mounds that house obsolete nuclear weapons. These stolen lands now "belong" to whites.

Also important, and far beyond the interests affected in the South Dakota land struggles, is the precedent these treaty struggles will set for other claims. A look at old maps indicates that if Indians gained control of their treaty-determined reservation lands, they'd control about two-thirds of the known energy resources in the U. S. and much strategic metal and mineral rights. As oil profits (and prices) continue rising,

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Canal Talks Spark Panama Crisis

by Nancy Stein
NACLA

ON HIS RECENT whirlwind visit, Secretary of State Kissinger and Panama's foreign minister signed an eight-point agreement of principles providing for the eventual restoration of Panama's territorial sovereignty over the Canal and the 550 square-mile zone surrounding it. According to this agreement, a new treaty will be negotiated that supercedes the one signed in 1903. The original treaty gave the U. S. control of the Canal "in perpetuity." The new treaty will contain a fixed termination date for U. S. jurisdiction over the Canal (likely to be about thirty years from now), and will provide for Panama's participation in the administration, protection, and defense of the waterway in the meantime.

The agreement indicates that some progress has been made in the long stalemated negotiations over the Canal, but enormous problems lie ahead. At the heart of these problems lies the U. S. military presence in the Canal Zone—which the Pentagon is committed to maintaining. At the same time political developments to the left and right of the government of Panamanian President Omar Torrijos—which reflect problems created by the U. S. military presence and economic penetration—threaten his government.

NATIONALISM VS. THE PENTAGON

Torrijos came to power in a military coup in 1968 inspired by the Peruvian model of military nationalism. He has consistently spoken of the importance of Panamanian control of the Canal and the country's other natural resources. Three years ago he said in relation to the U. S. presence in the Canal Zone, "The Americans have to pull out with their colonial tent."

But under the Nixon administration U. S. military activity in the Zone has been greatly stepped up. Almost the entire U. S. counter-insurgency force for Latin America, including military training centers and a jungle warfare school, is housed in the Zone. It is also the headquarters for the U. S. Southern Command (SOUTHCOM) which coordinates all U. S. military and intelligence activities throughout Latin America, supervises all U. S. military assistance programs, and maintains a communica-

tions and logistics network for U. S. forces. It was originally created to defend the Canal Zone itself, but a State Department official recently told Congressman Les Aspin that the "only justification for SOUTHCOM is for an intervention force in Latin America."

The Canal Zone is also the training ground for thousands of Latin American military personnel. The U. S. Army School of the Americas (ARSA) has trained over 30,000 Latin Americans since 1946. In addition, 11,000 others have received training at the Inter-American Air Force Academy. As of October 1973, more than 170 ARSA graduates were heads of government, cabinet ministers, commanding generals, chiefs of staff, and directors of intelligence in their countries. The leaders of Chile's military junta and the Chilean director of intelligence are graduates of the school.

Documents recently made available to the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) describe the activities of ARSA. According to the documents, the major purpose of the program is to train select Latin Americans in carrying out counterinsurgency missions for the repression of national liberation movements. There is a heavy emphasis on intelligence operations and interrogation techniques, as well as the inculcation of U. S. Army doctrine and ideology. In response to the growing wave of guerrilla activity in the cities, new courses have been developed on urban guerrilla warfare, and sophisticated "criminal investigation techniques." Classroom exercises range from the selection of labor union informers to methods of protecting leaders from assassination attempts, to the recovery and deactivation of explosive devices.

U. S. CONTINENTAL STRATEGY

These programs are key elements in the Pentagon strategy to develop a continental approach to putting down revolutionary movements. As these movements are beginning to coordinate their actions against foreign domination, the U. S. military is beefing up national armies into special repressive forces that, in time of need, would be able to unite in a unified command. Already the



Panama Canal: U. S. control has violated Panamanian sovereignty since 1903.

right-wing military governments of Chile, Brazil, Bolivia, and Uruguay are talking about this type of coordination behind the scenes.

Because of the sensitive nature of these operations it is unlikely that any other Latin American country would allow the Pentagon to set up operations within its borders. In a period of growing nationalist feelings no Latin American ruling class could afford to so visibly compromise its integrity. But as far as the Pentagon is concerned, "There is no adequate substitute for a command, being on the spot, working daily on U. S. military relations with Latin America." So, moving the operation back home is not a satisfactory solution to the Pentagon, which seems intent on continuing to use the Canal Zone as a base.

PRESSURE FROM THE LEFT

The growing importance of the military presence in the Canal Zone has deadlocked negotiations for some time. But growing pressure from the left in Panama has forced Torrijos to step up the pace of the talks. That pressure



peaked during Kissinger's visit when a government authorized demonstration by the Student Federation turned into a militantly anti-U. S. confrontation

led by the outlawed People's Party, the Communist Party of Panama. Five cars were damaged outside the Legislative Palace during the talks and the demonstrators raised the slogans, "Get tough with the American, Omar" and "Nixon-Assassin." The head of the Student Federation, Romulo Bettancourt, struck a similar note in a recent interview. "We have some flags to raise until we are free of foreign domination, the vestiges of colonialism, and the penetration of neo-colonialism. But one thing is clear—we are not a fanatic mass and we are not inventing problems with the U. S. The U. S. made the problems."

AND THE RIGHT

At the same time Torrijos is under increasing attack from the right in Panama. According to the *New York Times* a growing sector of the national business community has become so disgusted with Torrijos' current domestic policies that they have withdrawn their support for him and hope that his treaty aims come to nothing so as to further destabilize his government. Under Torrijos rule business has prospered in Panama. There are now 55 banking houses in the country with deposits of \$1.5 billion. They are pumping \$100 million a year into the economy. But businessmen have become increasingly disgruntled since October of last year when Torrijos ordered construction of low-income housing and cut short a highrise building boom. This has led to anti-government demonstrations, including a "march of the empty pots" by middle and upper class women. Panamanian officials fear that the U. S. may take part in new efforts to bring about a coup in concert with these right-wing forces if Torrijos succumbs to mounting leftist pressure. John Dean's

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New Political Struggle Shakes China

by Ed Hammond

THE BEGINNING of a mass campaign to criticize Confucius and Lin Piao in China has led to the perennial speculation in the West about leadership and foreign policy crises. Serious questions have been raised in the campaign, but a close reading of the Chinese press does not yet seem to justify this speculation.

THE BACKGROUND

A campaign against Confucius became public late last August. *People's Daily* published a long article by Professor Yang Jung-Kuo, criticizing Confucius for opposing the new rising feudal forces from the standpoint of the tottering slave-owning aristocracy, thereby justify-

ing the inevitability of the enslavement and exploitation of working people. The issue of Confucius is an extremely old one in Chinese scholarly and political circles. The heart of it is the unconscious grip of old cultural norms on the Chinese people. In Marxist terms, Professor Yang was making Gramsci's point that aspects of the superstructure develop their own momentum and often continue long after they have lost their economic base.

The Lin Piao case is more complex and confused. At the Ninth Party Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in April 1969, Lin was designated as Mao's "successor." The Chinese now maintain that on October 19, 1969 Lin wrote four scrolls with the Confucian adage: "Of all things, this is the most

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Rustification Program

SLA

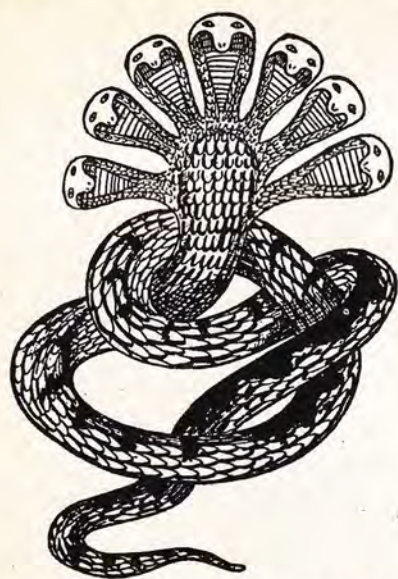
They Couldn't Be More Wrong

(The following article is a reprint of an editorial from *Common Sense*, a San Francisco socialist paper.)

For most Americans the left in this country appears at best irrelevant and at worst lunatic. The recent actions of the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA)—the assassination of Marcus Foster and the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst—reinforce this view.

Attempting to explain the motivations of the SLA would, at this time, be mainly guess work. There is much about them that we do not know and certainly do not understand. But it is wrong to categorize them as simply a bunch of misguided, crazy individuals acting in a fantasy world of their own making. They say that they are committed revolutionaries. Their actions have certainly dramatized that commitment. Their rhetoric, their vision of themselves, and in some ways their actions are reminiscent of others. The tragedy of the SLA is that they are living out the rhetoric that was once so popular among sections of the New Left. We think that it is both frustration with the ineffectiveness of the anti-imperialist socialist movement and outrage at the injustices of our society which propel groups like the SLA to the self-destructive, dead-end acts they have committed. They have become too impatient with the long and difficult work of building a mass movement. The SLA has decided that the time is ripe for armed combat and that they are "the army of the people." They couldn't be more wrong.

The SLA claims it speaks "for the people." This heady assertion flies in the face of the reality of most people's



reaction to the Foster slaying and the Hearst kidnapping. The nature of the SLA's actions guarantee that the masses of people have no say at all about the course of the SLA's decisions. It reduces people to passive spectators, and further reinforces the view that the left is a bunch of wild-eyed adventurers, removed from ordinary life, living in a fantasy world of revolution, guns, and romantic acts.

Ironically, this distorted view of

people on the left stems as much from the one-sided sensationalist coverage by the established mass media, typified by the Hearst papers, as it does from the occasional actions of isolated groups like the SLA. Before they became impor-

tant to Hearst personally, when did the Examiner/Chronicle cover the activities of groups like the United Prisoners Union, the Black Teachers Caucus, or the Western Addition Project Action Committee (WAPAC)? When the S. F. Socialist Coalition ran candidates for supervisor in the last election, the only mention in the Examiner/Chronicle were two slanted, derogatory articles. The struggle against forced-work for welfare recipients, of vital importance both to working people and the poor, receives no mention in the dailies. Not one word appears in the Chronicle/Examiner on the real

political terror now awaiting 400 Haitian refugees being held for deportation in this country's jails.

The capitalist controlled media has consistently ignored and distorted left activity that doesn't fall under the framework of terrorism, violence, or frivolity. It has even created "movement leaders," like Jerry Rubin, who become synonymous in most people's minds with the left, even though they belong to no organization and are answerable to no one. It is truly ironic, that the first

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AMTRAK

"The Tracks Are Back?"

FACED WITH gasoline shortages, lowered speed limits, and reductions in airline service while air fares threaten to soar out of sight, more and more Americans are looking for alternate means of intercity travel. "Whatever happened to passenger trains?" is a question increasingly being asked.

AMTRAK, the government-controlled railroad passenger corporation, is proclaiming "The Tracks are Back." But as a passenger who arrived at Oakland during Christmas, 32 1/2 hours late from New York, wondered, "Yeah, but what about the trains?"

AMTRAK vaulted into the news over Christmas with an incredible series of mishaps: derailments, long delays, breakdowns in heating. Beyond these sensational failures, AMTRAK has been plagued since its creation in 1971 by a steady stream of problems: inconvenient scheduling that deters thousands of potential riders, cars that average over 20 years of age, neglected roadbeds that make for slow, bumpy trips.

Yet demand for rail passenger service continues to increase. Over the recent holidays, phone volume jumped from 40,000 calls per month to 60,000. Boston to New York passengers are up 37 percent in the last year. San Francisco to Chicago is up to 59 percent. Even before the "energy crisis," AMTRAK had increased ridership 12 percent in its first two years, reversing 20 years of declining passenger use.

Further demand for passenger service is certain. Passenger trains' fuel use per mile per rider is less than 1/2 that of the most efficient automobile. Yet AMTRAK's poor service record is certain to discourage as many passengers as the benefits of rail service attract. What's behind AMTRAK's problems?

"AMTRAK's function should be to preside over an orderly shrinkage of rail passenger service," said B. F. Biaggini, President of Southern Pacific in 1971. His opinion might not seem important, but AMTRAK is largely dependent on the private railroads for the quality of its service. Though AMTRAK owns the equipment, the railroads own the tracks, the signals, and the real estate.

And the railroads had been presiding over a disorderly shrinkage of rail passenger service for 30 years. Why? It just wasn't profitable.

In 1969, the railroads were in a financial crisis. In the two preceding years, the industry earned less than it had in the depression year of 1932. Passenger service was a major source of the problem: it had lost \$170 million



Some of AMTRAK's disasters are naturally caused and unavoidable (like this flood-caused delay near Dunsuir); most aren't.

in 1967 and 1968.

Fortune magazine could see but one bright spot: the railroad companies' increasing diversification into non-railroad investments, especially natural resources like oil, gas, and coal. Southern Pacific busily transferred its vast real estate holdings to its partner conglomerate, Southern Pacific Land Co., so that in the event of nationalization the public would get the tracks but S. P. could keep the more profitable property. By 1968, 40 percent of S. P.'s net income came from non-railroad sources.

The railroads agreed that the unprofitable rail passenger service must be eliminated. The obstacle was that the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) had regulations against the abandonment of service while there was demand. And there was demand. In 1968, despite horrible service, 92 million people rode passenger trains.

So the railroads launched a not-very-subtle campaign to eliminate demand. Some examples: in 1970, when an expiring court injunction permitted the Burlington Line to abandon an Omaha-to-Billings run, the elated managers actually flagged down the train mid-run and ordered all the passengers off. Companies went out of their way to publicize horror stories, discourage use, and thereby become eligible for cancellation.

Southern Pacific was described in 1970 by Time magazine as having used "classic tactics to depopularize the L.A.-to-New

Orleans Sunset." No phone information, scarce schedules, no sleepers, vending-machine meals all became part of the arsenal. The S. P. Lark reached Los Angeles from San Francisco 35 minutes too late to connect with the eastbound Super Chief and twenty minutes after the last train to San Diego. The same things happened all over. L. W. Menk, President of Northern Pacific, could have been speaking for the whole industry when he said, "I make no mistake about it. I want out."

The strategy worked. In 1958, there were 1,400 inter-city passenger trains; in 1970, only 488. In the 20 years after 1949, service declined by two-thirds. Congress was forced to act—AMTRAK was established—and the private railroads got what they wanted.

AMTRAK thus began at a severe disadvantage—it inherited 30 years of neglected equipment, tracks, and service. Congress was reluctant to sink too much money in at the outset. In Japan, for example, it cost \$1.5 billion to build the Tokyo-Osaka Express, the world's finest passenger railroad. AMTRAK began with a \$40-million grant and \$300 million in government-backed loans. That's less than the U. S. spends on highways every day.

AMTRAK's strategy, then, was to cut back drastically on the number of trains and use the savings to upgrade the remaining trains. Immediately, the

(Continued on Page 6)

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

For more information on NAM, please write:

NATIONAL OFFICE:

New American Movement
2421 E. Franklin Avenue So.
Minneapolis, MN 55406
612-333-0970

NEWSPAPER:

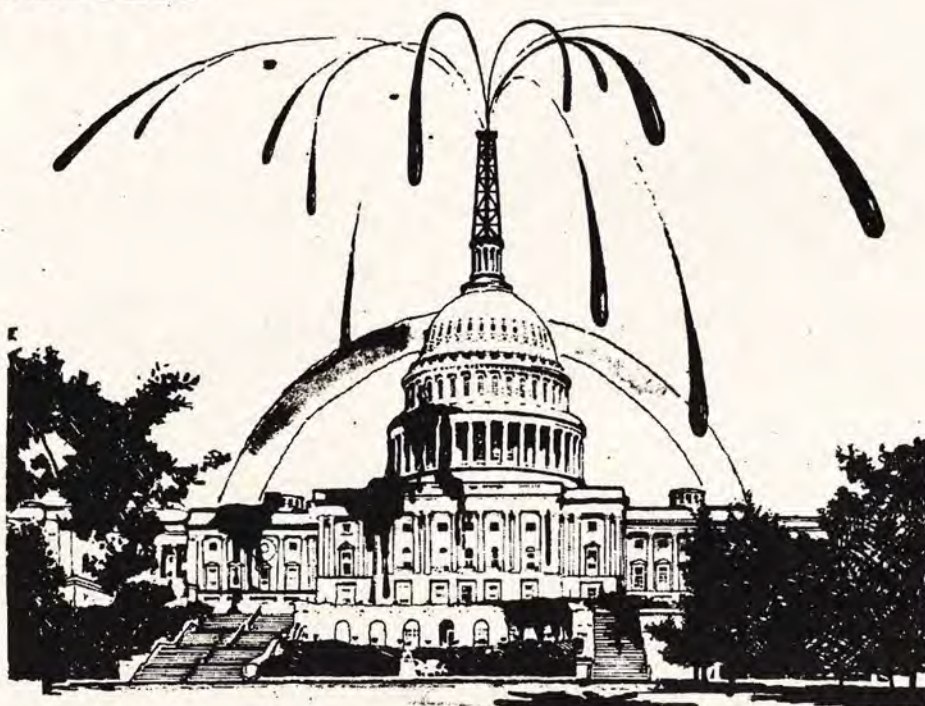
New American Movement Newspaper
388 Sanchez Street
San Francisco, CA 94114

Energy Conference Spawns People's Power Movement

A NATIONAL conference on the Energy Crisis, held in Washington, D.C., February 16-18, was attended by over 1,000 representatives of various consumer, labor, environmental, and socialist organizations. Convened in the Shoreham Hotel at a cost of \$5,000 per day, the conference was to focus on the origins of the crisis, its impact, policy alternatives, and strategies for action. As quickly became apparent, no resolutions or strategies were to be formally passed since the Foundation money subsidizing the meeting stipulated that the conference was to be purely "educational." Participants were thus subjected to hours of speeches on the technical complexities of the crisis, contradictory political analyses, and liberal solutions.

Despite the direction and intent of the conference, action-oriented caucuses formed quickly around such questions as unemployment, the poor, working conditions, and environmental issues. Representatives from ten NAM chapters were instrumental in organizing a socialist-activist caucus aimed at bringing a socialist presence and a sense of movement to the conference. Attracting about 80 people the first day, the socialist-activist caucus eventually included all those interested in public ownership and democratic control of the energy corporations. Discussion centered on several models of nationalization, such as the TVA or a government-owned energy corporation, as well as local and national activities towards that goal.

A section of the statement approved by the socialist activist caucus is reprinted below. A network of ten resource centers has been set up across the country to disseminate information.



A coordinating committee has also been established and the Institute for Policy Studies will produce a newsletter. Several action-oriented conferences on the Energy Crisis are planned for the near future, including an OCAW conference which NAM has formally been invited to attend.

The following is the "Movement for People's Power" statement of principles and actions for change:

1. Principles

The American people want justice, security, and rationality in the use of energy. The time has come for all of us to assert our right to control our own energy future, to achieve decent living and working conditions, and to receive an equitable share of energy. At the same time, we must support the struggles

of Third World peoples to take control over the energy supplies beneath their lands, to end the exploitative policies that the U. S. government and American corporations have pursued.

The struggle against the private, profit-oriented control of energy, and the winning of popular control will not be quick and easy. But reason and justice are on our side. It is important now to state our goals, and to begin to envision the kinds of control structures which should replace the private government of energy.

Our objectives should include:

- * Distribution of energy so that all citizens will benefit equally and will receive sufficient inexpensive energy for a decent and secure life. Access to energy is not a privilege, but a basic right.

- * Public ownership and distribution of all energy resources under local and regional democratic control, with national coordination of energy policy, through such mechanisms as popularly-elected energy boards.

- * Workers' self-management in energy production and distribution for safety, job security, and meaningful work.

- * Environmentally sound management of our non-renewable land and energy resources, including policies of conservation and use of the most abundant and renewable resources.

2. Actions for Change

Struggles are emerging on a wide variety of fronts that challenge the corporate stranglehold over energy resources. These include:

- * Consumer groups fighting against price rises and utility rate increases, and for municipalization of electric utilities.

- * Environmental groups struggling against weakening of existing pollution safeguards, strip mining, the construction of nuclear power plants and oil refineries, and against disastrous proposals for extraction of oil shale.

- * Workers fighting against layoffs and further deterioration of working conditions, and for living wages in the face of escalating inflation.

- * Antiwar groups are working against possible U. S. military intervention in the Middle East and for support of Third World takeovers of their own resources.

We need to build a Movement for People's Power that will unite these growing struggles into a broad effort for the popular control of energy. Only in that way will these short-term actions contribute to the long-term changes we believe necessary in the way America's energy is produced and distributed.

For more information, contact
PEPC/IPS, 1520 New Hampshire Ave.,
NW, Washington, DC 20036, phone
(202) 234-9382. ■

Defense Campaign for Carolina Blacks

by Bob McMahon
Chapel Hill NAM

A LARGE-SCALE public effort is underway in North Carolina to convince Governor James Holshouser to commute the sentences of three black activists, James Grant, T. J. Reddy, and Charles Parker. The three received prison sentences ranging from ten to twenty-five years on arson charges stemming from the 1968 burning of a Charlotte, N. C., riding stable.

The North Carolina Political Prisoners Committee, a group of supporters and friends of the Charlotte Three, is coordinating the campaign in which other organizations like the North Carolina Civil Liberties Union have become involved. The Civil Liberties Union's interest stems from its belief that the trial of the three was "permeated with overt and subtle allusions to such irrelevant but highly prejudicial matters" as their race and political activities. The Union has stated that the circumstances surrounding the trial and the "incredibly harsh" sentences raise grave civil liberties implications.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVISTS

In October 1967 one of the defendants, T. J. Reddy, was involved in a brief, peaceful, and successful confrontation over integration at the Lazy B Riding Stable. Nearly a year later, one of the

stables burned down and some horses were killed. No mention of arson was made at that time. Four years later, arson charges were brought against Reddy and two activists he was associated with, James Grant and Charles Parker.

The state's physical evidence of arson was very weak with only the testimony of a fire inspector who said he found a bottle filled with inflammable fluid lying at some distance from the fire. No fingerprints or other evidence were available linking the defendants to the bottle. The bottle itself had been lost in the four years since the fire. But the inspector produced a photo he said he took the day after the fire when he returned to the scene and put the bottle back where he had found it.

The state's case rested on the testimony of two witnesses, Al Hood and David Washington, that the fire had been arson engaged in by the defendants as a training exercise for terrorist activity. The two witnesses both have long criminal records. At the time of the trial they faced possible sentences totaling over a hundred years, which were dropped in return for their cooperation. Since the trial they have been treated very leniently. Al Hood, charged with murder in what local police called a "drug war," was set free on less than \$5,000 bond. (Pre-trial bond for the Charlotte Three was over \$50,000 for a fire in which no one was killed.) During cross-examination Hood was forced to admit, "I guess at some time I've lied to just about every-

body in this case."

The prosecuting attorney bolstered his case by repeated references to the defendants as militants. He questioned witnesses for the defense at length about their political affiliations to undermine their credibility. One witness, there to testify that Grant was in Pennsylvania at the time of the fire, was forced to admit to being "a card-carrying member" of the ACLU.

"VIOLENT REVOLUTIONARIES"

The judge was no less aware of the defendants' political ties. In his sentencing speech, he made clear he considered them "violent revolutionaries," and gave Grant 25 years, Reddy 20 years, and Parker 10 years. The sentences are far harsher than is normal in North Carolina for an arson case in which no one was killed. About the same time as the Charlotte Three trial, a group of teenagers received one- to two-year sentences for a spree in which six barns were destroyed.

Not surprisingly, appeals courts in North Carolina have proved insensitive to the racial and political aspects of the trial. Appeals through the state court system having been exhausted, attention is now being turned to using public pressure to urge the governor to commute the sentences of the Three.

The case is beginning to attract wide notice in the U. S. and around the world.

Amnesty International, an organization devoted to ending imprisonment for political purposes in all countries, has decided to intervene.

For more information, contact:

North Carolina Political Prisoners
Committee
P. O. Box 2712
Charlotte, NC 28202

If you've read or heard enough to want to do something, write Governor Holshouser in Raleigh, North Carolina. ■

ERRATUM

If you began reading the NO PEACE FOR PERON article in the February issue, you probably notice that it didn't make any sense about halfway through. The problem stems from the inept interchange of a section in the second column. THE CORDOBAZOS section belongs on the bottom of that column; in its place should be the section beginning with the sentence "and a chronic inflation led to the erosion. . ." Our apologies to the author and interested readers.

Tupamaros

Urban Guerrillas

by Nick Rabkin
Berkeley NAM

THE DRAMATIC victory of the Cuban revolution set a spark that ignited an insurgent left throughout Latin America in the sixties. This Latin new left adopted strategies of armed struggle that took two forms: in Guatemala, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia, and Venezuela rural guerrillas began activity on the Guevarist model; in the southern cone (Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay) the new left began to develop a strategy of urban guerrilla warfare.

TUPAMAROS

The first articulated version of the urban strategy surfaced in Uruguay, long known as the Latin American Switzerland because of its relative prosperity and tradition of social democracy. In 1958 tremendous floods wiped out the Uruguayan crop and the currency weakened. Uruguay was forced to accept massive amounts of U. S. "aid." As U. S. economic penetration intensified over the next years, conditions for Uruguayan workers worsened.

In 1962 cane cutters from the north marched on Montevideo to demand agrarian reform. They were brutally repressed. These events precipitated a split in the Uruguayan Socialist Party, that gave birth to the National Liberation Movement—Tupamaros. Their first military action occurred in late 1963—a food giveaway in poor neighborhoods of Montevideo.

Their activities picked up over the next four years and included bank robberies, arms seizures and more food distributions. By 1967 President Pacheco asked the U. S. for aid in combating the Tups. The U. S. sent in FBI and CIA agents and brought Uruguayan police to the U. S. and the Canal Zone for training. Pacheco's campaign quickly became a general repression against the Uruguayan left and labor movement. He outlawed several political parties and shut down the major left-wing newspapers.

The word "Tupamaros" was prohibited from use in the media.

KIDNAPPING

In August 1968, the Tupamaros struck back with their first political kidnapping. The victim was a close associate of Pacheco's, the head of the state utilities company. In August 1970, the Tups kidnapped Dan Mitrione, an American who was in command of the police's terror campaign against the left. Their ransom demand, freedom for 100 political prisoners, provoked a political crisis. Pacheco was unable to meet the demand without losing face and instead invoked emergency laws—the subject of the popular film *State of Siege*. In executing Mitrione the Tupamaros failed to meet their political goal and also suffered a political reversal in their newly acquired role as unreasonable assassins.

In 1972, Juan Bordaberry, a conservative associate of Pacheco, beat the candidate of the Frente Amplio, a popular front electoral party modeled on Allende's Popular Unity. Frente Amplio had been supported by the Tupamaros. Following the defeat at the polls, the Tupamaros stepped up their military campaign. Bordaberry declared a state of "internal war" in the country—open season on all leftists. By September, 500 Tupamaros had been arrested, including the founder, Raul Sedic.

By November, the Tupamaros had become utterly ineffective. The head had been chopped from their hierarchical structure; their popular support had evaporated. The Uruguayan military, vitalized by its victory over the Tupamaros, moved to take more control over the affairs of the nation and by February 1973 were in control of the country.

ARGENTINA

The pyramidal structure of the Tupamaros and their singleminded reliance on armed struggle in their struggle for power created a situation in which they could be easily defeated because of one slip-up. The guerrilla movements in Argentina are far more involved in the development of mass activity and as a result have not been so easily isolated.

In 1967 and 1968 sugar workers in Tucuman battled police and seized sugar refineries for brief periods. They were defeated because the Peronist trade unions in the other largest urban centers failed to support their struggle. But their militance inspired auto workers in

Cordoba who staged a city-wide rebellion in 1969 called the *Cordobazo* that led to a change in military governments. A second *Cordobazo* in 1971 set the stage for Peron's return to power last year.

Today there are at least five important guerrilla groups operating in Argentina. Three of these, Monteneros, FAP, and FAR are left-wing Peronist groups. The FAL and the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) are marxist in orientation.

The ERP is now the largest and most important of all the groups. It was organized in early 1970. As a result of Peron's purge of the left wing of his government and the labor movement, it is now the leading ideological force on the left in Argentina. The Revolutionary Workers' Party (PRT) is the political party behind the ERP and is committed to building an alliance with the left

violently," Peron said. The congress approved the repressive measures, but eight left Peronist legislators resigned rather than vote on the bill.

The attack and Peron's response further polarized the Peronist movement. Within days more than 20 offices of left Peronists were bombed, left-wing newspapers were attacked. On the last day of February right-wing police in Cordoba arrested the provincial governor for "sympathy for Marxist infiltrators," and placed the city under marshal law. Peron, obviously sympathetic to the takeover, replaced the governor with a rightist.

In contrast with the Tupamaros the political program of the ERP is clear. They are placing socialist revolution on the Argentine political agenda. Their strategy—the polarization of the Peronist



Peronist forces.

The ERP has engaged in a considerable amount of military activity including kidnappings of Ford and Exxon executives and the British ambassador. On January 20 of this year, 60 ERP guerrillas invaded the army garrison at Azul, killing the base commander and his wife and taking another officer captive. After a seven-hour battle the guerrillas escaped, shooting their way through three police blockades on the way back to Buenos Aires.

On January 23, Peron called the guerrillas "armed thugs" and called for new laws designed to eradicate them. "If we do not have the law, we will do it outside the law, and we will do it

movement—is designed to expose right-wing Peronism as a tool of *yanqui* imperialism and to draw the left Peronists into the socialist camp. The ERP's emphasis on the realities of Argentine politics gives their urban guerrilla strategy a real chance of success, whereas the Tupamaros' isolation from popular struggles doomed them to the terrible setbacks of 1970 and 1972.

The developing situation in Cordoba seems to be a critical one for the Argentine revolution. Cordoba has always been a weak link in the Peronist chain. Successful resistance to the right takeover in Cordoba is the test that the Argentine left must meet today. If it can break the right in Cordoba Peron may have made his last stand. ■

SLA

(Continued from Page 3)

accurate coverage by the established press of a left group's ideas is that of the verbatim reprinting of the SLA's program, and that was triggered only by the threat of murder.

The political rationale for the Foster killing and the Hearst kidnapping is foggy at best. A careful reading of SLA communiques reveal no analysis of American capitalism. Indeed, the SLA puts its terrorist activities first, and its politics somewhere far behind in the dust. What is resoundingly clear, however, is the extent to which the SLA has romanticized and glorified its military activities. The symbol of the 7-headed cobra, the cyanide bullets, the claim that the "Court of the People have issued a Death Warrant" (on Foster) not only romanticize their actions, but put them in the realm of the bizarre. When terrorist activity is raised to this level of romantic nonsense, then anything can be justified tactically—even kidnapping a young woman "for the crimes of her parents."

The thousands of deaths caused by U. S. imperial aggression in Indochina and elsewhere, as well as the daily violence of American culture, implant in all of us the idea that human beings are commodities to be easily dispensed with if they interfere with our goals. But such ideas must be strongly resisted. Human life is precious, and actions which threa-

ten or destroy human life are serious matters for a movement committed to life and liberty for all. The long-term struggle against the violence of capitalism may demand militant actions directed at institutions and persons who carry out those policies of violence and repression. But actions which intentionally destroy human life cannot be taken lightly and can only make sense when large numbers of people understand and support such action. The SLA has taken credit for the assassination of Marcus Foster—an action which shocked nearly everyone and drew support from almost no one. In their first communique after the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst, the SLA noted that in the future "any civilian who attempts to witness or interfere with any of their actions will be shot on the spot. That kind of politics belie whatever intelligence and compassion the SLA may have.

The SLA obviously viewed the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst as an important propaganda device—to get their views across to a large number of people and to expose Randolph Hearst as a greedy "fascist insect which preys upon the life of the people." Yet, in stark contrast to the words and actions of the SLA, Hearst has done all he can to respond coolly and reasonably. Hearst not only acted to implement the food distribution plan, but he sought legal help for two alleged SLA members who are being held in connection with the slaying of Marcus Foster. Hearst said that he requested an attorney "to see that Little and Remiro

get a fair trial and receive due process at all stages of the proceedings." Hearst told the coalition of community organizations which were invited by the SLA to help coordinate the food distribution that "I may not be their (the community group's) friend, but they're turning out to be mine in this. If there's anything I can do to help them in the future, whether Patty's in or out, why, I'm going to try to do it and understand their problems." Even Mrs. Hearst said of the SLA, "I know these people. They have good ideals. They're just going about them the wrong way." In front of the media, at least, Hearst has been the all-American father trying to get his daughter back.

Thus even the clearest of the SLA's objectives has backfired. Instead of exposing a "fascist insect," the kidnapping has transformed Randolph Hearst into a ruling class hero for millions of Americans. Where many before did resent his wealth and power, he now appears as a sympathetic, good-intentioned father.

If the SLA did score any propaganda points through the kidnapping action it's because they seem keenly aware that a lot of people are poor and hungry. The long food lines on the one hand, and Randolph Hearst's fat bank account on the other, do dramatize the grossly unequal distribution of wealth and power in this society. Yet the kidnapping and food giveaway program do nothing to alter those inequities. Whether Randolph Hearst is willing to spend \$2 Million or

\$200 million, the results will be negligible in terms of the conditions of life for poor people. The fact that hungry people now have another line to wait in to receive another token handout, neither challenges the system nor raises the dignity of those people one iota. As the *Guardian* newspaper pointed out: "Strip away the extravagant aspects of this enterprise and what remains? The so-called Symbionese Liberation Army is nothing more than a band of strong-arm fundraisers on behalf of public charity."

The SLA has ignored the most important objective fact about U. S. capitalism—that the essential prop of the system today is the fact that most Americans do not have a self-consciousness of themselves as an exploited class willing to act to overthrow capitalism. The strategy of an active minority toward an uncommitted majority must be a persuasive appeal based upon consistent challenge to the system in our communities, workplaces, schools, through the media, in our homes. Social change which can wrest the monopolization of wealth and power out of the hands of the few (like Randolph Hearst, among others) will not occur by a handful of self-appointed "combatants" carrying out isolated acts of terrorism. It can only come when millions of working and poor Americans see the need for socialism themselves and fight for it themselves. The task for those of us who feel desperately the need for those fundamental changes now is to continue building that movement; not to pretend that it already exists. ■

TV, RADIO, PRINT AD CAMPAIGN TO SPEAK BACK TO THE OIL COMPANIES

Everybody's Business

by Alan Lewis

WITH THEIR ECONOMIC system crumbling around them, the oil companies are trying to convince the public that everything is just fine. Utilizing an unprecedented advertising-propaganda barrage, the industry has been hammering away with its message: "Leave it to us, we have your best interests at heart."

So far, the public has refused to buy the oil companies' line, but any message

gains some credibility if repeated often enough without challenge. To prevent that from happening, Public Interest Communications (PIC)—a non-profit media resource center—has prepared a media campaign to challenge industry propaganda. The PIC campaign talks about excess profits, private control of public resources, market manipulation, and other subjects on which the industry has been silent.

The theme of the campaign is, "Energy should be everybody's business. That point is made, in various ways, in

This oil executive will go to bed hungry tonight.



Dana Church

HIS COMPANY earned almost two billion dollars in profits* last year, but that's not enough for him. Because he knows the world is running out of fossil fuels, and unless he can move in and monopolize a new power source, in the same way he's monopolized oil, he's going to be out of a job before very long.

That's why he says his company's astronomical profits aren't excessive—because he needs those profits to maintain his power. That's why he's asking for huge new hand-outs and tax incentives from the taxpayers—because he wants the government to pay the bills, and his company to reap the benefits.

If he doesn't get what he wants, he may not be able to go on collecting his \$300,000 a year salary. He may not be able to go on manipulating the world energy market to the benefit of his stockholders and to the detriment of everyone else. He may be forced to give way to a system where the public controls the public resources for the public good.

If you think America's energy supply is too important to be left to a few huge multinational conglomerates, write your elected representatives and tell them that. The oil industry is making its voice heard in Washington. Isn't it time the shivering majority was heard from?

After-tax oil profits—1973

(millions of dollars)	First nine months of 1973	Increase over 1972
Exxon	1,656	59.4%
Mobil	571	38.3%
Texaco	839	34.9%
Gulf	570	60.1%
Standard Calif.	560	39.7%
Standard Indiana	390	32.2%
Shell	253	40.6%
Continental	153	23.4%
Atlantic-Richfield	178	36.9%
Total all nine	5,170	45.2%
All oil companies	52,500	30.3%

Prepared by Public Interest Communications

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four television commercials, six radio spots, and five print ads. The whole campaign was put together on a budget of less than \$5,000, small change compared to the hundreds of millions of dollars the oil industry spends on propaganda.

Among the messages are:

* "Hot Electricity," a 60-second television spot in which a sleazy-looking con-man character gives the viewer an energy offer he can't refuse—the more electricity a customer buys, the con man explains, the less it costs. The commercial is aimed at regressive utility rate structures, which penalize small residential users and reward big industrial users.

* "Highway Robbery," a radio spot which satirizes TV game shows. Oil executive Robert Baron wants to milk the public for astronomical profits, so he can gain total control of the world's resources. The message concludes with a subtle urge to action—"Let's see if our audience will let him get away with *Highway Robbery*."

* A print ad headlined "this oil executive will go to bed hungry tonight." Beneath a photograph of an elegantly-dressed businessman preparing

for bed, the copy below explains how, despite its records profits of last year, the oil industry is still hungry for more wealth and power.

If there were years of government inaction on energy, PIC says, its because the oil industry demanded that inaction; if there has been wasteful consumption by the American public, it's because the industry encouraged that consumption through its advertising and marketing practices.

PIC broadcast director Roger Hickey believes that this analysis has widespread support, and deserves a fair airing under the Federal Communications Code. He has no illusions about being able to match the oil companies, but is confident that the campaign can get substantial public exposure.

"It gives people a central theme to work around," Hickey says, "and a sense that there is something concrete they can do to counter the oil industry's propaganda blitz. People never have actually challenged the assumption that the air waves belong to the corporations; by demonstrating that the media can be used for non-corporate viewpoints, we're opening up a whole new avenue of attack."

AMTRAK

(Continued from Page 3)

number of trains was reduced by 50 percent to 200; hardest hit were rural lines. Old and poor people were particularly affected by this curtailment of service. Entire states like Arkansas and Maine are still without service. Locally, the Valley run through Fresno and Bakersfield was eliminated, marking the first time in 80 years that the Valley was without passenger service (public pressure has succeeded in restoring service, effective March 6).

Even more disastrous than the fund shortage was AMTRAK's dependence on the very railroads that had created the problem. The Congressional Act called for the private railroads to operate AMTRAK trains under contract. These contracts provided for AMTRAK to reimburse the companies for the cost of running the trains, and to pay an additional 9 percent to cover other expenses and insurance. There was no incentive for the railroads to be efficient—in fact, the obvious temptation was to increase costs.

As one AMTRAK employee put it, "The idea of AMTRAK was to nationalize the management of passenger trains without changing ownership of the assets." The Director of the National Association of Railroad Passengers (a national organization of rail freaks devoted to passenger safeguarding) said it another way, "Nothing much has changes except AMTRAK is paying the bills."

BLEAK OUTLOOK

The chances of real improvement are not high. In fact, in many areas service is deteriorating under the weight of increasing demand. At 1972 survey found that 21 out of 28 routes were slower than 20 years ago. The Chicago to Cincinnati route, over Penn Central's infamous Indiana tracks, takes longer than it did in 1898.

A Portland ticket clerk recalls that "this timetable (Portland-Oakland) is a full hour slower than the Shasta Daylight of 20 years ago. Why? Ask the S. P. Probably the roadbed is so bad it's unsafe to go any faster."

Another problem is the equipment. AMTRAK started with too few cars, all bought from the railroads in various stages of decay. Despite a crash refurbishing program, there aren't enough to meet holiday rushes.

Because of the equipment-track problems, AMTRAK's on-time record has steadily declined—from 75 percent in early 1972 to 60 percent in May, and down to 53 percent in June. Much of AMTRAK's management response has been to concentrate on frills: fancy

uniforms, bingo games, promotional gimmicks. Even AMTRAK's managers are frank about the problem. Richard Boyd, Midwest Regional Manager, spoke about next summer: "We will have at least 70 new locomotives by then. All of the rolling stock will be in shape, but of course it will still be refurbished 25-year-old equipment."

And of course, on run-down tracks, the best equipment in the world won't make much difference. AMTRAK leased two modern Turboliners from France capable of speeds of 125 m.p.h. The cost was \$200,000. But because of the roadbeds, these trains are unable to go more than 70 m.p.h., and around Indianapolis have to slow to 10 m.p.h. "The Tracks are Back?"

SOLUTIONS

Rail passenger service is too inter-related with rail service in general to allow for a partial nationalization solution. The present situation places the unprofitable sector at public expense, and allows the giant railroad corporations to reap great profits while controlling the freight and roadbed business. A starting point must be the nationalization of the entire railroad industry.

But nationalization is not enough. Most AMTRAK employees are rightfully skeptical about entrusting a railroad to government bureaucrats. AMTRAK's Board of Directors consists of 11 exorbitantly paid appointees, 8 by Nixon and 3 from the railroad industry. Roger Lewis, AMTRAK President, has no railroad experience (he was previously an executive for Lockheed and General Dynamics, two giant defense corporations well-rehearsed at living off public subsidy).

Most other AMTRAK executives are refugees from the airline industry. Decisions are made from the top down only; workers who are in daily contact with the passengers are not involved in any decision-making procedures. Some decisions are made for totally self-perpetuating reasons. One executive confided that the reason for the emphasis on improving service in the Northeast Corridor (Boston-New York-Washington) is "that's where most of the congressmen live."

Another remarked, "Half the people who work here (Washington, D. C. headquarters) know where they want to go but don't know much about trains. The other half understand trains but don't know where they want to go."

The only solution that can provide a truly efficient and adequate rail service—both freight and passenger—is for the people who run the trains to run the industry. Nationalization is a first step, but will only be effective if accompanied by total public control.

Peace & Freedom Adopts Socialist Preamble

by Kayren Hudiburgh and Jim Weinstein

ON FEBRUARY 16 and 17, the California Peace and Freedom party met in convention in San Francisco to revise its platform and select candidates for the state-wide races in November. The main issue at the convention was a proposal by San Francisco, San Jose, and Los Angeles chapters to amend the platform preamble to state explicitly that the Party is dedicated to creating a socialist democracy in the United States. After heated debate the proposed preamble passed by a vote of 31 to 23. The convention then indicated support for a slate of candidates for state office. All but one are members of the Party's socialist caucus.

The question of socialism is not a new one within the Peace and Freedom Party. When the Party was organized in 1968, a few people argued for an explicitly socialist politics. They were outvoted by the party's organizers who wanted first to establish the party organization and later to work out its specific political direction. Since then, the issue has come up from time to time.

At this convention, however, things were different in two ways. First, the demand for a clearly socialist perspective came from the party's most active members around the state, not from outsiders whose main interest is ideological. Second, as the chaotic nature of the first day's session made clear, the party could no longer continue as a hodge-podge of radical and socialist tendencies. Now six years old, the continued lack of a coherent political direction has made it impossible to build a substantial state-wide organization and for the party to be a clear voice for any tendency.

The question of adopting a socialist perspective did not come from people with an interest in splintering the party and recruiting into separate organizations or parties, but from the party's own workers. Many of them have concluded, from trying to build the party, that it is necessary to speak to the issue of a decaying capitalist system and to have a positive goal of socialism to replace the existing system. For several delegates, this step ended years of being closet socialists within Peace and Freedom. Their decision grew out of increasing frustration at Peace and Freedom's lack of direction and its inability to mount coherent state-wide campaigns, except when organized around political "stars."

Peace and Freedom's decision to adopt a socialist politics provides California with a legal socialist party (one with ballot status) for the first time in decades—although in order to retain that status the party must poll two percent of the vote for at least one state-wide candidate next November. In addition, the convention's action is important in relation to the national party, the People's Party, which is a coalition of state parties like P & F. The question of democratic socialism is on the agenda for the People's Party convention in July, and California P & F is one of the more important affiliated state parties.

DEBATE ON PREAMBLE

About 100 people attended the convention, including several members of the Berkeley NAM chapter as well as the San Francisco NAM chapter (which

along with San Francisco Peace and Freedom is active in the San Francisco Socialist Coalition). Aside from the socialist caucus, a small group of libertarians argued for their own preamble: This group, mostly from Venice, near Los Angeles, put forward a program of laissez faire capitalism. They argued that the country was already socialist—that Nixon "is an admitted Keynesian"—and that socialists were behind the ending of the 27 percent depletion allowance for oil companies, which had driven lots of small oil companies of business. The libertarian caucus preamble received five or six votes and their candidates for state office did no better.

In addition, there were 15 or 20 delegates who wanted the party to remain "radical." These delegates saw the party's diversity as positive and expressed fears that an explicit socialist politics would keep people from joining. The socialists answered that no one was joining as it was, and that many people stayed away because of the lack of direction in the party. They also made it clear that by becoming socialist they were not advocating a "vanguard party" as that term is commonly used among left sects, but an open party with the intention of building a majority for socialism in the United States.

Those nominated for state-wide office include: Trudy Saposhnek for Governor, Marilyn Seals for Lt. Gov., Kay McGlachlin for Secretary of State, Jim Stanberry for State Treasurer, and Gayle Justice for U. S. Senator. All these are members of the socialist caucus. Stanberry is a member of the Socialist Party in Los Angeles, and Justice has been a business agent for Local 250 of the Hospital Workers union in San Jose. McGlachlin, Seals, and Saposhnek are leading members of the Los Angeles chapter of P & F. ■



Seale Outlines Panther Strategy

by Mark Cohen
Pittsburgh NAM

ON FEBRUARY 15 at the University of Pittsburgh, Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panthers, explained the new direction of the Party. Bobby is on a five-month tour of the East speaking to Black student unions, church groups, etc., attempting to clear up misconceptions about the direction of the Party and to help catalyze a movement to impeach Nixon and eliminate the offices of the Presidency and Vice-Presidency. He talked at length about the electoral campaign he and Elaine Brown waged for mayor and city council in Oakland.

IMPEACH NIXON

Noting Nixon's hiding behind the shield of "executive privilege," impounding funds for human services "while corporations grow fat," and the

executive branch waging a war for ten years without Congressional assent, Bobby called for the dissolution of the offices of President and Vice-President and for Congress to administer the executive agencies of government.

When questioned during the press conference of his view of the "energy crisis," Bobby stated that eventually solar energy would have to be utilized but the "main energy crisis is that the mass of people hasn't had enough energy to oust Nixon." He called on people to organize to impeach Nixon and encouraged the formation of coalitions with any groups who have the same aim.

OAKLAND ELECTIONS

In the press conference Bobby emphasized that the "New Oakland Democratic Organizing Committee," (the electoral vehicle used in the mayoral and council campaigns) has no affiliation with the Democratic Party. He stated that the Democratic Party is a political organization that elects corrupt officials. The BPP opposed and will oppose corrupt officials. However, certain candidates of the Democratic Party or any Party will be supported, such as Congressman Ron Dellums, should they "internalize heart, mind, and soul the philosophy of peoples' struggle."

Bobby emphasized the relationship of their electoral effort with the BPP's "survival programs." He said that the NODOC has the most developed electoral network in Oakland including 1,200 precinct workers of which 250 are white. Since the elections, this network of precinct workers has been called upon a number of times and remains a functioning political organism. Bobby called on Black organizations to emulate their effort and, if necessary, to form coalitions with other groups to conduct electoral efforts. However, he did caution Blacks about entering coalitions in which "white people are dictating policy to Black people."

It is clear that the BPP is a vital organization in America. It is probable that Bobby's tour is intended to rebuild the BPP on a national basis with the "Ten Point Program," electoral activity, and survival programs as the model for growth and to counteract the media image created during the "Clever period."

Bobby concluded his presentation by commenting that "the stream of the American Dream is polluted. Power to the People." ■

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Victory At Lip: But Nothing Is Finished

by John Stewart
Paris, France

THE WORKERS of the Lip factory in Besancon, France, meeting in General Assembly on January 29, 1974, voted by 650 to 3 (16 abstentions) to accept the protocol negotiated with a "modernist" group of Franco-Swiss industrialists. This vote will permit the watch factory to reopen after five months' occupation by riot police. It marks a decisive point in a ten-month struggle to safeguard their employment by opposing the dismantling of the Lip enterprise. The workers are satisfied, relieved, but not ecstatic. The agreement guarantees reemployment only for 300 workers by the end of March, 500 by August; reemployment of the rest will depend on the satisfactory development and expansion of the enterprise. And above all, after the euphoria of last summer when the Lip workers occupied the factory and organized production themselves, the struggle during the autumn and winter was hard and bitter.

demand of "no layoffs." Even worse, the plan was so fragile industrially that the total failure of the enterprise, and hence insecurity of all jobs, was only a matter of time. Still, however justified this decision may have been, it had a number of serious consequences.

STRUGGLE HARDENS

The first consequence was to open the way for a governmental propaganda campaign presenting the Lip workers as irresponsible extremists unwilling to compromise. This campaign was spearheaded by Prime Minister Messmer's melodramatic statement of October 13: "As far as I'm concerned, Lip is finished."

The second, more serious result of the October 12 vote was the final break in the fragile unity which until then had held between the unions.

The largest French union nationally is the Communist controlled CGT. The second union is the CFDT, which was originally a Christian union. Recently the CFDT has been growing extremely

in the mass media took its toll on public opinion. And after nine months of exhausting struggle and uncertainty, spirits were at a low ebb. However, two factors were decisive in enabling the Lip workers to hold out. First was the war-chest of confiscated watches, which enabled them to continue paying themselves; second was their extraordinary warmth and solidarity.

In the end the split opened within the ranks of the government and the capitalists themselves. At the very time that Messmer was hysterically repeating on television "Lip is finished"—an extraordinary, uncontrolled declamation with frighteningly fascist overtones—the Minister of Industrial Development, Charbonnel, was initiating procedures which finally allowed the Franco-Swiss group to restart the Lip enterprise. The prospect of a profitable industry, with good export potential and small energy requirements (very important nowadays!), was simply too much for a number of "modernist" capitalists to pass up: consideration of profits overrode ideology and class solidarity. Messmer (and the CGT) notwithstanding, the Lip workers won a victory by forcing the capitalist system to provide them with a management which offers them the best possible change of safeguarding their employment.

the political questions and problems of the transition to socialism.

The major problem of the transition to socialism is, of course, the confrontation with the bourgeois state and the threat of counterrevolution. The French Communist Party (PCF) and the Social Democrats led by Mitterrand (PS) have recently together issued a "Common Program of Government." Their electoral alliance did very well in the March 1973 elections and may well gain a majority next time. The Common Program is essentially reformist; it seeks a gradual, controlled, step-by-step transition. The leader of the PCF, Marchais, is continually countering "Red-baiting" by insisting that the parties of the Common Program are moderate, that they would take no violent or extreme measures. This line is based on the conception that the bourgeois state is neutral, that its function is merely to moderate the class struggle between capital and labor, and that after an electoral victory, the left could leave the structures of the state intact and simply take over control. This conception was vigorously opposed by Marx and Lenin, who held that the state was the means for one class to repress another, that the left will inevitably have to destroy the bourgeois state, on pain of being crushed itself. The experience of Allende's Chile is there to remind us of the impossibility of achieving fundamental change without destroying the bourgeois state. But in spite of Chile, and the "Watercanard" affair as evidence of widespread surveillance of the "domestic enemy" in France, the PCF and the PS have not abandoned their illusions about the neutrality of the state.

Lip has served to reveal something of the nature of the bourgeois state and, given the current prevalence of reformism in France, these lessons are extremely precious. When the government first announced its intervention in the affair, on July 2, 1973, it was in the guise and image of a neutral moderator, coming in to pick up the pieces after a disastrous dispute between capital and labor. But as the struggle lengthened and hardened, the mask fell. The first step was the occupation of the factory by the riot police. If the Lip workers had not wisely refrained from a violent response to this provocation they would have been crushed by force. The next step was dropping any pretense of neutrality. The government openly identified with a number of capitalists (with whom they had various corrupt connections) who sought to dismantle the enterprise. In the end we had the spectacle of the state—first through a nationalized bank, then in the person of the Prime Minister—being more "royalist than the king," and actually attempting to impose an ideological punishment on the workers by sabotaging the project of a "modernist" group of capitalists. The Lip workers forced the government to demonstrate by its actions that the bourgeois state is not and cannot be neutral.

Finally, the struggle has created a cultural heritage that will remain when all the details of the conflict have been forgotten. As in the Paris Commune, or in the Spring of Prague, or in Allende's Chile, Lip has achieved a breakthrough in our conception and conviction of what is possible. The basic realization came from running the factory themselves during the summer—"It is possible, we produce, we sell, we pay ourselves." But springing from this is a realization that it is possible to take control over all aspects of life. This integration of the personal and political has been symbolized by the growth of socialist consciousness among the women of Lip. Here is what two of them said:

"We have discovered that it is perfectly possible to think collectively and to have a greater participation of the workers in the true sense of the word, a participation which corresponds most to our needs, to our way of life."

(Continued on Page 12)



GOVERNMENT'S ROLE BARED

The Lip workers forced the bourgeois state to drop its mask of supposed "neutrality" in the class struggle and to reveal itself as an instrument of class repression motivated by a desire to inflict an exemplary punishment on the workers. The most dramatic instance of this was the occupation of the Lip factory by riot police in the early morning of August 14, 1973. But far more serious than this blatant action were the tactics that the government adopted in the negotiations, tactics that amounted to total bad faith.

On August 1, 1973, the French government charged an industrialist, Giraud, with the task of negotiating a reorganization of the enterprise which would permit the reopening of the factory. After more than two months the Lip workers came to the conclusion that the negotiations were a trap, and that Giraud was being used in order to destroy their movement rather than to assure the industrial development of Lip. On October 12 the Lip workers, meeting in General Assembly, voted by 626 to 174 (17 abstentions) to reject the Giraud ultimatum that they either accept his "plan" or he would abandon negotiations. This decision was voted by an overwhelming majority, and indeed it is difficult to see how the Lip workers could have done otherwise. For one, the Giraud "plan" (two typewritten pages) imposed a substantial number of immediate layoffs, thus insuring a defeat on their basic

rapidly—it is taking a clear socialist position and is open to ideas of workers' control and self-management. At Lip the CFDT was the dominant union.

During the exhilaration of the summer, the CGT, unable to block the struggle, followed along somewhat reluctantly. But the CGT remained highly suspicious of the "adventurism" of Lip, which was indeed inconsistent with the safely reformist political line of the C. P. The pent-up resentment of the CGT against a movement which it had been unable to control was released on October 12: the CGT recommended acceptance of the Giraud plan. After being crushingly defeated by the vote, the CGT bitterly denounced the workers' decision and more or less washed its hands of the affair.

The following months were the hardest. Added to the disunity of the unions was the announcement of a plan to dismantle the enterprise over the heads of the workers by setting up the machine tools and armament sections in separate locations. The Lip workers were forced to apply collectively for unemployment (albeit with special guarantees) in order to safeguard their rights to social security benefits. In November a plan put forward by a group of French industrialists (who became interested because the workers had demonstrated that Lip could be profitable) was sabotaged by the refusal of a nationalized bank (under government control!) to provide its share of the necessary financing. Also, the government-orchestrated campaign

LESSONS

What lessons can be learned from this experience? This has been a new type of struggle, demanding not wage increases but workers' control. Even the great movement of May 1968 in Paris fizzled out and was finally recuperated by a round of wage increases that were soon eaten up by inflation. In contrast the Lip workers made qualitative demands (no dismantling, no layoffs) that have led them to impose workers' control on the very process of capitalist management: they refused the mismanagement of Fred Lip, which led to failure of the firm and its takeover by the Swiss group; they refused the Giraud plan, which was not viable industrially.

Their very success has pointed up the limitations and contradictions of workers' control in a capitalist economy. The whole struggle has been waged in order to force capitalists to make profits; now in spite of themselves, the Lip workers find themselves in the situation of having a vested interest in ensuring the commercial success of the enterprise. This is not said in criticism of their action—an action that has been exemplary. But that this should happen even to the Lip workers, in spite of their militancy, audacity, and determination, demonstrates why trade unions must move beyond a defensive stance, and must measure up to their responsibilities for politically offensive action. To its credit, the CFDT nationally is realizing this necessity, and in recent months has been openly facing

Organizing A Union

by Middlesex NAM members

THE EXTENT OF union organization in the United States is often exaggerated. Only one-quarter of all workers, and one-half of manufacturing workers, are in unions. In many factories, offices, and other workplaces, the "old struggles" for unionization are being fought for the first time in the 1970's. In the Boston area several attempts have recently been made to organize United Electrical Workers (UE) locals in small electronics plants. A UE organizing drive is underway at Krohn-Hite Instruments Corporation in Cambridge. In mid-February we interviewed three Krohn-Hite workers (two of whom are NAM members).

Krohn-Hite produces complex electronic instruments for use in scientific research and related fields. No one I work with understands what we're making," said one worker. The work is not as fast moving as an assembly line, but it is monotonous: assembling small electronics components and soldering them onto circuit boards. There are 120 employees in the plant. Most of the 85 production workers (the lowest job) are women. About 20 workers are blacks, and several others are recent immigrants from Puerto Rico, Greece, and India who speak very little English.

Starting pay is now \$2.00 an hour (\$4,000 a year, before taxes, for a full-time job), an increase from last fall when it was \$1.85 for men and \$1.75 for women. Most workers get annual increases of 10 cents an hour, not even enough to keep up with inflation. Some people who have been at Krohn-Hite for six to 8 years still make only \$2.10.

Everyone knows that Krohn-Hite pays less than other places in the area. People like the non-pressured atmos-

phere and the convenience of the plant to public transportation, but everyone figures that if they were a little more worthwhile they'd have better jobs. This belief that "making it" in America is directly related to personal initiative and ability (despite a 10 percent unemployment rate in Massachusetts) is widespread among Krohn-Hite workers.

The bosses, Frank and Greg, reinforce workers' feelings of inadequacy by snide remarks about mistakes or supposed individual weaknesses (stupidity, laziness, immaturity, lack of education). These bosses are alternatively scorned and feared by the workers. They became the "bosses" only because they could not get better jobs, and have stayed at Krohn-Hite longer than anyone else. Frank and Greg don't really run the company; they're just the top people in the production rooms. Above them is the company bureaucracy in the office, headed by the owners, Krohn and Hite. Frank and Greg rose to the positions they now have through the most degrading kinds of ass-kissing. However, their power over workers' lives is great.

In general, nasty comments or bad work assignments are enough to keep people in line. But the threat of firings is always in the background. Last December, two women passed around a petition to change the radio station played in the plant, something Frank controls. They got 43 signatures, but Greg tore up the petition and three weeks later fired the women who started it. At other times, people have been fired for no apparent reason.

Despite the relaxed pace of work, there are serious health and safety hazards. The unshaded fluorescent lights create a glaring reflection on the circuit boards. Workers often get

headaches; those who have worked at Krohn-Hite for a long time know that their eyesight is deteriorating. Solder splashes and pieces of wire fly into the air, causing eye injuries which require medical treatment. But the management still provides very few safety goggles: one bench, for instance, has two pairs of goggles for twelve workers; another bench has no goggles. Pots of molten solder are placed on wobbly tables where they can easily spill and burn someone. One room is full of highly flammable chemicals, but there are no fire escapes (the production rooms are on the second and third floors), and no easy ways to get out in an emergency.

OBSTACLES TO THE UNION

The need for a union at Krohn-Hite is obvious. But there are several obstacles to organizing. The short breaks—only 30 minutes for lunch, and two other 10-minute breaks—limit the opportunities for workers from different benches to talk to each other. And the bosses are always around during the breaks.

Most of the workers are not opposed to the union, or even to socialism, in theory. But almost all are passive and cynical about any attempts to change conditions. For instance, Nixon and the oil companies are hated. NAM's impeachment petitions and leaflets were well-received. The energy crisis is generally thought to be a fake. But a person who put up posters advertising the Boston Tea Party re-enactment, a demonstration against Nixon and the oil companies, was labeled as the plant's "communist." Hopefully the union will seem a more legitimate and meaningful form of action, and will break through the widespread cynicism.

Racism and sexism are serious problems in the factory. The workers who are organizing the union have had little luck in directly confronting racial and sexual prejudices. They find they are more successful when they simply argue that blacks and women will have to be involved in order for the union to succeed. Women are active in the union and a group of black workers are starting to organize independently among blacks. The non-English-speaking workers could not be reached at work, but house visits, accompanied by translators, have brought many of them to support the union. Organizing the union will not eliminate prejudices, but it may create a spirit of unity, within which biases can be reduced.



WHY UE?

The people we interviewed see the union as a basically positive tool for realizing the common interests and solidarity of the workers in their plant. In talking about the union, they emphasize the organization within the factory, rather than the larger union structure.

The workers at Krohn-Hite decided to join UE because it supports local initiative more than most unions do. UE tells its members that the union is the people in the shop; you have to win your battles yourselves, through the strength of your local organization; the union staff can help, but it can't solve your problems for you from outside. (This point shouldn't be exaggerated; there is a national structure to UE—but it is more in favor of local initiative and democracy than many other unions.)

Some Krohn-Hite workers have experienced other union drives, at other factories, where an outside organizer simply passed out leaflets with union cards attached, hoping to sign up members without discussion. UE requires an existing local organization, with 70 percent of the workers signed up, before petitioning the National Labor relations Board for an official union-recognition election.

As well as organizing for union recognition, the Krohn-Hite workers hope to force a federal health and safety inspection of the factory. They plan to fight for a contract that will not only raise wages, but also require much better working conditions. The union is gradually, but steadily, gaining support; the workers we talked to predict the union will win.



Worker's Control

...a society without bosses or bureaucrats..

(Reprinted from The Tribune, the newspaper of the Australian Communist party.)

by Denis Freney

IN THE DEBATE around workers' control in the Left in Australia the question of the relationship of workers' control to the more general revolutionary perspectives for socialism and the key question of overthrowing the capitalist state has become a major point of controversy.

How, the critics of workers' control ask, does the strategy of workers questioning the power and authority of their own individual boss link up with the fact that the power of their boss is based on the capitalist system as a system, and particularly the power of the capitalist state?

Some of the different "trotskyist" groups answer this question in a some-

what mechanical way: the "real" struggle is against the capitalist state. What "really" counts (for them) is not the questioning of the boss' authority on the shop floor, but rather the mass attack on the power of the capitalist state.

Thus, for some of them, the power workers' struggle was important, not because of the workers' control aspects of the struggle, but because the power workers came up against the state. By such logic, struggles in nationalized industries must always be more important than those in the private sector.

HOW CAPITALISM SURVIVES

This line of reasoning is mechanical because it does not recognize that the power of the capitalist state and for that matter the capitalist system rests not in the armed might of which it disposes, but on the grip of capitalist ideology, particularly that section of capitalist ideology that justifies and obtains the acceptance of capitalism and its "rights" in the minds of the

workers and other oppressed sectors.

In other words: capitalism survives because workers accept its right to survive. The level of that "acceptance" differs from one group of workers to another. But even the most militant trade unionist does not necessarily, unless he has a socialist consciousness, question the right of the boss to be the boss, or of capitalism to exist. Often it is a militancy for a "fairer share" of the cake, even when mixed with an antipathy to the boss class.

How can socialists help to bring about this change in consciousness?

Clearly, there is no easy solution. But too often socialists have in reality thrown their hands up in despair: the task is too big, somehow the "Time will come," a revolutionary crisis will appear and all will be well.

Propaganda for socialism is too often applied only on an individual or on a generalized level. Seldom does it become linked with the real, daily life experiences of the worker, on the shop floor, as an intrinsic part of the daily struggle.

Seldom does it allow the worker on the shop floor to experience the power of doing without the boss, of being able to feel and experience in concrete practice "this is how it would be to live in a society without bosses or bureaucrats,

where I and my workmates run the workplace ourselves."

The great value of workers' control is that, to a greater or lesser degree, it allows precisely that to happen, not on an abstract, theoretical level, but in terms of the boss with whom the workers are in daily contact.

Such awareness is not gained automatically. But it is much easier for militants aware of the implications of workers' control for socialist consciousness to draw the lessons directly from a work-in, sit-in, occupation, or other actions which take some aspect of control over from the boss, than the simple withdrawal of labor and strike.

Workers' control is often a better tactic in day-to-day struggles to win the limited objectives of such struggles (wages, conditions, etc.). But, in addition, it is, as stated above, a way of raising socialist consciousness to question the key point of ideological domination of capitalism where it really counts: challenging the bosses' rights on the job.

If that consciousness is lacking, then any challenge to the state is unlikely to eventuate: or, alternatively, it will be seen in narrow reformist frameworks, which all the revolutionary rhetoric will be unable to budge.

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BREAD AND ROSES NAM
Washington, D. C.

The major short-term project of the Bread and Roses chapter is a neighborhood tax clinic. Along with the Movement for Economic Justice, they are offering free tax help with the emphasis that the average wage earner may well pay more taxes than Nixon.

The chapter's on-going function is building the recognized third party in D. C., the Statehood Party, into a viable, democratic socialist party that meets the needs of the community. Agreeing with recent calls for a mass-based third party, they feel the need to build from the neighborhoods, to the wards, to the city, to the state.

Maintaining impeachment activity, they've most recently experienced success with an Impeachment Ball for which they sold \$4,000 worth of tickets. Energies are now being turned to the Farmworkers boycott.

LOS ANGELES NAM

Aside from regular actions, the L. A. NAM chapter is working on a people's history of the thirties in California. They are focusing on the self-help cooperatives of the unemployed and on Upton Sinclair's gubernatorial campaign of 1934.

They have developed many criticisms of Sinclair, such as: his naive faith in Franklin Roosevelt, despite Roosevelt's refusal to endorse him, Sinclair's faith that he could lead a movement to build socialism in one state without a major confrontation with capitalism. Nonetheless, they feel that the EPIC Movement (End Poverty in California) and the earlier spread of the self-help cooperatives of the unemployed are important demonstrations that people in Southern California have had a radical history, that they once joined together along cooperative lines to solve their problems, and that they showed massive support for socialism—however utopian its form.

The L. A. chapter is computing a pamphlet on the EPIC campaign and is also preparing a multi-media presentation for schools, unions, etc. Their show will include over one hundred slides, music from the thirties, cuts from oral interviews, and dramatizations by NAM members (they will assume the roles of EPIC organizers and convince the audience to join EPIC). They plan to write a shorter version, with text and slides, available for presentations by others.

Building the New
American Movement

MAD RIVER NAM

During the past six months Mad River NAM has for the first time initiated major actions and events in its own name and has developed a new chapter structure. Both of these moves have proved to be important steps towards creating a substantial socialist presence in Dayton.

Structure

Their current membership of 16 is almost entirely composed of non-student residents of Dayton. Former Mad River members from Antioch College in Yellow Springs have combined with new members to form a new campus-based chapter there.

Mad River is currently organized into bi-weekly chapter meetings, and weekly meetings of a Community Task Force and a Socialist Feminist Group. Members may be active in any one of several of these units. The task force/group structure encourages people to participate in the life of the chapter at any level consistent with a person's political development, commitment, and time. The functions, responsibility, and authority of each unit have yet to be specifically defined and that definition remains a major chapter task. As currently envisioned, the chapter, meeting as a collective, will have the authority and responsibility for the strategic direction of NAM in Dayton and for national relationships and issues, while the task forces and group will have wide latitude in determining their own specific directions.

Program

The Mad River members have come to see organizing in NAM's name as an important way to put "socialism on the agenda"—to raise socialism as the alternative in public consciousness—and to directly recruit identity to NAM. In the past six months they have sponsored or organized several major political events:

the Indochina Peach Campaign tour which appeared before 1,200 people; a tour of Attica Defendants who spoke on three area campuses, in two local high schools, and in a community appearance; an Impeachment Demon-

stration at the induction of Howard Hughes into the Aviation Hall of Fame and a protest of big business' plans for urban renewal in Dayton's center city. Through an arrangement with Antioch College they are teaching a course on "Capitalism and Socialism" in Dayton for college credit. They hope that the enrollment of 20 will provide the nucleus of a NAM Campus Task Force and that the course can eventually be incorporated into a NAM Marxist School.

Two members were paid organizers for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Farah Boycott effort. Mad River also published its own pamphlet with a perspective which transcends the limitations of the union's material. The support effort was successful in getting most retail outlets in Dayton to close out the Farah line during the strike.

In the near future, Mad River hopes to consolidate what they feel have been the major gains of the past few months with more new members and with more solid and developed organizational form. (Possibilities include a NAM Campus Task Force, a Marxist School, a NAM office and newsletter, an open monthly political forum-discussion, and a variety of new organizing efforts.) Their recent experience on the whole has revealed a tremendous receptivity to radical analysis and socialism in general and to NAM politics in particular.

MINNEAPOLIS NAM

About 125 demonstrators, organized by the Minneapolis NAM chapter and the Selby-Dale Vietnam Support group, greeted John Connally as he came through St. Paul in mid-February to raise funds and bourgeois class consciousness for the Grand Old Party, and to woo local party leaders and fat cats for his unannounced campaign for the 1976 Presidency. His prescription for the crises of the Seventies: a dose of moderate to conservative politics and a Pacific Basin Common Market to ensure our continued exploitation of Third World resources.

Proclaiming his rejection of the "far left thinking" of the Democrats to join "the party of my children's future," Connally said only the Republicans held

out hope "for the continuation of the free enterprise system."

Connally's audience of \$1,000-a-couple contributors gave him a standing ovation at the end of his address. The intent was clear: redirect popular discontent at home into sacrifice, savings, and self-defense. Take the heat off the corporations and the imperial presidency and put it back on working Americans. Resurrect the old values and catch-words (so in keeping with the present market in nostalgia). Internationally, ignore the lessons of Vietnam and move aggressively into larger and more totalizing alliances, to ensure both our continued dominance and a more reliable source of dwindling resources, while "Project Independence" deflects attention toward the myth of self-sufficiency at home.

PITTSBURGH NAM

Pittsburgh NAM has been involved in two major projects for many months now—the City Budget Campaign and the Impeachment Campaign. However, since they have been dealt with in detail in the most recent Discussion Bulletin, this report will discuss other Chapter projects and some internal programs which have been developing.

The Pittsburgh NAM Women's Caucus has recently started meeting again. Two meetings have been held at which political direction and function of the Caucus were discussed. The Women's Caucus is beginning to make contacts with various women's groups with the idea of perhaps working in coalition with them. Reading and discussions on Socialist Feminism will be an ongoing process with the Caucus since much theoretical work has yet to be done.

Pittsburgh NAM continues to hold public General Meetings. Recent topics have included the City Budget Campaign, the Energy Crisis, and the upcoming General Meeting on the Middle East. The purpose of the General Meetings remains constant—to provide an arena in which socialist analysis can expose bourgeois ideology and mystification. Although the public response to these meetings is rather minimal at present, they feel it is imperative to consistently offer people a sound socialist viewpoint on topics of concern.

Pittsburgh NAM has, in a limited sense, been involved in various strike support activities for both the Farmworkers and Farah. The People's History Committee continues to show the slide show *Pittsburgh 1905: A People's History* and the film, *Growing Up Female*.

Pittsburgh NAM is continuing to publish a bi-monthly newsletter which is mailed to about 300 people in the Pittsburgh area.

worker's

(Continued from Page 9)

The liberation movements (women's liberation, gay liberation, Black liberation, the movements for people's control of the environment, for democratization of education, against elites and bureaucracies, the movement for migrant rights) all parallel workers' control in moving from specific forms of oppression that affect the daily lives of millions into struggles for control, which impinge on the omnipotent capitalist state and system and link with the need for a human, socialist, total revolution.

TOTAL HUMAN LIBERATION

Workers' control is a key part of this movement for total human liberation, because the working class alone can provide the base, in alliance with all the other sectors in the total movement (many of which overlap with the working class and thus provide even more vanguard sectors within the working class itself), for the final overthrow of capitalism.

Revolutionaries must begin from the level of consciousness that exists. But they cannot and must not accept that level, but always seek the link between that level, in concrete struggle, and the total, human, socialist revolution. Some call that a transitional program. The difficulty is that some think that such a program exists already, word for word, in a book written by Trotsky in 1938. That is the difference between creative revolutionary marxism, which attempts to build such a program today in a critical, concrete analysis of present-day reality, and the doctrinaires and dogmatists who take upon themselves the mantle of Trotsky...

Moreover, the doctrinaires also have a different view of the future socialist society. For them, the state is key, dominant, and in reality highly centralized. Self-management, the power of the workers and all other sectors from the job level up, structured through democratically elected and recallable committees to form a new state structure, is secondary and formalized.

The doctrinaires pay lip service to self-management but negate it in their theory and practice, in seeing formal

political workers' democracy as sufficient to prevent bureaucratization.

BUREAUCRATIZATION

The emergence of an omnipotent, privileged bureaucracy is not something, however, that is subjective, arising from stalinist ideology or malevolence alone. It is, above all, rooted in objective conditions: in a class society (even after the capitalist class has been overthrown), in a society of scarcity, of the market, of money, and in the existence of imperialism always challenging the revolution. These conditions are inevitable short of world socialism and even then a substantial expansion of productive forces would still be necessary.

In any terms, it will be a historical period before the objective conditions that give rise to bureaucracy and the need for a new sort of state will be abolished.

The danger of bureaucratization will always be high, and if it is to be lessened to the greatest degree possible, then the powers and capacities of the self-managed institutions must be continually expanded. This is the concrete way, in fact, that the state will "wither away."

It is therefore dangerous to de-

emphasize workers' control and self-management today, in concrete struggle, because what happens now in terms of workers' consciousness of the need to take power in their hands, will not only determine the possibility of a revolution, but also determine in large part the nature of the socialist society that will develop after that revolution.

The doctrinaires who downgrade the vital importance of workers' control and self-management, or the fight against racism and sexism or for control over all aspects of our lives, by saying that the fight against the state is what "really counts," also hinders the real socialist struggle against the capitalist state.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. The different lines in the working class and liberation movements will be worked out and fought for, in an atmosphere of workers' democracy. Which is successful, which will bring the results, is the real test. We can already say that experience so far indicates that the policy giving primacy to workers' control and self-management over all aspects of human and social life is getting the results. ■

Looking Forward: A New Party?

by John Judis and Nick Rabkin
Berkeley NAM

THE DISCUSSIONS that have been taking place around the country for the last year on the subject of building a new socialist or communist party are signs of the developing maturity of our movement. A socialist movement will not develop as did the anti-war and civil rights movements, which were initially pressure groups around particular public issues. A socialist movement, on the other hand, will develop on a large scale only when the necessity for a total challenge to the capitalist class and its state apparatus is grasped--and that possibility will require the prior formation of a socialist party that begins to contest for state power. Such a socialist party will have to be formed in the next few years and may begin with only several thousand members.

TWO PARTY PROPOSALS

About a year ago, the *Guardian* sponsored a forum on establishing a new communist party that was addressed by representatives of the October League, Black Workers Congress, Revolutionary Union, and the *Guardian Liberation*. Published a proposal by Arthur Kinoy last December entitled "Toward a New Party of the People."

However much the perspectives of the two proposals clash on everything else, the groups at the *Guardian* forum and Kinoy agree that the Communist Party has proven itself incapable of offering socialist leadership. Its subservience to policy priorities of the Soviet Union and its two-stage strategy for revolution (first build an anti-monopoly reform coalition, then start to talk about socialism) have the effect of holding back the development of socialist consciousness within popular movements, leaving these movements open to the domination of liberal parties and politicians.

A new party, it is agreed, will be required to build and lead a working class movement to power in this country. But Kinoy and the *Guardian* differ substantially on the nature of that party.

THE PARTY'S PRINCIPLES

A key goal for a revolutionary party will be to build unity among the diverse groups of American working

people--white and black, women and men, "white" collar and "blue" collar--and to combat the national sentiment designed to divide American workers from workers of other countries. Within the framework of capitalist society these groups find themselves competing against each other. Fighting against racism, sexism, and imperialism, important as these struggles are, will not be sufficient to unite these groups. They can only be united if there is a basic agreement among them about the need to transcend capitalism altogether. The party, then, must stand unequivocally for socialism and socialist internationalism,

no principles that would prevent its eventual dissolution and incorporation into the reform wing of the Democratic Party.

Kinoy's hesitance to commit himself to the goal of socialism is his proposal's greatest weakness, but it grows out of its greatest strength--a commitment to build a party that is mass and democratic in character, that can be sharply contrasted to the capitalist-controlled Republican and Democratic Parties. Even if at some future time we will be forced to abandon this organizational form, we should stand for a public, democratic party to which all American working people could belong.



Dana Friedman

"When a Communist can win a free election, I say there's something wrong with free elections!"

and attempt to win working people to these ideas.

While the greatest strength of the *Guardian* proposals is their uniform understanding of the importance of socialism as the party's goal, Kinoy expects that this understanding will emerge within the party in the course of struggles. Like the Communist Party, of which he is otherwise critical, Kinoy separates an explicit commitment to socialism from the mass movement he seeks to build. Kinoy's party ends up looking like the American Labor Party or the Progressive Party--without the Communist Party behind them. And like those parties, Kinoy's party would have

BOLSHEVISM

In contrast to Kinoy, the *Guardian* proposals recommend a party modeled on the Bolsheviks--a tightly disciplined organization of professional revolutionaries. As in the Bolshevik Party and the Communist Party here, public debate on socialist strategy, the existence of factions and tendencies, and public elections to leadership would be prohibited. Lenin thought this party was necessary in Czarist Russia where unions and parliament were illegal and one could be arrested for possessing a leaflet. By making such a party an ideal in the

United States the *Guardian* is suggesting a party that would play the role of an elite group taking power for the masses, perhaps even against their will.

The role of the new communist party, according to the *Guardian* panelists, is to build a united front against imperialism. In practice this amounts to strike support activity and participation in anti-war coalitions. While these are vital activities, if they are not complemented by efforts to make socialism itself a public issue, socialism and the struggle for it remain within the private domain of the party alone. Unwittingly, the *Guardian* proposals, like Kinoy's, repeat the two-stage approach of the Communist Party of which they are so critical.

TAKING POWER

The basic purpose of the party is to contest for and finally to seize state power. The *Guardian* proposals stress that armed struggle is inevitable and the only path to power. Meanwhile we should be working within the factories to build support among industrial workers.

The mistake here is the same as the mistake with the party. Socialists should always stand for peace and democracy. While some degree of armed struggle will almost certainly be necessary, we should only abandon peaceful means in the face of open repression, when the lesson is clear that it is the capitalists who stand for tyranny and violence.

Elections are, right now, the only avenue that any party has to state power. Electoral struggle, then, is the only way the party can demonstrate through its practice its intention to take the power of the state away from the capitalists, short of armed struggle. If a new party expects to win the respect and allegiance of most working people it must make this intention clear from the beginning.

The effect of abandoning public struggle for state power through elections is to fall into a purely syndicalist strategy of working in factories without challenging the political rule of the Democrats and Republicans. Advocating armed struggle as the only means of attaining power has a double problem: the party is seen as a conspiracy designed to for-

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AGAINST NATIONALIZATION

by Austin NAM

Some comrades within NAM have raised the demand of nationalization of the U. S. oil industry in conjunction with political work around the energy crisis. The NIC statement on the energy crisis calls for "public ownership and control of oil and coal companies, and of utilities, to take the form of public trusts administered by workers' and consumers' reps."

We are disturbed at the schematic presentation of these demands. We think they raise serious political difficulties that should be discussed throughout the organization. In what follows we take a devil's advocate position on these issues in an attempt to clarify discussion

THE PROBLEM with the slogan "nationalization" as an educational demand is that it can lead people to confuse state capitalism with socialism. Just as the British Labor Party's nationalization of the coal industry did nothing to change the social relations of capitalism--and in fact provided a needed service for British imperialism--so the nationalization of American oil would leave U. S.

capitalism basically intact. And yet, for many Americans, such a step would seem a "socialist" reform--a conclusion they would have more reason to draw if an avowedly socialist organization (NAM) conducted a national campaign for this demand. We must make it clear to American workers that socialism is founded on a political revolution that puts power in their hands--not a transfer of capital and profits from the private to the state sector of the economy. The demand for nationalization confuses rather than clarifies that point.

Nor is it clear that nationalization, even if clearly presented as a reform demand within the capitalist system, is truly in the interests of the working class and oppressed peoples of the world. First, it would constitute a major strengthening of the state in a time when autocratic and Fascist tendencies are dangerously rising. Second, we see no clear solution to the problems that the imperialist nature of the oil companies present. Certainly, we should demand an end to American control of foreign operations. But how that could be achieved under an intact capitalist system is unclear.



The NIC statement which calls for workers' and consumers' control helps to politicize the demand somewhat. But it does not seem to solve the problems that the bare demand for nationalization posed.

Most striking here is the question of imperialism. As it now stands, the NIC program simply transforms the control of Arab and Venezuelan workers from the capitalists to "public trusts administered by workers' and consumers' reps."

The point is that even the transfer of control from stockholders to American-style soviets does not remove the oil industry from the controlling forces of the capitalist market system. At best we can have a mega-co-op, one that will be forced to continue exploitation by the "blind forces" of capitalist economics. We cannot build socialism in one industry.

In all, we think NAM should deal with some of these questions before continuing to use "nationalization" as a slogan. ■

LETTERS

To the editor:

This letter is in response to "Why Nationalization? A Draft Energy Crisis Program" by Dan Marschall in the February NAM paper. This "Draft Program" is the best thing I have seen by NAM on the energy crisis.

Concerning the proposed first phase of the program (an "anti-corporate education campaign") it seems crucial to develop a clear, comprehensive explanation of "WHAT IS THE ENERGY CRISIS?" This would include an overview of the extent to which monopoly capitalism is dependent on wasteful, polluting technologies such as the internal combustion engine. A good summary of U. S. capitalism's bloated oil/auto stupidity appears in chapter 5 of *Beyond Repair: The Ecology of Capitalism*, by Barry Weisberg. I maintain that a fundamental reason for the "energy crisis" is that capitalism irrationally encourages the use of big cars.

The question of deliberate withholding of oil and gasoline by the monopolies is still a live issue. . . I think attributing the energy crisis solely to a "shortage of sufficient refining capacity" may be premature.

The effects of the fuel crisis in terms of layoffs, reduced work hours, price increases, consumer goods shortages, and pollution increases should be thoroughly investigated and summarized.

With regard to the second proposal, a fight for "winnable demands," several key demands should be added, even though they would be hard to win. Most important is the demand for a "sliding scale of hours and wages" to make the capitalist class pay for their crisis. This demand, explained fully in *The Death Agony of Capitalism (The Transitional Program of 1938)*, by Leon Trotsky, is popularly translated in the call for a shorter work week and a cost of living escalator on incomes. *The Death Agony* also deals at length with the questions of nationalization, workers' control, and "opening the books" of the monopolies.

Another key demand is "Shut off fuel to the Armed Forces."

Rank-and-file opposition caucuses (some may now be defunct) in affected unions include the United National Caucus, centered at UAW Locals 600 (Ford River Rouge) and 961 (Chrysler, Eldon Ave.) in Detroit, and the remains of the Teamsters United Rank and File around Los Angeles, Cleveland, a Bay Area newspaper called the *Fifth Wheel*, and a paper called the *Seattle Semi*. Obviously, another key group would be the old Miners for Democracy, which Arnold Miller is reportedly now trying to dismantle while also disciplining wildcat strikers.

Comradely,

Dave Moore
Austin NAM

Dear Folks at NAM,

I've just read an issue of your paper and a few other things NAM has put out, sent to us by your office in

Minnesota. I just wanted to tell you that I'm really impressed by your organization. You express calmly and joyfully and without rhetoric all of my political/social beliefs. Your line is firm and positive and well thought out, as opposed to the knee-jerk type leftism (college radicalism) I've found in most left organizations. If you are what I think you are, then I'd like to give you all the support I can (limited, at the moment—I'm working to get into medical school). But I'll do what I can. I'm also involved in the Orange County (California) Women's Union. Maybe we could give you some support. . . ? We'll see.

Keep on, in struggle,
Kate Christensen

(and Joel Foss, my companion, feels exactly as I do.)

From the desk of the Field Secretary
Minnesota Fabian-Leninists

Comrades,

Informants within your organization have transmitted stupendous reports covering your recent national council meeting.

In the light of these the executive council of Minnesota Fabian-Leninists has decided that your organization has reached an appropriate level of development for merger negotiations to be initiated. This letter constitutes official notification of your eligibility to merge with Minnesota Fabian-Leninists.

The unique synthesis of theories of party organization, promulgated by Minnesota Fabian-Leninists, places us in a position to act as a bridge between the social democratic tendencies of the so called "Kinoy" group and the revolutionary will of the New American Movement. Minnesota Fabian-Leninists is prepared to send a delegation to the upcoming political dialogue that is scheduled to take place between these two groups.

Yours faithfully,

M. De Moravia,
Field Secretary

P. S. We would be happy to send one of our speakers to your next convention to lead a plenary on Fabian-Leninism.

Lip

(Continued from Page 8)

"I would like to add that the women have realized this more than the men, women who have had to get used to living individually. The hierarchy in the factory was based on a desire to please the bosses, to please by working well, even by doing extra hours—that is to say by being exploited. To please also by the manner of accepting and obeying a command. Well, we women talked among ourselves. We understood that we needed solidarity, that we had to organize ourselves; for example, to support a girl exploited by a boss. Personally, I say: this is very new among the women at Lip, those on the production line as well as the secretaries or employees."

And a journalist participating in the discussion commented:

"Up to now you have been talking about change at the level of the hierarchy and division of labor. There is one thing that strikes me. Starting from the moment when you felt at home in your work, in your factory, you also felt at home in the town, in the various social institutions. Whereas as long as you were not at home in your work, in the end the whole world, the town and all its social institutions were alien to you. This shows clearly where we have to start. When we repossess the work that we do, and we feel at home and among ourselves in the workplace, then we see the whole world, the whole social environment with new eyes. We say: we are the people who create this town, this society around us. It is by changing our life inside the factory that we come to realize we must go beyond the factory."

New Party

(Continued from Page 11)

cibly take over the government and the political struggle is left in the hands of the capitalist parties.

MASS ACTIVITY

In the beginning, then, electoral politics should be a key way in which the party demonstrates its determination to seize state power. But we should also point out that this path to power is insufficient by itself. Our conception of socialism implies the complete transformation of society. This presupposes mass activity at all levels and in all institutions,

from the family to the workplace. Electoral activity or armed struggle without an attempt to transform the society from the bottom up will fail to create a socialist society.

This means that the groups around the *Guardian* have made an important contribution in emphasizing work among industrial workers and within the labor movement. They and Kinoy are also right in stressing the special oppression of national minorities within the United States. But they should both be criticized for not seeing the importance of the family as it exists to the perpetuation of capitalism, and the need to transform the role of women, both in the workplace and in the family. Kinoy says nothing about this. And the groups around the *Guardian* have taken pains to deny the relevance of

this issue, as well as that of sexuality, to the process of building a socialist movement.

TOWARD A NEW PARTY

The fate of the new socialist movement that emerged from the movement of the sixties has been to relive some of the errors of the past. The *Guardian* proposals are in many ways attempts to return to the purity of the Communist Party of the pre-1935 era—to abandon building a popular front with the liberal wing of the capitalist class, but also to get rid of the principles of peace and democracy. Kinoy's proposal resembles the organizations of the popular front itself, only the revolutionary party behind the front has disappeared.

The party we should build must go beyond these attempts to relive the history of the Communist Party. It must stand for peace and democracy, while insisting that our goal must be socialism. It must attempt to be a public, democratic institution in which any American worker who shares a commitment to socialism can participate. It must hold out the hope that through and within the party, the people will be able to make a revolution. It must contest for state power, at least initially, within the electoral arena. It must seek to build a majority movement for socialism while building a movement in every institution of society, capable of defending all of its victories.

Panama

(Continued from Page 2)

Senate testimony implicated Watergate plumber E. Howard Hunt in plans to assassinate Torrijos just after the U. S. elections in 1972. The mission was scrapped, but Panamanian officials took it seriously enough to interrupt Canal negotiations. In recent weeks at least eleven right wingers have been arrested on charges of plotting against the government.

CONTRADICTIONS OF NATIONALISM

Like other nationalist leaders in Latin America Torrijos is faced with a three-edged problem: a growing socialist and anti-imperialist movement that is demanding that he live up to his nationalist principles; a national bourgeoisie whose support is mercurial and divided because of its economic dependence on the U. S.; and the U. S. itself, which is dedicated to preserving and expanding its interests in Latin America. The Latin American military plays a central role throughout Latin America in maintaining a political stability that is favorable to the U. S. And Canal Zone operations are important for developing the military's essential allegiance to capitalist ideology and the U. S. itself. It is against this backdrop that the negotiations over the Canal Zone take place. The outcome of the negotiations and the political machinations in Panama and the U. S. that surround them will have a profound effect on the future of all Latin America.

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Wounded Knee

(Continued from front page)

"Give it back to the Indians" looks like the kind of slogan around which many non-Indians might rally. Would you rather get gas from the Rockefeller Standards or the Oklahoma Poncas?

Perhaps uneasy about these possibilities, the government has made two attempts to buy off the Indians. One is Senate Joint Resolution 133, introduced last summer by Rep. James Abourezk (S. D.). This would establish an "Indian Policy Commission," to investigate treaties. It would have no power, status, or Indian-controlled representation. Reservation Indians contemptuously call it "The \$2 Million Commission"—after the money it would spend without effect. The AIM National Office recommends opposition to this meaningless sop.

A second bribe looks "juicier." This is a recommended settlement of \$100 million for improperly-taken lands of the 1868 treaty—\$2,000 per person for some 60,000 Sioux for 7.5 million acres, including the Homestake. Many might be tempted by this, rather than continuing what might appear a hopeless struggle for the land itself.

However, old habits of cheating die so hard that the government has probably outsmarted itself on this attempted bribe. After the Indian Claims Commission finished its "Findings of Fact and Value" on the 50-year-old claim, which had lain dormant until Wounded Knee II, it invited the feds to lay against this claim any "credits" which would reduce it.

After the U. S. finished deducting money spent over nearly a century for food, education, welfare, road-building, and what not, about \$4 million was left of the money offered for the land claim, less than \$70 per person.

AIM'S THREE-POINT PROGRAM

AIM hopes that Indian and non-Indian supporters will begin to organize around a "Three-Point Program," articulated by Dennis Banks. The 1973 Wounded Knee three negotiating demands—which have appeared in print almost nowhere but in the indictments—were applications of each point to the conditions of Pine Ridge Reservation.

(1) A Treaty Commission (the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs) should examine the 371 treaties the U. S. has made (and broken) with Indians; rights should be enforced. The Sioux and other tribes should receive control of their treaty-determined reservations.

In other countries—notably England, France, and Germany, where there are Wounded Knee/AIM support groups—awareness is growing that these countries' relationships with America rest on agreements like those the U. S. has not honored for Indians. There is a common interest in seeing these rights enforced that is not merely sympathy or exoticism. Third World countries can be expected to see this very plainly.

(2) Repeal the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (Wheeler-Howard Act); it has been a major weapon used in robbing Indians of their land, setting up white-controlled governments on many reservations, and establishing tribal charters that do not really protect Indian lands.

Russ Means, in his campaign for tribal chairman, saw his efforts as part of a struggle around this demand. He has proposed organizing the people in a "federation of communities" more in accord with traditional beliefs and practices and less vulnerable to white manipulation. If such victories can be won on reservations, Indians will have been able to reorganize themselves the way they want to live by the time

strength is mustered to repeal the act, which laid on them governmental structures benefitting white financial interests.

Are the benefits real? Well, on Pine Ridge, about 90 percent of the land is under lease to local white ranchers. It brings 80 cents an acre. By contrast, similar land owned by whites and leased out by them brings \$15. The Indian leases have Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) approval, and are arranged by "democratically elected" tribal governments.

(3) Remove the Bureau of Indian Affairs from the Department of the Interior and restructure it, as an independent agency controlled by and accountable to Indian people. Audit BIA records and make reparations and returns for the many crooked land deals; cancel BIA-sanctioned non-Indian leasing of Indian land.

In apparent response to this, New Mexico Republican leader, Rep. Manuel Lujan, introduced H. R. 11748, a trickily-worded bill to transfer certain leased reservation land (and improvements on it, such as oil rigs) to "jurisdiction of the State and political subdivision where the land is located." Not only does this still further (illegally) reduce tribal sovereignty, but it provides likely possibilities for further land grabs. Local authorities could set "compensation" for canceled leases or the value of "improvements" so high Indians would have to pay with their one remaining resource: what's left of their land. Local authorities are as likely as federal ones to be responsive to powerful corporate interests, and much more likely to be responsive to smaller locally-based ones.

THE TRIAL

ON THE FIRST DAY of the trial (after the month-long selection of the jury) the South Dakota judge (Fred J. Nichol) who came to the Big Twin Cities with his changed venue, had three defense attorneys dragged out by marshalls. This was for daring to object to Nichol's abusive shouting at Dennis Banks during his opening statement.

After a half-hour time out, the trial was resumed with the judge somewhat sheepishly semi-apologizing to the two famous attorneys (William Kunstler and Mark Lane), while ignoring the local man (Kenneth Tilsen). But, even more than providing a glimpse behind Judge Nichol's folksy "fair to everyone" mask, the incident has considerable importance for later conduct of the trial.

"Everything Banks has spoken of will get into evidence, we'll introduce it..." Mark Lane said during this exchange; he was interrupted by Judge Nichol: "Just because you introduce it doesn't mean it'll get it," he shouted.

Indeed, Judge Nichol has the power to rule virtually all evidence—exhibits, documents, testimony—relevant or irrelevant, admissible or barred.

On the basis of his behavior to date, one would guess that not much about the treaty rights struggles is going to be allowed in. But maybe not much else that the defense is building on, either. In the colloquy about Banks, Judge Nichol said angrily: "His background is relevant, but not every little incident in his life, not every little incident in Nebraska."

The "little incident in Nebraska," to the introduction of which the prosecution had objected, touching off an explosion of approval in the judge, was the beating and mutilation of an elderly Indian man, whose body was dumped on the floor at an American Legion Dance in Gordon, Nebraska, in 1972. Banks had said that the first time he went to Pine

China

(Continued from Page 2)

important, to restrain oneself and restore the rites." The subordinates presented with these seem to have been unsure of the scrolls' meaning. In any case, by May of 1970 Lin and his supporters were accused of agitating that Lin be officially designated head of state.

By the end of 1970, however, Lin's power was going into eclipse. Edgar Snow's December 1970 conversations with Mao suggest four points where Lin was losing out. First, Mao was preparing to establish relations with the U. S. Lin's position would have been either to go it alone or bloc with the Soviet Union. Second, Mao reasserted the primacy of the party over the army, at a time when the party was still weak from the Cultural Revolution and the army was putting the country back together again, under Lin's command. Third, Mao indicated his intention to get rid of his personality cult now that



• LIN PIAO (1966)

Ridge was when AIM answered a call from the family of Raymond Yellow Thunder to investigate this incident—a call the BIA had chosen to ignore.

The judge's idea of an irrelevant little incident would seem to suggest that the defense will have a hard time introducing, say, the murder of Pedro Bissonnette, who would have been the seventh St. Paul defendant, and a major defense witness as well.

Bissonnette was offered a bribe: dismissal of charges, conveyed through an attorney, appointed over his protests by South Dakota Judge Andrew Bogue. If, that is, he would testify against the "AIM leaders" whom "Washington" was especially eager to get. After his refusal, Bissonnette was murdered by a BIA policeman on October 17. Government involvement in the bizarre midnight theft of his body, the autopsy which attempted to destroy the evidence of his wounds, and evidence of federal complicity and active assistance in cover-up of the murder, is well documented in the 300-page "Reign of Terror" defense motion to dismiss.

One wonders, at this point, whether Judge Nichol will find the evidence of the murder of Pedro (and several other Indian defense witnesses), the intimidation by physical and economic harassment of witnesses, attacks on legal workers, and the disruption and electronic surveillance of defense offices "relevant" or irrelevant when the time comes.

(Note: Paula Giese is a member of the AIM National Office staff. She is helping to set up a research program on treaties, land values, corporate influence and profits from Indian lands, legislation, and governmental operations. People with research experience who would like to help should write c/o AIM, 553 Aurora, St. Paul, Minn. 55103.)■

it had served his purpose. Lin, however, wanted to kick Mao upstairs and use the personality cult to embellish his own official position as "close comrade in arms and successor." Fourth, Mao made mention of an "ultraleftist" group who took over the Foreign Ministry in 1967-68, and "used the red flag to oppose the red flag." Whether or not Lin was clearly implicated, this approach was later to be seen as his chief crime.

LIN'S TRIAL

According to the Chinese, Lin's plotting and scheming became ever more frenzied till finally in September 1971 he organized a plot on Mao's life. The plot failed. Lin tried to escape but his plane ran out of fuel and crashed in Mongolia. Soviet authorities recovered the wreckage but no official Chinese report of the incident was made until July of 1972. The full details of the plot were not released before Wilfred Burchett's article in *Far Eastern Economic Review* (August 20, 1973) on the eve of the Tenth Party Congress of the CCP. Meanwhile a campaign of criticism began much earlier in China, referring to Lin as a "schemer like Liu Shao-ch'i." In the process Lin moved from the ultra-left to the ultra-right, or "left in form but right in essence." Since the Tenth Congress (August 24-28, 1974) Lin Piao has been specifically named. In American judicial terms the pre-Congress period was his trial and the Congress brought in the verdict; for the Chinese he is no longer an "alleged" criminal and he now can be publically identified.

Chou En-lai's official report to the Congress described Lin Piao and his followers as "a counter-revolutionary conspiratorial clique who never showed up without a copy of the *Quotations* (the little red book) in hand and never opened their mouths without shouting 'Long Live' and who spoke nice things to your face but stabbed you in the back."

The struggle against Lin began in earnest after the Congress. The link to criticism of Confucius was made in December but the campaign did not reach the provinces for two months. Since then the phrase "Restrain oneself and restore the rites" has been widely interpreted as plotting to restore capitalism. Further, the Soviet Union has been implicated as the power behind Lin—and as a supporter of Confucius.

THE REAL ISSUES

The ideological criticism of Lin and Confucius serve now as the context of a struggle over the social fabric of Chinese life, particularly with regard to education and the Communist Party. As in the first phase of the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese seem to be struggling to achieve a healthy balance between leadership and the masses. Major newspapers have supported young students in their struggles with authoritarian teachers. An important campaign against nepotism within the party has begun and the rural work program for educated youths is being re-emphasized.

Confucian mandarins maintained the primacy of mental over manual labor. Lin is accused of supporting this and attempting to undercut the rustification system, thus sharpening the contradictions between mental and manual labor, town and countryside, and industry and agriculture. These fundamental violations of the principles of the Cultural Revolution seem to be what the current campaign is aimed at, rather than, as some westerners have speculated, Chou's leadership on foreign-policy questions.■

February 1-3

NAM National Council

by Judy MacLean and
Roberta Lynch
Pittsburgh NAM

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL of the New American Movement met in Yellow Springs, Ohio, February 1-3. The meeting was attended by some ninety people, representing 28 chapters, 3 pre-chapters, and several friendly organizations. The NC indicated that NAM is growing, both numerically and politically. Chapters have begun to develop a practice around a variety of issues—strengthening organizational coherence and laying the groundwork for working out a strategic perspective. At the same time, as Saralee Hamilton stressed in her opening remarks, the current crisis of capitalism and the possibilities opening for the left form a constant reminder of our limitations and the dimensions of the task before us. This tension between our recognition that we are becoming a more serious and viable organization and our sense of what we could be (and what we must become if we are to unify and focus mass discontent) was an underlying current throughout the weekend.

In the reports from chapters, several trends emerged. Most chapters have established some identity locally, though few are well-known. Membership is increasing, but has not significantly broadened to include sectors of the working class beyond white collar workers. NAM is experiencing considerable growth on campuses, with new chapters in Binghamton, Queens, and Columbia, New York, and Athens, Ohio. Less than half the chapters had women's caucuses, although several chapters are engaged in educational activity around socialist-feminist ideas. While many chapters worked around such issues as Chile, Wounded Knee, the Farmworkers, Attica Defense, and Indochina, impeachment organizing seemed to be the most common programmatic activity among chapters. Several chapters have been putting out newspapers, addressing local and national issues from a socialist perspective. Both Iowa City and San Francisco participated in coalitions running candidates in socialist electoral campaigns. Chapters such as Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, and Margaret Sanger (Durham) have been involved in coalitions around local issues in social services and control of local government. The reports from Philadelphia and New Orleans about

strike support work and the remarks from a representative of a taxi drivers' rank-and-file group in New York emphasized the importance of workplace organizing as a means of broadening NAM's base—a concern which was to recur throughout the weekend.

Whatever their previous experiences, nearly all the delegates were concerned with developing an organizational response to the energy crisis. A panel discussion, workshops, and plenary debate helped to define the issues and the Council eventually adopted a perspective for organizing (see box).

The speakers on the panel (Sam Love, Environmental Action; John Braxton, Philadelphia NAM; Frank Ackerman, Somerville NAM), while offering differing analyses of the causes of the energy crisis, all stressed that we must combat the oil industry's attempts to blame the energy crisis on the consumer, and project a system of producing and distributing energy based on human needs.

There was general support among the delegates for the six demands passed, but significant differences arose over the emphasis that should be placed on calling for nationalization (public ownership and democratic control) of the energy industry as the central focus of any campaign. Those who argued against such a focus said that even the absence of a strong, organized mass movement for socialism or any organs of people's power such as worker or community councils, a call for nationalization could only mean bureaucratic control and at best something like the TVA. Socialists, they felt, should not fall into supporting such a course because for too long Americans have been told that socialism means more bureaucratic control and this is precisely the image we much change. Those who supported nationalization responded that we would have to redefine the understanding of the term to build a movement for a publicly owned and democratically controlled energy industry. Only a coherent national program which makes this the central issue can strike at the source of the energy crisis: the ability of corporations to make decisions on the basis of profit maximization. They saw nationalization as a transitional program that embodies our socialist goals. The National Council did not resolve this question—whether to make nationalization the



central focus of any energy campaign—and it will continue to be debated within the organization

A second source of controversy during the weekend was the formulation of NAM's position on the Middle East. The panel presentations (Peter Johnson, MERIP; Paul Bermansohn, Durham NAM; Deborah Hertz, Minneapolis NAM) provided information on the history and internal politics of Mid-East nations, as well as raising some of the political questions involved in trying to arrive at a position. However, because most delegates were not familiar enough with the complicated questions involved, a minimal resolution—opposing zionism and affirming the rights of the Palestinian people to national self-determination in Palestine—was adopted with the understanding that it would pave the way for further discussion of this issue (see box). This experience pointed out the need to stimulate debate on the scheduled topic in print and in chapters prior to national meetings.

The final meeting on Sunday morning focused on developing a strategy for NAM, particularly examining the role of the party. Participants in the panel were John Judis, Berkeley NAM; Harry Boyte, Durham NAM; and Ann Lawrence, Philadelphia NAM. Judis said that he agreed with much of the Arthur Kinoy article on forming a party in *Liberation* magazine, but he stressed one fundamental difference: in his view the party must be publicly socialist. He also argued that while community and workplace organizing activities are crucial, only an electoral focus can make clear our intention to take state power. Boyte sees this as an "unprecedented time" for the left due to the demise of the Democratic Party coalition of labor and minorities that has existed since the New Deal. Space is opening up for the formation of a new left party that would not necessarily be socialist; he urged socialists to join it but also to maintain our own organization.

Lawrence emphasized that NAM's long-term goal should be the building of a revolutionary party, but felt that such a party can't be built until the socialist movement has strong and durable ties with the working class as a whole. Consciousness changes, she pointed out, not through exposure to good ideas but by participating in organizations and institutions that can go beyond capitalism, e.g., union caucuses or unity committees of employed and unemployed workers that can form the embryo of workers' councils.

Because members of the panel did not adequately define their differences with each other, the ensuing discussion did not clarify the issues sharply. Still, it was an excited and exciting exchange demonstrating the growing concern that many chapters have with strategy and the variety of ideas present within the organization on this subject. Questions regarding the nature of the party (how open would it be? would it be explicitly socialist?), the role of the state, the relative importance of workplace organizing or electoral activity; the implications of NAM's view of the composition of the working class; the tension between a localized approach and a national perspective surfaced in this session.

Earlier national NAM meetings have been marked by a greater emphasis on socialist feminism than was evident at this NC. Many women present expressed a frustration about the lag between our socialist feminist analysis and the content of our programs. Discussion in the women's caucus and related workshops had four major elements: 1) internal dynamics, particularly leadership and structures to strengthen women's participation; 2) NAM's relationship to the autonomous women's movement; 3) strategic questions; 4) the development of programs relating to the needs of women from other sectors of the working class.

(Continued on Page 15)

IS THE U. S. ECONOMY RUNNING OUT OF GAS?

The effects of the energy crisis are widespread and disastrous; layoffs in many industries; long lines at gas stations; the threat of winters without heat; skyrocketing prices for fuel when you can get it. Our economy seems to be falling apart. And bad as it is here, the crisis is worse in many other countries. Hardest hit of all are the oil-importing countries of the Third World, which can least afford to pay the rising prices.

Business and government propaganda "explain" the crisis—it's caused by greedy Arabs, ecology nuts, and wasteful consumers. Turn down your thermostat, drive slower, pull in your belt, and together we can keep things moving. Nonsense! Business itself uses half of this country's energy; most of the rest is essential for commuting and home heating.

The cause of the energy crisis is not individual waste, but capitalism. Production for profit is increasingly in conflict with production for human needs. Capitalists only produce when they can make a profit; otherwise they wait until prices and profits go up. How much do we have to bribe them to keep them producing? Last year oil industry profits were over \$10 billion; Exxon alone got \$2.5 billion.

The energy crisis points up the basic reality of American society: economic and political decisions are made by the major corporations; most people have no say in the decisions about where the country is headed. The oil companies are at the heart of the corporate empire; they alone account for one-tenth of U. S. corporate profits, and are closely interlocked with most other big businesses. Energy is too important to leave under the private control of multi-national corporations. The solution to the energy crisis must be public, democratic control of energy production and use. A fight against the oil companies and the energy crisis could spark a struggle for democratic control of the economy and society as a whole.

1. **OPENING THE BOOKS.** We demand full disclosure of costs, profits, supplies, and reserves of the energy industry. This is the first step toward public control of energy use and production.

2. **ENSURING ADEQUATE STANDARDS OF LIVING.** We will resist all attempts to "solve" the energy crisis by lowering our standards of living. We will help fight all layoffs, wage cuts, and attacks on occupational health and safety standards, which corporations are now blaming on the energy crisis. We support full cost-of-living increases to meet the current rapid inflation. We oppose allowing the brunt of the energy crisis to fall on those who can afford it least—those who are on welfare, unemployed, and retired. We demand adequate benefits to ensure them a decent standard of living, and cost-of-living increases in such benefits.

3. **PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT.** Energy must not be produced and used at the expense of a livable environment for ourselves and for future generations. We resist the rollbacks of environmental protection standards, and support necessary extensions of those standards. We demand taxation of corporate profits to finance massive research into non-polluting energy sources such as solar and geothermal energy. We will fight to prevent construction of nuclear fission power plants, which potentially endanger the lives of millions.

4. **MASS TRANSIT, NOT HIGHWAYS.** The answer to the energy crisis is not more, or less, consumption, but different, more rational forms of consumption, particularly public transit as an alternative to private cars. We demand extension of mass transit throughout all population centers—not just to and from central business districts. This should be financed, in part, by cutting off funds for highway expansion.

5. **NO MILITARY INTERVENTION IN THE MID-EAST; CUT MILITARY SPENDING.** We must not let the energy crisis be used to start another Vietnam war. The military budget must be cut to finance mass transit and energy research.

6. **PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE ENERGY INDUSTRY.** The ultimate solution to the energy crisis requires public ownership of energy and control of both oil companies and local utilities by democratically elected boards of workers and consumers. This is not to advocate bureaucratic state ownership, but to begin to agitate for socialist democracy.

National Council

(Continued from Page 14)

Other workshops met around imperialism, community organizing, and impeachment. The workplace organizing workshop began planning for the convention and will function as part of a national network of rank-and-file groups (Write: 47 Ft. Washington Ave., New York, 10032). The campus workshop also set up a network (Contact the Queens College chapter) and will sponsor a conference in April. Resolutions were adopted in support of the Wounded Knee Defense and Attica Defense. Structural resolutions aimed primarily at strengthening communication and political discussion within NAM were passed.

The weekend was packed with plenaries, caucuses, and workshops, and on Sunday there were a lot of hoarse voices and tired eyes as delegates made final arguments on resolutions. The spirit of the meeting, as characterized by one observer from another organization, was "warm," with much respect and solidarity among all present. The National Council helped to better clarify tendencies within NAM and to intensify political discussion. It was marked by a willingness to identify our weaknesses and work to combat them. But primarily a consciousness of the times and the need for a unified and coherent left shaped this meeting and provided a stimulus for our ongoing work.



The National Convention is the highest policymaking body of NAM. It is held annually and is open to all NAM members. (Referenda conducted between conventions according to the constitution are of equal authority.)

The National Council is the highest administrative body of NAM between conventions. It meets annually, approximately six months after the convention. Two delegates (one man and one woman) are elected by each chapter to the National Council. These representatives also act as liaisons with the national organization between national meetings.

RESOLUTION ON THE MIDDLE EAST

1. Zionism is a distorted form of the need of the Jewish people for emancipation, and an inappropriate method for fighting anti-semitism. We support the dezionization of the state of Israel.
2. We support the right of the Palestinian people to national self-determination in Palestine.
3. The only way the above goals can be achieved is through their integration in the struggle for a socialist Middle East.
4. This position is a minimal starting point and leaves out many points of controversy among socialists in the Middle East and the United States which should be the subject of further debate in NAM. For example,
 - a) the questions about national rights (political and/or cultural) of the Israeli people;
 - b) the questions about territorial arrangements;
 - c) a program for eventual cooperation and unity among socialist forces in the area;
 - d) the relation of class and national struggle in the Middle East;
 - e) the relation of the Palestine problem to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and
 - f) the particular nature of socialist transformation in the Middle East.

NAM CHAPTERS & PRE-CHAPTERS

NAM chapters are numbered; pre-chapters are starred

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Farah

(Continued from front page)

But if things were recently somewhat unpleasant for Farah in El Paso, they have always been much worse for the workers in his factories. The "legend" of Willie Farah has long meant paternalism and avarice to Farah workers. The starting wage in Farah plants was \$1.70 an hour. The average take home pay per worker was \$69 weekly. Raises could be acquired only by meeting almost impossible work quotas. There was no job security, a small retirement plan, no grievance procedure, no maternity benefits or sick leave benefits. Add to all this habitual petty harassments from supervisors, a forced saving plan that offered no interest to the workers, and you have a clear picture of an employer like Farah. When the strike finally came, the workers were demanding more than higher wages and job security—it was an action to claim their "dignidad."

Today in El Paso alone there are 20,000 clothing workers. Only about 2,000 of these were unionized at the time Farah employees walked out. In recent years there has begun a movement of eastern and midwestern industrialists to the South and Southwest. The plentiful labor supply stands as a strong lure to industrialists put off by organized labor. Thus when word spread of "the strike in Texas," Willie Farah quickly became a symbol of resistance to an increasingly more militant workforce. The Farah Strike soon picked up the nickname, "The Strike of the Seventies." The conflict was a symbol of struggle that could spread throughout the South.

Willie Farah was ordained to quell the growing workers' movement. He fit the role perfectly.

In the near two years since the strike and boycott began, Farah pulled out every weapon at his disposal. There were mass arrests, unmuzzled police dogs, pickets run down by cars, on-job threats, slashed tires, and of course the constant threat that workers would be fired if they spoke with the union. Perhaps the prime tool of Farah's resistance was endless litigation. When the case reached the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) and Farah was found guilty of unfair labor practices, he counterattacked with suits and counter suits against the union. While the case was in the courts, Farah established a public relations campaign to tell his side of the story. Farah "press releases" found quick circulation in the major newspapers of the Southwest. Carefully prepared "news" stories offered detailed accounts of his workers' contentment. Through the strike and boycott the union was attempting to intimidate his "happies"—the Farah name for the plants' satisfied workers. The dissatisfied workers were termed "filth."

On January 29, acting through Judge Walter Maloney, the NLRB issued a surprisingly wide ranging and harshly worded order to Farah Manufacturing Company to halt its unfair labor practices against workers attempting to organize a union. Farah was ordered to reinstate with back pay and six percent interest six workers fired for union activity in May 1972. Judge Maloney further ordered Farah to offer any strik-

ing employees immediate reinstatement to their former jobs, dismissing if necessary any persons hired since May 1972.

Speaking of Farah's numerous violations of NLRB rulings, Judge Maloney stated, "This respondent (Farah) has been repeatedly directed to mend its lawless ways and yet it continues as if nothing had happened. . . Farah has simply thrown down the gauntlet to this agency and has dared the Board to stop it from making the act a dead letter as far as Farah employees are concerned."

Majoney cited Farah's endless litigation as "frivolous." Farah was ordered to pay all legal expenses incurred by the NLRB and the union in pursuing the case before the Board. The order also required that Farah open up the company bulletin boards to the union (ACWA) and give the union complete lists of nonsupervisory company employees.

Although stunned by the all-condemning NLRB order, Farah spokespeople indicated the decision would be appealed to the full NLRB. By extending the judicial process, the case could have been in litigation for another year. In a round of speaking engagements following the ruling, Farah remained the staunch defender of a "righteous" cause. He called on the public to forsake the distortions of the union sympathizers.

Despite his act of bravado, Farah was compelled to survey his collapsing resources. The nationwide boycott was apparently still picking up momentum and the strikers in El Paso and San Antonio appeared still undaunted. In the end Farah calculated his losses, the formidable opposition, and gave in.

The union has now selected a bargaining committee to enter in negotiations that are expected to last about six weeks. Farah has announced he will reopen all his plants.

By gaining the right to unionization, the workers of Farah have achieved a strategic victory for workers' struggles throughout the South and Southwest. A large, formerly unorganized body of exploited Mexican-American labor has mobilized and attained a victory against one of the most powerful and obstinate capitalists in the Southwest. The Farah Strike is a significant step for working people throughout the region.

But if there is optimism there is also recognition that the opponents of organized labor remain earnest in their resistance. Already, Senator John G. Tower, Republican from Texas, has announced he will introduce legislation to prohibit a labor union from delaying a union representation election through "dilatatory filings" with the NLRB. Referring to the Farah Strike, Tower stated he would stop any postponement of elections till a time more favorable to the union. If such legislation becomes law, tactics of intimidation such as those used by Farah could easily hold sway in union elections. At present such legislation is given little chance of passage. Still, as the struggle of workers in the Southwest magnifies, it can be expected that the legal process will be called upon to hinder all movement toward unionization. For this reason secondary and primary boycotts remain a necessary tool against management. Consumer allies will be needed for any real labor victory in the Southwest.

Britain

(Continued from front page)

government" a la Chile. Indeed, as the Labor Party moves toward the left in response to growing working class unrest, the programs of the C. P. and Labor become more indistinguishable.

The irony of this strategy is that while the C. P.'s base is in the factories, it has no representatives in Parliament and slim prospects of getting any. Their practice centers around electing members to the union bureaucracies. During times of labor peace the C. P. leaders are able to push for militant programs, but in times of industrial crisis their commitment to the Labor Party pushes the bureaucrats into compromises. In these times contradictions between the militant rank and file and the Communist Party emerge. Thus, Michael McGahey, Communist Vice-President of the National Union of Mineworkers, labeled the recent strike as a "typical economic exercise" with no political meaning, while at the same time calling on soldiers to support the strike if they were ordered into the mines to break the strike.

In this chaotic situation, there are several smaller revolutionary groups vying for working class support. The most significant of these is the International Socialists of Great Britain. Since 1971, the I. S. has grown from 2,000 to 5,000 members. A third of its membership are blue collar workers. As opposed to the C.P.'s strategy of capturing positions of leadership in the unions, I.S. emphasizes the importance of building rank and file organizations. They have succeeded in establishing rank and file newspapers in four major unions.

I.S.'s perspective on the Labor Party also differs from the C. P. It hopes that its industrial activity will build an alternative to the Labor Party. During the campaign its propaganda stated, "Vote Labor with no illusions." "Vote Labor" because a Conservative victory would weaken the position of the working class. "With no illusions," because the Labor Party is tied to the capitalist system as deeply as the Tories. Working



people were encouraged to continue their struggles no matter what the outcome of the election.

Other revolutionary groups in Britain disagreed with this slogan. The Revolutionary Workers Party, with about 500 members, states "General Strike to Kick Out the Tories and Bring in a Labor Government Committed to Socialist Policies." This is the more traditional Leninist approach to the Labor Party, which is outlined in "Left Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder." The argument is that if a Labor Party is voted in with a socialist program, their inability to deliver will soon discredit the party and show the need for a revolutionary party. I.S.'s response to this approach is that workers are already disillusioned in the Labor Party, but believe it is marginally better than the Conservatives. Thus, it is necessary to raise specific reformist demands which will change as conditions change, rather than general socialist slogans.

The International Marxist Group, which is affiliated with the SWP, also is searching for the correct general slogan. Recently this group of approximately four hundred members raised the demand,

"General Strike to Defeat the Tories."

Its position on the Labor Party is not quite so clear. For a while, the IMG maintained that the Labor Party was totally irrelevant, but with the general election this position was no longer tenable, and there has undoubtedly been some shift in position.

ANY DISCUSSION of small revolutionary groups has a surreal quality to it. Tens of thousands of people actively supported the miners and yet the groups to the left of the C. P. have at most 7,000 members. Small, well-organized groups clearly can make a difference, however. Often such organizations have the only national connections and only publicity facilities which militants can use in times of unrest without fear of reprisal. The International Socialists, in particular, have become an effective national organization by reacting flexibly and quickly to both local and national crises.

The transformation of such a group into a party which can put forward an international revolutionary program acceptable to large numbers of people

is more problematic. For a program to be realizable, the party must have the ability to participate in electoral politics and link factory struggles to non-industrial issues such as Women's Liberation. There is no magic formula, for an effective program is not just a well-written document, but a consistent guide to changing political circumstances.

The present government will play a crucial role in the formation of a mass working class organization. Not only has the present instability strengthened the working class' ability to resist further state attacks, but the Labor government may have to make decisions which could split the Party. The trade union leadership was greatly disillusioned by the Wilson government's performance from 1964 to 1970. For the first time in the Party's history, the leaders of the nation's two largest unions, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (i.e., metal workers), and the Transport and General Workers Union, are on the left of the Party. (Traditionally, the Party's left has come from the non-union constituency parties.) While no one should underestimate the ability of these leaders to sell out workers just like the right-wing bureaucrats, the intransigent stand of the Labor left against the Common Market and severe wage controls could pose great problems for a future Labor government.

In the immediate future, the strength of revolutionaries lies in working outside the Labor Party. While only a small minority of British people agree with the total perspectives of revolutionary socialists, the growth of I. S. and the continued ability of the C. P. to remain in important trade union position shows that socialists are often the only people capable of proposing concrete tactical responses to ruling class attacks. To be in the Labor Party at this point in time would limit the ability to coordinate resistance which is often as much directed against the bankrupt leadership of the trade union movement and Labor Party as against the Conservatives. The situation is so fluid and British capitalism's problems are so severe, however, that the question of future participation in some sort of Social Democratic Party will remain a pressing issue.