

Independence for Puerto Rico!



by Tim Reagan, Oakland NAM and Kevin Connors, New York NAM

A PRE-HALLOWEEN spectre will haunt New York's Madison Square Garden on Sunday, October 27. U.S. corporate interests will be greeted by the spectre of a large and growing international coalition demanding prompt and total independence for Puerto Rico from the United States.

The Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee expects a capacity crowd at the Garden, despite the last minute shenanigans to renege legal agreements on the part of the facility's jittery management.

Under the slogan, "A Bicentennial Without Colonies," the Solidarity Com-

mittee is attempting to focus attention on the little-noticed resolution passed December 1973 by the UN General Assembly. The resolution reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960. The vote on Puerto Rican independence was 104-5, with 10 abstentions. The U.S. voted to retain its colony, officially a "self-governing commonwealth" under U.S. "protection."

Actually, the island of Puerto Rico is a classic example of U.S. colonialism, an acquisition from the Spanish Empire in the jingoist Spanish American War

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FORD'S INFLATION PROGRAM

Another Edsel

by Nick Rabkin, Oakland NAM and John Katz, Berkeley NAM

GERALD FORD had an easier time becoming president than anyone else in U.S. history. He never had to win a vote outside Grand Rapids, Michigan. But now that he is president, Ford's troubles have begun in earnest and he will not have an easy time at the tasks before him.

The most important of these problems is curing the inflationary recession that is the deepest crisis of American capitalism since the 1930s. Ford's political future, indeed the future of the capitalist system, hinges in his administration's ability to stop the spiraling inflation and stimulate production.

If the ten-point program that Ford recently exhibited is the best he can offer on the subject, both he and capitalism are in trouble. The net effect of all of Ford's proposals (in the unlikely event that they are all enacted by Congress) will be negligible.

Effective anti-inflationary programs will have to attack the sources of inflation, and Ford's programs utterly fail to do that. The pressures that have propelled us into double-digit inflation come from the top of the economy--from monopoly pricing and international trade and monetary developments--not from individual consumption. For instance, when the oil-company-induced shortages of last winter raised gasoline prices and slowed sales of big cars, General Motors' response was to cut back production and raise prices, not lower them.

Instead of attacking monopoly control of the market, Ford's anti-inflation program is based on out dated understanding of the competitive market. By imposing a 5% tax surcharge on incomes over \$15,000, Ford hopes to slow spending and thus slow inflation. But a meager 5% surcharge will probably slow nothing except savings, which have already slowed to a trickle by inflation itself.

The real heart of Ford's program is an austerity budget and tax breaks for corporations to stimulate investment. When the proposed \$8 billion reduction in federal expenditures is added to last year's 12% inflation, the result is that

Ford is suggesting the equivalent of a 15% reduction in expenditures. Under these circumstances the government will simply not be able to afford the public employment program that Ford also proposed without drastic cuts in other social services. And the contraction of the economy that would follow from the equivalent of a 15% reduction in government spending would create additional massive unemployment.

SUMMIT OF CONFUSION

The economic "summit meetings" that allegedly inspired Ford's plan actually revealed the sense of confusion and despair that the most powerful groups in the country feel in the face of the economic crisis. Ford's program is not the evil scheme of a ruling class that wants to see a deeper recession and continued inflation. Rather, the ruling class simply has no strategy for breaking the stranglehold on the economy

Ford, nevertheless, was obliged to develop an economic package for political reasons. He knows quite well that his program won't work. He knows even better that Congress won't accept much of it. But the Republicans only hope in the upcoming mid-term elections is to take the sting out of their opposition by appearing to have a program on the economy.

In spite of Ford's pronouncements, the upcoming elections will be the worst for the Republicans since the Goldwater debacle in 1964. The Democrats may pick up 40-50 seats in the House--mostly from Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. They are likely to gain Senate seats in Kansas, and Florida, and could pick up more in Utah, Vermont, New Hampshire, Kentucky, and North Dakota.

The most significant of the Senate races is in Kansas where moderate Democrat, William Roy, is leading incumbent Robert Dole, a Nixon protege. If Dole loses in heavily Republican Kansas, it will indicate the depth of the wound that Richard Nixon left in his party.

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Carolina Mill Workers Finally Win a Union

by Harry C. Boyte Sanger NAM

THE WORKERS' representatives chosen to watch the ballot counting grew quiet as the stacks of ballots for and against the union grew larger in Roanoke Rapids, N.C., during the night of August 28. The immediate issue was whether the 3,100 workers at the seven J.P. Stevens mills in Roanoke would vote for the union, the Textile Workers Union of America. But more was at stake as well. For J.P. Stevens has long been the symbol of bitter and violent resistance to organizing in the South.

When the lead in the pro-union stack grew insurmountable, the room erupted. Said one participant, "Everyone danced, hugged each other, yelled, Black and white, men and women alike."

Since the election, the company has given signs of stalling in the bargaining sessions, and has recently cut back work at the mills in what many people see as a punitive measure against the union vote. But the vote was a major step forward, nonetheless, for southern textile workers. And coupled with the victory by the Brookside miners against Duke Power in the same week, the Roanoke campaign could signal the beginning of a new union movement

through the South, which would transform the politics and culture of the region.

Stevens, the second largest textile company in the world, with 45,000 workers, has long been regarded by workers as the most ruthlessly anti-union company of all. And indeed, it is a skilled practioner of the various techniques of violence, intimidation, racism, blacklisting, and paternalism that have kept southern mill workers prisoners in a kind of semi-feudal mill world for almost a century. For Stevens, no punishment is too severe for those workers it feels are "disloyal." For years the company has passed out a single photograph to workers throughout the Carolinas of a padlocked gate in a mill shut down when the work force organized, as a reminder to any workers who might be getting "uppity" ideas.

In 1963, when a number of workers openly joined the union, the company posted their names on all its bulletin boards, and subjected each to constant abuse and threats. As a worker would ask his or her name to be crossed off, Stevens would cross it off the list, as an example to others.

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U.S. in Chile

Ford's new honesty~prelude to the big lie

BY Mike Rotkin
Santa Cruz NAM

MANY OBSERVERS were surprised at President Ford's open admission recently that the U.S. had been directly involved in the overthrow of Allende's democratically elected socialist administration in Chile. Not only had the U.S. historically exercised its "right" to intervene in the domestic affairs of foreign nations, it would, volunteered Ford, continue to do so in the future.

Was this proof of the "new openness and candor" promised by Ford on the eve of Nixon's fall from power? Or was it simply proof that Lyndon Johnson was right when he said Gerry Ford was the only person in Congress who was "so dumb he couldn't walk and chew gum at the same time?"

Ford's statement was clearly a bold stroke. People in this country were simply fed up with the gross dishonesty, doubletalk, and Orwellian language of "Tricky Dick's" administration. Admitting U.S. involvement in Chile's internal affairs was a real departure from not only the policy of Nixon's administration, but from Johnson's, Kennedy's, Eisenhower's, and virtually every president's since Teddy Roosevelt as well.

It's not sufficient to argue that the CIA leaks on Chile forced Ford's hand. Being caught with a hand in the cash-box has never stopped earlier administrations from using the "big lie." At most, earlier presidents might have admitted the particular event, quickly dissociating themselves from it and explaining that it was contrary to admitted U.S. involvement in Chile, but went on to explain and justify it as entirely consistent with U.S. policy past, present, and future. The press just sat there with open mouths—and they weren't alone.

Ford's admission does represent a radical departure from the dishonesty of earlier administrations. The contradictions of constant coverups and lying were becoming more and more of a liability in U.S. attempts to guarantee the safety and sanctity of U.S. investments abroad. The American people were becoming restless, and it was as

much over the "credibility gap" as over U.S. foreign policy itself. Hence the shift to the "new honesty." Once again, Americans everywhere could sleep easily at night, knowing that they had a government that would not lie to them.

Unfortunately for Gerald Ford and the people and institutions that stand behind him, the resolution of one contradiction simply exacerbated another. (Such, says Marx, is the nature of fundamental contradictions.) Ford's brilliant/desperate act shifts the question from dishonesty in government to the nature of U.S. foreign policy itself.

WHOSE NATIONAL INTEREST?

Ford's justification for U.S. interference in the domestic affairs of other nations rested on the simple assertion that "everybody's doin' it." This argument must have had a magic appeal to all the kids and former kids in the world who ever got caught in the cookie jar and tried it on their parents without success. Substantively, Ford's justification rested on his assertion that every nation will do its utmost to protect its own interest and that foreign intervention is "in the national interest of the U.S."

This is a long way from a generation of presidents who assured us that U.S. involvements abroad, particularly in Latin America and Vietnam, were solely designed to protect the "self-determination" of the peoples of the "Free World." Radicals will no longer have to argue that the U.S. is selfishly protecting its interests abroad; the interests?

Given the barbarity and despotism of the military Junta the U.S. un-

leashed on the Chilean people, Ford's statement pointed directly to only one possible conclusion: U.S. policy is to undermine any government that suggests the possibility of limiting the economic investments of U.S. corporations. It is conceivable that the U.S. government believed the Allende government might eventually limit opposition parties and presses in the future (although to the dismay of many on the Chilean left he seemed completely committed to a fully constitutional bourgeois government). But it is inconceivable that the CIA did not know that a military coup would ban all parties and presses immediately.

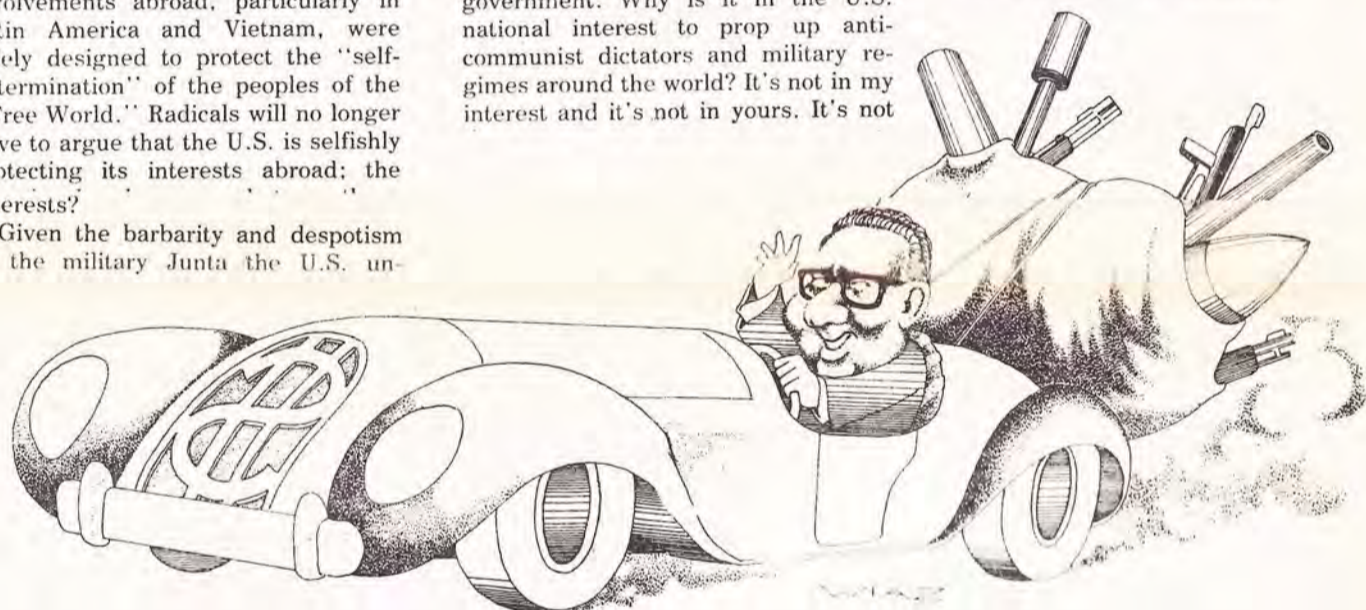
Are the American people to believe that the U.S. overthrew a government in order to *guarantee* the results it hoped to avoid? Even a man who "played football too many times without a helmet" could not have believed that. And the American people are being asked to believe something like this in terms of U.S. policy in Spain, Greece, Iran, South Africa, Turkey, Cambodia, Vietnam, South Korea, Taiwan, Jordan, Pakistan, and in Latin American dictatorships too numerous to mention.

BEYOND FOREIGN policy, Ford's statements ultimately raise questions about the class nature of the U.S. government. Why is it in the U.S. national interest to prop up anti-communist dictators and military regimes around the world? It's not in my interest and it's not in yours. It's not

in the interest of the vast majority of U.S. citizens. It's certainly not in the interest of the people of these countries.

Some members of Congress have begun to ask these questions, and if a marxist analysis of the nature of the state in capitalist society is correct, we can expect that the hearings will not probe very deeply, and certainly that they will stop short of action curtailing the activities of the CIA. Congresspeople may ask questions about *what* happened in Chile (how many dollars, how many years, etc.?), but not *why* the CIA was in Chile in the first place. If the American people want answers to these questions they will have to go beyond a Congress bought and paid for by U.S. corporations.

When Gerald Ford picked up the foreign policy commitments of his predecessors, he made it all too clear whose interests he really serves. The new president changes the personality of the White House, but not the social, political, and above all, economic forces that it is designed to represent. Given a choice between the problem of a credibility gap and opening up the underlying contradictions of U.S. foreign policy, we can expect a shift back toward the former in the near future. Keep tuned in when Gerry Ford explains what he "really meant."



Letters

To the editors:

I was quite disappointed in the naive and uncritical approach used by Judy MacLean in her article, "China Solidifies Gains of Upheaval," in the September NAM paper. It is true that I have not had a whirlwind tour in China like she has, but a few facts are obvious even from outside. My letter is critical of the Chinese Communists to help balance MacLean's praise.

The first rather obvious fact about China's "socialist democracy" is that no opposition socialist parties are allowed to contest the political monopoly of the Communist Party. But, maybe the Party is internally democratic. If so, why are leaders who fall into disfavor so quickly removed from the political arena? Check out the careers of Li Li-san, Lao Kang, Ch'en Yun, P'eng Te-huai, Liu Shao-chi, and Lin Piao, all purged members of the C.C.P. Politbureau. From available information, it appears that none of

these men were recalled by the Chinese masses nor were they given a chance to publicly defend themselves; some disappeared under mysterious circumstances.

Does all this sound a little like Joseph Stalin's U.S.S.R.? There is a good reason for this since the Russian Communist Party (under the dictatorship of Stalin and his cohorts) was the main tutor and ally of the Chinese Communist Party for at least 30 years.

MacLean writes, "Study of Mao's thought is a tool whereby every person can solve problems and so have an input into the decision at factories, schools, or communes." In my opinion, the personality cult of Mao, which during the 60s became strikingly reminiscent of Stalin's own cult, is totally incompatible with any form of democratic socialism. Neither K. Marx, F. Engels, or V.I. Lenin ever enjoyed any similar adulation.

Dave Moore
Lawrence, KS

Dear comrades,

One of NAM's basic principles is the commitment to building a popular mass movement for socialism. But no socialist movement is possible in America, it is often pointed out, unless it thinks with its own head. One of the key lessons that we can draw from past failures of American socialists (including members of the Communist Party) is the importance of political independence, not only from the ruling class and their parties, but also from revolutionary governments abroad.

We view Judy MacLean article on China, then, with great concern. We are surprised to learn that "Lin (Piao) was head of the People's Liberation Army and died in a plane crash in 1971. He had been attempting to flee China after an unsuccessful coup." We were aware that Peking has been making claims about

"an unsuccessful coup" attempt by Lin and about a plane crash as he was allegedly fleeing to the Soviet Union. But we are surprised to learn that such claims are uncontested fact, as Judy and Saralee's article implies.

If that is what the authors claim, we'd like to hear their argument in detail so we can all examine it. But we cannot accept it (nor should NAM readers be asked to) simply because they repeat their Chinese guides' view that it is fact. There are enough arguments on the other side to suggest that the line put out about Lin's purge and alleged plane flight is, at best, bizarre. Moreover, reports persist that Lin opposed inviting Kissinger and Nixon to China. Surely, we could see here that the timing of the invitation, when the Vietnamese were still fighting U.S. troops, sowed confusion among the world proletariat exactly

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

NATIONAL OFFICE:

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

NEWSPAPER:

6025 Shattuck Avenue
Oakland, CA 94609
415-652-1756

←NEW

Inez Garcia Convicted

She broke all the rules

by Ruth Mackay

INEZ GARCIA claims she was raped on March 19, in Soledad, California. She spent four months in jail in lieu of paying \$100,000 bail, and on August 19 the trial began. The defendant in the case was not the accused rapist but Inez Garcia herself—charged with first degree murder. The star prosecution witness was Louis Castillo, the man who raped her. Miguel Jimenez, who helped Castillo rape her, was shot and killed by Ms. Garcia.

The trial lasted six weeks. Each day the courtroom was packed with women who traveled as far as 100 miles to show support for Inez. Workers with the Inez Garcia Defense Committee attended the trial daily as did several writers and reporters. Those of us who knew Inez came to feel this was a trial of all the women who have decided to no longer resign themselves to being passive victims of rape.

On October 4, Inez was convicted of second degree murder and was given a sentence of five-to-life. The judge had disallowed any consideration of rape in the jury's deliberations except insofar as it affected Ms. Garcia's "state of mind."

Inez Garcia is Puerto Rican. She came to Soledad from New York three years ago to be close to her husband who is in Soledad prison. While living there she helped with child care and with her 11-year-old son's boy scout troop. Although well liked in the community, she was considered an outsider.

THE COURSE OF EVENTS

On the night of March 19, Louis Castillo and Miguel Jimenez came to Inez's apartment to see Alfredo Madrano, a family friend staying with her temporarily. While waiting for Madrano, both men drank and made insulting remarks to Inez. When Madrano arrived they harassed him as well, saying that both he and Inez were "outsiders." They insisted that because Madrano has tuberculosis he is not as strong as they are. They boasted of having stabbed other non-"home-town boys" and would do the same to him. A fight ensued and Madrano was badly beaten. Finally Jimenez pulled a knife on him. At this point Inez intervened and convinced both men to leave the apartment. Taunting her with "You think you're too good for home-town boys, don't you; well, we'll show you what home-town boys can do," they drew her out of the apartment. They raped her behind the apartment and left. Moments later they phoned her and again threatened to kill her and Madrano.

Ms. Garcia next placed a call to her parents in Miami and asked them to help her if she got into any trouble. She then loaded a .22 rifle and left the apartment to look for the two men. (Madrano stood trial with Ms. Garcia because the District Attorney claimed he left the apartment with her to look for Jimenez and Castillo and this made him an accomplice. His trial resulted in a hung jury.) About thirty minutes later Inez found the two men reportedly beating up Madrano again. When Jimenez drew his knife, she fired seven shots, killing him and missing Castillo.

Mr. Garcia and Madrano then went to a friend's apartment where they called the police. The police claim that in her statement she never said she had been raped. She never received a medical examination for rape. The Defense attorney, Charles Garry, said the police records indicate that she said she had been raped; but the police ignored her. He also pointed out that the absence of a rape report in the records does not necessarily mean she was not raped. Her state of mind at the time of arrest was such that she did not



want to talk about the rape. Ms. Garcia says the police asked her a series of insulting questions about the alleged rape and that she was too embarrassed to press the issue.

CRUCIAL QUESTIONS

One crucial question in the case was whether Ms. Garcia was actually raped. The state said that, never having filed a charge against her assailant for rape, she could not use that as a motive for murder. Mr. Garry argued that extenuating circumstances prevented her from admitting she had been raped. Paramount among these is the hesitance of all women to report rape. During the trial an expert witness on rape testified that approximately 80% of all rapes go unreported.

Ms. Garcia is a devout Catholic. To admit she had been raped and that her honor had been violated would possibly risk the loss of her family and her husband. It is very difficult for any woman to admit she has been raped and even more difficult for a Catholic woman of Cuban and Puerto Rican descent who believes strongly in traditional values.

Father Eugene Boyle of San Francisco testified that a Catholic woman would be expected to "resist even to the point of death" if threatened with rape and would indeed be honored for such resistance. He noted that "church doctrines live through cultural indoctrination," and while there is no church doctrine that specifically advocates that a woman kill her rapist, throughout history the teachings of the church may have come to be interpreted as advocating such an action.

The other crucial debate in the trial was that of premeditated murder. Thirty minutes elapsed between the alleged rape and the killing of Miguel Jimenez. Therefore, the attorney for the defense claimed that Inez did not kill for self defense. The defense claimed otherwise. Pat Richards, Garry's legal assistant, pointed out that "states of mind know no time limits. Hysteria doesn't respond to thirty minutes or ten." In other words, that period of time cannot be regarded as a time during which Ms. Garcia rationally decided to murder Jimenez. She was reacting directly in response to her rape, in a state of hysteria, and thus killed to

defend herself and her honor. Said Inez: "My mother brought us up to believe we should fight until death if any of us was raped. . . I gave up at the moment of rape instead of resisting. I fought later but I should have defended myself immediately."

During the trial the defense had to contend not only with the D.A. but with the judge as well. Judge Lawson consistently overruled Mr. Garry's objections and sustained those of the D.A.. There were many political questions that remained unanswered because of Judge Lawson's insistence that this trial was just a routine murder trial.

Miguel Jimenez's family owns large migrant camps in the Soledad area and they wield a lot of local power. Was the trial prosecuted with such vehemence because of pressure from the family on the D.A.'s office? The threatening phone call from Castillo and Jimenez after the rape was made from the home of Jose Mendozze, a well known local heroin pusher. Also, Mendozze issued a contract out on Madrano's life. What was Mendozze's role in the murder? He never took the stand during the trial.

Of course, the most important political question is that of rape and a woman's right to defend herself. "Inez acted out of instinct, not out of political consciousness," remarked one woman on the defense committee. That "Instinctual" act took on very political implications and Ms. Garcia increasingly demonstrated a keen political awareness of her position in relation to the women's movement. At one point, the following exchange took place between Ms. Garcia and Mr. Garry: "Why didn't you tell the police that you were raped?" he asked. "Because I was ashamed," she answered. "And why," he continued, "are you telling us now that you were raped?" "I see now that it's my responsibility because so many other women keep getting raped," was her answer.

In convicting her, the jury proved as it was or murder. Inez broke all the rules. She didn't smile at the jury. She wasn't polite to the judge. She defied the law of our society that dictates that women shall forever remain passive victims of this kind of oppression. She can't read or write but she could scream out in anger in the courtroom in protest of the D.A.'s leading questions. She is Catholic and yet she swore at the judge. She is a woman who decided to fight back.

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The Case of Joanne Little: the Right to Self Defense

by Bob McMahon
Chapel Hill NAM

On August 27, the body of Clarence Allgood, a guard in the Beaufort County (N.C.) jail was discovered on the floor in a cell. Allgood had been stabbed with an ice pick normally kept in his desk drawer. He was naked from the waste down.

The occupant of the cell, a Black woman named Joanne Little, was missing. Local authorities arranged to have her declared an outlaw—meaning that any citizen could shoot her on sight without fear of punishment. After eight days, Joanne Little arranged to surrender herself through a local organizer for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

When she surrendered, Ms. Little told her story to reporters. She stated that she had killed Allgood in self defense. Late at night, she said, Allgood had come into the cell block with the icepick. He turned off a television monitor which covered her cell, and locked an honor convict's cell. (Normally this prisoner's cell was left unlocked at all times.) He took off his shoes in the corridor outside her cell, opened the door, and came into her cell

and attempted to rape her. While he was removing the rest of his clothes, Ms. Little managed to get the icepick away from him, struck him with it, and fled.

The case has drawn considerable attention and public sympathy within North Carolina. There has been a strong response in the Black community and among civil rights groups. Organizations which have become actively involved include SCLC, the Winston-Salem chapter of the Black Panther Party, and the North Carolina Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression. Black leaders have pointed to the case as an outstanding example of the racist and brutal conditions existing in the courts and prisons in the state.

White feminists have also displayed a considerable interest and active support around this case. Many see it as raising important issues about rape and a woman's right to self defense, and about the treatment of women in prisons.

A hearing was held in Raleigh, N.C. to set bond for Joanne Little, now charged with murder. One hundred and fifty supporters crowded the courtroom and witnessed the harsh attitude

of the state. Bond was set at \$100,000 while Ms. Little was kept tightly shackled, even unable to rise to greet her supporters.

Joanne Little is now being held in the Women's Prison in Raleigh. She has been placed in solitary confinement, only being allowed out of her cell ten minutes each day. Only her mother and her lawyer have been allowed to visit her. She has been able to receive mail, and letters expressing support and belief in her innocence have been most helpful for her morale. (Letters may be sent to Joanne Little, 1034 Bragg St., Raleigh, NC 27610.)

Despite the strong support she is receiving from around the state, lawyers for Joanne Little feel they face a difficult battle. Racism is very strong in Beaufort County, eastern North Carolina, where the trial is scheduled to be held. It seems doubtful that an impartial jury can be found there. In addition, an adequate defense will be expensive. Her lawyers estimate the minimum costs, even if the case does not have to be appealed, at \$20,000. Tax-deductible contributions may be sent to the Joanne Little Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 1003, Durham, NC 27702.



A Closer Look At T.V's Fall Image

by Elayne Rapping
Pittsburgh NAM

The 1975 television season is upon us and although there is no noticeable change in quality, there is a definite, politically significant change in content. The change is one that reflects the media's deep concern with the breakdown of the personal and cultural values on which American capitalist society stands: the sanctity of the nuclear family with its rigid enforcement of sexist divisions of role and function in the private as well as public spheres; the assumption of causal connections between hard work, self-sacrifice and success; and the myth of purely personal solutions to problems which are, in fact, politically and economically determined.

That most of us find it impossible to swallow these truisms is apparant, not only in statistics on the breakdown of family life and the crisis of the American economy, but also in the ever more visible strength and militancy of ethnic and sexual minorities ("minor" only in terms of representation in the power structure, not the population at large). This is why the media is making an overwhelming effort to reinforce these values by flooding the airwaves with programs that try, on the one hand, to propagandize for the nuclear family, and on the other to temper the growing rage and disillusionment of oppressed peoples by clumsily integrating them into the traditionally white male-dominated American Dream.

Indeed, of the twenty-four new series, all but a mere handful fall into two basic categories: "family/nostalgia" shows patterned, with varying amounts of sugar and spice, after the down-home recipe for "The Waltons," and old-style situation comedy and cops and robbers shows, in which the standard white male hero is replaced by a female or ethnic counterpart.

That these two tendencies—reviving old-fashioned family values and emphasizing female and ethnic characters whose life styles often directly conflict with those values—are contradictory seems to bother no one. In fact, most of the new shows, in an apparent fit of ideological overzealousness, combine several of these categories with generally confusing and often ludicrous results. Black, brown, and white women and men shoot down their sisters and brothers in shows like "Get Christie Love," "Nakis," "Policewoman," and "Petrocelli." ("That's Petro-chelli," says the Harvard-educated Italian-American hero, who single-handedly hunts down, catches, and presecutes criminals while battling ethnic prejudice and, in his spare time, building his own home, brick by brick.)

In some cases, most notably the opening segment of "Policewoman," starring Angie Dickinson as a tough cop, the conflicts between the show's progressive, feminist intentions, and the white male biases of its producers, lead to contradictions more grotesque than amusing. "If they want equality, we'll give them equality," one imagines a writer saying to himself as he devises a plot involving two implicitly lesbian bank robbers, one Black, one white, who viciously gun down a harmless old woman and are shot down by Ms. Dickinson, who overcomes her squeamishness to perform this act of heroism just like a man.

Most of the comedy and family shows reveal similar, if less gruesome, contradictions. Consider Mary Tyler Moore. Still the prizewinner for combining traditionally feminine, i.e., unthreatening, personality traits (she calls her boss Mr. Grant; he calls her Mary) with a relatively unconventional life as an unmarried career women. She began the new season with a show that drew its humor from the incongruity of the situation when Mary, after taking a principled stand against re-



The networks are altering their image of family harmony to fit the far from ideal circumstances of contemporary reality.

vealing the source of a news story, found herself sharing a jail cell with two "ladies of the evening."

But if Mary's prissiness is left unchallenged by her show's long-established popularity, some of the new shows, and at least one of the less successful entries from last year, are trying to be a bit more nitty-gritty. "Apple's Way," generally panned for its excessive stickiness, has returned with the same set of sugary improbabilities and is now laced with a constant barrage of irritatingly contrived family bickering which reaches its height when the teen-aged son announces, in case they hadn't heard the news, that "the family is obsolete." Father, of course, clears up this bit of youthful wrong-headedness, but not without the help of a tornado and the near death of four family members.

Some of the new shows are more successful at combining a pinch of realism, or human nastiness, with the sugar of family solidarity and survival against all odds. "The Texas Wheelers" began with a shiftless, thoroughly loathsome father returning to the four motherless children he had abandoned, and ended with a sentimental

"happily ever after" (in spite of the family's tackiness, lack of bourgeois ambition, and obvious penchant for liquor, loose women, and petty dishonesty). The message seems to be that the family can survive through low-down thievery as well as Christian virtue, as long as it only barely survives. Bank robbers and other serious threats to the wealth and property of the ruling class must be shot down. But small time bums and con men, who threaten no one except those unfortunate enough to be tied to them by blood, can be as lovable and forgivable as ex-presidents.

ALREADY THEN, the networks are altering their image of family harmony to fit the far from ideal circumstances of contemporary reality. But they won't be able to have it both ways. The white, middleclass family, with Mom in the kitchen, Dad at work, and Sis on the phone is dead. And the current fascination with the good old days, when life was hard but families were happy, will be short-lived, for it has nothing to tell us about our own problems. The networks realize this. They know that Archie Bunker's household is much closer to reality than the Waltons', and that any attempt to present the family or any other American institution as viable and humane will have to place it in a twentieth-century urban setting, peopled with and surrounded by men, women, and children of all classes, races, and life styles. This year's programming reflects an effort to do that, but it is filled with obvious contradictions and will ultimately fail. For one of these days Archie and Lionel are going to have a real fight; Gloria is going to get serious; and Mike and Edith are going to have to decide which side they're really one.

No one loves Lucy any more, and Beaver's mother. . .has joined the police force.

Gone are the Marcus Welbys and Matt Dillons who solved the problems of the weak, the sickly, the victimized, with such typical male virtues as fearlessness, bruth strength, and professional know-how. Gone too are the dizzy blondes and sickeningly sweet matrons, chained to typewriters and kitchen sinks, endlessly mixing up cake batters and messing up the boss's life. No one loves Lucy any more, and it seems that Beaver's mother, in one of the more ironic interpretations of and responses to the Women's Movement, has joined the police force. We now have funky black matriarchs holding the family together. Puerto Rican mechanics getting laughs at the expense of white male bigots, and all sorts of ethnic types, both male and female, maintaining law and order for the Man.



United Farmworker's Policy On Illegals Wins No Friends

by Dan Biggs

THE UNITED Farmworkers Union, along with the AFL-CIO, is now actively pressuring federal authorities to halt the flow of immigrant farmworkers from Mexico. The California AFL-CIO has asked the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) "to substantially increase the staff of the Border Patrol . . . to halt this flagrant violation of the job rights of U.S. workers." The UFW, for its part, has told its organizers to seek out and turn over the "illegals" to federal authorities.

The United Farmworkers say they have been hurt by the use of illegals to break their strikes. One spokesperson says that in the Fresno area, where the UFW has been on strike since April 29, illegal farmworkers make up 90% of the scab work force. "We can't organize them in a few days or a few weeks," he said at a rally on September 14. "They are breaking our strikes. If we have to push for law enforcement [agencies] to get them out, we'll do it. After we sign our contracts, then they can come back and work."

"ILLEGAL" PAWNS

There is no question that the employment of "illegal" immigrants by growers has been a weapon to keep farmworker wages low, to roll back unionization attempts, and to break strikes. Since the dismantling of the infamous *Bracero* program in 1964 (see box), the growers have relied heavily on the Immigration and Naturalization Service to make sure they have steady access to a large, exploitable work force. During harvest seasons, or when strikebreakers are needed, INS officials are conveniently blind to the influx of foreign workers. When the "illegals" aren't needed anymore, they are rounded up by INS agents and shipped back to Mexico. This back and forth manipulation of human labor power is as regular as the changing of the California seasons.

The process is also regulated by swings in the economic cycle of U.S. capitalism. During the mid-1960s boom period, when there was a relative shortage of labor, arrests of illegal immigrants was low. Today, with production stagnation and unemployment growing, the campaign to round up illegal workers is in high gear. In 1965 the INS arrested 24,440 illegals. In 1973 the number jumped to 216,985—an increase of 900%. During the first five months of this year the INS has rounded up and deported over 130,000 people.

It's impossible to count the number of illegal immigrants now living in the United States. Estimates range from 1.5 million to 3.5 million or more. They come from nearly every area of the world in search of employment, housing, and some security for their lives. A very large percentage of illegals have immigrated across the border from Mexico. Most of them come from the Mexican countryside where wages are about one-fifth the wages farmworkers are paid in the U.S.

Many of the Mexican farmworkers have been pushed off their land by U.S.-owned, large-scale

growers who are mechanizing their ranches and displacing workers by the thousands. Unemployment in the Mexican countryside now ranges somewhere between 40-60%.

Once in the "land of plenty," illegal immigrants must take work where they can find it. They are not eligible for unemployment insurance, social security, welfare, or pensions. If an illegal worker becomes seriously ill, or is injured on the job, he or she can be turned over to the INS and taken back across the border. If an illegal goes on strike, joins a union, or causes trouble in another way, the same fate awaits him or her.

STRIKEBREAKING

Strikebreakers are a serious problem for the UFW, but certainly not a new one. The Union has always been forced to try to organize scab workers and/or stop them from working at the ranches being struck. Keeping scab workers, whatever their national origin or citizenship, out of the struck fields is one thing; actively supporting the roundup and deportation of them is an entirely different matter.

Immigration and Naturalization agents ("la migra") are feared and hated men. They are known for their dragnet raids in Latino, Filipino, and other communities, labor camps, and workplaces. They are also known for their brutality and their collusion with employers.

The UFW policy of supporting the INS seems destined to drive a wedge between the union and the support it has received from these communities in the past. It will be difficult to convince illegal farmworkers, their families, and friends, to support a union which is calling for their deportation.

The UFW has no way of controlling how or where the INS will employ its agents. The history of "la migra" gives every indication that more illegals will be rounded up in non-strike areas, in cities like Los Angeles and El Paso, than on the ranches being struck by the UFW. This does nothing to help the

Union win its strikes. Yet the Union's policy does much to condone the harassment and persecution of whole communities—actions for which the INS is noted.

The UFW, which has fought its own battle against racism, should be wary of allowing the illegals to be used as scapegoats. Pressure from the growers, the Teamsters, and the legislature has mounted to threaten the very existence of the union. But calling for the deportation of illegals and befriending the INS will not take the pressure off.

UFW UNDER PRESSURE

The UFW was dealt a blow in late August when Assembly Bill 3370 was squashed in the legislature. If passed, the bill would have granted farmworkers the legal right to choose a union by secret ballot elections. The bill was tabled until next year, after an intense lobbying campaign by the growers and Teamsters.

The union has also suffered greatly from the loss of AFL-CIO funds. The UFW's main source of money last year was a \$1.6 million kitty provided by the national AFL-CIO. That was cut off by George Meany last spring.

Meany also got the UFW to effectively end its secondary boycott of stores that carry struck goods like Gallo wine. The secondary boycott had been a very potent weapon for the UFW, but Cesar Chavez gave it up in exchange for an AFL-CIO endorsement of the primary boycott against lettuce and grapes. Meany argued that the secondary boycott of stores threatened the job security of winery workers, meatcutters, and other workers who belong to other AFL-CIO unions.

The loss of the secondary boycott, the defeat of important legislation, and the depletion of strike funds have put intense pressure on the UFW. To survive and grow it must win back the contracts which it lost to the raiding Teamsters Union last year.

The UFW is fighting for an end to the hated "labor contractor" system; the elimination of dangerous pesticides from the fields; equality between men and women in work assignments and wages; a grievance procedure; in short, for dignity and survival for California's farmworkers.

But the United Farmworkers also has a history of fighting hard for the elimination of racism and the unity of working class people. Its shift in policy toward the roundup and deportation of "illegals" however, runs in the opposite direction.

Reprinted from *Common Sense*.



Government Continues to Harass AIM

by Diane Wiley

The Wounded Knee prosecutions represent another comprehensive attempt by the federal government to subvert and destroy a movement for social change. The lengths which the United States government is prepared to go to in order to pacify the growing movement for Indian self-determination have been revealed during six trials of seventeen American Indian Movement members. The government has been unable to obtain one conviction against the Indians indicted for their roles in the seventy-one-day siege of Wounded Knee in 1973.

PROSECUTION AS HARASSMENT

The very nature of the Wounded Knee prosecutions has been one of harassment from the beginning. Although 600 indictments were issued in the months following the siege, not one was against pro-government Indians or federal agents despite massive evidence of illegal conduct. The number of indictments was reduced to 130 by January of 1974. Of the 35 cases which

have come up so far, 18 have been dropped before reaching court, and the remaining 17 have resulted in dismissal or acquittal.

Defense Attorney William Kunstler explained the government's insistence on prosecuting AIM as an attempt to tie the organization up in the courts, rendering it ineffective. He described the charges as being designed to destroy AIM's credibility: "If you can reduce a social movement to a question of whether its leaders are thieves, then I guess you can discredit a social movement...[the defendants are not charged with] sedition or treason or insurrection or sabotage, but thievery, assault, conspiracy..."

The prosecution has stubbornly stuck to its assertions that these are merely criminal cases. Chief prosecutor R.D. Hurd told the jury in his closing statement: "I don't care, and I submit to you that it doesn't make any difference if conditions on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation are good or bad. . . I don't care if the 1868 Treaty was violated or not. . ."

THE ROLE OF THE FBI

Following the dismissal of charges against Dennis Banks and Russell Means by federal judge Fred Nichol, the Justice Department conceded that an investigation of charges that the Wounded Knee and other similar prosecutions were political was in order.

Tactics used by the FBI before, during, and after Wounded Knee have close parallels to those used in the "Counterintelligence Program for Disruption of the New Left" initiated in 1971. The purpose of the program (there have been no indications that it has been cancelled) is "to expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various New Left organizations" according to a memo released by the FBI after a NBC newsperson sued the Justice Department late last year under the Freedom of Information Act. The report goes on to state that "consideration should be given to disrupting the organized activity of these groups."

Surveillance of AIM was requested by Ralph Erickson (then deputy attorney general) in November of 1972. In a

document accidentally given to a reporter during the Banks/Means trial, Erickson asked for a complete investigation by FBI agents in order to "develop detailed advance information concerning planned demonstrations" by AIM.

During the siege, FBI agents illegally tapped the only phone into Wounded Knee by having a party line installed at a roadblock. This was despite assurances given by Justice Department representative Kent Frizell to defense attorneys that the phone would not be monitored so that the confidentiality of lawyer/client conversations would not be violated.

The disruptive tactics of the FBI far exceeded those of simple surveillance. Case preparations were severely hampered when defendants, lawyers, and legal workers were harassed and refused access to the reservation where they had to conduct investigations and line up witnesses. Infiltration of the defense committee by government agents again violated lawyer/client confidentiality.

(Continued on page 14)

Utilities: A Crisis in Corporate Profits

by Jim Shoch

THE AMERICAN ELECTRIC power industry is in big financial trouble and will need hefty rate increases along with other incentives and guarantees to keep it from going under. That was a major point made by federal energy "czar" John Sawhill and other government corporate officials at the tenth and final series of "Project Independence" hearings held in San Francisco during the second week of October.

Sawhill's appearance to open the hearings on Monday, October 7, occasioned a spirited demonstration by 350 members of Electricity and Gas for People (E&GP—"Turn PG&E Around"), a Bay Area-wide organization that has been fighting Pacific Gas and Electric Company's proposed \$233 million general rate increase.

The big power companies are in a serious financial bind. Squeezed by rising fuel costs, high interest rates, lagging demand, and militant consumer groups, the utilities are turning to the federal government for help. As Sawhill made clear, the government seems only too willing to do the power companies' bidding. And American workers, consumers, and taxpayers will foot the bill, unless an appropriate strategy for resistance is developed.

A FINANCIAL CRISIS

While the energy crisis has meant surging profits for the giant oil monopolies, other industries have been hard hit. The automobile industry's sales and profits have slumped as increased gasoline costs force American motorists to cut down their driving and switch from gas-guzzling luxury cars to smaller models that are less profitable for the automakers to produce.

The utilities industry has been the biggest loser. From 1970-73, although total income from power sales by private electric utilities rose by 46%, operating costs (including fuel, money, construction, and supplies) rose even more. The result has been a drop in earnings for the utilities and a slowing of the growth of profits.

From 1970-73, fuel expenses increased by 75%. In recent months, the cost of residual oil, widely used in generating power, has more than doubled as a result of the energy crisis. Fuel now accounts for about one half of all operating expenses of electric power companies. The 33-cent per barrel increase in the price of crude oil announced recently by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) will drive the utilities' fuel costs still higher.

Skyrocketing interest rates have also contributed to the financial problems of the highly capital-intensive utilities industry. As inflation has continued along with the increased threat of a deep recession, jittery investors are deserting the stock market for the relative safety of the bond market. The increased competition for loan capital as well as the attempt by the big banks to keep ahead of the inflation generated by the Vietnam war, has resulted in higher interest rates. Between 1970-73, the interest charge on funds borrowed by the utilities rose by 52%. The prime interest rate (the rate charged by the banks to their preferred customers) is now at 12% and shows little sign of decreasing. For the utilities, the cost of debt repayment has substantially cut into profits and will continue to do so.

As electric rates have risen in response to increased fuel and interest costs, power consumption has fallen as users attempt to economize. Demand for power fell .7% in the first quarter of 1974; during the first 34 weeks of this year, total consumption of electricity was only .2% above the same period last year.

The utilities companies have turned to their state Public Utilities and Public Service Commissions with increasing frequency for rate relief in order to stave off financial collapse. But in many cases, the regulatory agencies, which are under intense pressure from consumer groups to hold rates down have been reluctant to grant the full increases requested by the utilities.

The result has been a full-scale financial crisis for some of the nation's biggest utilities. Here are some examples of how earnings per share of some major firms fell in the twelve months ending in March, 1974:

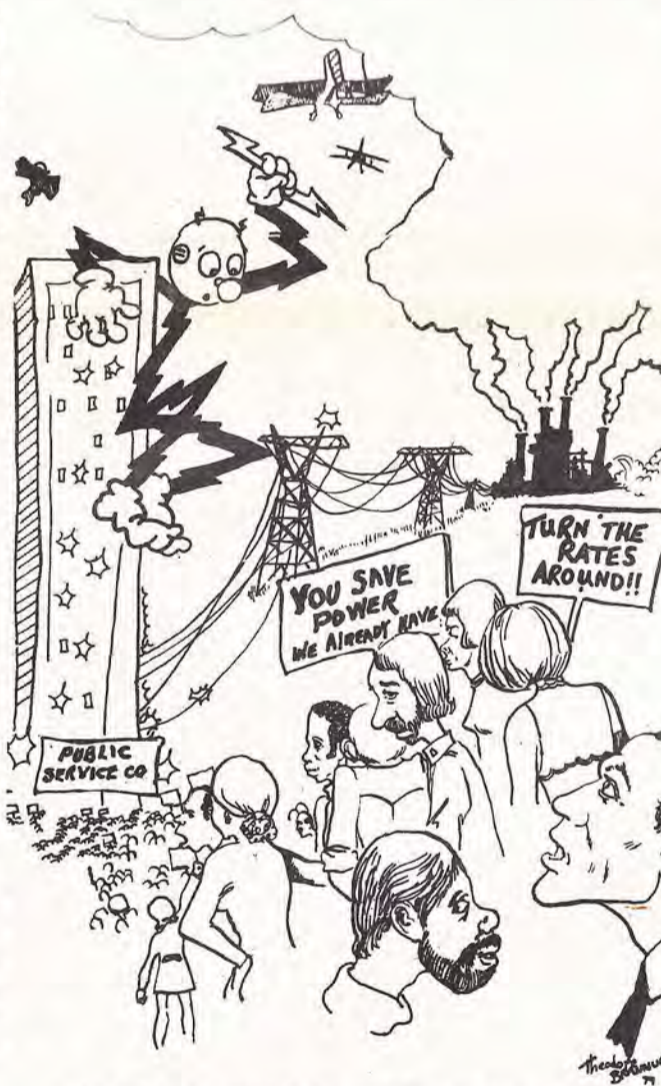
Detroit Edison	Down 19.3%
Northern States Power	Down 16.7%
Philadelphia Electric	Down 16.5%
Boston Electric	Down 9.8%
Commonwealth Edison	Down 6.4%
Consolidated Edison	Down 6.4%

RAISING CAPITAL: A SEVERE PROBLEM

The precarious state of the utilities industry was brought to the attention of the entire business community last spring when New York's Consolidated Edison, the nation's biggest electric utility, squeezed between \$150 million in fuel debts incurred in a five-month period and \$75 million in unpaid bills, passed up its quarterly dividend for the first time since 1885. The company's stock had plummeted to its lowest point since 1949.

Con Ed's difficulties both reflect and have intensified the problems of the rest of the utilities industry. Charles Benore, a vice-president of Mitchell, Hutchins, who is generally considered Wall Street's top utilities analyst, cautioned last April that "In passing its dividend, Con Ed will cause investors to rethink the safety of dividends in the entire industry." "There's bound to be a spillover," noted another top executive of an investment banking firm that manages numerous utility underwritings. "The cutting of Con Ed's dividend will make it terribly difficult for the utilities—particularly the metropolitan utilities with problems similar to Con Ed's to go on raising large quantities of equity."

The Dow Jones utilities index has now hit its lowest level since 1958. The average price of utility shares dropped 20% in a recent period when the rest of the stock list was declining by less than 10%. Some utilities are now offering shares of stock for less than half book value just to get them sold at all.



As utilities profits and stock prices have slipped, so has the utilities' ability to raise capital on the bond market. Bonds of almost a score of electric utilities have been downgraded by rating agencies. Utilities now have to pay over 11 percent for money if they can find buyers for their securities.

These financing problems are very serious for an industry that requires massive amounts of capital to expand its production of electric power. It is estimated that between now and 1985 electric utilities will have to raise between \$300-350 million. (Much of this capital is to be used to build over 100 nuclear power plants that are now in the planning or construction state.) If current trends continue, nearly 2/3 of these funds will have to come from the capital markets. But considering the genuine capital shortage, it's very possible that the money to finance these expenditures just won't be available.

The result of these financing difficulties is already clear: many utilities have cut back on their capital outlay programs by hundreds of millions of dollars. Dozens of power companies have recently announced that they are deferring, and in some cases, canceling projects. Utility executives told the Senate Interior Committee in mid-August that spiraling fuel and interest costs have forced the industry to put off

\$8 billion in construction projects.

A vice-president of the Edison Electric Institute, an industry group in New York, warned recently that unless the utilities' financial picture improves, the country may be in for power supply problems. The utilities have begun to use the threat of brown-outs and black-outs to press for higher rates and federal intervention to guarantee a level of profits sufficient to finance planned capital outlays.

PROJECTIONS FOR POWER NEEDS

Before looking at the measures being suggested by the utilities industry and the federal government to protect the industry's profits, it is important to evaluate the accuracy of the power companies' projections of the demand for electricity upon which capital expenditure planning is based.

The utilities have generally assumed that the demand for power will double in the next ten years as it did during the past twenty, and they have been planning accordingly. But between 1950 and 1970, the price of electricity fell sharply relative to all prices, and that spurred consumption (along with massive industry-sponsored advertising campaigns.)

In contrast, the rapid increase in electric rates in the past few years has already and should continue to greatly decrease the demand for power. According to a survey conducted recently by a firm that specializes in analyzing utility rates, rates charged by the nation's 50 largest utilities rose an average of 55.4% in the first six months of 1974, far above the average 12.4% noted for all of last year.

Philip K. Verleger, Jr., of Data Resources, Inc. has observed that "On the one hand, the utilities are saying that they need rate increases, but on the other hand, they're ignoring the impact of higher rates on the future demand for electricity." Verleger figures that power use will grow at a 3-4% NNUL rate in the next ten years instead of the 7% rate forecast by the utilities.

Much of the growth in electricity demand projected by the utilities will clearly not take place. Still, the power companies have a strong financial incentive to overexpand. Rates are currently set to provide the utilities with a guaranteed rate of return (profit) calculated as a percentage of the "rate base," roughly equal to the value of the utility's total invested capital. Profits are thus a function of total investment: the larger the capital investment, the greater the total profits.

All factors considered, it is clear there is a crisis in the utilities industry. Fuel and interest costs are rising rapidly, and demand for electricity is falling, leading directly to an industry-wide profit squeeze. If electric rates were effectively frozen for a year or two the utilities would be unable to finance even necessary expansion. Power failures would be a real possibility.

If somewhat less stringent but still responsible regulation enabled the power companies to raise the capital required to finance only necessary expansion and *nothing more*, the reduced profit levels would probably lead the power companies to artificially create brown-outs and black-outs in order to force through bigger rate increases.

In sum, while the "electrical energy crisis" is not as severe as the utilities monopolies would have us believe, the power companies' profit crisis is real enough. The big power companies are now looking to the federal government to solve their problems for them.

STATE INTERVENTION?

The utilities industry has been pushing especially hard in recent weeks for the government to pressure state regulatory commissions to grant large rate increases. Some of these commissions have been forced to cut electric rate increases in the face of militant consumer protest.

Testifying at last month's Senate Interior Committee hearings, Irwin M. Stelzer, president of National Economic Research Associates, an independent group hired by the utilities, argued that "It would help greatly if the committee would tell state regulators that it is in the national interest to allow recovery costs on electric utility expansion." Stelzer claimed the industry's financial problems could largely be resolved with an average rate increase of 10%.

One Treasury Department spokesman who attended the hearings declared that "higher rates" are the answer." The Treasury Department is now pushing Congress to have power companies pay higher taxes, which would mean higher rates, since tax escalator clauses are written into most rate structures. "It would be a nice incentive for the commissions to raise rates on their own," explained one Treasury official.

The Federal Energy Administration (FEA) is also getting into the act. At its September electric utilities conference in Washington John Sawhill pointed to the recent cancellation of many power plant construction projects, including some nuclear installations, and warned that future supplies of electricity will be in jeopardy unless the utilities are put back on a sound financial footing. Sawhill called on state

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Mill Workers Gain

(Continued from page 1)

The large number of protests, court cases, and complaints of firings now in court against Stevens is credited with being a factor in the union's success at Roanoke, where the company was not as ruthless in firing people as it has been in the past. Nonetheless, the company's reaction was hardly mind in the spring of 1973 when organizers again came to Roanoke. For instance, Steven's use of racism to stir up fears



and dissension is legendary. In this current campaign, their techniques were simply more up to date. In place of the pictures of huge Black men crouching over frail white women, they passed out a captionless photo of the white Cobra murder victims in San Francisco and of the Black man accused of the murders. Moreover, the government's court cases against Stevens hardly means an all-out war—Stevens is the largest supplier of textiles to the government and Robert Stevens, the

president, was Secretary of the Army in Eisenhower's cabinet.

A CHANGING WORK FORCE

What made the major difference was the changing character of the work force at Stevens, and throughout the industry, and the changing mood of the workers. The biggest change is the large influx of Black workers into the mills which took place in the sixties—and transformed what had been an

almost all-white "preserve" since the 1840s. Forty percent of the work force at the Roanoke mills is Black. And few bought the traditional paternalistic techniques. For instance, an old tradition in textiles is to recruit much of the supervisory staff from the "ranks"—from among so-called "model workers" who are to set an example for others. And during the campaign, the company promoted a number of Blacks into supervisory positions. But, in the words of an observer, "This time the

Blacks didn't see them as models—they thought they were traitors."

Black workers voted overwhelmingly for the union, and took major leadership roles throughout the campaign. The year and a half of the drive was marked by major shifts in racial sentiment in the community—parties, meetings, leadership all became integrated, despite the company's efforts. Sometimes the campaign had overtones suggestive of the civil rights movement. At the final giant rally before the vote, Andrew Young, a former leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, told the Black and white audience, "Organizing this union is a matter of life and death."

White workers, too, have changed since the old days, when workers would dream of escaping from mill village life and then turn to the company from fear or habit when a union vote came. One of the most militant, forceful leaders in the fight was a 33-year-old woman, Crystal Lee Jordan. A year ago April, Ms. Jordan signed a union card, got 28 others to sign, and was called into the supervisor's office to be fired. When she came out she went straight to her table and penciled out "UNION" in bold letters. Then she climbed up on the table and slowly turned around the room so that everyone could see, while the company frantically tried to get the police chief, so he could haul her off to jail.

Ms. Jordan described the change in her own family, "All my people (before me), all my Daddy's people was company people." She told how there had been a long tradition in her family of "not rocking the boat." "I'm sort of the black sheep." She also described how it had felt to be a "mill child." "When I was a child I was sometimes ashamed because the doctor's children

looked down on me. Some people think mill workers are nothing but trash. A lot of the time I only had three dresses to my name." Ms. Jordan now describes herself as "100 percent in favor of women's liberation. If it takes (doing everything men want) to be a lady, I don't want to be a lady. I say, I'm a woman."

Pro-union workers gathered throughout Roanoke in the wake of the victory, cheering and celebrating. And the union director of the campaign, Harold McIver, southeastern coordinator of the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, declared that the victory represented a new day. "I think it'll make history for the South." Southern textile workers are among the least unionized, and poorest paid workers in the country—the 200,000 workers in the Piedmont average \$3.18 an hour, compared to \$3.28 an hour for all industrial workers in North Carolina, a state which is tied for lowest wages in the country.

TO DEVELOP A major campaign throughout southern industry, the union movement must combine bread and butter issues with a new culture of insurgency which expressed the aspirations of the mill workers and others for a new life with dignity, respect, freedom. In the great strike of 1934, thousands of workers traveled throughout the region in caravans to proclaim a new day. Depressed conditions in the industry, the machinations of Roosevelt and the conservative textile union cut short the workers' vision. But the present struggles suggest the possibility that it may now be rekindling, among the byways and quiet mill villages that dot the southern landscape.

Utilities

(Continued from page 6)

utility commissioners to adopt regulations allowing an automatic pass-through of higher costs to consumers from utilities. He also urged a speedup in rate review procedures and provisions allowing rates charged by utilities to reflect construction projects in progress. "Whatever solutions you develop must include rates of return sufficient to ensure a financially healthy industry," Sawhill told the commissioners.

Other forms of relief for the utilities industry have also been suggested. These "solutions" could include: 1) extension of the investment tax credit for electric utilities, 2) the restoration of tax-free dividends for certain kinds of investments in electric utilities, 3) providing federal insurance and guarantees for investor-owned electric utility debts, and 4) federal subsidy or even total support for high-risk investments incurred by electric companies in meeting whatever goals are set in the nation's forthcoming energy self-sufficiency program.

If rate increases and the other forms of federal intervention described above are not forthcoming or prove unsuccessful in restoring "adequate" levels of profitability in the utilities industry, the next step is virtually certain—bail-outs. "If the present trend continues," predicts Theodore Maynard, head of the National Utility Service and a top utility rate consultant, "it seems likely the big private utilities will go down one after another with the government stepping in much the same as it did to bail out Lockheed and the Penn Central Railroad." Maynard didn't add that it will again be the taxpayer who picks up the tab for these bail-outs.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

In the background at this time is consideration of the "final solution" to the utilities crisis—nationalization or other forms of public ownership. Western European capitalists have frequently resorted to nationalization of failing industries—among them fuel and energy (including utilities), transportation and communications, and steel. Now the discussion of nationalization has spread to this side of the Atlantic as well.

Keven Phillips, former Nixon campaign strategist and author of the influential *The Emerging Republican Majority*, wrote last June that "A visit to New York—home of Penn Central and Con Edison—underscores the growing prospect of public ownership in key segments of U.S. industry." As Phillips points out, the crisis-ridden utilities industry is one of the prime targets for take-over. The state of New York has already taken two partly built power plants

off Con Ed's hands for \$500 million of the taxpayers' money. Other such takeovers seem likely.

In most instances of nationalization, the capitalists of the particular country has led the drive for take-over, and the results have usually benefited big business at the expense of the nation's workers, consumers, and taxpayers.

The owners of the threatened industry are generally paid more in compensation for the take-over of their holdings than their assets are actually worth, while taxpayers pick up the bill. The newly freed funds are then reinvested by the displaced capitalists in more profitable industries.

The nationalized industry, which was probably losing money before take-over is generally run at a loss even after take-over. The industry's goods and services are frequently sold to large industrial and commercial customers at prices below cost, helping to restore the general level of profitability, while low-volume consumers often pay prices above cost. The industry's remaining deficit is financed by taxing the working class.

But public ownership of industry need not be an instrument of capitalist rationalization designed to resolve problems of business profitability at the expense of working people. Instead, it can be used as an "anti-capitalist structural reform"—an intermediate step towards a socialist revolution.

Anti-capitalist structural reforms, according to the Italian Marxist Lelio Basso are those reforms that "modify the process of accumulation to the disadvantage of profits and modify the organization of power in favor of the workers." Such reforms, writes Basso, render "the equilibrium of capitalism more and more precarious by forcing it to cohabit with social relations and a network of institutions which are expression of principles or organization incompatible with its system."

In order for public ownership to "modify the process of accumulation to the disadvantage of profits," the capitalist owners of the targeted industry or enterprise must be paid as little as possible for their holdings (outright expropriation is preferable), and the industry or firm's price structure must be such that big corporations are forced to pay considerably more than smaller consumers for a given volume of goods or services.

MUNICIPALIZATION

In the case of utilities, the appropriate fight for socialists to wage at this time is for municipalization of local power companies under the conditions described above. Municipalized utilities under worker and consumer control would construct new generating facilities only as they become absolutely necessary, eliminating the need for many of the rate increases now being requested by the power companies solely to raise their profits. And municipalized

utilities would seek to minimize costly waste in the generation of power.

Current electric rate structures encourage wasteful energy use and discriminate against small consumers by selling power to big industrial and commercial users at lower rates. Municipalized utilities would invert the prevailing rate structures, thus ending the subsidization of the big corporate users by low-volume consumers.

Municipalization of utilities would lay the groundwork for further local, state, and national moves toward public ownership and control of basic industry.

Cost of 250 Kilowatt Hours of Electricity for Residential Use*

(Average Monthly Use in New York City)

New York	\$20.83
Philadelphia	13.56
Baltimore	11.52
Washington	9.75
Cleveland	9.73
Chicago	9.51
Los Angeles*	9.39
Detroit	8.60
Houston	8.53
Dallas	8.09

10 Largest Cities
March, 1974

* Excluding taxes
* February figure latest available

Source: Individual Utilities

Last May, the residents of the upstate town of Massena, New York, voted to take over the local electric distribution system of the Niagara Mohawk Power Corp., prompting the *New York Times* to speak of the "real domino possibilities" for the public power movement.

Other public power fights are now underway in Portland, Oregon, where the Consumers Power League has placed a measure on the November ballot calling for the municipalization of Portland Power and Light's electric distribution system; in Berkeley, where the Citizens for Public Power has placed a similar measure calling for the municipalization of PG&E's distribution facilities; and in San Francisco, where Power to the People and others have pressured the Board of Supervisors into holding hearings on public power in late November.

The American utilities industry is in crisis. The nation's rapidly-growing public power movement may be the solution to it, a solution that will resolve the crisis in favor of American working people rather than the utilities industry and the rest of the capitalist class. Such a solution could, at the same time, be a major advance in building a socialist movement.

by Matthew Rinaldi
Oakland NAM

Food Shortage:

WEATHER CHANGES THREATEN

However difficult these problems may be, they are overshadowed by a far greater uncertainty. That is the changes occurring in the world's weather patterns.

At first the pattern seems chaotic and unpredictable: drought in the sub-Sahara, parts of India and Siberia; dry spells in Britain; a raining spring and an early frost in Canada; flooding in Japan, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. Yet behind the chaos are larger changes. The polar winds are expanding, the Gulf Stream has altered its course, and the world temperature has been dropping steadily for twenty years. The *New York Times* was recently moved to comment, "Some experts believe that mankind is on the threshold of a new pattern of adverse global climate for which it is ill prepared."

The science of climatology is relatively new, and little is known of the causes of changing weather. In fact, on the question of weather western science runs into realms beyond its understanding. The earth is part of a cosmic totality which is barely acknowledged in the technological age, and the notion of long-term cycles has often been considered "illogical" and "without foundation in fact." Secretary of Agriculture Butz has publicly derided the notion of cyclical droughts, but the farmers of the midwest will tell you point blank that the drought returns every twenty years.

The changes occurring now are on a larger scale. The most fundamental fact is that the earth is getting colder. The average global temperature has dropped 2.7 degrees Fahrenheit since the 1940s and the range of ice and snow cover in the Northern Hemisphere has increased by 12%. Concurrent with this is the high-altitude polar winds, called the circumpolar vortex, have been expanding. In doing so they have pushed aside the currents of warmer, moisture-baring air, resulting in a change in rain patterns around the world. This is believed to be the cause of the sub-Sahara drought, the unreliability of the monsoons, and the changing weather in the grain belts of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., thus posing a direct threat to the world's harvests.

These changes may simply be the result of a natural cycle. The weather in the early part of this century was unusually favorable to humanity, a brief interlude of good weather in thousands of years of more adverse conditions. There is no doubt that we have passed the peak of a very warm period, and there is speculation that we may be sliding towards another ice age. As one scientist put it, "Examination of the world's climate indicates that it has fluctuated widely in the past—oceans rising and falling, icecaps growing and shrinking, deserts forming and vanishing. . . Moreover, there is some evidence which indicates that, when changes in climate come, they come swiftly, within decades."



STOCKPILES SHRINK

These people need to eat, and food production is not keeping pace. Agricultural production has increased at relatively similar rates for both industrialized and non-industrialized nations, but it has not increased rapidly enough. Large stockpiles of grain that cushioned the shortages of the past few years have begun to dwindle—from 104.9 million tons in February '71 to 68.6 million tons in February '72 down to 52.5 million tons in February '73. Should these stocks be depleted, and poor harvests strike a number of regions simultaneously, a world crisis would develop with incredible speed.

A number of efforts have been made to rapidly expand food output. The most heralded of these has been the U.S.-sponsored "green revolution." This involved the development of hybrid high-yield varieties of grain (HYV) which were circulated throughout the third world. Frequently they replaced local improved varieties (LIV), largely through aggressive American distribution techniques. While the green revolution did increase yields for a number of years, it has run into some very serious problems. In the first place, the HYV's require greater irrigation, more fertilizer, more pesticides, and the use of expensive farm equipment. Given the capitalist method of goods distribution, these items were available only to farmers who could purchase them. Consequently the millions of acres tilled by poor peasants were untouched by the green revolution.

And even the gains realized by those farmers who could afford the green revolution have been short lived. It was recognized fairly soon that the HYVs were less resistant to disease, more vulnerable to bugs, and less palatable than most LIVs. It has recently been discovered that the HYVs are actually less nutritious than commonly produced crops; they substitute bulk for food value. The final blow to the green revolution has come from the fact that the HYVs require huge amounts of fertilizer, and fertilizer is now in short supply.

Most commonly used fertilizers are petroleum based, and the rising price of oil had the initial impact of raising the cost of fertilizer. This put it out of the reach of many poor farmers, creating a reverberating effect. Without sufficient fertilizer their harvests will be much smaller, and this reduction in income means they will have even less money for fertilizer next year.

It is capitalism which creates this crisis; under socialism, fertilizer could be distributed on the basis of need. In the meantime, the United States and Japan, two of the world's leading exporters of fertilizer, have actually cut fertilizer production. This has resulted in a world-wide shortfall of two million tons. India's spring wheat harvest was 7 million tons below expectations because of a lack of fertilizer, and the FAO estimates that world production will be cut by 20 million tons.

Thus, in a time of exploding population, world food production is beset with problems which are making it impossible to keep pace. As Kenneth Farrel of the Economic Research Service has stated, "Long range projections of current rates of population growth simply run off the chart, beyond the range of agricultural solutions that are either possessed or conceivable."

IN A WORLD already battered and panicked by surging inflation and growing shortages, the problem of food supplies is about to become one of the largest international crises ever experienced by humanity. Chronic hunger and malnutrition are widespread, and famine has already struck India and the sub-Sahara region of Africa. The crisis has developed with unexpected speed, and the next decade will likely witness a continuing series of crop failures and famines.

The statistics are grim. In a normal week 10,000 people starve to death. When a famine strikes the figures are much higher. Estimates of starvation deaths in recent years in the sub-Sahara run up to 1.5 million. In the current shortage in India upwards of ten million people face extinction.

Behind these figures of death lurks the more widespread problem of malnutrition. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the UN estimates that between 400 and 800 million people are chronically malnourished. Weakened bodies are more susceptible to disease. So pneumonia, dysentery, goiter, rickets, and cretinism are widespread. Over 200,000 children in Southeast Asia have gone blind from a lack of vitamin A. And millions die each year from what the World Health Organization calls "malnutrition complicated by infection."

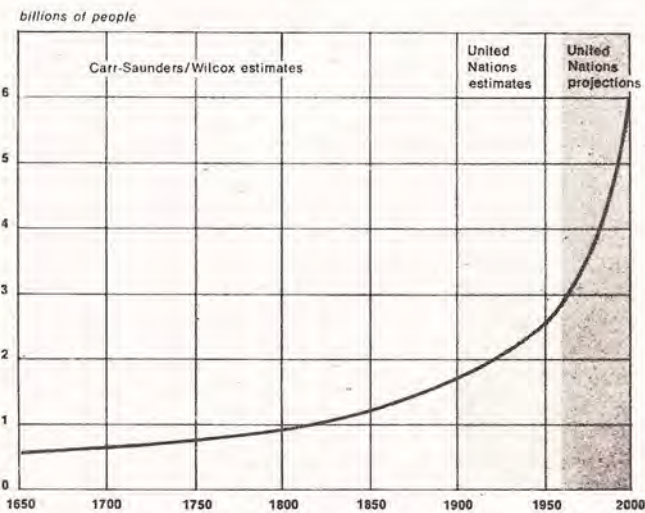
But the crisis has only just begun.

There are a complexity of factors contributing to the world food problem, all of which are either caused by or complicated by class rule. The inability of food production to keep pace with rising population, a world-wide fertilizer shortage, inflationary pressures on agricultural equipment and supplies, the unequal system of supply and distribution, and major changes in the world's weather have all played a role. What is striking is the occurrence of all these problems simultaneously. It is this convergence of forces which makes the immediate future so ominous.

The growth of population defines the range of the problem. For hundreds of thousands of years the number of human beings on the planet was small and relatively stable, probably less than a million people. In the past two thousand years the population has been growing—to 275 million by 1000 A.D. and up to 1.6 billion by 1900. But it is in this century, in fact in the past 30 years, that we have been multiplying with blinding speed. The world population is currently just below four billion; it is increasing at a rate of over 76 million a year; and the rate of increase is itself increasing. In concrete terms, each week there are more than a million new people to feed.

This growth is taking place in a world still dominated by class rule and the profit system. This reality shapes the very nature of the population explosion. Large families have always been seen as a protection against an uncertain future, for new children are seen as additional workers and providers. So long as people remain poor in a competitive class society, no amount of birth control propaganda is likely to change this pattern. It is the poor, in both developed and underdeveloped nations, who contribute most to population growth. Since most of the people in the underdeveloped world are poor, that is the site of overwhelming growth.

WORLD POPULATION



World population since 1650 has been growing exponentially at an increasing rate. Estimated population in 1970 is already slightly higher than the projection illustrated here (which was made in 1958). The present world population growth rate is about 2.1 percent per year, corresponding to a doubling time of 33 years.

A Global Disaster

WORLD CONSUMPTION UNEQUAL

It is important in this context to discuss the unequal levels of consumption in the world. Per capita consumption of grains in the industrialized countries is five to six times higher than per capita consumption in underdeveloped countries. A major aspect of this imbalance is related to the huge consumption of meat in the industrial countries. It takes only one pound of grain to produce one pound of bread, but it takes two pounds of grain to produce one pound of chicken, four pounds of grain to produce one pound of pork, and eight pounds of grain to produce one pound of beef. The recent annual average of 370 million tons of grain fed to livestock in the industrialized nations is larger than the total annual human consumption of grain in China and India together. Put quite bluntly, grain which could feed those near starvation is fed instead to livestock to produce meat for the industrialized countries and the ruling classes in the third world. Since under capitalism it is purchasing power, rather than need, which determines good production, the affluent are supplied while the poor starve.

This inequality is also expressed in the distribution of fertilizer. The FAO estimates that each additional pound of fertilizer on already fertilized land produces an additional five pounds of grain, while each additional pound of fertilizer on unfertilized land produces an additional 10 to 12 pounds of grain. But since fertilizer is sold, not distributed, only farmers with good crops can afford more fertilizer, while those farmers whose yields would be most increased cannot pay the price. As a consequence, world production sags. On the international scene, while the world suffers from a two-million-ton shortfall of fertilizer, the United States annually consumes three million tons of fertilizer on lawns, gardens, cemeteries, and golf courses. It is the profit system which produces such madness.

The current crisis makes it abundantly clear that world capitalism cannot provide a decent existence for humanity. The crisis may soon cross the threshold into famine, and with the possible exception of China, the entire world will feel the impact.

In the U.S. we are not likely to face severe shortages. Prices will continue to rise, supplies will be manipulated, and malnutrition will become an even greater problem. But in comparison to oppressed classes in other countries we will be relatively secure. This raises some contradictions for the left. While we become involved in struggles against inflation and food shortages, it will be essential that we maintain an international perspective. Food from the U.S. must continue to feed other areas of the world. We must explain to people that, in the event of a successful revolution here, it would take many years to correct the world imbalance, and we might be in the position of actually increasing our food exports out of genuine international solidarity.

It is critical to stress that class rule is responsible for the crisis. Even those phenomena which transcend human society, such as changing weather, can be dealt with better by a social system based on cooperation. As Goerge Wald recently said, "The present crisis is a crisis not of information but of policy. We could begin to cope with all the problems that now threaten our lives. But we cannot cope with any of them while maximizing profits. And a society that insists before all else on maximizing profits for the few thereby threatens disaster for all."

Only socialism can divert us from this disaster course. And time, like food, is tight.

SMOKE CLOUDS THE FUTURE

Yet at the same time, the cause might lie more directly with industrialization. Technology has with little understanding altered the entire eco-system, and the planet is reacting.

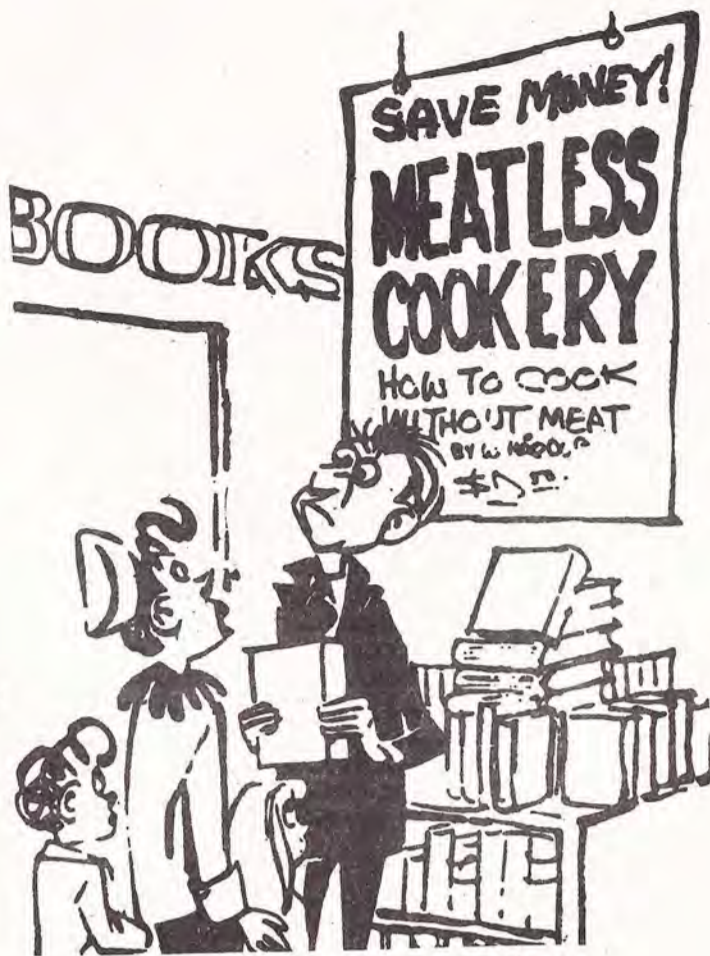
Probably the most significant factor is dust. It is known that periods of intense volcanic activity are followed by periods of cooling, caused by the large volume of dust and ash propelled into the atmosphere. This filters the sun's radiations, thus cooling the earth. Human industry and technology produce voluminous amounts of dust, and one scientist commented, "Today man seems to be competing with the volcanoes to see who can produce the most dust." The importance of this dust is revealed by the estimate that a 1% decrease in the amount of sunlight hitting the earth's surface could tip the climatic balance.

At the same time, technology is polluting the atmosphere with huge amounts of carbon dioxide. At one point it was believed that, since carbon dioxide prevents the atmosphere from dissipating its heat into space, we would soon be subject to the "greenhouse effect" and the world's temperature would rise. This is clearly not happening. But new theories contend that the dust and carbon dioxide in combination are altering the atmospheric wind patterns.

Theories abound. The weather ignores our lack of understanding and continues to change.

The long-term effect of climatic shift may be unknown, but the short-term effects on food production have been devastating. Crops were severely damaged in the unusual weather of 1972, and world production actually declined. The grain producing regions of Siberia were heavily struck by drought, greatly reducing the wheat harvest in the U.S.S.R. and prompting the purchase of 19 million tons of wheat and soybeans from the U.S. This had the effect of shrinking U.S. grain reserves and adding to the inflationary spiral. Such purchases may not be repeated, if only because the reserves have shrunk to a bare minimum.

It was hoped that new harvests would allow world reserves to grow. This has not happened. In fact, the weather has continued this year to play havoc with the world's harvests. India's winter wheat harvest is estimated to be 30-50% below expectations because the two key food producing states, the Punjab and Haryana, are suffering from drought and acute power shortages. Siberia has again been plagued by insufficient rainfall, and Canada's wheat belt has been damaged by early frost. The U.S. grain belt endured high temperatures and scanty rain. World wheat production in 1973 was 367.8 million tons, but weather has reduced the 1974 crop to the point where harvest expectations are for only 351.8 million tons. Consequently, world wheat reserves will again shrink.



Do you have a book on how to cook without food?

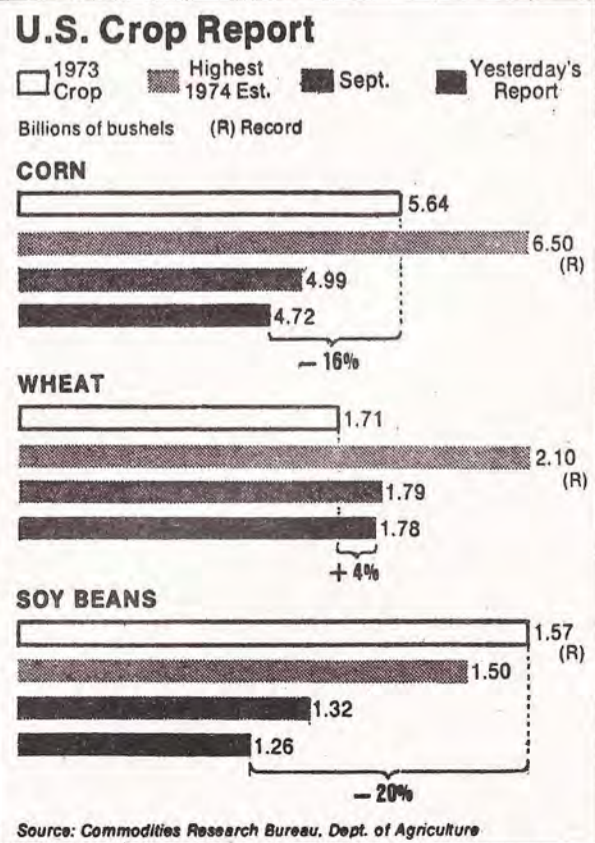
FOOD FOR PEACE

Given this developing crisis, it is important to focus on the actions of the U.S. government. The United States is one of the primary food producers in the world and annually exports two third of its wheat crop, half its soybean crop, and one fifth of its corn crop. We supply 50% of the world's grain and 80% of the world's soybeans. Large amounts of these crops are distributed under the "food for peace" program, and are supposedly available to all stricken countries. These exports are valuable to the government both because they help even out the U.S. balance of payments and because they provide political leverage in the world. As Gerry Ford was pleased to note recently, "We are the Arabs of the food business."

While it may be startling to suggest that the U.S. is prodding the world toward starvation, recent government actions have had the effect of shrinking world food supplies and raising world prices. The most dramatic action was the cut in fertilizer production and a government decision to eliminate the distribution of fertilizer under the "food for peace" program. This has had the effect of lowering world grain production and raising both prices and the need for imports from the U.S. This has created a boon for agribusiness. In addition, the U.S. has cut its food program. While \$1.6 billion was allocated in February '73, only \$800 million was allocated in February '74. The projection for February '75 is 1 billion dollars which, given the inflationary advance of food prices, is actually a decrease from February '74. These cuts also increase world import needs.

A look at the "food for peace" program reveals the political nature of the grants given. Over 50% of all aid goes to South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Israel, and Jordan. After the rapprochement with Egypt it was given 100,000 tons of grain, and after the Chilean coup there was a \$34 million food grant to Chile. A recent Senate sub-committee noted, "A review of the U.S. food effort shows not only that it is shrinking but that in the struggle over short supplies, political concerns have taken high priority."

To some degree, the U.S. will be in the position to determine who starves and who eats in the coming years. There will be different pressures affecting these decisions. On the one hand, the advantages gained from exports in terms of political power and a better balance of payments will have to be weighed against domestic reaction against continued shortages. At the same time, the government will be evaluating the international effects of its exports. A certain level of food supply is essential for world order; famine can easily lead to chaos and rebellion. At the same time, some government theorists are of the opinion that a certain percentage of the world's population needs to die. Robert McNamara spoke in 1970 of the 500 million "marginal men" who are no longer useful in the world economy, and an executive of the Rockefeller Foundation recently spoke of the need to stop "coddling" the population explosion.



Our Socialist Heritage

The C.P. and the 'Negro Question'

by Al Richmond

Editor's Note: Many of the questions that we face today in building a popular movement for socialism have their roots in a rich tradition of activity and thought in the U.S. and other countries. This article is the first in a series of viewpoints on that tradition.

One ever feels his [the Negro's] twoness—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

—Dr. W.E.B. DuBois (1903)

AMONG OTHER manifestations of the dichotomy noted by DuBois has been the contradictory pull between "integration" and "nationalism" among Afro-Americans, with one or the other seeming the stronger at different times.

The contradiction between "two unreconciled strivings" is also reflected in the evolution of the U.S. Communist Party policy on what used to be called "the Negro question," as is shown in a capsule chronology:

1928-1930 — Developed through several years of discussion in Communist International commissions, a theoretical position holds that in the Black Belt (a contiguous area of 189 counties extending through 12 states), where Negroes constitute a majority, they are an oppressed nation. The Party, therefore, fights for their right to self-determination in the Black Belt.

This thesis was guided by Stalin's definition of a nation as an "historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture." The Black Belt and its plantation economy, it was said, provided common territory and economic life. The language was common, and didn't have to be distinct (e.g., although Australians and Americans use English, they are not of one nation). The other criteria were shaped by the protracted, common experience of slavery.

1944-45 — Without serious debate the Party adopts Earl Browder's thesis that, in fact, the Negro people had exercised their right to self-determination by choosing to "integrate," rendering the previous program obsolete.

1947 — Concluding intense discussion after Browder's ouster, the Party reverts to the theoretical kernel of 1930. It declares: "Their [the Negro people's] fight for liberation in the Black Belt—the area of Negro majority population—is a struggle for full nationhood, for their rightful equality as a nation."

1959 — The Party adopts an essentially "integrationist" position, while continuing to recognize "the national character" of the "Negro question."

1966 and after — The Party's position goes through a process of modification, arriving at this formulation in its Program (1970): "Even though Black people do not now constitute a nation, we do not place any limitations on their struggle to satisfy their aspirations up to and including their right to develop self-government and to exercise the right of self-determination."

THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

Such a thumbnail does not do full justice to the Party's theory or practice. At most it only touches on basic



Henry Winston, current Chairman of the Communist Party.

theoretical precepts and omits the vital responses to immediate events and issues. Still, it is useful to trace the theoretical shifts.

On one plane they do reflect the previously noted contradiction in objective reality. The "integrationist" emphasis of 1959, for instance, coincided with the Civil Rights upsurge. Just as the subsequent departure from that emphasis coincided with strong "national" currents in the so-called post-Civil Rights phase. On another plane, however, the shifts are related to the Party's subjective politics. The "self-determination" perspective coincided with turns to the "Left" in the Party's general political line (1928-30 and 1947), whereas the "integrationist" emphasis became predominant during general turns to the "Right" (1944-45 and 1959).

With all subsequent variations the 1930 position remained a frame of reference and it did, indeed, mark a historical watershed. Focus on basic flaws in that position has obscured its strengths, and these, therefore, will be noted before getting on to the flaws.

1. In the pre-World War I socialist movement attitudes ranged from blatant racism to liberal humanitarianism or a simplistic class approach. ("The racial expression of the Negro... complicates the Negro problem, but does not alter its proletarian character.") The worst position simply adopted an ideological pillar of the incumbent social system, but even the best represented no autonomous ideological position—it could be encompassed either within liberalism or enlightened trade unionism. The Communists made the first serious effort to arrive at an independent ideological position, and this marked a radical break with past socialist practice (including their own).

2. Already implicit in formulation of a theory on the "Negro question" was the recognition of its primary importance in the U.S. social and ideological structure. In Communist parlance it became a "special question," a question of principle. Self-determination was a theoretical goal for an unspecified future, a propaganda slogan. The principled importance attached to the issue was manifested, therefore, in day-to-day practice; in struggles against legal and extra-legal repression, against barriers to employment and upgrading of Black workers, against segregationist impositions, against racism in public life and its influences in the Party's ranks for Black-white unity, especially in the working class. (Because of the high standards set in these respects, the lapse from them was the more glaring and self-injurious in World War II when struggles on this front were subordinated to national unity for victory.)

3. The theoretical elaboration entailed exploration—from a Marxist vantage point—of the historical roots of Black oppression and white racism,

and their persistence in the U.S. That oppression and racism (as ideological rationale) had their origins in slavery was no revelation. Originality entered into the analysis of post-slavery development: betrayal of Reconstruction, truncation of the "bourgeois-democratic revolution" through retention of the plantation system, based on particularly vicious forms of feudalism in which former slaves were transformed into sharecroppers and tenant farmers. This system, it was argued, provided the primary material base for continued oppression, and not only for perpetuation of racism, but for its ideological and institutional reinforcement. It would be a pity if some valuable insights in this analysis were lost because major conclusions drawn from it proved wrong.

4. For the first time the struggle for Black liberation was comprehended as an integral, even decisive, component of social revolution in the U.S. In the most comprehensive and most competent argument for the Communist position published in the 1930's (*The Negro Question in the United States*) James S. Allen wrote: "The completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the South—which... provides the basis for the solution of the Negro question—is in fact the outstanding peculiarity and most prominent native feature of the proletarian revolution in the United States... Anyone seriously concerned with proletarian revolution—not as chimera, but as a reality—must recognize the oppressed Negro people as a powerful supplementary and even initiating force. This is true in the North as well as in the South."

THE PLANTATION ECONOMY

Allen also stated the fundamentally wrong hypothesis most clearly (the wrongness of which he has since acknowledged). He wrote then: "If we have placed so much emphasis upon the plantation economy and the effects

upon it of capitalist development it is because it is the kernel of the Negro question... At this time, when capitalism is in its phase of decline, one can state with absolute certainty that capitalism has exhausted all its potentialities for progressive economic and social development without having accomplished any decisive steps in uprooting the slave survivals in the South."

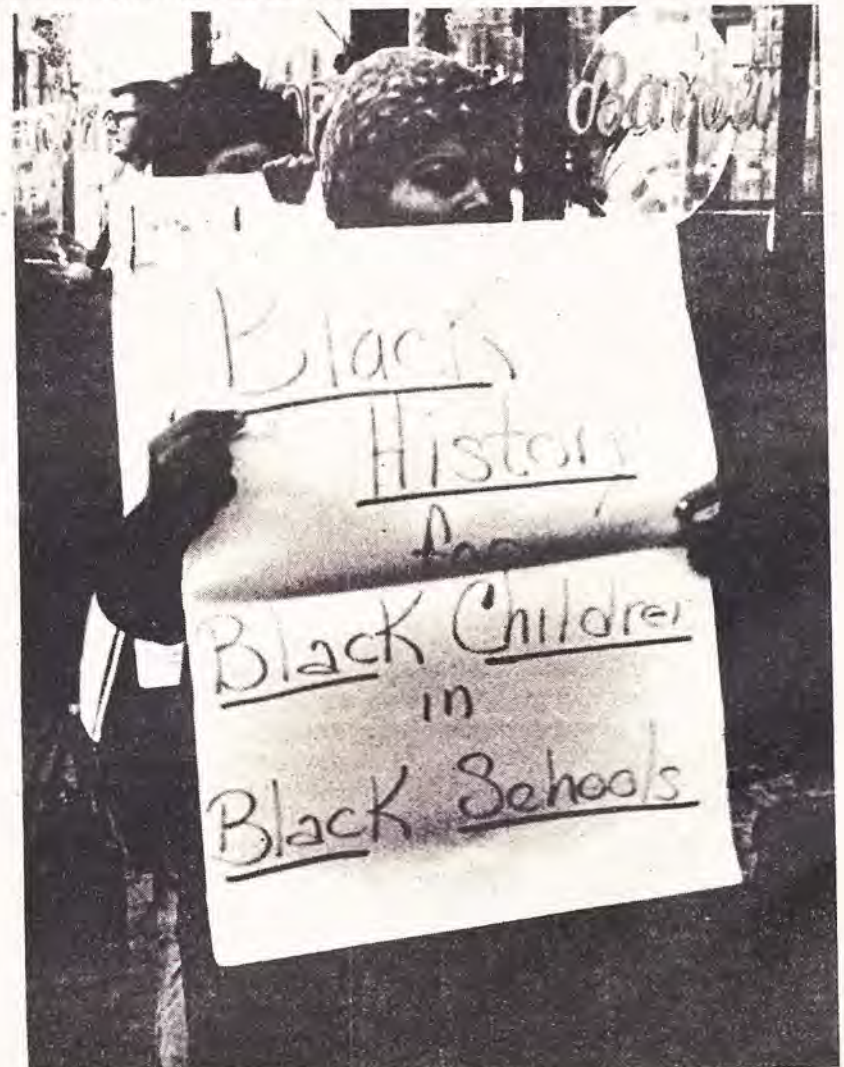
In this hypothesis, the plantation system was to endure, essentially unchanged. The Negro people were to remain predominantly agrarian, with their decisive economic core shackled to the plantations. Hence, in economic terms the Negro question would remain primarily an agrarian question; the Black Belt would endure as an economic-ethnic entity with its Black majority; factors making for the distinction and cohesion of nationhood would persist. Thus, the historical solution of the Negro question was completion of the "bourgeois-democratic revolution" in the South, which meant combining an agrarian revolution with the exercise of the right of self-determination.

Excluded from this hypothesis were the possibilities for capitalist industrialization of the South, for capitalist-technological transformation of the plantation system, for the general capital expansion during and after World War II, and the consequences: transformation of the Black population, from largely agrarian to overwhelmingly proletarian, urbanized and dispersed.

In the 1930's, when the country was mired in economic crisis and when 60.1% of the Black population was concentrated in the Black Belt and its border regions (with 13.8% elsewhere in the South), the Communist position possessed plausibility. In 1947, when the economic changes noted above were well under way, the plausibility was dissipated and the Party's reversion to the 1930 line reflected a capacity for dogmatic regression.

Nonetheless, and with all the critical qualifications that flow from the above, in its forcefully presentation of the decisive importance of the "Negro question" for the understanding and revolutionary transformation of American society, in its pioneering labors of theory and research, and in its practice, the Party set new standards for an American socialist movement, and exerted a significant influence on national life.

Al Richmond is the author of *Long View from the Left* and is a former member of the Communist Party.



OPINION

Roots of the New Stalinism

by Bob McMahon
Chapel Hill NAM

FOR AN OUTSIDER, one of the most puzzling features of the Left today must be the emergence—within the “new communist movement”—of a zealous rehabilitation of the political leadership of Joseph Stalin.

Just recently a leading new communist organization attacked one of its principal rivals for “opportunistically seeking to exploit Stalin’s popularity with the American working class.” The charge tells us little about the political mood of American workers—to most of whom Stalin remains the central justifying symbol of a fear that revolution will lead only to a new form of tyranny—but it says a good deal about what’s going on in that enclosed hot-house world in which left sects proliferate and struggle with each other.

CHINA AND THE NEW STALINISM

The major force behind this return to Stalin is the prestige of the Chinese Revolution and a strong awareness of the conservative character of the present State and Party in the USSR. China today is the site of a major experiment in the attainment of a democratic, egalitarian, socialist society based upon the active and voluntary participation of the masses. (To say that China is struggling toward such a model is not—as the Chinese would be the first to say—to claim that they have already attained it.) It offers a whole new body of experience about the nature and possibility of a socialist society to those who reject the hierarchical, bureaucratic, and repressive state in Russia as any sort of socialist ideal.

Within the New American Movement many of us have profited greatly from studying the Chinese experience. But we have also been sensitive to its origins within a specific historic context and process of development which cannot be simply transposed to this country. Large numbers of activists in

V. I. Lenin.



the American Left, centered organizationally in the various groups of the “new communist movement,” have adopted wholly and rather uncritically the Chinese views on organization, on China’s own experience, on the political directions for the world revolutionary movement, and the Chinese polemic against the Soviet Union.

The new Stalinism flows from this acceptance of the Chinese critique of the USSR, which treats Stalin as fundamentally revolutionary, and sees his successors to blame for the state of Russia now. The problems in this view were set out clearly in a recent statement by the editors of *Monthly Review*:

But this is not to imply that the Chinese never made any mistakes of their own. In particular, it seems to us that their analysis of what actually happened in the USSR and what kind of society exists now in the Soviet Bloc leaves much to be desired. Their story is that the October Revolution was a socialist revolution which brought to power a dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the leadership of Lenin, and after him Stalin, the country moved in the direction of socialism. After Stalin’s death, however, capitalist roaders wormed their way into the leadership of the party and the government reversed course and restored capitalism. . . . The real weakness of this theory is not so much that it is wrong as that it doesn’t explain anything. Where did the capitalist roaders come from? Whom do they represent other than themselves? What gives them the power to subvert an apparently well-established dictatorship of the proletariat?

STALIN AND THE CAPITALIST ROAD

The Chinese view of Stalin becomes even more implausible when one reflects that the model of development advocated by Liu Shao-chi and others—the “capitalist road” rejected during the course of the Cultural Revolution—is the model of development followed by the Soviet Union under Stalin. The main features of this model include: an emphasis on heavy industry and “primitive socialist accumulation” at the expense of the peasantry; uneven development between regions and between countryside and city; increasing inequality in the labor force, with an emphasis on individualistic material incentives; the creation of a privileged managerial and professional elite commanding in bureaucratic fashion.

The result of Stalin’s policies was the gradual consolidation of a new bureaucratic ruling elite. During Stalin’s personal rule this process of consolidation may have been impeded by the continual purges. While the bureaucratic positions may have been potentially powerful, the insecurity and continual shifting of the individuals occupying them obstructed the growth of a self-conscious, cohesive ruling group

exercising that power. Stalin’s death and the end of the massive use of terror against the bureaucracy removed this obstacle.

It is wrong to see the transition from Stalin to his successors as the subversion of a dictatorship of the proletariat by capitalist roaders. Stalin’s rule was a dictatorship over the proletariat in which the working class, peasantry, and the lower ranks of the party itself were effectively excluded from power. While this dictatorship might have temporarily blocked the consolidation of the bureaucratic stratum it created, it guaranteed the triumph of the bureaucracy by depoliticizing the Soviet working class.

(I should note here that this is not intended as an endorsement of Trotsky. For example, all factions of the Russian party, including Trotsky, advocated a period of “primitive socialist accumulation” based on repression of the peasantry. It would stray too far from the point to go into detail on this and other weaknesses of the Trotskyist alternative to Stalinism.)

THE ISSUE OF DEMOCRACY

Stalin’s brutal methods of rule must not merely be condemned on moral grounds. They must also be seen as a key factor in the eventual failure of the Russian attempt to build socialism.

The undemocratic legacy of Stalin is a problem not just in the Soviet Union, but in the world revolutionary movement as a whole. The Bolshevik victory in 1917 made Russia the world center of revolutionary socialism, and the Bolshevik strategies and methods of organization were imitated everywhere. This unification under Russian hegemony was directed and formalized through the agency of the Communist International (Comintern).

For most of their existence under Lenin, the Bolsheviks practiced free internal debate, with an accepted and open pattern of political factions that shifted with the flow of political discussion. This free discussion was an essential precondition to the tremendous sophistication and flexibility of Bolshevik strategy and tactics that underlay their success. This open political diversity was suppressed as an emergency measure late in the Civil War. Under Stalin, this emergency measure became a permanent model of centralized unity.

It was this later, Stalinized model of tightly disciplined unity in thought as well as in action that was presented to the world for adoption as the “Leninist” party. Wherever it was thoroughly followed it has had a serious weakening effect on the democratic practice of revolutionary parties, both internally and in relation to the people.

For example, in China the party leaderships who preceded Mao (and were tied much more closely to Moscow) committed serious errors of command and of substituting force for political debate, both toward the Chinese people and within the party. The Maoist leadership, cast back upon its own resources as the party’s isolation

in the Chinese hinterland enforced an effective autonomy from the Comintern, showed a characteristic preference for political discussion over force in winning over opponents in the party and among the people.

In America, the CPUSA has been in practice tightly controlled by its inner bureaucracy, with little opportunity for democratic debate by the rank and file. Political differences within the Central Committee are generally concealed from outsiders, and a united front presented to the rest of the party. Not until major crises have arisen have these differences (which may have existed for years) become generally known to the bulk of the party.

How far the notion of “democratic centralism” has gone from the actual practice of the Bolsheviks! In 1917, it was considered within the bounds of accepted Party practice for Lenin to debate with Kamenev and Zinoviev in the public press on the question of a Soviet seizure of power. Lenin’s chief opponents were not thought to have violated party discipline until they resigned from the Central Committee rather than carry out the decision to take power. Such an open debate would be unthinkable now to most of those in this country who call themselves Communists.

The question of democracy inside the party remains as one of the central issues in the discussion of building a new revolutionary party in the U.S. which is now going on. During this past year we have seen a major debate between Boyte and Ackerman, advocates of a party model in many ways akin to Lenin’s actual practice (“Revolution and Democracy”), and Irwin Silber of the *Guardian*, a major spokesman for the new communist forces. Silber labelled the Boyte and Ackerman position “petty bourgeois” and smacking of the “illusions of bourgeois democracy,” and argued for retention of the Stalinist party forms.

THE DEBATE IN NAM

This question has also appeared in a different form in the debate on party-building inside the New American Movement. At the convention this summer, it was evident that the “closet Leninists” were one of the strongest tendencies present. Increasingly, as NAM has evolved its understanding of itself as building toward an activist, revolutionary party, we have found common ground with the Marxist-Leninist organizational heritage. But we have found it hard to identify openly and fully with Lenin precisely because of our commitment to a democratic organization containing diverse, openly debated views.

What struck me this summer was that often we were dancing around, trying to find new ways to say what Lenin said, because we could not embrace what “Leninism” has come to mean historically. What was missing from our debate was the declaration that our main break was not with Lenin, but with Stalin. We have felt it better, perhaps, to conduct our debate directly to present realities than to lose ourselves in a tangled exegesis of what Lenin really said, or of the history of the USSR in the 1930’s. But in doing so we have lessened our ability to stand critically within a revolutionary tradition that much of the Left identifies with, and to address directly and completely what is at issue in many of the debates now going on within the Left. We have confused others, and ourselves, about where we really stand.

To close, I’d like to comment that, as is often the case in political debate, this piece has spoken firmly on questions to which there are as yet no definitive answers. For others who would like to see more of how I got to these conclusions, I recommend three articles: Sweezy & Magdoff, “Marxism: Twenty-Five Eventful Years,” *Monthly Review*, June 1974; Milliband, review of Medvedev’s *Let History Judge*, in *Socialist Register*, 1973; and Menashe, “Vladimir Ilich Bakunin: An Essay On Lenin,” *Socialist Revolution*, #18.

Reprinted from REVOLUTION



Joseph Stalin is a great revolutionary leader that CL loves to quote, hoping to cover its counter-revolutionary line with his prestige among the people. But CL consistently distorts and opposes his real role historically. Stalin, however, knew exactly how to deal with reactionaries and Trotskyites like CL.

Response to Lerner

Organizing against Idealism

by Harry Boyte
Sanger NAM

MICHAEL LERNER'S opinion piece, "Weatherman—Whither NAM" in the October issue of the NAM newspaper treats three subjects: the breakup of the new Left and the Weathermen, the history and failures of the New American Movement, and the prospects and tasks of the Left in the future. Toward the Weathermen, his attitude is one of mixed admiration and exasperation. While he disagrees "fundamentally" with their new theoretical statement, *Prairie Fire*, he greatly respects their courage and "moral commitment," and is glad they are "building an underground apparatus for future use." Toward NAM his attitude is considerably less friendly, a mixture of contempt at NAM's failure of "will" and despair at NAM's ever learning the appropriate lessons for the future.

Nonetheless, he locates the problem of both the Weathermen and NAM in the same underlying "sense of powerlessness" which he thinks prevents both from acting with sufficient boldness to convince the American people of the socialist alternative. It is this bold advocacy of socialist programs which he sees as the correct path for building a socialist movement in the future: socialists must "raise the question" of an alternative, "explain" how unity is in almost everybody's best interests, and "show how" racism and sexism are against people's self-interest—all by "developing programs" that show workers the need for solidarity.

Lerner, despite his sometimes arrogant style, often has creative insights into modern capitalism. His sense of timing and hard work in 1971 helped build NAM originally (though the myth that NAM was "Lerner's idea" needs to be put permanently to rest: socialist activists around the country had been discussing, planning, and building for a new socialist organization for two years before 1971).

Moreover, Lerner continues to have a sense of possibility which corresponds to the objective opportunities for the Left in the present period, and such optimism is sorely needed by a Left which continues to be fragmented, discouraged, and often self-effacing. We do indeed face a crisis in which there is an urgent need for an activist party that can be the organizing center for a broad socialist alternative.

The tasks involved in building that center and that alternative are the key questions which confront us, and it is here that Lerner's analysis of the Left's past mistakes, and the course for the future, are wrong. His exhortations to greater will and boldness have an increasingly plaintive and hollow sound. For nowhere does he address the underlying problem which caused the breakup of the New Left, the raging despair of Weathermen, the difficulties of NAM's early years: the idealism which has been a historic plague of the left wing socialist movement, and which NAM is now struggling to emerge from.

THE PROBLEM OF IDEALISM

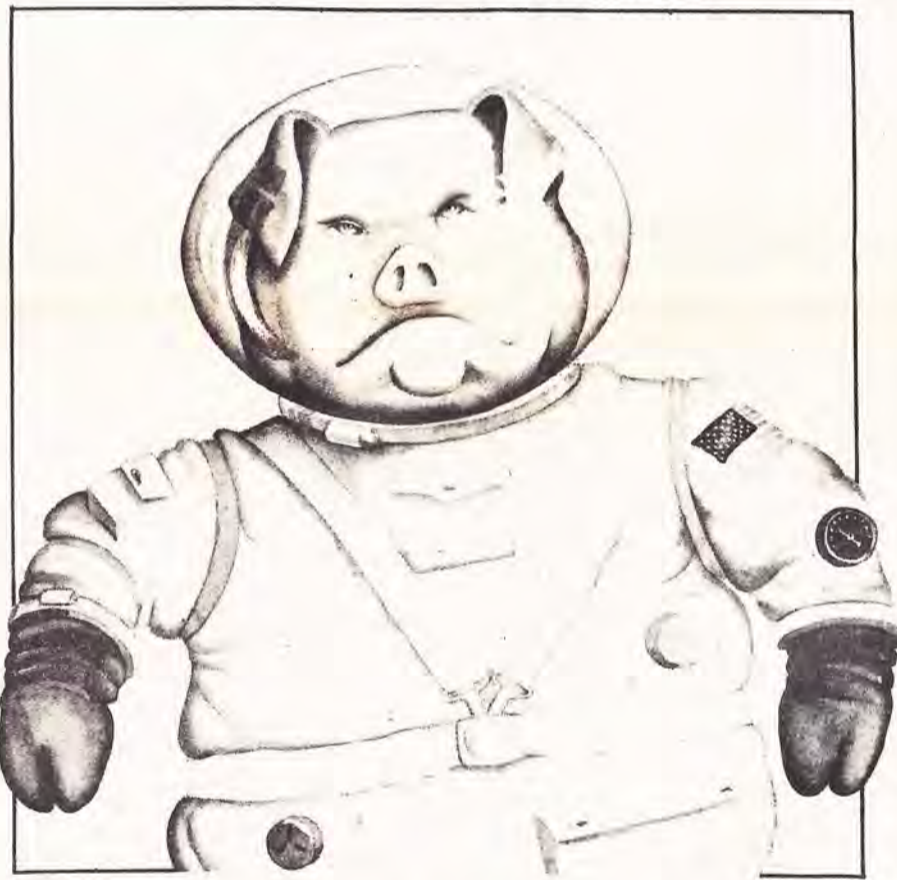
Classical Marxism developed in large measure as a revolutionary reaction against "idealism," the approach that sees ideas and thought as primary, and the actual world of material and social forces as secondary and derivative. But Marxism's original battle against idealism had to be repeated in every successful revolutionary movement.

Idealism takes a number of forms within the contemporary Left which must be similarly confronted: the replacement of real, living people with abstract schemas, the mistaking one's own fantasies for the actual possibili-

ties for struggle in a given situation, the creation of blueprints and models which one then attempts to impose on reality, the effort to change the world primarily through the force of argument, explanation, principle, and moral exhortation instead of mass struggle which can give political principle real life and meaning.

Lerner's analysis of the breakup of the New Left, and the phenomenon of Weatherman, reflects such a perception of historic events as determined primarily by intellectual developments. In his view, the New Left's essential problem was its "irrationality"—it did not understand the impact that it in fact was having on the war makers; it neglected to realize that its force of example was creating broad repercussions. Such an explanation ultimately results in psychological name calling—the New Left failed because of a "pathology" of powerlessness, which bred paralysis, despair, and blind rage.

While it is true that the New Left did indeed misunderstand its true impact, such a misperception hardly explains the historical reality of its ending. Instead of "irrationality," the difficulties of the New Left stemmed from entirely understandable material forces.



For a number of reasons, the nature of campus life and the surrounding youth ghettos fed a strong sense of differentness and isolation from the rest of American society in the emerging student movement. In the face of growing awareness about the magnitude of ruling class power which the movement confronted, and the all-pervasiveness of oppression which the movement had to overcome, such a sense of difference generated hopelessness and feelings of powerlessness—they did not appear magically, nor because of wrong ideas.

In the absence of effective ways for the student movement to overcome its isolation (and here the invisibility of Old Left organizing experience was an enormous handicap), the subjective sense of the student movement was correct, though its specific perceptions about the war were not: it could not change society alone. It was out of such feelings of futility and helplessness that the New Left became more and more romantic, fanciful, and eschatological, that its goals turned inward toward inner transformation and purity, and it came to scorn immediate victories and questions of realistic organizing. At the same time, the despair

spawned by such a politics led the New Left to turn rapidly to theory after theory which promised any allies in the outside world, from Weathermen to the Progressive Labor Party.

But two specific features of the New Left's development gave its idealism distinctive characteristics that shaped NAM's early history as well. First, the specifically academic character of the New Left campus environment, and its development in part as an ideological critique of the American celebration of the fifties, gave the process of "consciousness raising" a special and autonomous role. The New Left's understanding of how people become active and radicalized had only the crudest social aspect (e.g., people are radicalized when they're clubbed by police), and instead stressed the role of argument, exhortation, and moral appeal as primary. And secondly, the nature of the modern mass media, and the collapse of effective decision-making structures in the student movement, meant that the New Left came to be more and more defined by a kind of politics of the spectacle: media personalities, and the idea that the movement is "real" if it gets TV coverage, increasingly shaped the strategies and actions of the student revolt.

NAM's "project" was clearly understood: the New Left suffered from a terrible isolation, and was faced with the urgent need to break out of its confinement, and build new basis of insurgency among broad sections of the American people. It also clearly understood that such transformation in the social base of the Left would not come through rhetoric, nor self-effacement and mass exodus into factories. It would have to come because the Left made itself relevant to people's lives, and spoke its vision in plain, understandable, and compelling fashion.

Yet NAM's methods for accomplishing self-transcendence, inherited from the New Left, led to a period of frustration and difficulty as well. The original Davenport programs, intended to relate NAM to other portions of the American people, constituted a kind of ideal blueprint of what would be nice to happen in different parts of the society ("people's councils," popular control of the wage boards, free childcare, workers' determination of health and safety standards—the list was long and attractive). And the strategy for their "implementation" emphasized tactics that would hopefully gain media attention, and announce the arrival of a group with "correct answers" to the prob-

lems which confronted the country.

But the reality was that the programs had been determined with virtually no reference to the organization's actual abilities, contacts, and resources, and had very little to do with what was going on in the rest of society. Moreover, most of them were extraordinarily utopian and unrealistic for that moment—ideas whose articulation would hardly make them believable to massive numbers of people. And finally, most serious of all, they were created with no idea of how people might go about organizing around them.

Lerner makes it clear that he believes the first program was sufficient to bridge the gap between NAM and the working class, and that NAM's subsequent failures can be explained by unwillingness to put similar programs, like the nationalization of the energy industry, into operation. He complains that NAM didn't draw "attention to itself" through media actions like confrontation at the pay board, that it didn't act boldly, loudly, and publicly enough so that masses of people would notice and join.

The immediately obvious problem with such an analysis is that NAM certainly attempted such boldness and public visibility. Lerner's own chapter put out 100,000 well written, well done leaflets in the Bay Area, announcing a major conference on economic alternatives, and confidently waited for workers to show up. The conference was attended by 50 or so members of left sect groups. The Boston chapter got major media coverage of its program around AT&T, and then—not knowing what else to do—collapsed in personal fights.

Now it is undoubtedly true that NAM missed many opportunities to get publicity—inevitable in a new organization. It is also true that the national media hardly seemed overeager to give the Left much publicity, with the exception of exotic and strange groups like the SLA. But the underlying problem is that publicity in itself, like theater, or programs, is hollow—it only becomes meaningful when tied to effective mass campaigns and struggles, in which new visions and ideas can take hold and flourish.

And it is the actual practice of mass work which NAM's national environment has greatly undervalued. It was not that anyone would have argued "organizing" is unimportant; it was, however, that the dynamics of NAM's idealism made it relatively unimportant. The considerable rich history of NAM in actual organizing experiences on local and national levels has remained largely invisible in national discussion and debate up to this point. The concrete methods needed to analyze actual communities, actual campaigns, the specific ways the ruling class functions in real situations, what victories might be won, what forces are already in motion—the entire, wide array of questions that are the foundation of movement building, remain only cursorily discussed and examined above the chapter level.

The hard reality is that visions and arguments, the most evocative programs by themselves do not make a movement, or build socialist commitment. It is true that massive numbers of people are increasingly fed up and angry. But it is also the case that people are conditioned by a life time of frustration and defeat, and scarcely inclined to risk joining a group that seems merely fanciful or articulate—and the Left at best seems hopelessly utopian and like dreamers to most Americans; at worst it seems like bad country preachers telling people how they've sinned.

THE FOUNDATION OF movement building, and the real ground for a new insurgent culture of hope, egalitarianism, democracy, is the actual day-to-day process of organizing—a word that does not appear in Lerner's discussion of the Left's tasks. It will only be as NAM sinks real roots in many situations, engages in concrete struggles on many fronts which win actual victories and thus broaden people's sense of hope and possibility, that socialism will take on meaningful life to many people.

Vietnam

A view of the North

by Brian Coyle
Minneapolis NAM

Brian Coyle is a North Country Peace Campaign activist and is associated with the Community News Collective in Minneapolis. He visited North Vietnam during August as a member of a three-person mid-West delegation of Indochina Peace Campaign activists.

DRIVING INTO HANOI from Gia Lam airport, we were immediately struck by the underdevelopment of North Vietnam. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam is definitely "poor" as its leaders admit somewhat apologetically and modestly. Of course, it has been forced by history to invest its limited national resources to defend itself first against the intervention of the French and, during the last thirty years, against the Americans.

Given its "poverty," one wonders how this third world country has been able to resist and defeat two major western powers. The answer becomes apparent upon arrival in North Vietnam: Vietnam has survived and emerged victorious because of the courage, energy, and ingenuity of its people and revolutionary leadership.

Right now, the collective energies of the Vietnamese are directed toward reconstruction because virtually everything in every area was bombed by the U.S. between 1965 and 1972. Surprisingly, Hanoi (which was carpet-bombed several times) does not seem very damaged, and the effects of the bombing on the people have been lessened by dispersing casualties throughout society to be cared for by relatives or village "mutual aid teams."

Primary emphasis is being put on the children, the next generation, which is energetic, curious, and free. Various impressions of the kids come to mind: thousands of them cheering, waving, and yelling "Hello" in English or "me-t" ("Americans"); kids spending a Saturday night playing an elaborate kind of tag, hanging around outside our hotel eating pop-sicles, and laughing with amusement at the tall Americans. (We goofed around whenever possible and sang American children's songs to them.) Like the majority of North Vietnamese, the children are friendly, especially receptive to humor and song.

Outside our window there was constant bicycle traffic. The whole society runs on pedal power—everyone rides bikes except for visiting dignitaries and workers driving trucks full of heavy items. There is even a factory that produces bicycles made out of downed B-52 parts; thus even under "war-time socialism" implements of destruction are transformed into socially needed conveniences.

Traveling down main roads and through village squares, we saw colorful billboards encouraging the elimination of disease, extension of public education, and production of food for 1974-75. Currently, the DRV is emphasizing agricultural production and its harvests are plentiful—unlike those of many other Asian countries whose crops have been damaged by floods and whose economies are characterized by poor planning and unequal distribution of what is produced. Extremely conscious of being materially underdeveloped, North Vietnam is eager to stabilize its agricultural base so that its collectively controlled capital can be invested in industry.

Although they are prepared to fight back as long as necessary, the Vietnamese are anxious for the war to be really over, the economy to be strengthened, and their country's resources to be devoted entirely to developing the means of social and industrial production.

Since the Peace Agreement was signed and the tenuous ceasefire began back in January 1973, the Vietnamese have been experiencing a limbo-like existence somewhere between war and peace. During this transitional period, they are prepared to respond to any re-escalation of the war by Saigon and



Washington. Regular army units are dispersed throughout the countryside and neighborhood-based civilian militiamen and women practice in Hanoi's city parks and in remote village squares on weekends. Daily radio broadcasts report on the struggle still going on in the South where the Provisional Revolutionary Government is currently defending the territory it holds under the ceasefire agreements against land-grabbing military operations by the dictatorial Thieu regime in Saigon.

The North Vietnamese are very supportive of their southern comrades and look forward to eventual reunification of Vietnam if the Peace Agreement is actually implemented by the U.S. (whose massive aid props up Saigon's mercenary army, complex prison system, and bankrupt economy.)

Two recent developments lead the Vietnamese to suspect that covert American intervention in the South will continue: first, despite Nixon's resignation (which they regard as a progressive development), Gerald Ford has announced that U.S. foreign policy will remain the same; second, oil discoveries on the continental shelf of Vietnam now interest various multinational monopolies. (As *Forbes* magazine says: "The question of who rules in Saigon now takes on a more than political significance.") Congress just gave the go-ahead to extend the Overseas Private Investment Corporation's operations into Saigon-held zones of the South. This move insures western corporate investors, previously wary of sinking capital into Saigon's faltering economy, that the U.S. government and military will take appropriate action against losses from expropriation. These recent developments indicate that today's "non-existent war" could again escalate into a full-scale conflict involving direct American military intervention.

Our North Vietnamese hosts described the current period as a difficult one. No one knows if lasting peace is really assured or what the changing of the generations will bring (most of the original Vietnamese revolutionaries are growing old), or what necessary technological development will mean to a society that hopes to preserve its age-old traditions and distinctively Vietnamese way of life.

During this year, everyone in the Revolutionary Workers Party (the ruling party in the North) is examining these questions and is undergoing review of their contribution to Vietnamese history since liberation in 1954. Cadre members are expected to present their conclusions, reports, and proposals by National Day, September 2, 1975, when the 30th anniversary of the revolution is celebrated.

In the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the majority of people participate in such decision-making processes. People's councils are realities there. For instance, when one of our delegation became ill and

was taken to a hospital, her illness was diagnosed by a five-person council of medical people and then her doctor carried out their decisions. Similarly, the hotel we stayed in is run by its "employees." Its "director" operates on the recommendations made by a council composed of a management person, a party member (who is a cook), and one trade union representative who works there.

An army commander told us that even military strategy is devised by councils which include rank-and-file soldiers. That strategy is then carried out by commanding officers who use whatever tactical means immediate battlefield conditions necessitate.

CONTRAST WITH U.S.

One can't help but contrast these things to American society which is also not sure it's through with the war; which is also gearing up to review its history with the Bicentennial in 1976; and which is run essentially on a corporate model based on the private profit motive rather than social ideals and needs. While perhaps western corporate methods develop production more rapidly in the short run and expand profitable enterprises without concern for human need or ecology, one can't help but ask if capitalism's anarchic approach to development will survive the long-run test of history. People's councils and collective decision-making may be painstaking, but ordinary working people have more control over their work and lives through such democratic processes.

Of course, everything in North Vietnam is not ideal. Vietnam readily admits that it is "poor" underdeveloped country only just organizing a base from which to really build socialism. But its revolutionary social relations, state control of the means of production, decentralization of resources, and vital sense of history and tradition's value give Vietnam's people strength for their future efforts. The Vietnamese may be "poor" but they are determined to repel foreign aggression, liberate their entire country in time, and gradually move forward toward full socialist development.

In contrast, we are a "rich" country, but confused and unwilling to identify with our nation or the times we live in. Americans now seem so frightened of the future that we wallow in nostalgia and romanticize past memories. We tend to want to forget the war, ignore its lessons, and even accept slogans like "peace with honor" to avoid realizing America's historic defeat in Indochina. Similarly, it is hard for us to understand how the Vietnamese could successfully withstand the American army and B-52s since we have so little power or real control over our own lives and technology under monopoly capitalism.

We lack a strong sense of self-determination because we aren't the masters of our own lives and work. Our country may be rich in technological knowhow, but its people are underdeveloped politically. Yet, as the Vietnamese say, "all things human can be changed." Their courage and confidence is something we can learn from to better appreciate our strengths and maximize them, instead of succumbing to the defensive cynicism generated by our daily experience.

We can also learn by appreciating our own campaign for peace during the last decade. As a Vietnamese spokesman put it:

We hope you will tell the progressive American people how significant their efforts for peace have been and convey our deep thanks to them for their struggle against LBJ, Nixon, and now Ford's continuing war policies. Historically, the U.S. has had a tradition of fighting against colonialism, but the current imperialist policies of your rulers have dishonored the American people by sending their sons to destroy themselves and us. The inflationary sickness of the capitalist system now has more impact on ordinary Americans whose consciences are burdened; they feel betrayed and lied to. Thus your present efforts to educate and mobilize them are very important. In opposing your government's aggression in Indochina, you are beautifying heightening the revolutionary tradition of the American people.

Jerry Zilg
Peter Anton
Interboro NAM

Letters

(Continued from page 2)

We don't intend to discuss Lin's place in the history of revolutions in a letter, although we would suggest that Engel's explanation of why the more radical wings of revolutionary movements "vanish" when "their work is done" may well be apropos when thinking of Lin and Mao's 40-year alliance, especially during the Cultural Revolution so necessary to secure the socialist revolution.

But we are concerned that future articles in "the China series" by Judy and Saralee be taken more seriously by the authors as attempts at objectivity. It took too many years of repetitions of the "Big Lie" before people

finally began to understand that Stalin had indeed slandered Leon Trotsky, the proponent of "permanent revolution," masking the conciliatory shift in Soviet foreign policy and the placing of the national interests of the Soviet Union as a priority before promoting the world revolution—all in the name of "socialism in one country." In those days, too, there were American socialists who confused solidarity with "swallowing the whole thing."

It's a real warning for us today. Solidarity with a socialist country—with its working people, their party, and social ownership of the means of produc-

tion—does not mean accepting every official line or act of the party or section of the party which currently runs its government. The same is true of a party leading an anti-imperialist movement abroad for national self-determination.

Che Guevara, in one of his last public statements (April 16, 1967 Message to the Tricontinental), roundly scored "the representatives of the two greatest powers of the socialist camp" for starting "a war of abuse and snares."

We believe NAM should heed Che's warning, and that its representatives, when listening to their guides while

touring China and applauding socialist progress, should keep their minds open to history, especially in an era of "political reaction," when the masses are not in motion and the names of Che Guevara, Lin Piao, and Leon Trotsky are so easily out of vogue.

Contract Negotiations Begin for Aerospace Workers

by Neal Goldberg
Los Angeles NAM

IN A STORMY meeting, marked by booing and shouting at top union officials, workers at Boeing Company's huge plant in Seattle rejected a "pattern" settlement reached earlier by negotiators for the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and Boeing, one of the nation's largest aerospace employers. In a surprise action, employees at the sprawling Seattle complex, which employs most of Boeing's 27,000 production workers, narrowly turned down a contract offer that would have prevented them from catching up either with the cost of living, or the higher wages of other aerospace workers in Southern California.

But with a bureaucratic sleight of hand, IAM leaders shortly after the vote told the press that the pact had actually been approved. By adding up the yes votes at Boeing's three other plants, they have an overall majority in favor of the agreement. And, in the next few weeks, they will be trying to get over 200,000 workers in the Southwest to swallow it. Because the UAW represents workers at Vitrol Corporation, a small Boeing subsidiary in Philadelphia, their leadership also had a say in the bargaining, and undoubtedly went along with the IAM maneuver.

Negotiations on new contracts have already begun at four other major aerospace firms—Rockwell International, Teledyne-Ryan, Lockheed, McDonald Douglas, and LTV in Texas. Both the IAM and the UAW are involved, and more rank-and-file opposition is expected.

PATTERN BARGAINING

So far, the strategy of "pattern" bargaining has backfired. Originally, both

unions had selected Douglas as the target company, and were hoping that a good settlement there would serve as a guideline for other contracts. But last month, because bargaining was way behind at Douglas, and perhaps due to pressure from the more conservative IAM, the target was changed to Boeing.

In general, the heart of "pattern bargaining, pioneered in auto negotiations since World War II, is the strike threat. The aim is to pick one of the major companies in an industry, like Boeing in aerospace, or Ford in auto, and shut it down while letting its competitors keep on producing. In this way, as time goes on, the struck company begins to hurt in two ways. First, it directly loses sales, and therefore profits; and second, and more importantly, it begins to lose its permanent customers to other firms who go right on churning out the same products, usually at higher levels of output to take up the slack.

But the union has to be willing to use the strike weapon, or at least the threat of its consequences, if the strategy is going to work. Unfortunately, that's exactly what the IAM leadership did not want to do. Before actual negotiations began, they turned down first a loan, and then a grant from the UAW to replenish IAM's depleted strike fund. Naturally, without a strike fund in a big industry, there's no way to carry on an important strike. So with this one act, the IAM completely undercut the entire strike strategy that the UAW, at least at that point, was willing to follow through on. This move clearly angered workers in Seattle, who had voted by an overwhelming 96% to strike, and probably contributed to their rejection of the contract.

THE CONTRACT'S LIMITATIONS

At the same time, workers had

enough reason based on the economic provisions of the pact alone to throw it back. By any standard, it was a "short settlement and would have left aerospace workers further behind than ever when it expired in three years. It provided for 44 cents of new money in the first year, which included 12 cents that was due under a complicated formula in the old contract, plus 3% raises in the second and third. It also improved the cost-of-living allowance somewhat by changing it to a penny for every .3% rise in the cost-of-living index, (instead of .4%), computed quarterly rather than annually. This change, in fact, gives workers in aerospace a better escalator than in auto.

But the pact offered nothing new on retirement (the so-called "30-and-out" demand), and on pensions, which are key issues in a declining industry where job changes are frequent and the cry for "portable" pensions is very loud.

The pact said nothing about the biggest issue for aerospace workers: parity with auto workers. Most skilled people in auto make more money and get higher benefits for the same jobs, even though aircraft and space work is more exacting and demands much higher levels of skill. For example, you just can't pull a 747 to the side of the road and fix it if it breaks down like an automobile. It's an inequity that aerospace workers have resented for a long time, and that the UAW, more geared to the needs of auto workers, has pretty much ignored.

There are other factors which affect the unity of aerospace workers and the relative strength of their unions. Aerospace/aircraft is a strange industry because its main customer is the federal government. For many years the industry grew fat under the wing of federal largesse, as the Congress gave firms like Boeing huge profits at the

public's expense, or bailed out mismanaged firms like Lockheed when they went astray.

But that cozy relationship can, and has, turned sour, making aerospace workers into the victims. In particular, without a crisis like the Vietnam or Korean war, aerospace workers have little power to bargain with. In the mid- and late 60s, for example, when aircraft orders were booming along with profits, firms were willing to offer decent wage settlements to insure labor peace, and then just pass it along in higher prices. The government, which needed grist for the war machine, just printed more money and didn't complain. But now, with war orders way down, the space program in the doldrums, the commercial aircraft industry oversold and in a slump, and raging inflation, the old options just aren't there. Naturally, aerospace workers have gotten the worst of it, as their ranks have been depleted by a dramatic loss of 700,000 jobs since the mid-60s.

RANK-AND-FILE CAUCUSES

Yet in Southern California, there are some encouraging signs of revolt, especially in the UAW. In the past year or so, two small rank-and-file caucuses have taken shape, one at Rockwell International, and the other at McDonald Douglas. Both are fighting for the principle of equality with auto workers, and naturally their main rallying point is around demands for higher wages and better cost-of-living protection. But they have also begun to raise the issue of declining jobs, and production for peace and human need instead of production for waste and war. As one example, mass transit work is currently going on at eight other aerospace plants through the country, but so far none in Southern California. Raising a demand for work like this might be a way to tie the issue of more jobs to the issue of different jobs producing more socially useful things. At this point, however, it's important to understand that these caucuses are weak, and their role in the current negotiations will be minimal.

AIM

(Continued from page 5)

The refusal of the Justice Department to adequately investigate threats and beatings by the BIA and members of the goon squad (tactical police controlled by Pine Ridge tribal chairman Dick Wilson) climaxed in the murder of civil rights activist and Wounded Knee defendant Pedro Bissonette last fall. No one was ever charged in that murder. Defense Attorney Mark Lane expressed his anger at the situation on the Pine Ridge reservation in his closing statement at the Banks/Means trial: "[the prosecution] are the gentlemen charged with the administration of justice. . . . When it comes to the commission of a felony. . . they are responsible for the conditions of injustice on that reservation and [this] is their answer. . . . I don't care if conditions on the Pine Ridge reservation are good or bad."

A BAD YEAR FOR JUSTICE

The misconduct of the prosecution during the Banks/Means trial prompted Nichol to comment that it was a "bad year for justice." The unresponsiveness of the FBI in turning documents over to the defense, perjury on the part of Joseph Trimbach (FBI agent in charge of Minnesota, North and South Dakota), the coverup by Hurd or an alleged rape by the government's "star" witness while under FBI custody, and the payment of over \$2,000 to that same witness—all were part and parcel of the Justice Department's attempt to get a conviction by any means possible. And when, after nine months of trial, they knew they could not win, the prosecution refused to allow a decision by an 11-person jury

after the 12th juror had a stroke during deliberations.

AIM'S PLANS

The American Indian Movement is determined to end the judicial harassment that it has labored under as soon as possible and to pour its resources back into its political programs.

Two programs to end government persecutions have been targeted for top priority by AIM. The first is to free all of the Custer defendants. Sarah Bad Heart Bull, Robert High Eagle, and Kenneth Dahl were convicted of riot with arson for the role that they played in a demonstration that was organized to protest the acquittal of the murderer of Sarah Bad Heart Bull's son. Even though the case is being appealed and is under investigation by the U.S. government's Civil Rights Division, the presiding judge refused to set bail in the cases.



Dennis Banks

A massive petition drive has been organized to free these people and a demonstration is being planned in South Dakota next month.

A second campaign has begun to put pressure on attorney general William Saxbe to drop the charges against Indian people accused of criminal activity during Wounded Knee, Custer, and other protests. (Ten of 16 jurors in the Banks/Means trial wrote to Saxbe asking that charges be dropped. Five of those jurors are not involved in organizing.) A delegation of religious, legal, and other persons will go to talk to Saxbe. People who cannot go are being encouraged to write letters demanding that the prosecutions stop. There are almost 100 persons awaiting trial for Wounded Knee incidents alone.

The institutionalized racism which has oppressed people of color has allowed dual standards of justice to exist in this country. Political prosecutions of this kind will continue if the American people do not condemn them and demand that they be stopped.



Russell Means

Garcia

(Continued from page 3)

The *San Francisco Chronicle* referred to her trial as the "rape case slaying" (in quotes to imply either that she wasn't raped, or that rape does not exist). Given the comforting assumption that it does not exist, imagine the outrage of Judge Lawson who, until this trial, had run an orderly courtroom. Yes, it was heresy, not murder.

A FEW WEEKS before the verdict, Inez Garcia said, "We've already won because of all the support. We need

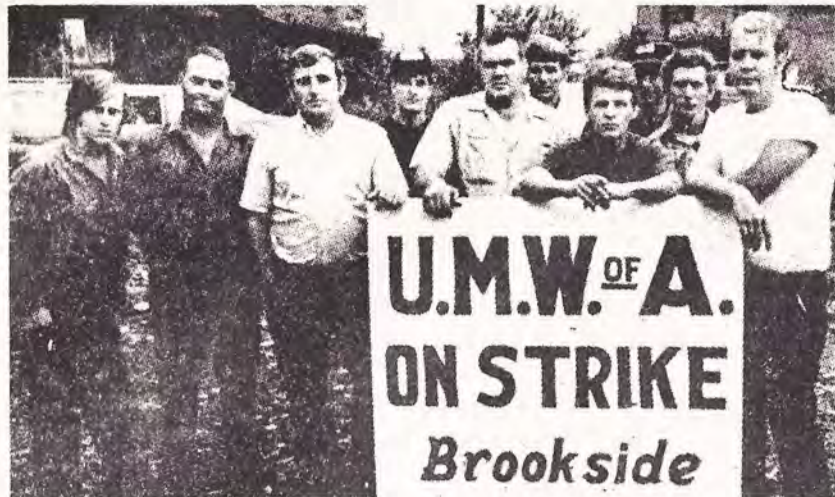
people who believe in women and their rights. To me, that's winning. If you get enough people to believe and care a little bit more, there won't be so much rape. I think we've won regardless of the verdict. Men are going to think twice now when they try to rape a woman."

It's not a victory we can celebrate, but neither is it a defeat. What victory we have won is due to Inez's courage and pride. We shared our knowledge, our experience, our sisterhood together. While she is in jail we will continue to share her story, teaching women that we can fight back. And some day we will celebrate our victory.

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NAM National Office Ransacked

by Scott Jackson
NAM National Office Staff

During the month of September, the national office of the New American Movement became the target of a systematic campaign of harassment and surveillance. On three separate occasions—the 6th, 13, and 29th—the office was broken into and money and/or records pilfered. Files were opened, desk drawers ransacked, and papers and records dumped on the floor. In each case entry was gained through a basement window.

The first and third break-ins were similar—a few dollars were stolen and some records left strewn on desks. The third time a notebook used to record long-distance calls was taken as well.

The second time was more determined. Disdaining typewriters, radios, blank checks, and \$40 in cash in an envelope that would be the target of a burglary, the "Minneapolis plumbers" took instead cancelled and uncashed checks, bulk mailing receipts, and recent mailing list changes. Other membership lists and records may have been photographed. The intent was obvious—to get files and records that could provide information on NAM and disrupt its functioning.

The break-ins were patently political. The police, however, persisted in calling it a burglary, "probably committed

by some kids in the neighborhood who didn't really know what to take." After some desultory questioning and a sweep of the office for bugs, they terminated their investigation because the records "weren't of any real value anyway." They denied any surveillance of Left groups in the city, any cooperation with the FBI, or the existence of a local Red Squad.

After the third break-in, the police admitted that it "didn't really look like an ordinary burglary," and suggested that some other Left group was behind it. The officer sent to follow it up hadn't even heard of the two previous break-ins.

This is not the first time the New American Movement has experienced harassment and "dirty tricks."

* During the Christmas bombings of December 1972, a former member of the national staff called the Minneapolis office from her home in Washington, Columbia, to request material for fundraising efforts during the holiday season. The people she was to contact were named over the phone and were subsequently visited by FBI agents who told them not to contribute money to NAM.

* The day after the Cox firing on October 28, 1973, a Sunday, a NAM member arrived at the NAM office to find two men with walkie-talkies snooping around the outside of the building.

When confronted and asked their business they claimed they were checking all churches (the office was once a church) for Christmas trees blocking exits. In October! They would not produce any identification.

During the 1974 convention in Lexington (Ky.), all plenaries were taped by the U. of Kentucky without NAM's knowledge or consent. UK said it was a standard practice for all "controversial groups or speakers," and that they would have told NAM had they asked. Negotiations continue for return of those tapes.

* In August of this year, a national staff member was offered his previous job in Austin, Texas. After the anticipated letter of confirmation failed to arrive within a few days, he learned from friends that an anonymous caller had told his future employer that he was gay and a member of a socialist organization, and that he would not be rehired.

* In early September, the October 4 appearance of Dan Ellsberg and Jane Fonda had been confirmed and only a handful of activists knew of it. A few days later a member of another group working with NAM was asked for an interview with Fonda by a local TV talk show moderator. The moderator had learned of her visit from the Veterans of Foreign Wars, long-time foes of the peace movement and Fonda.

* At the same time as the break-ins, three NAM members in Dayton, Ohio, were stopped and searched following a demonstration there.

* A former NIC member in Dayton was called by someone earlier this year who said he was an Attica brother and asked for names and numbers of members. It was a hoax.

In order to publicize this continuing pattern of harassment and surveillance, and to demand action on the break-in, about forty NAM members and supporters held a demonstration and press conference on September 16 at the Minneapolis courthouse. Afterwards a meeting was held with aides of Mayor Al Hofstede to demand an investigation of the incident and an opening of all local, state, and FBI files to reveal any missing materials. At present NAM is working with other groups for an open city council hearing on surveillance and harassment of area Left and third world organizations, and a possible grand jury investigation.

Internally, security has been tightened and the building made more burglar-proof by boarding windows, adding locks, reinforcing doors, and dispersing records. Important records will be duplicated, and an alarm system is being considered.

Puerto Rico

(Continued from page 1)

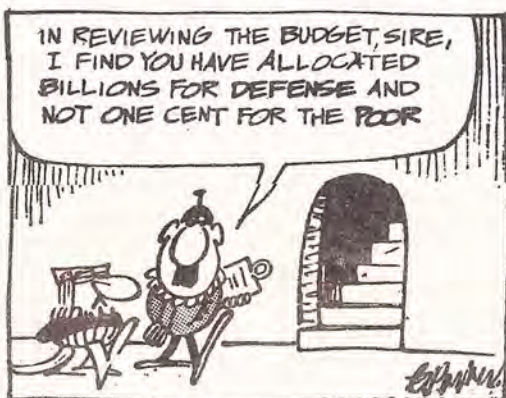
of 1898. Since then the poverty-stricken island has served American Empire interests as a military base, a forced market for domestic products, a source of cheap labor and natural resources, and a site for ecologically unsafe, unpopular oil refineries. Lately San Juan has replaced Havana as a beach resort/bordello for the tourist/luxury hotel industry.

The struggle for Puerto Rican independence has a long and bloody history, first against 400 years of Spanish rule, followed by 76 years of American manipulation and repression of insurgent movements. Though possible statehood has divided many Puerto Ricans on the subject of their sovereignty, the Independence Movement, led by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the Puerto Rican Independence Party, has mushroomed both on the island and among the two million Puerto Ricans in the U.S.

With the passing of the independence resolution in the UN, and the formation of the UN Committee on Decolonization, support for Puerto Rican independence has grown rapidly in this country. "Struggles are not won in isolation," stressed Candy Albino of the committee staff in New York. "They have to be waged in strong international solidarity. This what the rally is all about."

The response to the Madison Square Garden rally surprised many, perhaps even the Solidarity Day Committee, and certainly the management at the Garden. From New York City's huge Puerto Rican communities in Spanish Harlem ("el Barrio"), the Bronx, Brooklyn, in New Jersey, in Chicago, in Los Angeles, and Oakland (Calif.), offers of help have rolled in. Booming ticket sales promise a sure sellout. Satellite rallies have been planned in Chicago, Oakland, and Los Angeles.

A Women's Support Committee has put out its own literature documenting the oppression of Puerto Rican women, including the sterilization of 34% of the island's women, and the testing of birth control pills there before they reached the American market. One group of Puerto Ricans was given placebos (sugar pills) and were told they were birth control pills, as a test for psychological reactions.



A Black Support Committee has issued leaflets showing the relationship of Black and Puerto Rican oppression and their common struggles.

Other progressive groups have added their support financially or with endorsements. The New American Movement passed a resolution of support at its last National Convention in Lexington, Kentucky, in July. Chicano, Chilean, and other Latin groups have taken the lead in many cities to stress the solidarity of Latin American peoples against economic as well as colonial imperialism. Cuba led the fight for the independence motion in the UN.

The Puerto Ricans feel a strong affinity for the treaty struggles of the American Indian Movement because, as one committee member put it, "The only Indians left in Puerto Rico live in my blood." Russell Means of AIM will speak at the Garden rally.

Other speakers or performers include Ray Barreto and his orchestra, Angela Davis, Dave Dellinger, Jane Fonda, Juan Mari Bras of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), *Guardian* editor Irwin Silber, the Chicano Ballet de Aztlan, Pete Seeger, author Piri Thomas, Owusu Sadauki of the African Liberation Support Committee, and Le Anh Tu of the Union of Vietnamese Residents in the U.S.

Florencio Merced of PSP has stated, "It is enlightening that the Left here [in the U.S.] which is more fragmented and divided than ours, has the political capacity to unite its major sectors around the question of Puerto Rican independence. After this, the Left in Puerto Rico will have to attempt to achieve national unity with the greatest urgency and then align this unity with the Left in the United States."

In calling for the Garden Rally on October 27, Juan Mari Bras, General Secretary of PSP adds, "We are not

merely asking a favor from North Americans, but we are seeking common areas of struggle with our brothers and sisters in this country, with Blacks, with Mexicans, with Indians, with whites who, as workers, suffer the exploitation of this system, and who share with us the injustice of capitalism and imperialism."

On September 18, with organizing for the rally in full swing, the Madison Square Garden management informed the committee that the facility would not be available as they had promised in May. The reason first given was that there wouldn't be time to clean up for the hockey game following the event, although three events have been known to take place on the same day at the Garden. The committee pointed out that the Garden itself had gone ahead and printed tickets for the event, had handed them over to the organizers, and that many of them had been sold.

"With or without a contract, Puerto Rican Solidarity Day at the Garden is on," responded Alfred Lopez of the committee. After a barrage of protest letters and telegrams, and some weak talk of "agitators" on the committee, the Garden backed down.

The United States is a country soon to celebrate the bicentennial of its independence; the October 27 rally with its slogan, "A Bicentennial Without Colonies," will be more than an embarrassment to the official celebrations and platitudes. The cooperation of the many groups within the committee may mean more than a spectre for the bicentennial, but the beginnings of a coalition for a new revolutionary movement.

Independence for Puerto Rico is a part of that movement. It is an idea whose time has come. *Viva Puerto Rico Libre!*

Inflation

(Continued from page 1)

In addition, the Democrats will probably scoop up the prestigious governorships of New York and California.

Such a Democratic landslide will have little meaning for working Americans who are being asked by Ford to sacrifice more for capitalism. The Democrats will win the elections by default, not because they have a better program for the economy than the Republicans do. Their strength lies in the Republicans' weaknesses—Watergate and the pardon, and the economic situation under the Republicans. For this reason, Democrats like Alan Cranston of California are now receiving big money from former Nixon and Reagan backers.

The Democrats share with the Republicans a commitment to the profit system that started the whole mess, and an aversion to any changes that might clean it up. It was, after all, Lyndon Johnson, a Democrat who triggered the inflation with deficit spending to finance the Vietnam War.

Neither political party is prepared to spend the funds necessary to employ people as inflation slows and the economy contracts. Neither party is willing to radically redistribute the wealth of the country.

Instead we can look forward to further inflation that will end through a deeper recession. Some reputable marxist economists foresee this recession leading to a depression deeper and broader than the crisis in the 1930s. Developing a socialist alternative to Fordism is no luxury in the face of such a disaster. It is a necessity.

