

SCIENCE FOR THE PEOPLE

FOOD and AGRIBUSINESS
NUTRITION
WEATHER MODIFICATION

BUSING and RACISM

STERILIZATION

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ABOUT THE COVER

The Cargill Corporation is one of the giant grain monopolies. Its world-wide operations recently came into particular prominence when Cargill helped engineer massive wheat sales to the U.S.S.R. with the assistance of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

EDITORIAL PRACTICE

Each issue of *Science for the People* is prepared by a collective assembled from volunteers by the magazine coordinating committee. A collective carries out all editorial, production, and distribution functions for one issue. The following is a distillation of the actual practice of past collectives. **Due dates:** Articles received by the first week of an odd-numbered month can generally be considered for the magazine to be issued on the 15th of the next month. **Form:** One of the ways you can help is to submit double-spaced typewritten manuscripts with ample margins. If you can send six copies, that helps even more. One of the few founding principles of SESPAs is that articles must be signed (a pseudonym is acceptable). **Criteria for acceptance:** *SESPA Newsletter*, predecessor to *Science for the People*, was pledged to print everything submitted. It is no longer feasible to continue this policy, although the practice thus far has been to print all articles descriptive of SESPAs/Science for the People activities. Considerably more discrimination is applied to analytical articles. These are expected to reflect the general political outlook of *Science for the People*. All articles are judged on the basis of length, style, subject and content. **Editorial Procedure:** The content of each issue is determined by unanimous consent of the collective. Where extensive rewriting of an article is required, the preference of the collective is to discuss the changes with the author. If this is not practical, reasons for rejection are sent to the author. An attempt is made to convey suggestions for improvement. If an article is late or excluded for lack of space or if it has non-unanimous support, it is generally passed on to the next collective. **Editorial statements:** Unsigned articles are statements of the editorial collective. **Opportunities for participation:** Volunteers for editorial collectives should be aware that each issue requires a substantial contribution of time and energy for a twelve-week period. Help is always appreciated and provides an opportunity for the helper to learn and for the collective to get to know a prospective member. There are presently plans to move the magazine production to other cities. This will increase the opportunity for participation. For legal purposes, *Science for the People* has become incorporated. *Science for the People* is now available in microfilm from Xerox University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106, (313) 761-4700.

ABOUT THIS ISSUE

This issue continues previous discussions of two important topics: the economy and food production.

A number of articles on food came from a packet on agribusiness published by URPE*. The largest of these articles, "Concentration of Power in the Food Business", and "Economics of Hunger", from the Wisconsin Chapter of SESPA, describe the monopolistic control of food production. These complementary articles show that this system of concentrated control operates worldwide.



*The complete *Food Packet* is available for \$3.00 from URPE (Union for Radical Political Economics), PO Box 331, Cathedral Station, NY 10025.

"Nutrition and Malnutrition" and the book review of *Eater's Digest* illustrate the personal consequences of corporate control. Not only is actual production regulated, but food preparation, distribution, and nutritional value are directly determined by the profit interests.

"Calamities of Nature" describes how natural disasters and shortages can be used by these interests to further increase profits as well as to disguise the political origin of famine. Furthermore, "Selling the Rain" presents evidence that the technology is becoming available for creating "natural disasters" for political and economic gain.



The possibility of gaining control over our lives is exemplified by the struggles of women and minorities. "Dare Call It Genocide" describes efforts to resist coerced sterilization. The busing article portrays the situation in Boston where a decade of struggle for integrated schools is being threatened by a racist and possibly fascist reaction. The busing article from the SESPA Busing Group is an analysis of the complex and dangerous situation in Boston that has grown from the court ruling to force integration.

Unless the working people of the U.S. and the world can overcome and destroy the legacy of "bourgeois ideology" — ideas like racism and sexism that are reproduced in people's heads by the social and economic institutions of capitalist societies, there is no hope for dealing with food shortages, global depression, war and fascism of any form, or any other potential or developing disasters.

news notes

Everyone! Please contribute items of interest and humor to this regular section.

PRISON ACTIVIST STILL FIGHTING

(CPF) The trial of black Puerto Rican activist Martin Sostre on charges of assaulting three prison guards was recently postponed until February. His supporters hope he will live that long.

The current assault charges stem from an incident last May when guards at Clinton (N.Y.) Prison beat Sostre for refusing to submit to a recital "search." But it is Sostre who will stand trial for "attacking" three guards. If convicted, he faces life imprisonment.

Sostre was badly beaten and partially strangled just prior to his last court appearance in Buffalo on November 4. Since then, he has been denied meetings with his lawyers.

Sostre served 12 years (1952-64) on an earlier charge, including four years in solitary confinement when he trained himself as a lawyer. In 1965, he opened an Afro-Asian bookstore in Buffalo. During riots in the black ghetto in 1967, the store became a shelter from police attacks. On July 14, 1967, police seized Sostre at his store on charges of dealing heroin. He was convicted and sentenced to 30 years in prison. The only prosecution witness in the case other than police has since recanted his testimony in a sworn affidavit, exposing a deal made with the police narcotics squad to frame Sostre. The officers who planned the frame-up have since been caught in deals selling heroin from the police locker.

Sostre's March 1974 appeal for a new trial based on the confession was denied and he is currently working on another appeal.

In the seven years since he returned to prison, Sostre has been active as a jailhouse lawyer. He has also worked to form unions of prison workers. Prison officials have consistently harassed him and prisoners who have supported him.

A new movie entitled "Frame-Up! The Imprisonment of Martin Sostre" is available from the Pacific Street Film Collective, 58 Douglas Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11231 or call (212) 875-9722. For information on Martin Sostre Defense Committees, write them at Box 657, Amherst, Mass. 01002.

— *Liberation News Service,
Michigan Free Press*

US LAW GIVES JOBS TO EVERYBODY

Ever hear of the Full Employment Act? That's one we won't hear about from the Ford Administration. It was created by Congress in 1946 and makes the government responsible for creating and maintaining "conditions under which there will be afforded useful employment opportunities, including self-employment for those able, willing and seeking work."

Believe it or not, the law is still on the books.

— *LNS*

ROCKY AND HIS FRIENDS

A former agent of the CIA has revealed that the Creole Petroleum Corporation, a subsidiary of Exxon, used the CIA to screen prospective employees to eliminate those with left-wing connections. Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller whose family owns a large number of shares in Exxon and who is a former director of Creole has claimed ignorance in the matter. Rockefeller has been appointed to head a panel to investigate illegal activities by the CIA.

— *New York Times*

ON TO PETROLANDIA

An Army magazine, *Soldiers*, recently reported on a helicopter assault exercise nearly Fort Kiley, Kansas, against a target named "Petrolandia." The Defense Department has denied the suggestion that U.S. troops were being trained to take over Middle East oilfields in the event of another embargo by the Arab oil-producing countries. Rather, it was all a typographical error claimed the Defense Department. The proper name should have been Patrolandia. Of course . . .

— *New York Times*

READ THIS EVERY TWO HOURS AND TWICE BEFORE BED

A study by the Council on Economic Priorities has revealed that limited competition between the drug companies in the sale of seven major antibiotics is costing consumers at least \$180 million a year. The seven antibiotics, penicillin, VK, penicillin G, tetracycline hydrochloride, oxytetracycline, ampicillin, erythromycin, and chloramphenicol are no longer under patent and are thus available under their generic names from a variety of manufacturers. In spite of this, for five of the seven drugs the most widely sold version of each was the brand name drug — the one with the highest price. This is due primarily to promotional efforts by the drug companies. It is estimated that drug companies spend \$5000 on promotion to every doctor in the United States. The companies' willingness to compete may just be due to the fact that a different large company sells the dominant share of each drug. The cost to the individual can better be appreciated if we consider that Pfizer controls 99% of the oxytetracycline market with its Terramycin. Terramycin costs the drugstore \$18.10 for a hundred 250 milligram capsules. This same drug, bought under its generic name (oxytetracycline) could cost as little as \$1.90 for the same amount.

— *New York Times*

TURNING ON THE JUICE

Those advertisements you see in newspapers and weekly magazines calling for more strip mining for coal don't come free. They are paid for by the American Electric Power System — a holding company for seven utilities — which in 1973 spent an average 6.8 times as much on advertising and sales as they did on research and development. Privately owned electric utilities as a whole spent a total of \$214.7 million on advertising and sales and \$239.2 million on R & D, which, bad as it may sound, is still an improvement over 1971 when advertising and sales expenditures were 3.3 times that spend on R & D. So, the next time the man on the TV tells you what great research the electric company is doing, ask him why he is bothering to tell you.

— *Science and Government Report*

PROFESSIONAL BENEFITS

Clock watchers get extra practice at Digital Equipment Corp. The company asks overtime-exempt professional staff members to work an additional hour Monday through Thursday; the nine-hour workday will be reviewed in February. With most working overtime anyway, a spokesman says, "The request serves as a reminder to extend themselves to the fullest."

— *Wall Street Journal*

EXECS LEARN HOW TO BUST UNIONS

An American firm is running union busting schools in Alberta, Canada, and organized labor is not very happy about it.

The firm, Southern Employers Service Corporation of Tennessee, conducted seminars for business people in Edmonton and Calgary last month.

The seminars are being hosted by Central Personnel Services Limited, a Canadian firm specializing in providing office workers for businesses.

The promotional literature for the session explains: "The seminar will show you, as an employer, how to legally challenge the 'organizers' and make their actions difficult and expensive."

It adds: "You will be presented point by point . . . with a clear logical plan . . . that has enabled businesses to meet head on with attempts of union domination and win . . . if you want union-free management," it says, "attend this seminar."

Labor officials in Canada voice outrage over the seminars. They say that employees "have a right to join a union of their choice without management interference."

— *Fifth Estate*

FOOD COUNCIL GETS CIA HEAD

CIA agent John A. Hannah has been chosen acting chief of staff for the World Food Council, set up by the Rockefellers at last year's Rome food conference to create mechanisms for world food control.

Hannah's qualifications for the post include a stint as head of the Agency for International Development (AID), the 1960's operation in Latin America responsible for establishing the political and social infrastructure required for the Rockefellers to carry out advanced exploitation of the Latin American working class in the 1970's.

The political content of Hannah's appointment was laid out bluntly by Zero Growth Professor Garrett Hardin before a Congressional subcommittee on the Environment chaired by Rep. John Dingell. Hardin testified as follows:

"As a guide to action, I suggest no truth about population is more basic than what I call Gregg's Law:

"You can't cure a cancer by feeding it."

"Experience shows that extra food will be converted into more babies.

"It is not possible to create a Federal Food Reserve System in such a way that its governors are immune to political pressures. The strongest pressure . . . would be . . . sentiment-

tal. Starvation anyplace in the world would be used as an excuse for a raid on the bank.

"Progress in lowering the rate of population increase should be the essential condition for receiving food. How . . . ? Eviction of three-child families . . . polygamy . . . abortion . . . infanticide . . . these are only a few of the possibilities."

According to the subcommittee's counsel, Frank Potter, Hardin's testimony was light compared to the heavy discussions among the witnesses and staff — over lunch.

— *New Solidarity*

GALLO TRIES NEW TRICKS TO AVOID BOYCOTT

A blitz of advertisements for two "new" wines has hit the eastern portion of the country. The wines, "Madría Madría Sangria" and "Joseph Steubens Wines," are actually Gallo wines — the target of a United Farmworkers boycott — in disguise. The boycott has been so successful that Gallo has now abandoned its name on its wine labels in an effort to break it. The ads portray the "new" wine companies as small, family-owned businesses. Gallo is actually a huge agribusiness corporation which monopolizes about one-third of the domestic wine market. Last year Gallo refused to allow its workers to vote on renewal of United Farmworkers contracts and instead signed sweetheart contracts with the Teamsters union. A boycott against the firm has been in force ever since.

— *Guardian*

RETURN TO SENDER

To prevent demonstrators from lobbing CS grenades back at the police, the engineers at the Edgewood Arsenal, Maryland, have developed a spherical CS grenade designed to skitter randomly so that it is impossible to catch or pick up before it goes off. The three inch soft rubber sphere contains granulated CS, which is driven into the air in aerosol form when it is ignited.

— *Chemical and Engineering News*

LETTERS

Dear Friends:

I have just received the new issue of *Science for the People* and have read the notes "About this Issue" with some discouragement. I observe a tendency in some scholarly radical groups to put forward the very same static view of revolution that they would deem to be bad science in their own fields.

To say that "What we can do for Chile is to make a revolution in America" neither makes revolution in America nor helps Chile. The *process* of revolution is not addressed. The image such formulations create is that of great thinkers who know the answers, sitting by and waiting for spontaneous forces to emerge ready to man the barricades, at which time we-all will come forward and lead them.

The "illusions" that you properly oppose do not arise from the fact that an action is individual rather than collective. That simply raises form to a primary level. Illusions are created by the content of the demand raised by the action and its rationale. For example, if in the food crisis we call on people to eat less, we are creating the illusion that the reason why India is in trouble is that we Americans eat too much of some fixed and unalterable product of the earth. Even the *New York Times* admits that it is India's social system that creates plenty for the few and hunger for everyone else. The Peoples' Republic of China, with a grain production smaller than India's has no hunger problem today although in the bitter, colonial days famine was endemic to China.

Similarly, in the field of education, if we chide Third World parents for being poor and attribute to their poverty the fact that so many Third World children in our classrooms cannot read after eight years or more of schooling, we are creating the comfortable imperialist concept that the children are to blame. Radical economist Samuel Bowles says that the children are intellectually inferior because of the capitalist system's damage to their capacity to learn. It sounds very radical. Moynihan, whom everybody can more easily identify with reaction, doesn't use the term "capitalist" but says about the same thing when he blames their illiteracy on the mythical "culture of poverty." Both positions promote the horrendous lie that the children are indeed intellectually inferior to white children. Moynihan says that nothing can be done about it short of ending poverty and Bowles says that nothing can be done short of a revolution. Both thereby become advocates of present-day "benign neglect."

The *process* of revolution profoundly involves larger and larger segments of the population in *struggle over demands that weaken the ruling class*. When the Third

World parents demand community control, the society becomes terrified, because control over the education of these children is critical to keeping them in their place, i.e., in the ranks of the labor reserve, hungry enough to accept the dirtiest, hardest and lowest-paid jobs. Through the struggle for community control, layer upon layer of illusions about the nature of our society are torn away and people understand more about their oppression and the need to make more profound social, political and economic changes.

The demand that the U.S. get out of Chile, the exposure of the imperialist design of the Chilean coup and America's complicity in it, the fraud of "constitutionality" that was used by the fascists in Chile, are all tremendously enlightening to people in the U.S. The more they do, as individuals and in groups, to help the Chileans recover their country, the more ready they will be to take stronger actions to prevent U.S. imperialist designs everywhere, abroad and at home. To understand without making some personal commitment NOW, even if it begins only by boycott or postcard writing, robs understanding of significance. People must be helped and influenced to turn their understanding into action. The action proposed must be such that it weakens the ruling class, strengthens our will and leads to further action. Certainly collective action is stronger than isolated individual action; but individual action on a collective, revolutionary demand such as a national boycott of Chilean goods, is a first and critical step. Those who have taken the step will want to organize others at every level, to provide a hundred ways that individuals and groups can participate in the process of change. Understanding without action is sterile and reactionary. Action without understanding creates illusion.

We must realize that we are actively at war with U.S. imperialism. In any war, there is first the long process of weakening the enemy and strengthening our own forces before the moment arrives when the decisive battle can be fought. Generalship addresses the problem of maximizing the weakening of the enemy in each battle, focusing the battle strategy to achieve this end even in minor engagements. Victories are important, too, because they prove that the enemy is not invincible, steeling and encouraging our forces.

Every demand, every action must be winnable, just as one does not go into a battle where defeat is inevitable. But the battle must be part of an overall strategy for final victory and a demand must be such that in the process of struggle for it the next higher level of struggle becomes clearly evident if the victory won is not to be snatched or eroded away. . . .

That is the essential difference between a reformist and a revolutionary demand. The enemy is defined. His strengths and weaknesses become understood. His strategies and tactics are exposed and the people are better armed to win the next battle.

Sincerely yours,
Annie Stein
N.Y.C.

DARE CALL IT GENOCIDE



In late November of 1974, three Los Angeles women filed claims for \$2 million each against Los Angeles County-USC (University of Southern California) Medical Center, contending that they were sterilized without proper consent. The women, aged 24, 26, and 32, said their signatures on consent forms were sought while they were in pain and under sedation immediately prior to undergoing childbirth by caesarian section in 1972 and 1973. Two of the women were led to believe that the forms they signed were for temporary sterilizations. The third woman said she was not aware a sterilization operation had even been performed and wore an intrauterine device for two years until she learned she had, in fact, been sterilized.

The actions are believed to be the first medical malpractice suits in the country filed against a *hospital* for alleged sterilization abuses. The day after the claims were filed the Los Angeles Board of Supervisors, expressing great shock at developments, ordered a probe of sterilization practices at County-USC. The Supervisor's surprise was itself surprising in view of the activities of the Committee to End Forced Sterilization (CEFS) which had begun the preceding June and included, in addition to extensive interviewing of women who had been sterilized, conducting numerous public (and widely publicized) meetings, leafletting in various parts of the city, and a demonstration at the hospital.

The CEFS is a coalition of people from Chicano, Black, White left, and health radical groups. Although it was organized around exposing and putting an end to forced sterilization in Los Angeles, CEFS members and supporters have emphasized the relationship of what has been happening at County-USC to forced sterilization in other parts of the U.S. and, largely under U.S. domination, in other parts of the world. Consequently, while direct investigation and exposure of coerced sterilization

has been kept to local cases as of this writing, we have considered it essential to interpret the findings in terms of national and international currents of population control.

The response of the local media, notably the *L.A. Times*, offered an example of co-optation of an issue which merits some consideration. The actions of CEFS were ignored until the lawsuits were filed and the county had to react. At this point the *Times* ran articles concerning forced sterilization on two consecutive days. The first focussed on interviews with doctors conducted by members of Ralph Nader's Health Research Group concerning sterilization abuse in hospitals.[1] Corroboration by the *Times* of material developed during some of the interviews was reported in tones of barely restrained self-praise.

Public exposure of direct quotations from some of these interviews was not completely without value. Even though only short fragments appeared in print, the incredible power which a physician can exert was revealed in stark contrast to the helplessness of the patient, and particularly the poor White, Black, or Third World patient. But this value was more than offset by assertions throughout the article by other doctors and by hospital administrators, never challenged and never analyzed, that the physicians who pushed for medically unnecessary sterilizations were deeply concerned about overpopulation and the rising cost of welfare.

The main thrust of the second article was that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare had already drafted regulations assuring protection of the rights of candidates for sterilization, but these regulations had not been implemented because of bureaucratic inefficiency.[2] The HEW guidelines probably wouldn't

(continued on page 20)

CONCENTRATION OF POWER IN THE FOOD BUSINESS

When you begin to see more food on your TV screen than on your kitchen table, it's time to take a look at the folks who bring you that food. Food no longer comes to us from family farms and little grocery stores. Over three-quarters of our farm products come from only one-fifth of all farms.[1] The food then passes through a shrinking number of food processing companies. In 1964, only 24 (out of about 32,000) food processors made 57% of food sales.[2] We buy almost four-fifths of our food in huge supermarkets, almost half of which are chain stores.[3]

When a small number of firms do most of the business in a certain industry, that industry is highly *concentrated*. We will try to show that increasing concentration in the food industry has a lot to do with the fact that working conditions, employment, and food quality are staying the same or going down, while food prices are going up.

But knowing "who done it" is not enough. It is also necessary to ask how the huge farms, firms, and stores became so powerful, and how they stay in power.

Many people feel that the solution to our food problems is to put the Del Montes in moth balls and bring back the Mom and Pop stores and family farms. We think the problem is much deeper. Because the Golden Rule in our economy is Seek Profits, new Del Montes would eventually spring up to replace the old. But we would be unlikely to get the opportunity to watch that process take place again. Del Monte doesn't want to be broken up. When a firm gets as big as Del Monte, it has a huge arsenal of economic and political weapons, and an enthusiastic fan club in Washington.

I. How Business Grows

Once upon a time most of today's monopolies were smaller firms competing in what was called "free enterprise." When many firms compete with each other for profits, some will gain more profits than others. They do not stash these profits away in mattresses; they use them to gain more profits.

A company has two basic ways to increase its profits through the production process: It can enlarge its size by building bigger plants and hiring more people. Or it can change the way it operates by introducing new machines, new materials (like plastics for wood), and new patterns of work. Both ways increase production, and they frequently go hand in hand. But we have to make a clear distinction between them because they have quite different effects on workers. The simple expansion provides more jobs whereas the second type, called "rationalization" or "modernization" tends to replace workers by machines.

We also have to see how both ways of increasing production are inter-connected, how one can't happen without the other, in order to understand:

- how monopolies grow
- why a huge company is not simply the sum of two or more small ones but a qualitatively different thing
- that it is therefore virtually impossible to divide huge companies up in order to go back to the "good old days"
- that the number of permanently unemployed people will grow in the long run

Changing the Work Pattern

The first and easiest thing a company reinvesting its profits does is to hire more workers and enlarge the buildings. Once a sizable number of workers are together in one place, jobs can be broken down into small steps. So the individual worker has to repeat a tiny part of the whole production process again and again. For example, one person stays in the back of a large supermarket unpacking, another puts things on shelves, and another rings up sales on the cash registers.

These changes are profitable for the employer for several reasons:

- Workers doing only one step of the whole process don't have to be trained as long for the job. In addition, the employer pays less for this unskilled labor. In a supermarket, for example, one person who needs to be trained can cut the meat, but the person simply wrapping it up needs to know much less and therefore is paid less.
- Administrative and overhead costs are smaller per unit of output. Since more things are sold in a supermarket than in a small store, the rent, the costs for telephones, etc. are spread over more products.
- The work can be speeded up — even with the same tools and machines — because the same workers do not have to go out to unload the material, then carry the shipment to the shelves, and then go back to the cash register. All this time spent walking back and forth is lost money for the employer because it cuts down on actual production time. The more production is divided into small tasks, the more the worker is “nailed” to one spot: she/he can be supervised more easily and additional speed-up can be enforced.

Machines Replace Workers

This “division of labor” has an important consequence. It is easier and more profitable to introduce machines into simple rather than complex, integrated processes. At first, simple machines are just tools for the worker, making his/her task simpler. Eventually, a series of simple steps can be done by a more complex machine, reducing the worker to a mere extension of the machine. Finally, the tasks of several machines and workers are integrated into a new, complicated “automatic” machine, replacing large numbers of workers, leaving some as supervisors and repairpeople.

The resulting increase in output per worker means that the single product costs the company less. But the lower costs are not passed on to higher wages or lower prices; instead they increase profits. These in turn are used to hire people to invent new machines and products, to increase advertising, and so on.

Creating a Company Empire

Growth at the factory level has a strong influence on relationships between different companies and between companies and banks — that is, at the “business-level.” It allows a businessperson to compete from a stronger position. If she/he competes successfully enough, he/she becomes a good credit risk and can borrow money from banks at cheaper rates than the poor credit risks. Eventually she/he becomes big enough to expand by buying small companies that weren't so good at competing, to drive other companies out of the market by charging very low prices (but only until those firms have been driven out), and to expand into other lines of business.

In other words, when you pull ahead in a game of Monopoly and start buying everybody else's houses and hotels while they go more and more deeply into debt to the Bank, you are, in a harmless game, doing what monopolies do every day in real life.

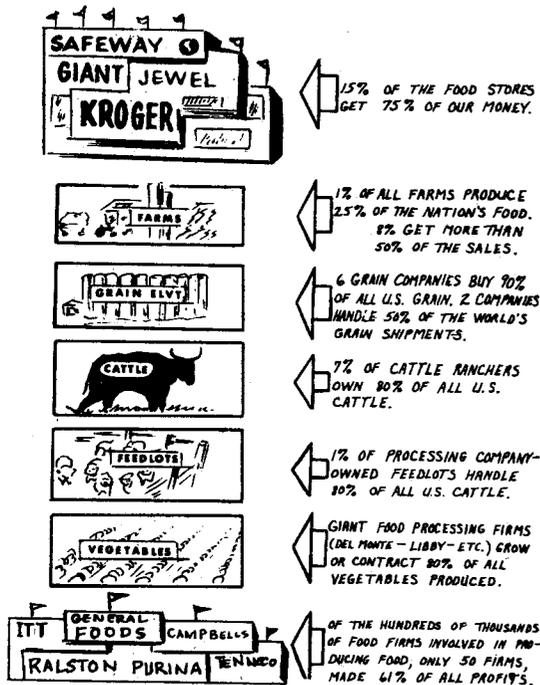
Vicious Businessmen?

It should be stressed that the cause of this development is neither the malicious intent nor the “conspiracy” of businessmen but rather the simple laws of the competitive capitalist system. Even a capitalist with the most humanistic beliefs has to submit his workers to inhuman speed-ups and working conditions. He has to introduce



- 1 Make a shopping list
- 2 Check it against prices
- 3 Eat the shopping list

FREE ENTERPRISE?



by Carleton Terry
United Front Press

labor-saving devices and lay-off workers, or he will be crushed in the race for markets, raw materials and profits. He either drives others out of business or he himself is driven out. There are no other choices.

Off to a Slow Start

In industries like steel, chemicals, railroads, and oil, the process of concentration started at the end of the last century. By the 1920's, these industries were already dominated by a handful of gigantic companies.

The food industry lagged behind, and did not become highly concentrated until more recent decades. One reason for the lag was agriculture's greater dependence on nature. Weather changes unpredictably, and it cannot yet be completely coordinated with standardized industrial processes. The introduction of machines, a necessary step for the creation of big farms and processing plants, constantly bumped up against natural barriers. Feedlots, for example, could not become too large until someone had the money to spend to develop certain antibiotics which made it possible to keep thousands of cows in one place without diseases spreading like wildfire. And food sales were confined to small markets for many years because quickly spoiling natural products could not be shipped over vast distances. As new chemical preservatives and refrigeration methods were invented, food could be shipped all over the country and into other countries. After these developments food processing and agribusiness became major U.S. industries.

This does not mean that in the food industry monopolies suddenly "appeared." To use the farming sector as an example, there were 6.5 million farms in the U.S. in 1935. By 1969 the number had dropped to 2.7 million.[4] *Fortune* has predicted that in a few decades we will only have 100,000 to 200,000 large farms left.[5] Characteristically, the number of farms has been decreasing at a faster rate in the recent census years, showing the increasing power of a few thousand farming companies.

II. Types of Concentration

Here are some important ways a farm food company, or store can gain power:

(1) Buying a company in the same business: When a large farm buys a small one, or a supermarket chain buys a Mom and Pop store, or a large dairy buys a few thousand smaller dairies, the process is known as *horizontal integration* because all units are at the same level of production.

(2) Buying a company that handles some other stage of production of the same product: When a flour mill buys a wheat farm, the process is called *vertical integration* — control of production from top to bottom.

(3) Buying a company in an unrelated industry: When an airplane company buys a cereal producer, the company becomes a *conglomerate* — a mixture of different kinds of companies.

(4) Contracting: Many giant food processors get their raw food from small farmers who had previously signed a contract promising to sell their crops to the processor (often a farmer can find no other buyer). In this way, although the small farmer owns his/her own land, she/he becomes the equivalent of an employee of the big company.

(5) Financial control: Many banks own their own farms. Banks and some large companies can control small farms and companies by giving or denying loans.

Here *concentration*, *integration*, and *monopolization* are used to describe more or less the same political and economic process although they each have slightly different connotations: Integration means the buying off of smaller or weaker businesses, centralizing the administration without changing the actual production. Concentration is the process by which several factories are reshaped to form one productive unit on a large scale with new machines and work patterns. Monopolization is when a company or conglomerate gains financial and political control over a large and important part of the market and resources.

Watching Borden Grow

Borden is an example of a huge company which has used almost all these methods.

Between 1922 and 1964, eight large dairy companies had acquired 2000 smaller ones. Kraftco and Borden alone accounted for 63 percent of the

takeovers [i.e. horizontal integration]. Borden's use of integration is noteworthy.

In the mid-fifties, Borden began to diversify into chemicals and plastics and food processing. Elsie the Cow took over the factory to utilize her chemical and gelatin by-products. By 1960, Borden had purchased nine chemical companies, a glazed fruit processor, Wyler dehydrated foods, and several fruit and vegetable specialty houses. The company became sensitive to the attraction of snack-packaged foods, and began processing acquisitions in rapid succession: Realemon in 1962; Aunt Jane Foods and Old London in 1963; Cracker Jack and Wise Potato Chips in 1964; Gana Jellies and Henderson Portion Paks in 1965 . . . Since 1969, a confectionary company, North American Sugar, and Pepsi Cola [of] Indiana. Borden's chemical division produces thermoplastic housewares and furniture, foam trays for meat, Mystic tape, Krylon paints, Ozon toiletries . . . Borden also owns its own packaging companies.[6]

So Where Are Prices Set?

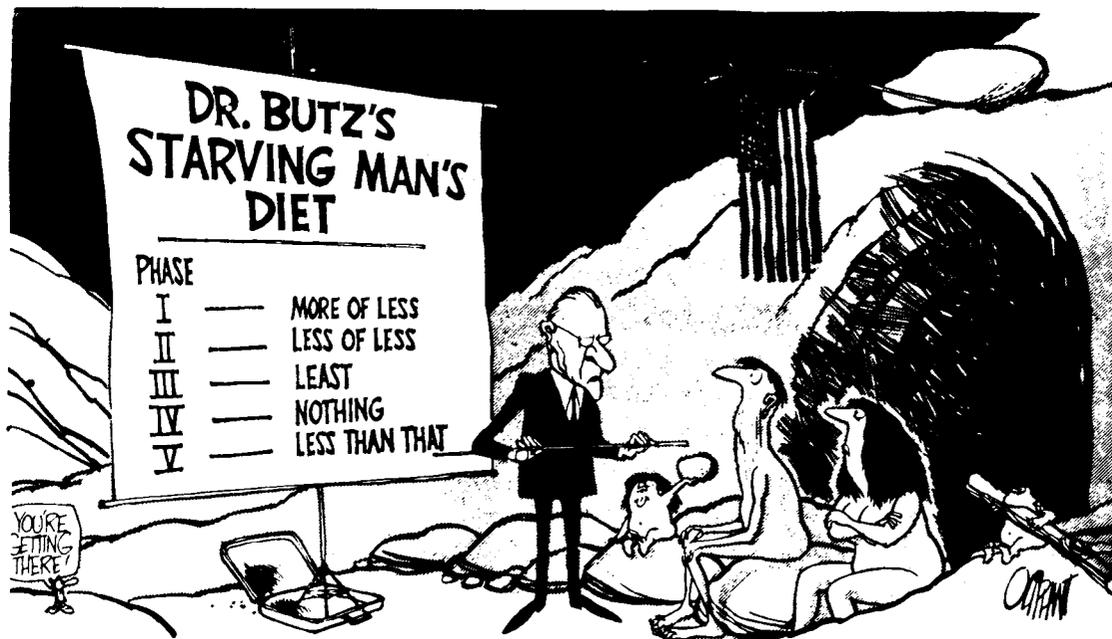
Supply and demand still govern prices, but that doesn't mean anything anymore because big companies govern and can manipulate supply and demand. When one or a few companies makes a large enough share of the sales of a certain product, then the firm can take advantage of "monopoly pricing." If, for example, giant Campbell's Soup feels soup prices are too low because there is too much soup around, it can produce less soup. Or, more likely, it can make "silent" agreements with Lipton's to raise prices. If Campbell's fears that people are straying too far into Lipton's soups, it can buy Lassie more TV time.

Companies do not usually compete for a bigger share of the market by lowering prices. Huge companies have too many ways in which they can punish a firm trying to increase its market share by competition. If, for instance, Lipton decided to sell its soups cheaper, it might have to fear a foreclosing of a loan because Campbell's has "its man" on the board of directors of the bank; or Lipton might get into difficulties with the supplies for its canneries because Campbell's controls the trucking company, or Lipton might fear a close scrutiny by the Internal Revenue Service since Campbell's may have a better connection into IRS. The competition may take place around access to cheap supplies, investment opportunities, advertising space, political influence, and so on, but the companies always form a solid front against consumers where prices are concerned.

Meat Power

Last summer, the big meat processors — only three firms make 1/4 to 1/3 of the profits in the meat industry — provided us with an example of how American food companies deals with the public when they don't get their way. President Nixon, forced by the outrage over soaring beef prices, introduced Phase 3½. This was a control of meat prices on the consumer level, while farm prices were allowed to rise. It was an attempt to cut business profits. The big meatcutters reacted by closing down the stockyards in order to create an artificial meat shortage. Usually, however, companies try to use their power over supply and prices in more quiet ways to avoid arousing the anger and awareness of the public. This case was more dramatic than most.

So: How can a company be forced to set lower prices according to the "Laws of Supply and Demand" when that company and others control supply and demand?



Low Prices. . . for Farmers

Consumers are not the only victims of "monopoly pricing." Cargill is one of the nation's largest grain companies. In the early 60's an Arkansas farmer co-op was trying to attract farmers. After this co-op had set its price, Cargill offered the farmers a higher price. The farmers left the co-op to sell to Cargill. When Cargill had finally undermined the co-op, it set new, lower prices for the farmers.

By pushing prices for consumers up and prices for small independent suppliers (like farmers) down, monopolies provide themselves with large profit margins. One sign of this process is reflected in the percentage of the consumer's food dollar which ultimately reaches the farmer. The government reports that farm prices have risen 16% over the last 25 years, while the non-farm share of the food dollar has risen 76%. [8] The farmer's share of our food dollar has fallen below 40%. And we ask who benefits most from food price inflation!

Conglomerates: One Example

Tenneco began as a natural gas transmission company which feeds the huge metropolitan areas of Northern Ohio, New York, Chicago, Minneapolis, and Central Wisconsin. It branched out into oil production and shipbuilding before it entered the food business. In 1954 it started using its million extra acres of oil land for farming. It leased 600,000 acres to "independent" farmers and started raising cattle on the remaining land. Since then it has acquired packaging and chemical companies. In the late 1960's a number of industrial empires acted on the basis of government reports about the increasing world need for food. Corporations like Greyhound, Kaiser, and Boeing smelled huge profits to be made from people's need for food. They soon acquired agricultural as well as food processing operations.

Financial Control

The most powerful monopoly control is in the hands of big financial institutions. One of the outstanding examples is the Bank of America. It acquired huge amounts of farm lands by foreclosing farm mortgages during the Depression years. Besides owning farm land, the bank also holds stock and directorships in processing companies like Hunt, Foremost, etc. and makes almost half of all loans for farm investment in California, the biggest farming state in the U.S. The bank is not interested in lending to farms with sales under \$20,000 a year, and advises such farmers to retire. (Augustine Maruchi, President of Borden, is also a director of the Chemical Bank and the Bank of America.)

These large, diversified, powerful companies are not accidents. They are the success stories of our profit system. All three branches of the food industry, like U.S. industry in general, are becoming more and more concentrated.

III. The Effects of Concentration

Prices

Because food companies, especially at the processing stage, are so large, they can determine the prices small farmers and processors will get for their food as well as the prices we pay at the store.

Supply and Demand?

We are constantly being told that in our free enterprise system, prices are decided in the open market, according to Supply and Demand. That is, when people are not buying a certain product, its price is supposed to go down. We are also told that our present inflation is the result of increased demand and insufficient supply. *But if prices are really set that way, why didn't April's massive consumer boycott bring meat prices tumbling down?* It brought some small time butchers and meat packing firms tumbling down, but left the big packers in a position to tell *Wall Street Journal* reporters that their profit outlook for the year was still rosy, despite the boycott. When asked if he was worried about future boycotts, one packer said: "People found out during the first one that prices aren't set on the picket line." [7]

Keeping the Small "Competitor" in Line

Big firms do not stop at pricing. They also decide what will be produced, what methods of production will be used, and whether or not new firms will be able to enter the field. They can decide these things because of their size and power. If a big firm decides to charge a low price, a little firm can't charge a high price, because who would pay it when they could get the same product for a low price? If big firms start using expensive machines that enable them to produce more goods more cheaply, many little firms will be driven out of business because they can't afford these machines. By advertising, big firms create a desire for fancy new products. Did you ever want a frisbee before you or your friends saw one on TV? If little firms cannot afford to produce these new products, they may be left trying to sell goods that nobody wants anymore. And by their control over these factors, big firms set the conditions which determine whether little firms will be able to find enough money to enter the business. It is becoming harder and harder for new firms and farms to get started, and for small ones to stay in business.

Political Power: One Person, One Vote?

Big companies gain formal political power by giving large campaign contributions, by supplying people to fill top appointive positions in government, and by lobbying for favorable legislation.

ITT is perhaps the best known contributor to President Nixon's recent campaign. ITT produces Hostess

Cakes; Wonder, Profile, and Butter Top Breads; Gwaltney's meat products; Morton frozen foods; and Pearson candies. Here are a few other food producers who were involved in the Nixon campaign; R. Douglas Stuart of Quaker Oats, Donald Kendall of PepsiCo, and Thomas Carol of Lever Brothers. Contributions don't always buy the results companies want, but they help.

Behind the Scenes

Underlying this overt manipulation of national and international politics lies the pressure and threat which concentrated, centralized economic power can exert on the political process. When a very big company producing an important product decides not to cooperate with government policies (by not delivering needed supplies, calling in loans it has made, etc.), chaos can spread through the entire economy. On the other hand, if the government and business can agree on policies, then the government can carry out the policies it wants much more easily. An example is the desperate attempt of the government to correct the balance of payments deficit by promoting agricultural exports.

IV. Unions and Monopolies

Unions have grown in the twentieth century in opposition to these large and powerful monopolies. The bargaining power of unions and business has depended largely on the potential damage one side could threaten to inflict on the other.

Big business has improved its bargaining position with unions through monopolization and through its increasingly international operations. Strikes, and especially traditional strikes, have lost some of their strength because:

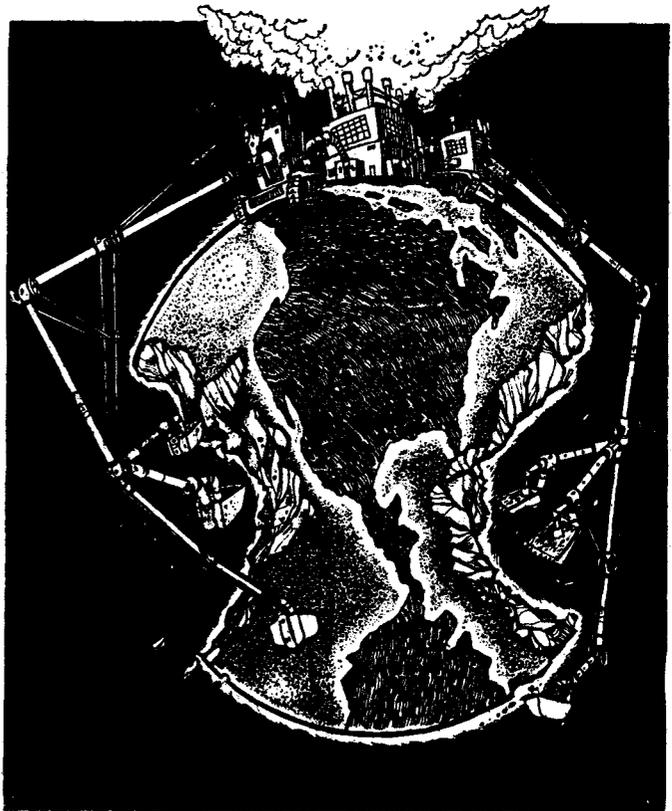
- Big companies are able to produce in advance, compiling large enough inventories so that they do not lose their customers.
- Multinational corporations can speed up production outside the country (or in non-unionized shops in the United States) to make up for the loss of production at home.
- Conglomerates have continuing incomes in other industries, normally outside the jurisdiction of the striking union and are able to weather strikes.
- Most important, monopolies are able to determine the prices of goods they sell, given the absence of market competition in their industries. This means that a wage raise can be passed on in higher prices. The goals of strikes — better standards of living through a redistribution of income from business to labor — have been transformed. Corporations now use strikes to justify higher prices.

Workers in the Food Industries

Workers in the food industries are even more powerless than workers in many other industries because unionization came late to the food business. Especially where conglomerates from outside the food business have taken over small food companies, unions have not "grown up" with companies in the food business itself.

Until recently, farm workers weren't even organized. Growers are still trying to break the United Farmworkers Union. The condition of farmworkers is among the worst in this country. There is widespread malnutrition and other illness. Few children of migrant workers ever graduate from high school. Almost a million children are still employed in agriculture, the third most dangerous occupation after mining and construction. In 1970, the American Friends Service Committee reported, "The child labor scene in 1970 is reminiscent of the sweatshop in 1938 . . . It should be intolerable for a sizable segment of American industry to depend upon children for its survival. And in 1970, it is not only tolerated but encouraged." [9]

The effects of lacking organized power in the food industries are obvious if one compares average weekly earnings in durable goods manufacturing industries (\$176) with those earned in food processing (\$145), food stores (\$104), and farmworkers (\$22). Farmworkers work



an average of 54.9 hours a week compared to the 42.7 hours averaged by non-agricultural workers. That means that farmworkers earn, effectively, less than ten percent per hour of workers in durable goods industries.

Wages in Monopolies

Workers in small food processing companies earn about two thirds of the wages paid in large ones. This puts them close to the inadequate minimum wage — at around \$2.00. This kind of wage difference between big and small companies prevails throughout the economy. Two major factors explain those differences: (1) More workers are unionized in the big companies than in the small ones. (2) Because of more advanced technology and higher output per worker, the big companies can pay more per worker without endangering their profits.

In fact, workers get a smaller proportion of the total sales they produce in the concentrated industries than in the smaller companies. Although big companies pay somewhat higher wages, workers are still hurt because they don't get as high a share. The tiny fraction of the companies' income going into workers' wages is most visible in highly monopolized industries like oil or chemicals. Since food industries are still somewhat behind those industries in the growth of technology and concentration, these tendencies are most obvious only in a few specific branches of the food processing sector:

Labor Costs as a Percent of Sales, 1963[10]

Roasted Coffee: Shops with 10-19 workers: 6.4% of sales. Firms with 500-999 workers: 5.3%

Pickles, Sauces, Salad Dressing: Shops with 10-19 workers: 15.9%. Firms with 250-500 workers: 10.3%

Natural and Process Cheese: Shops with 10-19 workers: 8.2%. Firms with 240-500 workers: 4.7%

Shrinking Job Market and Runaway Shops

Here the circle closes again. The profits withheld from workers' income goes into further "acquisitions" and into new machinery to replace workers, making output per worker even higher. And that raises the possibility of two tactics which, in the long run, pose the gravest threat to all working people:

Replacement of Workers by Machines — For instance, in the meat packing and processing industry, 5,000 workers have been replaced by machines between 1970 and 1972 alone.[11]

Runaway Shops — Big companies have the financial power to transfer part of their operations to other countries. When industries which still need many workers become powerful enough, they close more and more plants

here and replace them in countries with much lower wages. The belt of canneries, cotton mills, and sweat shops just across the Mexican border is ample reflection of the dominant motive: to exploit mostly non-unionized workers literally forced by starvation to work for pennies. Thousands of workers in this country are laid off permanently as a result.

Both of these trends have helped produce a growing and irreversible "structural unemployment" in this country — that is, unemployment built into the economic structure — affecting more and more workers. The official estimates say 4.5 percent of the people are normally unemployed. Official unemployment figures do not include: women and young people who have never worked but might if they could find a job; people without permanent addresses whom the census-takers never find — especially common among Black and Latin men — and people who find only temporary, seasonal or part-time jobs but would rather work full-time. More realistic estimates suggest that eleven or twelve percent are unemployed even during prosperity. That means that one out of nine people willing and capable of working is permanently unemployed. During this recession, economists predict that the "official" rate will reach six to seven percent. More realistically, that means at least fifteen percent.

And while millions of people are thrown into the streets, millions of those who have jobs are forced to work overtime because it is almost always more profitable for companies to pay time and a half than to hire more workers.

Are Machines the Root of All Evil?

There is nothing wrong with having the dirtiest, heaviest, and most boring work taken over by machines. It could be real progress to free people from the worst drudgery to do better, more creative work. We now have, in this country, the technical means to produce everything we need — food, clothing, transportation, shelter — in the same amount and even better quality *if everyone works just 20 (or so) hours a week.*

A wild dream? It could become reality if our economic system was guided by our needs and not, as it is now, by the profits of companies and landowners. In an economy planned to serve our needs, every new machine and invention would be oriented toward improving our lives and not, as it is now, resulting in structural unemployment, throwing people into the pools of "useless" workers.

What Can Unions Do?

It is important not to be deceived by the widespread notion, cultivated by business public relations experts, that "what is good for business is good for workers." It once seemed true that every additional profit would result in more jobs for more workers, back in a period when rapidly expanding industry concentrated only in

this country. Now, with runaway shops, the contrary seems to be more the case: higher profits tend to put more and more workers out of their jobs. We need to organize on the recognition that business interests are not in harmony with those of workers, but diametrically opposed.

Union "closed shop" strategies have helped divide workers into two camps, the skilled and sheltered workers, mostly white male, most in unions; and the "rest", less skilled, underpaid, unemployed, many Black, Brown and Women workers. The recent food and energy inflations should help us recognize that business is increasingly able, through inflation, to erode all wage gains through secular inflation. We need unions which recognize that the fight for higher wages is not the only fight any more. We need to struggle for a redistribution of wealth and control over the economy. For that struggle, the two "camps" must be united.

V. What We Produce and How

We have given so much space to the growth of monopolies and their effects on workers and unions to raise several important issues:

- We are affected by the changing structure of the food business not only as consumers but also as workers.
- Big companies represent a natural outgrowth of the "old" system in which many firms competed with each other. The rationales of the Mom and Pop stores and the supermarkets are the same. Each tries to make as many profits as possible,

regardless of their effects on people, nature, or their competitors. Neither can afford to be different.

- We cannot have our cake and eat it: We cannot break apart big companies and at the same time preserve the integrity of the profit system. As long as the profit system exists, some companies will grow and swallow others. We could chop up the big companies a hundred times, but they would keep coming back.

So, Is Bigness "Bad"?

Some people, like consumer groups, argue that size is the root of our problems. Others argue that the size achieved through mechanization and concentration permits our high standard of living, that the enormous productivity achieved through concentration provides the only way to get fed, clothed, and sheltered. So whether we like it or not, some argue, we have to deal with monopolies.

Both sides have some validity. To balance them sensibly, we have to consider the concept of productivity.

Business' Concept of Productivity

The business concept of productivity is simple: it measures the number (or amount) of goods produced per workhour, with minimal business cost. This meaning of productivity does *not* take into account the quality of the product; whether it's useful (nutritional) or just junk; whether it's harmful or healthy; whether it costs the taxpayer a lot of money to dump the garbage going with it

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(like plastic wrappings); whether it needs a lot of energy to produce the good, causing pollution; whether the worker goes nuts or is content with the work. This concept of productivity does not count what we must pay in taxes, health and hospital bills, with our well-being and the quality of our lives. For business, everything is measured solely in terms of their sales and profits.

People's Concept of Productivity

Our concept of productivity must take all these factors into account: to produce the most useful and necessary goods per work hour, involving the least energy and pollution under the most human working conditions. With food, that would mean feeding the largest number of people with the most nutritional and healthiest food with the least waste of energy and natural resources, using machines to do the worst and dirtiest jobs.

Is It Possible?

We have to begin testing very thoroughly every possible kind of production to measure its productivity by our concepts. The size of productive unit depends on what is produced. It might be true, upon investigation, that we would want even larger steel mills than we have today because pollution could be more easily controlled and work more easily made humane. It might turn out, in contrast, that we would want to cut down the size of feedlots because cattle could be more healthy without antibiotics and other drugs. (On small units, the cattle can graze on grass. If this resulted in less cattle produc-

tion because of scarce land, we could substitute soybeans and anchovies for beef protein in our own diets.)

The Backwardness of Scientific Research

Since the 19th century, much scientific research has been financed by and pushed to serve the needs of business. It is not necessarily true that we are stuck with the kinds of chemical fertilizers and insecticides we use today. (Chemistry related to organic farming and biological controls has been underdeveloped for years.) The need for chemicals to preserve food over long distances has distorted the kind of research which scientists have performed. Given our scientific resources and ingenuity, we could certainly discover other kinds of solutions to food production and preservation than we use today.

So What Kind of Production is Best?

The two arguments remain: Bust the monopolies versus big-business-is-productive. Solutions can certainly not be left to the "natural" development of the profit system.

The size of production and the levels of "people's productivity" are much too vital to be left to the crazy rules of the profit system. The food crisis and the energy crisis, having exploded in two short years, should help us realize that we don't have the luxury of fooling around with minor variations on the same old production for profit theme. "Back to Mom and Pop stores" versus "make big business more profitable" is a false controversy. Size as such is not the central issue. The laws or criteria which determine the size of production are more crucial. Do we let those issues be determined by the drive for profit of a small class of entrepreneurs? Or do we base our decisions upon the needs of people and our scientific insights? We think that the second alternative is the only viable course we have.

URPE

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ECONOMICS OF HUNGER

When Diogenes was asked for the proper time to eat, he replied, "If a rich man, when you will. If a poor man, when you can."

Two-thirds of the world's population is malnourished and many people are starving this year. It is commonly assumed that a country does not produce enough food only if it cannot. If it were possible, the food would obviously be raised. Three reasons are generally given for widespread hunger:

- (a) A country's farmers don't know how to grow enough food. (Many international agencies are founded on this assumption.)
- (b) The resources of a country are physically limiting. (This fits into the neo-Malthusian argument of *Limits to Growth*.)
- (c) World-wide weather conditions are changing, becoming less conducive to crop production.

Because discussion of agricultural production disregards the use, another major cause of hunger is usually excluded from consideration: that agricultural production is only indirectly related to feeding people, being instead an activity which is carried out primarily for profit. The most marketable and profitable crops tend to be produced. The hungry obviously do not have the money to provide a market for their needs. Agriculture has only an accidental relation to the needs of the local or national population. One must examine the economic system which manipulates the small producers rather than place the blame on the farmers' greed.

Several books and articles apply this thesis to agriculture within the United States. (See bibliography.) Here we deal with the causes of hunger on a worldwide scale. The premise is that hunger on a mass scale is a direct result of the production of agricultural goods for profit rather than for human need.

The situation in Mexico illustrates the influences of the profit system upon agricultural production. In the fertile Ciudad Obregon region of Mexico, William and Elizabeth Paddock [ref. 14] found that most of the farmers considered their most profitable crop to be cotton, followed by soybeans and then wheat. The staple

crops of Mexico are beans and corn. Wheat is considered a luxury crop, priced out of the reach of the majority of Mexicans. It is grown largely because it is the only crop which the farmer can plant during the winter and because of the price supports which are maintained by the Mexican government. None of the crops considered most desirable by the farmers are food staples for the Mexican market. It is instructive to compare the compound rates of growth of production of the various major crops grown in Mexico from 1940 to 1962 [ref. 14]:

Crop	Increase in Production (Percent per Annum)
Cotton	10.9
Coffee	9.2
Tomatoes	8.8
Wheat	6.1
Henequin (hemp fiber)	4.2
Sugar Cane	3.9
Beans	3.8
Rice	3.5
Corn	3.3

The leading items on this list are Mexico's principal export crops. At the bottom of the list are the basic foods of Mexico. Thus the production of crops for export has increased three times as fast as the population of staple foods.

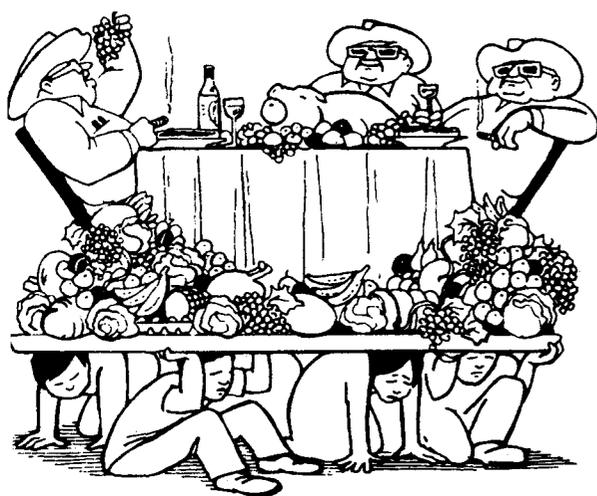
A similar trend is found in other countries. The United Nations World Economic Survey of 1965 states that in Africa and Western Asia "Commercial agriculture developed very rapidly in some cases, but by far the greater part of its production was composed of export crops." UN statistics also show that in the developing countries, the rate of growth of those agricultural products intended solely for export was 2.2 times greater than the rate of growth of the total agricultural sector during the period 1956 to 1964.

Georg Borgstrom in *World Food Resources* [ref. 5] states that farm equipment, fuel, fertilizer, and spray chemicals "that find their way to the agriculture of the developing countries have until quite recently been almost exclusively used to increase the harvest of export crops and to improve their profitability." In fact, African Development Magazine [Ref. 3] reports that

Nigeria's modernization of its agricultural sector is motivated by the desire to sell to foreign markets. Raising food and meeting the needs of the people are not the primary consideration in this scheme. The most profitable crops are the ones most grown and developed.

Cash Crops

The argument in favor of exporting cash crops and raw materials is that it is often cheaper to raise these crops and purchase food crops. For example, the tobacco crop which can be grown on one acre may yield profits on the international market that would allow the purchase of more corn than could be grown on the same acre. The catch is that those who own and sell the tobacco for a profit are not the same people who need to buy the corn, and that the profits are not used to purchase food for these people. If the land owners or investors are foreign, the profits generally leave the country. In Zaire, Africa, the export crops are mainly grown on plantations owned



industries are largely owned by the three largest meat-packing houses in Chicago. But even the profits from cash crops owned by local investors are not put into circulation for buying food. For example, in Puerto Rico the local mercantile class invests its profits in real estate speculation, banking, and retail trade—the types of enterprise that don't compete with the foreign monopolies.

Another result of marketing food on the basis of profitability is to divert food products from the country where they are grown and needed to those which can offer higher prices. Food exports of the developing countries are maintained only at the cost of malnutrition and hunger at home. For example, the fish meal industry of Chile and Peru is owned primarily by American and Western European interests. Nearly half the protein taken from the Pacific comes from the fisheries off the coasts of Chile and Peru. Almost all the fish taken are converted into animal feed in the fish meal factories in these countries. Nearly the entire output of fish meal is

exported to Western Europe (approximately 2/3), the United States (slightly less than 1/3), and Japan. Yet the rate of malnutrition in Peru is one of the worst in Latin America.

It is preposterous that the two most protein-needy continents, Africa and South America, are the suppliers of the largest quantity of animal protein feed in world trade. Georg Borgstrom states that "even hungry India has gone back to the pattern of colonial days and is providing peanut cake to feed the cattle of the United Kingdom and other European countries. In effect, India has become the biggest exporter of this item in the world market, though she needs every ounce of this valuable protein for her undernourished millions." [Ref. 5]

Economics of Dependence

The excess purchasing power of the affluent, developed countries largely dictates the flow of food items in the world market. Despite all the rhetoric about battling world hunger, the lion's share of the food and animal feed moving in the world market is streaming into the well-fed Western world. For example: [Ref. 5]

- 1/2 of all beans and peas
- more than 1/2 of the wheat
- 3/4 of the corn
- 3/5 of the soybeans
- 9/10 of the peanuts
- 3/4 of the oilseed cake from soybeans and peanuts

The domination of the world food market by the affluent fosters an imbalance in the values of the products exchanged. Agricultural exports provide the bulk (75-80%) of the total export trade of the developing countries and thus must provide the bulk of the foreign exchange earnings which are required for the importation of capital goods needed for development. A trade-off is created between feeding people and gaining foreign exchange. The balance of this exchange has continued to worsen. In 1966, prices received for foodstuffs exported by Western countries were 13% higher than the 1958 level while prices received from the sale of the *same* group of products exported by the developing countries were 11% lower. For minerals, the export prices of the Western countries had risen by 5% and those of the developing countries had fallen by 7%. Thus although the volume of agricultural exports of the developing countries increased by more than 50% between 1948 and 1966 the net gain in foreign exchange rose by little more than 10%. In a country such as India, where in 1970 agriculture accounted for 49% of the GNP, this does little to help feed the population and yet further increases the pressure to raise cash crops.

The excess purchasing power of the affluent nations largely dictates the price and flow of food commodities on the world markets. The price of American food exports increased by 55% while the price of food imports increased by only 22%. [Ref. 15] When the USDA released a new low estimate of corn crops last August (1974) the price of corn futures rose to the allowed limit.

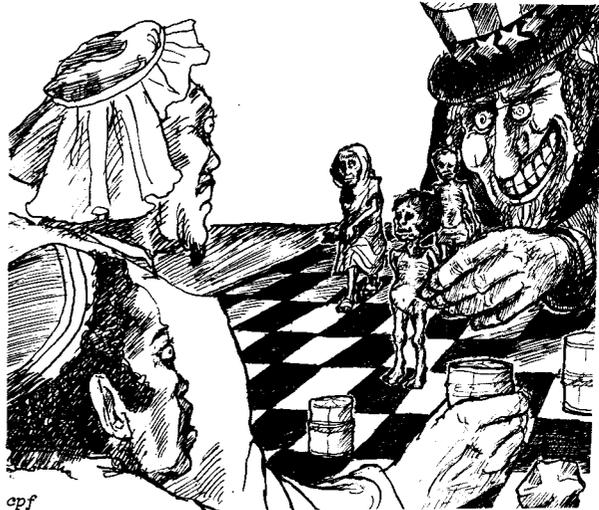
America's foreign customers scrambled to secure supplies. Japanese buyers placed orders for more corn than they bought in the past. Poor nations like India were forced to compete in an increasingly tight grain market.

The underdeveloped countries have become increasingly dependent on the affluent nations for trade, both as a market for their cash crops and as suppliers of food. At the same time, the affluent nations are driving down their purchasing power. The U.S. was the leading exporter of 8 of the 20 commodities whose prices increased most rapidly between 1970 and 1973. The developing countries were the importers of the increasingly expensive foodstuffs including: 38% of the wheat, 55% of the soybean oil, 50% of the cottonseed oil, and 74% of the rice.[Ref. 15]

The United States was the dominant exporter of these commodities. Between 1948 and 1964, the developing countries became more dependent on the West to purchase exports (70% in 1948 to 79% in 1964) while the West became less dependent on the developing countries (from 32% in 1948 to 23% in 1964). The result of this trend is that agricultural development in the Third World is becoming more dependent on international market forces and less influenced by domestic markets. This dependency and lack of economic autonomy maintains underdevelopment.

Any efforts of the developing countries to escape their dependency relationships are resisted by the affluent countries, despite all the rhetoric to the contrary.

- World Bank loans go for cash crop systems. In Tanzania in 1972 loans were made for the improvement of cotton and coffee crops, the establishment of tea smallholders, tobacco redrying plants, coffee pulp-eries and tea factories. (*African Development Magazine*, Sept. 1972).



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- When India wanted to manage her own fertilizer plants, rather than have them run by U.S. oil companies, the U.S. held up food shipments to India to force her to capitulate to the oil companies. (*Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 20, 1966).
- When India sought to barter with Burma for rice, rather than use precious foreign exchange, the International Monetary Fund stifled the attempt quickly.[Ref. 18]
- The U.S. CIA spent 8 million dollars, with the approval of Kissinger, to disrupt the economy of Chile under Allende.
- The U.S. even cut off exports of soybeans and other agricultural products to our European trading partners at a time when an attempt was being made to pressure them into modifying their policies of agricultural self-sufficiency and becoming dependent on our production.[Ref. 17]

The Lesson

It is important not to lose sight of the obvious — within the present economic system, people produce for the market. The result is that non-subsistence agriculture bears only a coincidental relationship to the needs of the local populations in developing countries. Because discussion of agricultural production is still in terms of use, the false assumption is perpetrated that agricultural production is in fact dependent on immediate need. The simple-minded assumption that increasing crop yields automatically guarantees a better life for the majority of people is false because it disregards what is produced, who consumes the products, and who receives the profits of the enterprise.

The object of any type of aid must be to foster the material and intellectual independence of the country receiving it. China was lauded in *African Development Magazine* for giving aid to further autonomy and independence. The *New York Times* (July 27, 1974) con-



"Our country is facing a most serious crisis and you talk about feeding your kids..."

trasted China, a country that has remained autonomous by choice, and India, a country that has been under colonial rule and that now imports much Western technology. "By some estimates, per capita production of rice and wheat is actually higher in India. But serious malnutrition which affects roughly a third of the Indian population appears to have been banished from China."

The lesson is that hunger is as much a function of the social structure as it is of agricultural "progress." What takes the guise of aid, like the transfer of Western agricultural technology, is simply the imposition of the capitalist system, in which production exists for the market. Inherent in this system is the maintenance of underdevelopment and hunger.

Robin Dennis
Ruthanne Landsness

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(continued from page 7)

be known at the hospital unless the obstetrics/gynecology department head "happened to read them in the Federal Register. . ." Dr. E.J. Quilligan, chief of professional services at Women's Hospital of County-USC and chairperson of the obstetrics/gynecology department there, did not "recall having seen them." He went on to say that "for some time, we've been studying ways of improving our informed consent procedures. And some of those under study are similar to the federal guidelines."

The denouement was contained in a *Times* article published a few days later.[3] It noted, reassuringly, that "Federal, state and local officials are moving on a 'top-priority' basis to insure enforcement of national guidelines designed to protect patients from possible 'voluntary' sterilization abuses. . ." These "multilevel actions followed disclosure by the *Times* last week that detailed U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare sterilization regulations. . . were not being followed at the giant Los Angeles County-USC Medical Center." The lesson is similar to the one we have been supposed to take from Watergate: the system, though inherently good and just, sometimes falters; it is restored by the efforts of sincere reformers and a crusading press.

The CEFS, its role in exposing forced sterilizations at the hospital, and its program for ending forced sterilizations, were never mentioned in any of the *Times* articles.

Attempted media co-optation of the issue raised by the CEFS has only intensified the campaign to organize against coerced sterilizations and other aspects of population control. Current crises in the U.S. (e.g., widespread and increasing unemployment), and in other parts of the world (e.g., worsening famine), lend urgency to these efforts and underscore their political importance.

Puerto Rico provides a clear, if extreme, example of the relationship of population control to unemployment. Thirty-five percent of the island's women of childbearing age have been sterilized according to information recently presented to the U.N. Decolonization Committee by leaders of the Puerto Rican Socialist and Puerto Rican Independence parties.[4] Massive sterilization, combined with "organized emigration" to the U.S., is hoped to hold down or at least maintain the current unemployment rate of 30 percent, as the U.S. continues to change the island's light-industry and agricultural economy to mining and refining center for petrochemical products. The latter industries, less labor-intensive than those of the present economy, necessitate a reduction in the island's population.

In the U.S. proper, the average percentage of sterilization is much lower than in the colony of Puerto Rico, yet there are strong indications that the percentage is much higher among Black, Brown, and Native American women than among White women. The unemployment

rate and the sterilization rate mimic each other *chillingly*.

As for the so-called "World Food Crisis" and its relationship to population (and therefore population control), the prevailing mythology was well-summarized in a recent NBC "white paper." A series of floods, droughts, and storms, combined with shortages and high costs created by Arab oil politics, have decreased world food production somewhat. The central problem, however, is that enormous *increases* of food production are needed, year after year, to keep up with uncontrolled population growth in the Third World. The moral question faced by the U.S., then, is to what extent should it draw on its own food resources to feed people who will not curb their population (in spite of all past U.S. assistance in that regard)?

NBC chose to ignore completely considerations such as the role which imperialism has played in maintaining (even increasing) class differences and gross maldistribution of wealth; the need of the poor in these societies to solve their poverty problem precisely by having large families; and the compelling evidence that social and economic development are prerequisites, rather than consequences, of a lower birth rate. NBC chose to focus on India, which has failed to contain its problems, rather than on China, which so far has been able to deal with theirs very successfully.[5] By using overpopulation as a diversion, NBC and the rest of the media are preparing the people of this country to view unparalleled famine on the evening news, firm in the conviction that the blame for it belongs squarely on the victim.

Meanwhile, the population control lobby — the foundations and agencies which are controlled by the U.S. ruling elite[6] — continue their basic strategy. Third World governments are pressed to step up sterilization programs under the threat of exclusion from the U.S. food aid program*, rejection of applications for World Bank loans, and other forms of coercion. They perceive this as the way to minimize opposition to continued imperialist exploitation. When population continues to increase anyway (because rational conditions which would lead to smaller family size are not present), they use this increase as a scapegoat for the ongoing poverty and hunger in Third World countries.

The forced sterilization of women in this country and at U.S. instigation in the Third World is an outrage. For purely humanitarian reasons, it must be exposed and stopped wherever it occurs. But there are compelling political reasons for doing so as well. Indeed, the fight to stop coerced sterilization can only be effective when its political meaning is fully drawn.

When it became public knowledge that forced sterilization had taken place at County-USC Medical Center,

*Last summer the U.S. refused Bangladesh loans to buy urgently needed food because Bangladesh exported gunny sacks to Cuba, grounds for exclusion from the food aid program. This ban was waived for Egypt, however, because, according to President Ford, food to Egypt was "in the national interest." [7]

apologists contended that a handful of misguided doctors were at fault. An adequate response to this diversion requires that population control be analyzed within the context of poverty, unemployment, a health care system for which health care delivery is not a major goal, colonial exploitation, and other features which characterize U.S. capitalism. The struggle to end forced sterilization is the struggle to end the abuses of capitalism and to construct a decent society.

Al Huebner

The struggle against forced sterilization and closely related matters will be facilitated by closer communication between active individuals and groups. If you would like more information or can furnish useful information please contact SESPA, P.O. Box 368, Canoga Park, Calif. 91303

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CALAMITIES OF NATURE

WEA

Weather is often used as a catch-all explanation by government and business to explain rising food prices. For example, last spring it was said that meat prices rose because of monsoons, floods, droughts, hurricanes . . . not a word about the profit rate of agribusiness or collusion of the government with big-time grain dealers.

In fact, the "catastrophies" weren't really so catastrophic. Total world food production increased by 4 percent in volume despite bad weather conditions. Even the supply of livestock, though diminished by bad weather last winter, decreased by only 3 percent from 1972 levels. This small decline cannot account by itself for the nearly 40 percent increase in retail meat prices which occurred in the U.S., even if it did contribute to short-term higher prices.

Here's What Was Going On Throughout 1973:

In Asia, a monsoon failure resulted in heavy crop losses in India, China, Korea, and Indonesia. Rice and corn production was low in Thailand. There was a severe drought in the wheat-producing areas of Australia and Western Africa. Hot, dry weather in the Soviet Union cut their grain crop by 24%, threatening bread shortages throughout the country. In the United States, harsh winter weather early in 1973 killed cattle. Later in the year, floods hurt some grain and vegetable crops.[1]

Feed costs became high because, with bad weather and the American devaluations, everyone wanted American corn and soybeans. The price of corn in the U.S. rose from \$1.13 in April 1971, to \$3.37 one year later and to \$6.14 by April 1973.[2]

The failure of the Peruvian anchovy crop contributed to the price increases of soybeans, corn, and meat. In 1972-3 the Humbolt current off the coast of Peru altered its course and drastically reduced the catch of protein-rich anchovies which have long been an important component of livestock feed. Owners of livestock have had to find other sources of feed and are now using more corn and more of the high-protein soybeans.

Here's How the Government Responded:

Shortages of soybeans and anchovies had been intensifying for two years. The size of the Soviet grain deal was known to the Nixon Administration during summer of 1972. The government was aware that the weather disasters threatened to create some serious shortages and that, unless supplies increased, prices would begin to rise as a result of these shortages.

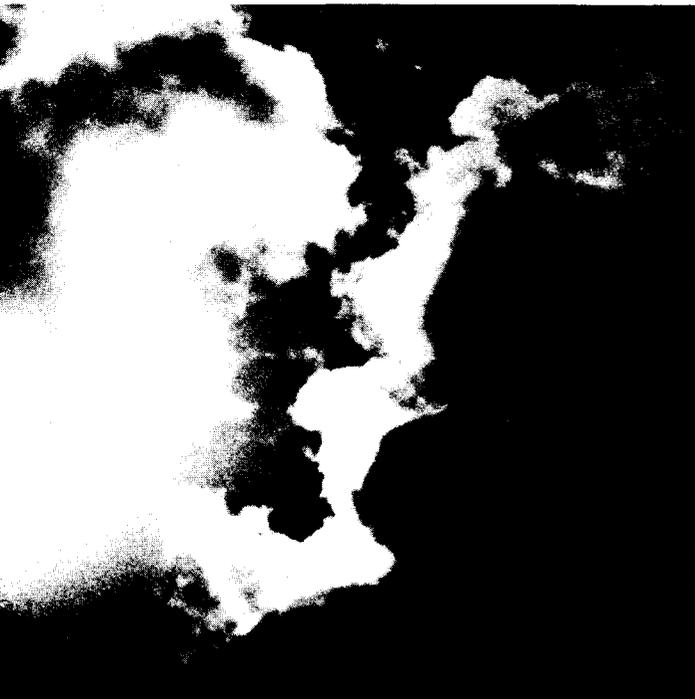


Something could have been done about the situation. In the summer of 1972, the government was paying farmers to withhold 60 million acres from production. This amounted to almost 15% of all U.S. cropland. Traditionally, land was withheld in this way in order to keep surplus production from driving prices down too far and undercutting farmers' incomes. But in 1972 it is clear that the opposite situation developed. Instead of the usual surplus of farm crops, a serious deficit occurred. Instead of falling prices, we could anticipate sharply rising prices as demand pressed against supplies.

If the government truly represented the public interest and had acted immediately, when it knew about the extent of grain shortages during the summer of 1972, it would not have been too late to prevent wheat prices from skyrocketing the way they did. If some of the acres which had been withheld had been permitted to be put into production before Labor Day, they could have been used for the fall planting of the winter wheat crop, which normally accounts for about 75 percent of U.S. wheat production.[3] The government did nothing, prices rose, we paid, and the grain dealers profited.

Why did the government choose not to act? First, it was an election year and the President was courting the farm vote. He knew that he would gain most favor among the farmers if he kept supplies tight and permitted farm

OTHER



SELLING THE RAIN

WEATHER MODIFICATION AS A WEAPON OF IMPERIALISM

As economic competition among many disadvantaged nations heightens, it may be to a country's advantage to insure a peaceful, natural environment for itself and a disturbed environment for its competitors. . . Such a secret war need never be declared or known by the affected populations. . . The years of drought and storm could be attributed to unkindly nature.

Dr. Gordon J.F. MacDonald, former member of the President's Council on Environmental Quality[1]

Let me say this before rain becomes a utility that they can plan and distribute for money. By "they" I mean the people who cannot understand that rain is a festival, who do not appreciate its gratuity, who think that what has no price has no value, that what cannot be sold is not real, so that the only way to make something actual is to place it on the market. The time will come when they will sell you even your rain.

"Rain and the Rhinoceros" by Thomas Merton.[2]

Modern weaponry in the twentieth century has increasingly shocked us with its vast array of sophisticated scientific instruments of death. From the ruins of Hiroshima to the jungles of Indochina, we have seen the results of the misuse of science and the misappropriation of resources. Out of the Pentagon labyrinth have come a series of horrors from H-bombs to guava bombs. We should expect more additional horrors to appear unless we cut off funds for the war machine. Vietnam served as a testing ground for some of these weapons and countless other new armaments for the United States. It is important to look at Vietnam in a larger sense, as the proving ground of US imperialism for control of the Third World. Not only are weapons tested but the Vietnamese people are tested, world opinion is tested, American soldiers and the American public are tested. One lesson that I feel we learned from Vietnam is that overt American military involvement (soldiers, pilots, etc.) will not be as easily tolerated or as successful as covert involvement (aid to Saigon, advisors, etc.). While

prices to rise. Second, the large grain dealers were making the most profits from the short supplies — both in their roles as middlemen and through their speculation on the commodities exchange. The President and his Secretary of Agriculture have had close ties to those large grain dealers, and hardly wanted to undercut the profits they were making.[4]

In short, calamities of nature clearly reduced the supplies of grain and livestock, but it was not necessary that these shortages cause the kinds of price inflation we experienced. The price effects of the shortages could have been regulated, but the government, because its role is to keep profits flowing and to convince us that this is in our best interests, did not take the steps to regulate the prices. The prices rose, and the weather was blamed — but, as we have tried to show, prices do not "naturally" rise because of natural disasters.

URPE

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drafting American youth to fight and die in Vietnam proved in the long run unsuccessful, funneling aid to Saigon has continued, even though at reduced levels. As the war progressed, human involvement was replaced by more sophisticated technological involvement. A policy of covert warfare for the Third World by the US seems feasible for the future. Chile and Allende were good examples of how this new secret warfare will work.

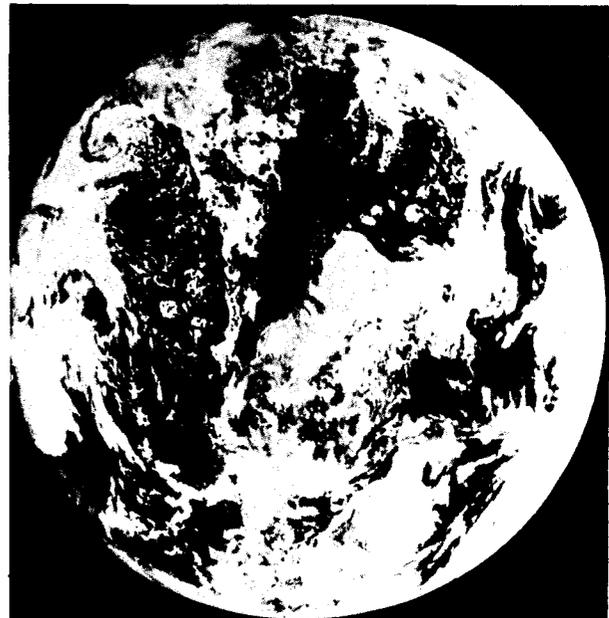
Weather modification, more specifically rain modification, was a complicated scientific weapon that the American military experimented with in North Vietnam, South Vietnam and Laos from 1967-1972. Due to the efforts of Senator Clairborne Pell and the Chicago Science for Vietnam Collective a wealth of information on military weather tampering in Indochina and elsewhere was collected during hearings held in the summer of 1972 and early 1974. Pell's chief motivations were to flush out information on what occurred in Indochina to enlighten world opinion and hopefully to enact international treaties banning weather and environmental warfare. After much lying (Laird once told Fulbright that they never used weather modification in Indochina) and stalling, a secret, now unclassified session was held between Pell, Sen. Case, and military brass on March 20, 1974, regarding Indochina.[3] This hearing revealed the Pentagon soaked a total of \$21.3 million in flying 2,602 rainmaking sorties over Indochina between 1967-1972.[4] In October 1966, Lt. Col. Ed Soyster testified, the Pentagon ran a series of tests to determine if they could increase rainfall over parts of Indochina. Col. Soyster stated that the program was to determine if increased rainfall could further soften roads, cause landslides, wash out river crossings and in general augment poor traffic conditions. By November 9, 1966, the tests were completed and it was concluded that cloudseeding to induce additional rain over infiltration routes "could be used as a valuable tactical weapon." On March 20, 1967, the Pentagon began cloud-seeding operations over North Vietnam using WC-130 weather reconnaissance and RF-4C photo reconnaissance aircraft. According to the hearings, rainfall was increased by over 30% in selected areas. Apparently the first time weather modification was actually used in Vietnam was over Hue in 1963 by the CIA.[5]

In beginning to uncover the US military weather modification operations we need to extend thanks to the Chicago Collective of Science for Vietnam. Their report "The Big Gun is the Rain" issued in April 1972, uncovered Project Blue Nile—one of the numerous research projects on weather modification funded by the US government.[6] Project Blue Nile focused on Vietnam and involved the RAND Corporation, University of Illinois, Yale, Nuclear Research Associates, Systems Science and Software, and TRW, Inc. Obviously the Air Force was involved extensively in weather modification work in Indochina and remains quite involved in this area today. Air Weather Service is the umbrella weather agency of the Air Force that has been writing detailed reports on the weather of other countries since the

mid-1940's. Global Weather Control in Offet, Nebraska and Scott Air Force Field in East St. Louis are two important bases for Air Weather Service. The Air Force's Cambridge Research Laboratories at Hanscom Field in Bedford, Mass., coordinates much of the research activity on weather modification for the Air Force and worked closely with Air Weather Service on the Indochina weather modification.

The Navy is also heavily involved in weather modification activities. Their work headquarters is China Lake Naval Base, China Lake, California. Pierre St. Amand, the director of weather modification research at the base testified before Senator Pell a year ago in describing their work. Rain control is top on their agenda. Yet they also have been able to clear fog, reduce hail, influence cloud formation, snow, lightning, etc.[7] Overseas this base has cleared fog in the Panama Canal, produced rain in India in 1967 (after droughts), produced rain in Okinawa and the Philippines in 1969 and 1971, respectively. Afghanistan, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Iran, Kenya, Libya and Taiwan also petitioned this base to assist in weather modification work. Australia, Brazil, India, Israel, Japan, Mexico, Philippines, Russia, France, Canada and Italy all have active weather modification programs. Yet the United States seems to have the most developed knowledge, techniques and practice—since we have been actively testing for the last forty years. The first appropriation of \$9,000 for rainmaking experiments by Congress to the Agriculture Department was made in 1891.[8] There are also numerous weather modification corporations engaged in work both in the US and overseas. Over 60 countries have contracted for the services of these corporations.[9]

It is important to realize how extensively the US military is involved in weather modification efforts. Both the Air Force and Navy maintain their own weather satellite system. Several very sophisticated satellites have



OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH ISSUE

Members of the Stony Brook SftP chapter have formed an editorial collective to produce the September 1975 issue of the magazine. We have selected occupational health and safety as our theme. We would greatly appreciate receiving manuscripts and news items on any of the following subtopics:

- *** The politics of occupational health.
- *** An evaluation of OSHA and other governmental environmental health efforts.
- *** Occupational health as an organizing issue.
- *** Experiences with workers, unions, and bosses over occupational health problems.
- *** Analyses of specific occupational health and safety problems.
- *** Anything else you can think of that's appropriate.

PLEASE send articles to Stony Brook SftP, c/o Ted Goldfarb, Dept. of Chemistry, SUNY, Stony Brook, NY 11790 *no later than June 1, 1975*. If you have some interest in writing an article, let us know as soon as you can. Thanks.

been kept aloft for the last nine years. The Navy's Fleet Numerical Weather Control in Monterey, California and the Air Force's Global Weather Control serve as the command bases for these operations. High over our heads the military weather satellites are providing both visible-light and infrared imagery for day and night cloud surveillance in addition to making vertical temperature profiles.[10] This data from the satellites is received at secret ground stations around the world and is converted to digital computer format at the two base stations. When this system was revealed three years ago, then Under-Secretary of the Air Force John McLucas revealed that "certain aspects of the data system remain classified." [11]

NASA satellites have contributed a great deal to the military's understanding of weather. (NASA is an agency that is heavily dominated by the military despite any outward "civilian" appearances.) Many of the first satellites in the 1950's were weather satellites. A total of 22 TIROS and ITOS weather satellites were launched. Weather rockets are launched frequently by NASA at Wallops Island, Virginia. Most mysterious of all are the ILLIAC 4 weather modification computers operated jointly by DOD and NASA at NASA's Ames Research Center at Moffet Field, California. These computers were an outgrowth of Project Blue Nile and were installed in 1973. Their purpose is to study how human-made changes in the weather effect the global climate. Manned spaceflights such as Skylab also collected information on

weather. At the NASA LBJ Space Center in Houston, Texas, displays and movies refer to the use of this information on weather modification research. NASA has collected a lot of detailed data on how the sun affects the weather.

Numerous unclassified documents indicate that the Army is also heavily involved in weather modification research at places like the Army Electronics Command Base at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, and various missile bases such as the Army Missile Command at Huntsville, Alabama, and the US Signal Missile Support Agency at White Sands, New Mexico. The whole US government weather scene is dominated by the military. The "civilian" US Weather Service was created by the Army Signal Corps. Today the Weather Service and its parent organization the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) are overflowing with old and active Air Weather Service-Air Force people. Dr. George Crossman, present Director of the Bureau, worked computerizing the Air Force before he came to the Weather Bureau. Now the Weather Bureau is being totally computerized by Crossman.

Meteorological schools are also swamped by the military with scholarships, jobs (DOD is the largest employer of weatherpeople) contracts, consultant fees, etc.

Controlling rain has been at the top of the list for the military—not only increasing it, but stopping it. A great deal of work has been done on cloud dispersion which results in droughts. In the late 1940's, the Air Force discovered to the disgust and anger of Texas and Arizona cattle ranchers that drought could be created through overseeding. Weather modification expert Gordan MacDonald confirms this fact in his article "How to Wreck the Environment" from *Unless Peace Comes*:

Preliminary analysis suggests that there is no effect 200-300 miles down range but that continued seeding over a long stretch of dry land clearly could remove sufficient moisture to prevent rain 100 miles down wind. This extended effect leads to the possibility of covertly removing moisture from the atmosphere so that a nation dependent on water vapor crossing a competitor country could be subjected to years of drought. The operation could be concealed by the statistical irregularity of the atmosphere. A nation possessing superior technology in environmental manipulation could damage an adversary without revealing its intent. . . [12]

Why would the United States government have such a strong interest in controlling the rain? Perhaps the answer was supplied by Pierre St. Amand, Director of the Navy's China Lake Base before Senator Pell's committee on January 25, 1974:

Strategic use would be use that tended to upset the economy of another country for a long period of time, or to cause extensive damage to the crops of that country. [13]

Is it a coincidence that the world has been having a lot of strange weather lately which has been very damaging to some foreign crops? In the last few years many countries throughout the world have been experiencing bad weather which has reduced their crop production and made them more dependent on the US for food. In 1973, the Soviet Union was motivated to make the largest grain purchase in history largely due to drought. By 1973, Dr. A.H. Boerma, Director of the UN Food and Agricultural Organization released information that the world is faced with a serious shortage of rice and wheat due to droughts in 36 countries[14]. Six Western African nations have been the focal point of world concern because of their drought. In this region countless acres of crops, millions of cattle and many lives have been lost[15]. Floods and droughts have also hit Asia hard since 1973 affecting crop production in Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Cambodia, Nepal, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand and the People's Republic of China. Last summer floods destroyed rice and jute crops in India and Bangladesh leaving many peasants without food or income. Northeast Brazil[16], which is traditionally a drought area experienced floods last spring. Drought hit the Mexican state of Sonora last summer killing 100,000 head of cattle[17]. Low rainfall in West Germany in 1973 affected vegetable yields in northern and central areas. Droughts in Cyprus in 1973 destroyed grain production and hurt other crops.[18]

Meteorologists around the world have concluded that indeed the weather in the past few years has been strange and that major changes in the world's weather are underway. Reid Bryson, director of the Institute for Environmental Studies at the University of Wisconsin, testified before Congress in 1973 that the bad weather which began to slash food production in 1972 "is not just a passing chance combination of circumstances. The evidence is now abundantly clear that the climate of the earth is changing. It would appear that we are at the end of an era—the era of surpluses and the era of benign climate." Bryson continued by testifying that changes are not likely to effect US food production, but severe cutbacks are possible in Africa, South Asia and China where mass starvation could occur.[19]

Dr. H.H. Lamb, a European climatologist, believes that the greatest change in world climate since the 1700's is occurring[20]. One theory is that the present warming trend, which usually lasts for 10,000 years, is over. Other theories exist, yet little attention has been given by meteorologists to the possibility of human interference.

This global change in weather comes at an unusual time historically—a time that could lead nations to use weather modification as a weapon. We live in an era when nations are struggling over control of all kinds of resources. Such a struggle has occurred many times historically, but now we find the world in a new situation with minerals that will be depleted relatively soon in the future and a world population that is scheduled to double by the end of the century. Complicating this

situation is the obsolete and dangerous US capitalist economy which gobbles more than its share— 40%-50% of the resources for 6% of the world's people. Even more resources will be needed in the future if this economy is to survive. Growth will not be controlled under the present system: thus we can expect more conflict between the US and the Third World. For quite some time the US government has been concerned about this predicament. Twenty years ago a Senate Interior Committee report concluded that there was no doubt that Washington knew that if mineral-rich nations cut off their supplies, "to a very dangerous extent, the vital security of this nation (capitalism) would be in serious jeopardy." [21] Increasingly, Third World nations are demanding control over their resources and are nationalizing US companies that formerly controlled them. Ignited by the example of the OPEC countries, such efforts have spread to the bauxite countries, banana countries, tin and many others. In response, the chiefs of US imperialism—Ford and Kissinger—have waved swords at the oil countries. Yet using swords had limited results in Indochina. Perhaps controlling the world's food supply would be a better weapon.

In 1972 Radio Havana charged that the CIA had modified Cuba's rainfall to affect her sugar crop. The Thai government had modified weather against liberation troops in its northeast sector according to hearings held before the House last September. Rhodesia was accused by her neighbors of weather warfare in 1973.[22]

The US Senate in July of 1973 passed a resolution calling for an international treaty to ban weather modification and other environmental warfare. This resolution is still pending in the House. In the UN, efforts to achieve a treaty were sparked by the Soviet Union and several other countries this Fall. Such UN efforts have been weakened by the US in the past as with the Stockholm Environmental Conference in 1972 where the US delegation weakened a clause in a resolution to evaluate and disseminate information on weather modification.

We mentioned earlier that severe droughts have affected the world's wheat and rice production. Today the US is the largest producer of wheat and rice. It controls a larger share of the world's food than the Arabs control of oil. US agricultural exports have skyrocketed from \$8 billion in 1972 to \$20 billion in 1974. Use of this food has become more overtly political in the last few years. Bangladesh was threatened with a suspension of food aid unless it stopped selling gunny sacks to Cuba. The Allende government was denied wheat that was urgently needed shortly before the coup. After the Pinochet junta took power, the wheat aid was delivered. Indochina was formerly the world's largest rice producer but was surpassed by the US after the use of military defoliation. Last September Ford gave his ominous UN speech warning that "energy is required to produce food and food to produce energy."

(continued on page 40)

BOOK REVIEW

eater's digest

THE CONSUMER'S FACTBOOK OF FOOD ADDITIVES

*No matter how thick
or thin you slice it
it is still baloney.*

Carl Sandburg
The People, Yes

You do the dreaming — We'll do the rest. Imagination shouldn't be limited by today's technology. Go ahead! Dream up tomorrow's fantastic food ideas. We're already figuring out how you can do it, profitably.

from *Food Product Development*,
February/March 1971. Advertisement from Durkee Industrial Foods Group.

Out of this world! Amazing! Stupendous! Unbelievable . . . Virtually no limit to the natural foods that now can be duplicated with special characteristics that make them better suited to today's modern needs. And CPC International, with its related affiliates, has virtually everything you need to enter this growing market . . . the carbohydrates, the fats, the oils, the flavors — and the expertise. All you need is the protein — and the will.

from *Food Product Developments*,
October 1971. Advertisement from CPC International.

Sugar, enriched flour (bleached), shortening, cocoa processed with alkali, dried corn syrup, leavening, nonfat dry milk, dried sour cream, propylene glycol monoesters and mono and diglycerides, salt, artificial flavors, guar gum, corn starch, citric acid, sodium phosphate, freshness preserved by BHA and BHT.

label on sour cream chocolate fudge cake mix.

The nineteen sixties meant, for many people, the birth of an understanding of our society which went beyond the conventional political attitudes to the perception of a pervasive pattern of injustice, greed and exploitation. Attempts to effect change on the basis of a moral appeal failed, leaving many of the participants in this new social movement with a realization of their ineffectuality. Out of that realization crystallized the concept of *control*: control over one's own life, over one's own body, over one's own community. But in attempting to reach that goal, it became clear that without a real understanding of the elements and forces that act on our personal and collective lives, it is impossible to translate the concept of control into reality. Thus, in the seventies the left-wing political movement is taking much more seriously the task of education and demystification.

In addition to numerous attempts to develop a broader and more sophisticated theoretical analysis of the individual and the society, a number of "guidebooks" undertaking this educational role on a more personal level have appeared. From the feminist movement, *Our Bodies, Our Selves* [1] provides us with a model for political education integrating an understanding of the individual needs with societal pressures. Richard Burack in *The New Handbook of Prescription Drugs* [2] gives us an overall analysis of the profit motive in the pharmaceutical industry as well as access to important information on the use, safety, and costs of the most common prescription drugs. This sort of information has a potential for political content, since it allows people to begin to take control of their own lives. Another topic with broad political implications, which is increasingly drawing attention, is food. Food can be analyzed from a variety of perspectives: in terms of world-wide needs, in terms of prices and the "free market" economy, in terms of our nutritional needs, or — as does Michael Jacobson in the *Eater's Digest* [3], in terms of the safety of the food products we eat.

Food Additives

Within the realm of everyday life, choosing what we eat is one of the most common decisions we make. Yet few of us understand our own biological needs well

enough to make rational decisions in this area. Even if we did have that knowledge, we are limited in our choices by the food industry. Our initial requirement, therefore, is for the information which will allow us to understand those choices available. The *Eater's Digest* is a guide-book to the uses and misuses of food additives.

The question of food additive safety is not a theoretical one, since it was estimated that in 1970 the average per capita consumption of food additives was five pounds.[4] Indeed, the demands of large scale production and distribution of food products in an urbanized and industrialized world has necessitated the use of a wide variety of food additives. Food additives may be either natural or synthetic chemicals used to enhance the storage life of food and to alter its taste, appearance and structure. There is nothing inherently bad about the use of synthetic chemicals, nor is there anything inherently good about the use of natural products in food. Safrole, for example, is a natural product of the sassafras root and was used as a flavoring for root beer until 1960 when it was banned after it was found that safrole could cause cancer of the liver. What we would like to know about any food additive is: is that additive fulfilling a necessary function in the food? is that additive safe for humans? Jacobson analyzes additives from both perspectives, citing the original experiments when necessary. His conclusions are generally quite compelling.

One example of an unnecessary additive is that of the antioxidants, butylated hydroxyanisole (BHA) and butylated hydroxytoluene (BHT). These compounds are found in a wide variety of foods, such as vegetable oils, potato chips and cereals. BHA and BHT have not been adequately tested for safety, nor are they essential in most foods. The book, in fact, provides a list of products which do not include these additives.

Examples of dangerous food additives are legion and have already been provided in a previous issue of *SftP* [5]. One of Jacobson's most valuable contributions is to clear up misconceptions about the testing of food additives. A criticism often leveled at tests of additive safety is that extremely large doses of the additive are used. Large doses of virtually any chemical may be toxic, the critics argue, and indeed this is true. What these criticisms fail to point out, however, is that tests employing life-time feeding of large doses to experimental animals are *not* toxicity tests, but are tests for carcinogenic potential (the ability to produce tumors). In the case of tumor induction, there in fact appears to be no concentration threshold, below

which the chemical is safe and above which tumors are induced. Rather, if a large amount of the chemical in question causes cancer, then it is the case that a small amount will also cause tumor formation, although less frequently. The choice then becomes whether to test a large dose of an additive on a mouse or a rat whose life span is only one or two years, or to assume a product is safe until fifty or sixty years later when several human generations are showing the effects.

A third area of interest described by Jacobson is the role of the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) in certifying the safety of food additives. In an update of one of Jacobson's discussions, the *New York Times* has provided an excellent description of the dynamic of food industry influence on the FDA.[6] In a recent decision, the FDA, responding to the pressure of the food industry, refused to ban the food coloring "Red No. 2", despite the recommendations of its own scientists. Red No. 2 food dye, the most widely used food coloring, is found in ice cream, processed cheese, sausages, cherry soda and cosmetics. Despite the FDA's apparent confidence, studies showing that this dye can cause cancer as well as fetal damage have caused the March of Dimes to urge that people avoid ingesting Red No. 2. That may be difficult to do, since although the FDA requires food manufacturers to state the presence of artificial coloring on most food labels, it does not require them to specify which dye is actually used. Furthermore, butter, cheese and ice cream are exempt from even that requirement and need not give any ingredients on the label.

The *Eater's Digest* contains a wealth of information on both the general issues of food safety and testing and on the specific uses of a variety of food additives. It is an invaluable reference book for anyone interested in food.

Political Perspectives

The ultimate value of books like the *Eater's Digest* to us as politically involved individuals as well as interested consumers is bound up in the question, "To what use can we put the information we derive from such a book?". On the individual level, we can, of course, use the information to guide our own eating habits. Although this is a reasonable course of action, it is an extremely limited one, for it assumes that alternatives are available and that we have access to foods which are nutritious and safe. However, it has been well documented that as the food industry becomes increasingly monopolistic our range of real food choices becomes narrower.



Another course of individual action might be for us to put pressure on the FDA to expand the level of disclosure required on food labels. Thus, we would know which ice cream contained acetylacetate as its orange flavor and which did not. Consumer action at this level is essentially misplaced effort for three reasons. First, it is effort directed not toward real change (the elimination of unnecessary and questionably safe additives), but toward only the appearance of change. Second, it is effort which has a high probability of failure in light of recent decisions by the FDA which indicate the level of influence of the food industry on the FDA. Finally, even if this effort should prove successful, it is likely that it would benefit primarily the highly educated sector of the population sensitive to the potential health hazards of additives and with enough money to choose alternative foods.

Solutions to the problems of food safety are also unlikely to come from the technical experts. Although useful information will be generated by some technically trained people, the majority of food technologists, toxicologists and pathologists are too dependent on the food industry for their livelihoods to seriously challenge the precepts of that industry. Thus any technological "solutions" are more likely to fit the needs of the industry than those of the consumer.

So, what are we to do with this information? Understanding the issues surrounding the production and the distribution of food is important because eating is an important concern for everyone. If we are ever to organize people into any sort of force for progressive social change, we must do so not on the basis of a series of abstract moral issues, but on the basis of the failure of capitalism in our everyday lives. Food, which is essential to our health and well-being, may yet turn out to be one of capitalism's most conspicuous failures. As such, we would all do well to understand this issue better.

Ross Feldberg

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NUTRITION & MALNUTRITION

The Poor and Malnutrition

Rising food prices affect the poor disproportionately because they must spend a larger portion of their income on food than do higher-income families.[1] Rising food prices also hurt the poor in another way: poor families in the United States are much more likely than higher-income families to have an inadequate diet. When prices rise, more and more of the poor face the risk of malnutrition.*

For example, a study by the U.S. Department of Agriculture found that 63% of families with incomes under \$3,000 had inadequate diets compared to 37 per cent of families with incomes of \$10,000 or more. These results are shown in the first table.[2]

Malnutrition, although not limited to the poor, is highly concentrated among those with lower incomes. And these findings are true despite the fact that the poor generally buy more nutritious food with their food dollar than do the more affluent.[3]

*Ed. note: Under-nutrition (i.e., an insufficient caloric intake) is a usual concomitant.

INCOME AND QUALITY OF DIETS

	Good Diets[a]	Poor Diets[b]
Under \$3,000	37	63
\$3,000—\$4,999	43	57
\$5,000—\$6,999	53	47
\$7,000—\$9,999	56	44
\$10,000 and Over	63	37

- a. Net Recommended Dietary Allowances for 7 Nutrients
- b. Had Less Than $\frac{2}{3}$ Allowance for 1-7 Nutrients

U.S. Dept. of Agriculture

The Affluent Have Nutrition Problems, Too

More generally, millions of Americans are overweight or have high blood pressure as a result of improper diets. And the situation is getting worse. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the U.S. Depart-

ment of Agriculture both have noted a deterioration in the nutritional quality of food in recent years.[4] Combined with inflation this means that we are all getting far less for our food dollar. As a result:

- High cholesterol saturated fats and excess calories in our diet make heart disease the cause of over half of America's annual deaths.
- More than 20 per cent of Americans are obese, and overweight people have shorter life expectancies than others.
- Tooth decay from too much sugar leaves 18 out of every 100 adult Americans toothless.
- Some have argued that poor diets are an important factor in at least 123,000 or 40 per cent of the annual deaths from cancer.[5]

Most of these situations result from eating the wrong things. Snacks, soft drinks and processed foods devoid of nutrients are rapidly replacing fruits, vegetables, and other traditional foods. For example, milk drinking went down 20 per cent between 1959 and 1970, while soft drink consumption went up 79 per cent.[6] Similarly, sales of candy and gum increased by one billion dollars between 1961 and 1970.[7] Beer consumption increased by 22 per cent between 1963 and 1970.[8] One quarter of the money spent in retail food stores now goes to carbonated beverages, confectionary, processed meats, frozen, desserts, and baked goods.[9]



One of many posters designed by local environmental activists in Stockholm tells a story about nitrate additives in sausage: "The sausage retains its appetizing color; the mouse gets cancer."

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What does all this mean for our health?

- These shifts are responsible for the growing deficiencies of vitamin A and D and calcium which USDA surveys have documented.[10]
- Since 1945, while per capita income has soared the consumption of most nutrients has decreased. We spend more on food but are actually getting less nutritional value from it.
- Alcoholic beverages, sugar, fats and oils added to foods instead of nutrients now make up 43.3 per cent of adult caloric intake, an increase since 1909 when the proportion of total intake from fats was only 32 per cent.
- Total calorie intake, which had declined 11 per cent between 1909 and 1965, rose by 5 per cent between 1965 and 1972.[11]

In short, these trends intensify our national problems of obesity, heart attacks, and other diseases which can develop as a result of nutritional deficiencies.

Why Is Our Food Less Healthy?

As our food becomes less nutritious, dangerous chemicals are put into it. These poisons get added to our food in increasing quantities for a variety of reasons, all having to do with the profits of the corporations which control the sources of the food we eat.

- When the Bank of America and Dupont go into cattle raising, they are going to make sure that their cattle will produce tender, fat-laced meat. They therefore spend their capital on techniques to produce this kind of highly marketable product. Thus, there has developed a new stage in

meat processing — the feed lot. At a certain stage in their growth, cattle are shipped from ranches to feed lots where they are fed for slaughter, their basic diets of grain and natural protein being highly supplemented with different kinds of drugs and chemicals to make them fatter in a shorter period of time. Over the last twenty years, 2700 different drug additives have been put into our meat for just these reasons. This way of preparing cattle for marketing is more profitable than the more traditional way of sending the cattle directly to the slaughterhouse, and gives the large corporate-owned ranches control over the market. This means that it is virtually impossible to buy meat in a supermarket which has not been supplemented with chemicals — and for which we are paying higher and higher prices.[11,12]

- When growers have enough acreage or enough labor problems to make mechanized harvesting more profitable, perishable produce has to be prepared for picking and packing by machines. Tomatoes, strawberries, tart cherries and asparagus have been laced with carcinogenic (cancer-producing) substances to prepare them for the steel grasp of mechanical harvesters. And, of course, producing food for profit instead of health and full nutritional value means that pesticides are used profusely.[13] And consequently the land, which can never be allowed to rest, becomes mineral poor.
- When big companies develop a product to sell across the country, they need a marketing gimmick to compete with similar products which are already on the market. One such gimmick has been the dyeing of foods in bright, garish colors. The Purple dye "Violet No. 1," never tested for cancer effects but proved to cause skin lesions in dogs, was one of the soda pop, frosting, ice cream and candy brighteners which gave our foods market appeal for 23 years before it was finally banned in April of 1973.[14]

Why isn't the federal government more responsive to findings on the effects of these drugs which are put into our food for the sake of increased profits? From whom does the Food and Drug Administration take its counsel? It mainly listens to the drug companies themselves, to scientists working in places like the Nutrition Foundation, whose Board of Trustees is a "Who's Who of the Food Industry", and to schools of public health which draw on large gifts from the food industry to finance their nutrition departments. Not surprisingly, these experts give advice to the government which reflects their concerns about the potential impact of consumer-protection legislation on corporate profits. Their public mandate to protect consumer interests is buried.

URPE

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CHANGES 1945-1971	
Dairy products	
excluding butter	-21.1%
fluid milk & cream	-35%
Fruits, melons	-22.5%
Vegetables	-23.6%
Sweet potatoes	-70.8%
CHANGES 1955-1965	
Unenriched bakery products	+67%
Potato chips	+85%
Fruit punches	+750%
Ice cream	+29%
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behind the boston busing crisis

AN ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL FORCES INVOLVED

This article was written by three people in the Boston Group on Racism and the Busing Issue of Science for the People. We are printing this article because of the important points it raises. Science for the People has a special interest in education, the function of racist ideology, and the role of the left which has been decidedly limited in this area. A special impetus to the writing of this article came from interest expressed at the Northeast Regional Conference.

After several hurried rewrites, involving both the authors and members of this editorial collective, and others, the article still retains, in our view, serious deficiencies. Particularly important is the style of language and rhetoric which obscures much of the underlying political content and which itself became a source of political contention.

We think that a common problem of leftist writing is the use of jargon. When new meanings are assigned to old words like "racism" and "imperialism" there is an obligation to explain the new meanings. For example, the concept of imperialism has developed from meaning the colonial rule of one country by another, to international economic exploitation, to its use here to describe the exploitation of women, working people, and minorities by the powerful within their own country.

There is inadequate distinction made between supported statements and unsubstantiated claims. For example, the authors attribute to different sectors of the ruling class specific objectives in support of the pro- and anti-busing positions. We do not necessarily contest these conclusions but insist that the factual basis should have been developed. While the article attempts a comprehensive analysis of the problem, we feel there are some important omissions. For example, an economic description of South Boston in terms of employment, property and industry would have made the analysis more concrete. Similarly, in discussing organized responses to the racist offensive, they don't mention multi-racial parents' groups and biracial student committees that have formed.

The political positions taken in the article also deserve comment as they do not represent a consensus in Science for the People as a whole. Examples are the concept of forced assimilation, the view of integration put forward, and the stated and implied positions on the "national question" which are basic theoretical questions requiring careful consideration before elaborate programmatic consequences can be evolved. We believe moreover, that these theoretical developments need not be completed before a serious program for fighting racism can be created which will involve large numbers of people.

We hope that this article will stimulate constructive discussion within Science for the People on the busing issue, programs to eliminate racism, and the importance of language in political writing.

This Autumn, the City of Boston began the massive busing of school children under a Federal Court order to end forced segregation. A continuing crisis has ensued punctuated by violent attacks on the Black citizens of Boston. This has included the repeated stoning of Black students being bussed and an armed terrorist attack on the Columbia Point housing project. Lynch mob hysteria has resulted in the severe beating of Jean Louis Andre Yvon by a racist mob and the trapping of Black students inside a high school following an incident in which a student was wounded. This sporadic violence has erupted while racist demagogues have been organizing block by block and holding mass rallies. Using racist slanders, they have mobilized sections of the white population into a boycott of schools, primarily in South Boston. Appealing not only to racial prejudice but also to working class militancy, they have drawn in some elements of the working class. No wonder that in this fertile soil of racist reaction, the Nazi party has appeared and the Klu Klux Klan is openly organizing.

In the face of all this, the Black Community, which has been remarkably disciplined, is strengthening its internal organization including, for example, organizing armed self-defense at the Columbia Point Housing Project. White and Black progressives in factories and other work places have put forth anti-racist propaganda and made collections for Yvon, the black person who was beaten. Tenants organizations and other community-based groups have put out leaflets, organized demonstrations and tried to organize biracial parents' groups. Following several small demonstrations against the boycott, a massive demonstration against racism was called for December 14. On that drizzly day, 20,000 people from a broad spectrum of forces—all classes of the Black, Latin, and Asian community, white liberals, trade unions, progressive working-class organizations, anti-imperialist groups, social-democrats and communists—marched through Boston. Their solidarity, numbers, and explicit denunciation of racism dealt a powerful blow to the anti-busing forces. The "anti-busing movement" managed a turnout on the next day, fine and sunny, of at most 5,000.

History of the Struggle Against Forced Segregation

The struggle to end forced segregation in the Boston schools began in the context of a nationwide civil rights movement. In the early 1960's the NAACP tried unsuccessfully to get the existence of *de facto* segregation in the Boston schools recognized by the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination. In the spring of 1963 the NAACP, CORE (Congress on Racial Equality) and the Citizens for Boston Schools group were cooperating to demand that the Boston School Committee hold a public hearing on *de facto* segregation. By the time of the hearing in June 1963 the existence of *de facto* segregation had been well documented by these groups. The refusal of the School Committee to recognize *de facto* segrega-

tion led to a successful Black boycott of schools on June 19, 1963. It was in this setting that Louise Day Hicks, then a member of the School Committee, began to build her political career on racism. She ran for re-election in the fall of 1963 openly appealing to the racism of Boston's whites. From that time on the School Committee has conspired to implement a policy of forced segregation. It was this deliberate practice of segregation that was recognized by the Federal Court order of Judge Arthur Garrity in June 1974 (see box p. 35). The court's recognition of segregation came after a decade of continuous struggle by Black parents and students. This decade of struggle involved numerous school boycotts, legal battles, tutorial programs, liberation schools, and voluntary busing of Black students to suburban schools.

Garrity's court order affirmed that Black children have been denied the right to an equal education and that the Boston School Committee had consciously acted to create a separate and inferior school system for Black children, facts long known to Boston's Black community and to progressives all over the city. Garrity's order prohibits "racially unbalanced" schools, that is, those having over 50% non-white students (a 100% white school is not "unbalanced" in this definition). To achieve balance in these schools, the Garrity order this fall (Phase I) called for an extensive transfer system involving 18,000 students, about 9,700 Black and 8,300 white. The number of students in integrated schools was to rise from 31% to 71%.

Racist Reaction to Court-Ordered Desegregation

The court-ordered busing to end continued segregation was met with racist reaction. This reaction has occurred on three levels—open legal opposition to busing, sporadic violence, and what now appears to be the underground organization of right-wing terrorism. The more violent attacks on Boston's Black citizens have come under the cover of an anti-busing movement which puts forth the slogans of "quality education" and "neighborhood schools". This anti-busing movement is led by the same politicians, members and former members of the Boston School Committee, who are directly responsible for the low quality of Boston's schools and who have conspired for over a decade to maintain and strengthen a system of forced segregation. Chief among these politicians are Louise Day Hicks, former member of the Boston School Committee and presently a member of the City Council, and John Kerrigan, the recent chairman of the Boston School Committee. A white boycott of the schools has been called by the Hicks-led group ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights). This group meets in the city council chambers or as Hicks puts it in defending this practice "the people's house". The boycott has been effective in keeping white students out of South Boston, Hyde Park and Roxbury High Schools. (South Boston and Hyde Park are getting Black students bussed in; Roxbury High in the Black community was to receive white students.)

The leaders of the anti-busing movement appeal to unmet needs of Boston's white working class: needs which they never intend to meet — better education, more adequate community services, lower prices, and acquiring real power in the political system. The appeal to these unmet needs, however, has a single purpose: to direct the anger and frustration of the white working class against Boston's Blacks and other minorities in order to maintain a system of forced segregation and oppression of minority people, thus perpetuating the exploitation and oppression of Boston's white working class as well.

It is in this atmosphere that the KKK began openly organizing and the armed attack on Columbia Point occurred. In describing the mob which surrounded South Boston High December 12 after the stabbing of a student the *Boston Globe* reported "Part of the crowd was organized and the violence was orchestrated." The same *Globe* article reported that "Justice Department agents and the police now believe. . . there is an undercover operation for the anti-busing operation which is well-financed and has an excellent communications network." In early January the Boston Chief of Police sought to have South Boston High remain closed after Christmas break, citing police intelligence reports that organized violence was planned for when the school reopened. It should be clear that the program of the anti-busing forces has little to do with "quality education". The real program is the organized violent attacks on Blacks and other minorities and its true causes which will be taken up below.

Repression Breeds Resistance

The racists are not the only powerful force in the city. A broad multinational unity of the Black, Latin and Asian communities, progressive organizations and parts of the working class is now being forged. The most visible evidence of this unity was the December 14 March Against Racism in which 20,000 people participated.* Within the march most of the anti-imperialist organizations in the city including Science for the People, united in the Fred Hampton Contingent† which was 3,500 strong. Those who marched in the Fred Hampton Contingent recognized that it was not only racism but the imperialist system itself which was the root of the present crisis in Boston. Within the contingent there was strong Third World participation from the African Liberation Support Committee, the Black community newspaper

* Among the representatives of the labor movement who joined the march were contingents from the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; International Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; Teamsters Local 10; Hotel, Restaurant and Cafeteria Workers; Southern Tenant Union; Communication Workers of America; Retail Store Employees; United Electrical Workers and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

† Named for the Black Panther leader murdered by police in Chicago on December 4, 1969.

Struggle!, the Organization of Solidarity of Third World Students, the Congress of Afrikan People, as well as other groups. These groups have formed the Third World Coalition on Education specifically to mobilize the Black community and to provide leadership. The coalition sees its tasks as threefold: (1) to defend the gains of the struggle of the 1960's; (2) to organize and give full support for those Black people who have picked up the gun to defend themselves, as in Columbia Point; and (3) to provide a new leadership in the black community. The organizations which participated in the Fred Hampton Contingent are now forming a broad anti-repression coalition in which we hope Science for the People will take an active part. As the unity of progressive forces has developed, there has been extensive mass work including numerous demonstrations, forums and teach-ins, Black boycotts of schools, the mobilization of trade unions to publicly oppose the racists and do anti-racist work among white factory workers. The NAACP for its part has been taking legal action against the racists and has submitted its own busing plan to Judge Garrity.

Appearances and Reality: The Real Issue

According to the establishment press, most public officials, and the liberals, there is a conflict in Boston between those who are "pro-busing" and those who are "anti-busing". For example, Boston's newspapers reported the massive multinational December 14th *March Against Racism* as a "pro-busing" demonstration and the all-white demonstration, which Louise Day Hicks and ROAR refused to support because they didn't want openly to "march for racism", as an "anti-busing" demonstration. According to Hicks, Kerrigan and their ilk, their opposition to "forced busing" is based on the issues of "neighborhood schools", "equality education," and "freedom". But these are only forms in which the struggle appears; they do not coincide with the reality—the naked brutality of a concerted vicious attack on the hard-won democratic rights of the minorities. Behind the demagogic slogans of "quality education" and "neighborhood schools" is a continuation of the policy of forced segregation; and behind the pro- vs. anti-busing contest is the same ruling class with its alternative strategies for stopping the development of genuine anti-imperialist struggles.

That the anti-busing movement is a cover for a continuation of the school committee's segregationist policy is evident by investigation of what they actually say and do. At an anti-busing rally in Hyde Park, the speaker called for "freedom first, education second"—hardly a movement for quality education. The freedom to which they referred was the freedom to keep Boston's schools segregated and Boston's third-world citizens in the worst part of that school system. On what basis can the parents and school children in Boston accept the anti-busing forces' claim that they are not racist, when, in fact, forced segregation has meant poorer educational facili-

ties in the minority communities, racist hiring of minority teachers and administrators, the exclusion of minorities from the three best high schools in Boston (which are 95% white and send almost all graduates to college) and lack of preparation for education after high school? How can the call for quality education through the slogan "Save our neighborhood schools" be seen as anything but a cover for forced segregation, when under this slogan the quality of education has deteriorated not only in the minority community but right at home in Southie High? Three years ago, South Boston High was overcrowded by 676 students, though nearby Girls High in Roxbury had over 500 vacancies. The School Committee refused to transfer students from South Boston across racially drawn-up district lines. Lack of space, makeshift portable classrooms, and rescheduling maintained forced segregation at the expense of white students' education.

The strategy of forced segregation serves to keep oppressed minorities in ghettos and more easily relegated to the reserve army of the unemployed; it benefits local real estate and hence finance capital. Above all it pits segments of the working class against one another when unity is necessary to fight the oppression of the entire class.

Forced assimilation, also known as mandatory integration, has historically been the alternative strategy of the ruling class. Among ruling class elements whose fear of liberation movements among oppressed national minorities is greater than their immediate economic pressures for a low-wage labor pool, forced assimilation is a strategy for defusing a growing liberation movement. The forced assimilation strategy also has its supporters among Boston's finance capitalists, representatives of whom sit on various state commissions that have contributed to instituting the present plan.

The busing plan is perceived by some in the minority communities as an attempt to forcibly assimilate them. Therefore it has met with resistance from some in the Spanish-speaking community because of the phasing out of bilingual programs. It has also resulted in the busing of Asian-Americans to schools where they are isolated and of Black students to schools where there are no Afro-American programs.

These two seemingly conflicting strategies both function to maintain the control of the monopoly-capitalist ruling class. Because they foster continued oppression, neither strategy can be supported. The concrete effects of the implementation of either strategy are not equivalent. At present the sharpest attack on the oppressed nationalities comes from the segregationist forces. This attack is against Blacks, Latins and Asians alike, and it is a two-pronged attack on the working class as a whole: (1) an attack on its multi-national unity and (2) a deflection of the class from fighting the hardships imposed by imperialism's current crisis. It is intimately linked to the crisis U.S. imperialism is presently undergoing. Successful liberation movements in many parts of the world (Asia, Africa), and high inflation and soaring unemployment

GARRITY'S FINDING AGAINST THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE

(1) The members of the Boston School Committee "took many actions in their official capacities with the *purpose and intent to segregate* the Boston public schools and such actions *caused* current conditions of segregation in the Boston public schools. A few of these actions are as follows:

a. The defendants "have made *districting* changes for the purposes of perpetuating racial segregation;" Since at least 1966 *feeder* patterns "have been manipulated with segregatory effect", creating "a dual system of secondary education, one for each race," and this was done by the defendants "for the *purpose* of promoting racial segregation."

b. The defendants have *deliberately incorporated* residential segregation by race into the school system.

c. The defendants have *knowingly* caused "racial segregation of *teachers and administrative personnel . . . less qualified, less experienced and lower paid* teachers in predominately *black* schools"; and "racial discrimination in the recruiting, employment and promotion of teachers and staff."

(2) "Substantial portions of the system have been *intentionally* segregated by the defendants. . . . The defendants *intentionally* segregated schools at all levels . . . built new schools for a decade with sizes and locations designed to promote segregation; maintained patterns of overcrowding and underutilization which promoted segregation at 26 schools; and expanded the capacity of approximately 40 schools by means of portables and additions when students could have been assigned to other schools with the effect of reducing racial imbalance."

(3) The students "*intentionally separated* on a racial basis" totalled "*thousands*, including graduates of nine K—8 elementary schools and four middle schools by means of feeder patterns manipulated by the defendants, students attending most high schools and several junior highs by the same means, students making imbalancing transfers under the open enrollment policy and exceptions to the controlled transfer policy, students transported to perpetuate segregation, and students at schools identifiably black by means of assignment and transfer policies regarding faculty and staff."

(4) Boston does *not* really have a *neighborhood* school system. "The 'neighborhood school' policy was no impediment to segregatory districting, re-districting, use of facilities and feeder patterns," and in changing neighborhoods "was subordinated to the white students' presumed right to escape to safely white out-of-district schools. . . . The neighborhood school has been a reality only in areas of the city where residential segregation is firmly entrenched."

Reprinted from *Docket*
courtesy Massachusetts ACLU

rates are examples. Massachusetts in general and Boston in particular are especially hard-hit by unemployment and the high cost of living. The other aspect of this crisis is the quantitative and qualitative growth of antiimperialist forces, i.e. organized resistance among minorities is mounting. The Fred Hampton Contingent is a good example of the level of anti-imperialist militancy and multinational unity.

It is precisely at such a conjuncture—when a crisis is impending and the forces of resistance are still weak but showing great vitality—that the ruling class will test one of the weapons in its arsenal, fascism. Fascism is resorted to by the capitalists when parliamentary forms of control are no longer able to contain a crisis. But fascism does not spring upon the scene full-fledged. Rather, the ruling class, always evaluating its options, takes note of the success or failure, acceptance or rejection of the fascist fringe (the KKK, John Birch Society, American Nazi Party, American Party, etc.). Early recognition of a fascist tendency and decisive resistance to it are essential in its defeat.

The Fascist Tendency

In the absence of progressive organizing it is the racist politicians who have been addressing the particular frustrations, though cynically, of Boston's white workers. They have drawn together a broad alliance ranging from landlords, lawyers, politicians and petty bureaucrats to South Boston's working class youth and their angry mothers and fathers. Bridging the gap between the bourgeois politicians and the working class are the trade union bureaucrats of the most backward, racist unions, for example, the Building Trades and Firemen. Each of these forces has entered the alliance because of its own special interests. Working class and petty bourgeois home-owners are victims of rising taxes and rising fuel bills while real wages are declining. Ordinary city services like street cleaning and repairs are being reduced in Mayor White's austerity program. The youth, especially, see no future: no jobs, no chance for college and no relief from abuse by the police. Even patronage opportunities are fewer as Boston's Brahmins (the traditional ruling class) squeeze out formerly dominant local Irish politicians.

In its cross-class constituency, its form, and its appeal in the wake of general social and economic instability the antibusing front appears not unlike the fascist movement that whipped the German working class into subservience several decades ago. It is not hysterical wolf-crying to relate the lessons of that historical pattern to movements of another time. There is no unique form of fascism; it assumes different forms in different countries according to national, economic and social particularities. Economic decline and social instability are necessary soil for the cultivation of fascism which appeals to the prejudices and jingoism which often infect the masses. Most often social demagoguery is used to obscure the true imperialist interests of fascism, thus enabling the movement to draw to itself the allegiance of the

petty bourgeois and sectors of the working class. Dimitroff* instructed that fascism out of power, is "the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, and most imperialist elements of finance capital." Although the racist-led antibusing coalition is by no means a fully matured fascist mobilization of the masses, it is in certain respects akin to fascism out of power:

Fascism is able to attract the masses because it demagogically appeals to their most urgent needs and demands. It not only inflames prejudices that are deeply engrained in the masses, but it also plays on the better sentiments of the masses, on their sense of justice, and sometimes even on their revolutionary traditions. (Dimitroff, The United Front, 1935)

In the absence of sustained political activity with white workers by progressives, it is the fascists who have been speaking to the "most urgent needs and demands of the masses." A leaflet complains of "poor MBTA (Boston's transit system) service during rush hour at temperatures below zero" and "We are now denied a middle school" and "children here need good medical and dental attention." It can be no comfort to progressives that these are raised cynically, that, in fact, it is the leaders of the fascist front who are responsible for the deterioration of the schools. The appeal they have is because (as a leaflet says) "no one in Hyde Park takes a stand . . ." So the fascist demagoguery takes root.

"It is not racism that's the issue" claims a leaflet that then goes on to put forth the most inflammatory racist trash: "Up until recently the town has been largely white . . ." and "take note that when it was a Jewish-Irish community there was no welfare office." Racist terror against the minorities supplements the white school boycott. Anti-busing leaders like Pixie Palladino make no bones about it; in referring to the pending order to bus minorities into the white communities of East Boston and Charlestown next school year, she warned at a November 3rd rally: "We got some bricklayers who will shut off the tunnel and some bridge wreckers who will blow up the bridges if these kids are bused into our communities."

Topping off this racist appeal is a cynical call to the best sentiments of the working class, to their best qualities and to their revolutionary heritage. The very name ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) used by the central coordinating group in the front is an appeal to Jefferson's phrase "inalienable rights" in the Declaration of Independence. Tea bags were carried at an anti-busing march in reference to the Boston Tea Party. Speakers talk of "rights," of "justice," of "democracy."

More dangerous, however, is the harnessing of the militancy of the working class. These fascists are no primitives. Organization is extensive. Pyramid telephone

* Militant Bulgarian communist who analyzed the danger and forms of fascism in the 1930's.

chains are used. Neighborhood groups wear different colored armbands and march in prescribed order. The angered adherents of the anti-busing movement have been tightly organized block by block since 1965.

The ideology of the front is characteristically American populist. Fascism is not a word they like. They were angry and embarrassed when the National Socialist White People's Party (Nazis) came to town with their swastikas—how unamerican. The Klu Klux Klan is more acceptable; the walls of South Boston are scribbled over with "Southie is KKK Country," "Nigger Go Home!" More representative of the dominant ideology is the following: "The issue is the government versus the individual. Should government interfere with the rights of the individual?"

In spreading their influence within the working class the leaders of the anti-busing movement rely on the most reactionary leaders of the trade unions. These parasites and class traitors have historically shared in the oppression of the minorities. They are the main vehicle for the spread of white chauvinism within the labor movement and have little in common with the interests of the workers, white or Black.

Back in early October, the Boston fire-fighters (known for their policy of excluding minority workers) were the

first to give their support to the anti-busing leaders. They were followed by the Mass. Construction Trades council, with a membership of 7,000 mainly white construction workers and Local 25 of the Teamsters. Discrimination in the construction trades is so deeply rooted that Black and Latin workers have been compelled to form their own dual union, the United Community Construction Workers. Another voice of support for the racist drive is the Boston Policeman's Association whose official publication, *Pax Centurion* is used as agitational literature at every rally and meeting of the white school boycott forces.

Integrally characteristic of fascism is the instability caused by its cross-class constituency. The alliance behind the white boycott is fundamentally unstable. Organized on a populist basis rather than a class basis it contains within it the fundamental class antagonisms of capitalist society. There can be no long-term unity between the bourgeoisie and the workers. The basic demands of the workers for jobs, for an end to inflation, and for quality education for their children contradict the capitalist necessity for profit maximization. Less fundamental but more apparent is the disparity between the most vocal leaders and the people they seek to represent. The workers of South Boston live in run-down



homes or places like the decrepit D-Street projects, while landlady Hicks lives in a fine house near the Yacht Club. Hicks' and Kerrigan's children go to private schools while the working class youth suffer the inferior education of South Boston High.

The perpetuation of capitalism is a key element in fascism. Leo Kahian, gubernatorial candidate of the American Party, which campaigns against the conspiracy "to destroy the free enterprise system in favor of socialism. . ." polled the largest vote in Southie. In an interview with Pax Centurion he attacks OSHA (the Occupational Safety and Health Act) and EPA (the Environmental Protection Agency) claiming they are "destructive of our free enterprise system."*

If Kahian would do away with even these weak government agencies, what can workers expect for their health and safety on the job and in the community? But Kahian isn't the only one. The demagoguery of the other leaders is similar. When they speak of restoring "our alienated rights" and "freedom" they are referring primarily to property rights.

The important point is that the ideology of these small businessmen and petty politicians serves the interests of the bankers and big businessmen. It constitutes a threat to the most fundamental rights of not only the national minorities they directly attack, but the white workers they are trying to mobilize and also of many of the petty bourgeois to whom they are appealing. As a result, the white workers' needs remain unmet and their fighting spirit is channeled into organizations and programs which not only fail to meet their needs but in fact, are undermining what rights they do have. The fact that South Boston's nonunionized Gillete Co., for example, can keep the wage demands of the white workers in check follows in part from the high unemployment among Black and Latinos. In effect the white workers of South Boston, who support the white boycott are decreasing their ability to defend and advance their own interests. This serves the interests of the finance capitalists.

The anti-busing movement is already beginning to show signs of instability. The coalition is starting to reel many whites as it is being exposed more and more as blatantly racist and not the mobilization for quality education that it pretends to be. Parents across the city are beginning to send their children back to school as they recognize the ineffectiveness of the white boycott. And, in another section of the city, Brighton, ROAR has been able to rally little support at all.

The fascist character of the anti-busing movement has not been understood by progressives. This is because the antibusing groups appeal to the same kind of populist and libertarian slogans that permeated the New Left a few years ago (community control, rights of the individual, anti-big government, etc.) and because they are not

* The *Boston Globe* (Feb. 2, 1975) outlined Kahian's platform which includes opposition to rent control for much the same reasons as he opposes the OSHA and EPA.

obviously like Nazis or Spanish Falangists. But the opinion that the soil for fascism does not exist in countries with strong democratic traditions is erroneous. Dimitroff warned in 1935 that "such opinions have served and may serve to relax vigilance toward the fascist danger and render the mobilization of the proletariat in the struggle against fascism more difficult."

The Boston anti-busing movement has emerged alongside a broader pattern of manipulation and repression reflecting the desperate response of the most reactionary sectors of the bourgeoisie to the deepening economic crisis caused by the disruption of U.S. imperialism all over the world. The bourgeoisie have their agents in the trade unions. Labor lieutenants like Abel of the Steelworkers have tried to systematically divide the workers by means such as the racist Consent Decree and the Experimental Negotiation Agreement, which forbids the right to strike.* Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters has called for wage and price controls and has led the attack on the farmworkers. Another visible segment of this offensive is the federally funded police terrorism, like the Swat squad headed by police Chief Inman in Atlanta and the STRESS squad of Detroit. Fomenting division among the workers through racist hysteria and violently attacking the minorities are desperate strategies to save a crumbling capitalist system.

The ruling class is tolerant of the fascist demagoguery because they are becoming desperate. The capitalist economy is in a historical period of severe decline. The masses are everyday hit by the burdens of the energy and food crises, the gutting of productive employment, and austerity measure responses to those crises. So far, neither Ford nor any of the capitalist leaders have been able to solve the problems of inflation, unemployment and industrial stagnation. The capitalists' historical precedent is imperialist war and fascism. The daily sabre rattling is evidence of their propensity for war, and their support or tolerance of racist demagogues illustrates their willingness to turn to fascism.

Watergate has taught us that the capitalists will not hesitate to violate their own constitution or attack sections of their own class if necessary to maintain their dictatorship. Nixon is out. Banking and oil millionaire Rockefeller is in. President Ford talks one day of maintaining the delicate balance of the economy and tightening our belts and the next day of how unfortunate is Judge Garrity's decision. This is the voice of a dying class. If it becomes necessary to use the fascist base of demagogue Hicks for the finance capitalists to maintain their rule, they will not hesitate!

* The Consent Degree is an agreement between the Steelworkers' Union, the steel companies, and the Government which denies to minority and women workers the right to sue over discrimination in return for token payments of back wages lost because of discrimination. See *Guardian* Labor Supplement, Fall 1974.

The Strategy in Response

Since the main issue is the crisis of imperialism, this particular manifestation should not deflect Science for the People from the main strategy of participating in the struggle against imperialism. At the same time the particular form in which imperialism is most sharply revealed at present is in the fascist tendency, which in Boston is orchestrated by the racist violence that prevents anti-imperialist unity. In spite of the offensive form of the fascist tendency it is in essence defensive, since only a desperate ruling class needs to consider alternatives to its traditional form of rule. Consequently to attack the forced segregation movement, to rip off its antibusing cover and show it up as a haven for fascists with finance capitalist ties, is to attack imperialism where it is essentially weak while at the same time strengthening anti-imperialist unity. The unity will follow from the nature of our attack, namely the mobilization of whites (especially white workers) to take up, as an integral part of their own struggle for liberation, the struggle for the democratic rights of national minorities.

This has to be taken up in Science for the People by the formation of other groups like the Boston Group on Racism and the Busing Issue and by their linking up with one another. These groups should also link up with groups outside Science for the People and try to mobilize the membership to participate. They should also participate in coalitions and mass demonstrations.

Much investigation is necessary because the fascist tendency in the imperialist response to their crisis takes different forms. In some areas the busing question may take an entirely different character and the question of the meaning of "community control" in a non-racist context and of "quality education" under capitalism will have to be addressed. In other instances the labor bureaucracy component of the fascist front may be the prime or most accessible target. Other forms that are evident are the "right-to-life" movements and populist puritanism in school textbooks (the KKK appeared publicly in January on the state house steps in West Virginia. They were applauded for their support of the "Godly textbook" campaign.).

Investigative work and production of exposes and explanatory pamphlets seem most suited to a large fraction of the members of Science for the People since most of us are educated if not actually intellectual workers. We can produce material and propaganda for the movement especially for community and factory groups trying to win racist white workers away from the fascists. The struggle is to expose and isolate the demagogic leaders. The exposes should show that they serve the establishment and show also that they are not serving the needs of the people. The needs should be investigated, systematized and exposed to the people themselves. For example, the all-white D-Street project in South Boston is the worst in the city. A Boston newspaper reports it has the most vandalism.

Of course, all of this cannot be done unless the confusion that has thus far been characteristic of Science for the People is removed. Simple education might be the place to begin. Study groups or discussion sessions of Georgi Dimitroff's *The United Front Against War and Fascism* and of exposes of American groups would be good. Members should read and discuss John Birch Society literature and American Party literature to see first hand the particularly populist character of American fascism. (The weaknesses of some of the more fuzzy New Left and libertarian slogans will be clearer when they are seen in fascist literature). Other good materials are available from the Black Liberation Movement, *Struggle!* an anti-imperialist Black Newspaper in Boston, *Unity and Struggle* the newspaper of the Congress of Afrikan People (CAP), *The African World* newspaper of the February First Movement (FFM), and the African Liberation Support Committee's (ALSC) Principles of Unity and discussion notes.

Simple study will not dispel the confusion. Ideological struggle is necessary and until a period of discussion and struggle has been undergone we will not be able to mobilize ourselves to play a strong constructive role in defeating the racism and fascist tendencies. Because the Boston Group on Racism and the Busing Issue has gone thorough part of this already, we believe the best way to bring this, the first article in our series, to a close is to begin the discussion by putting forth what we believe to be the main contending positions on racism. (In the previous section we put forward a position of fascism).

At present the main obstacles among progressives in our stratum to a consistent stand on the role of the oppressed are the theories of "white skin privilege" and theories that put forth some variant of "all nationalism is bad". Both of these ideological stands weaken the movement by breaking its unity. In fact both are objectively racist. The "white skin privilege" ideology, which calls upon white workers to give up their "privileges" as a precondition for unity of the class, is expressed most often in Science for the People by its variant, Third-Worldism. In this form, which also is based on the assumption that white workers of the U.S. working class are abandoned — the white petty bourgeois calls upon the Third World to liberate them and offer their intellectual assistance.

White skin privilege ideology breaks anti-imperialist and general working-class unity by getting whites to consider white workers as the enemy and getting white workers to consider themselves the enemy. This of course stimulates narrow nationalism among the oppressed nationalities. As a result oppressed people of color and white workers do not become allies in struggles against a common enemy entered into in their own interest. "All nationalism is bad" separates the general working-class movement from its most powerful allies—the movements for national liberation and for democratic rights for all oppressed people. The "all-nationalism-is-bad" strain of middle-class ideology has many variants. One equates "black racism" to white racism. Another only supports

the democratic rights of Black or Latin or Asian workers but not of oppressed Third World people of all classes. (The logic of "all nationalism is bad" usually is carried over into attitudes on the struggles for the democratic rights of women, i.e. refusing to take up the oppression of women unless the women involved are also "workers".)

White chauvinism within the working class represents penetration of the working-class movement by the bourgeoisie. Among petite bourgeois progressives like ourselves the chauvinist ideology is also often evident, although the practice takes different forms from that exhibited in the working class. Like all ideologies, it is rooted in material circumstances, mainly in the special oppression and superexploitation of Third World persons. Foremost, because labor is a commodity under capitalism, the devaluation of the labor of any category devalues the persons themselves. (Other examples are old persons and women). Then the devalued labor is put upon the market to compete with white labor and thus drives down its price. This leads directly to more exploitation of white workers who perceive Blacks and Latins, etc. as the cause of their lowered wage. The resulting disunity inhibits collective action (unions typically) and further depresses wages of all workers, directly and by enabling the capitalist to continue their superexploitation of the Third World workers. It follows then that white workers are themselves oppressed by white chauvinism and that they can only throw off this yoke of oppression by taking up the struggle against the special oppression of Blacks, Latins, and Asians. In doing so they enlist a powerful force in their liberation, not simply because minority workers are added to the ranks of white workers (an obviously opportunist approach), but because all workers, white and minority, become the champions of almost all classes of the oppressed minorities. The resultant merging of the general working-class struggle and the struggles for the liberation of the national minorities is a powerful force that makes the liberation of both possible under working-class leadership. As for "relative" white skin privileges, oppression will indeed be equalized, but not because white workers subject themselves to the additional oppression of the minorities, rather because the additional oppression of the minorities is made impossible because the white workers have also taken up their struggle.

"A nation that oppresses another nation forges its own chains . . ." (Karl Marx)

The Boston Group on Racism and the Busing Issue is actively seeking new members. We see our tasks as (1) investigating and writing about issues related to busing, (2) mobilizing the members of Science for the People and others in our constituency in anti-racist and anti-imperialist activity, (3) deepening Science for the People's understanding of racism and its relationship to working class struggles, fascism, and the national question, and (4) building alliances with other organizations. For more information call 617-427-8331 or write c/o Science for the People.

(continued from page 26)

Obviously a great deal more work needs to be done in this area by concerned radical scientists. We need to establish contact with scientists and GI's involved in this work and find out exactly what is going on. The results of our work need to receive widescale public exposure. One thing is clear—your government is discussing using brutal weapons to decide who shall eat or die. Do you want this done in your name?

To give food aid to countries just because people are starving is a pretty weak reason.

—Denny Ellerman, US National Security Council staffperson, *Washington Post*, December 9, 1974.[23]

Starvation, hunger and food shortages will unleash and sharpen all the basic contradictions. The imperialists will respond with solutions like population control, war and greater monopoly power. But hunger is too stark and the conflict irreconcilable. The situation could well define the coming period.

—*Prairie Fire*, Weather Underground.[24]

Mark Looney

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Dear Friends:

The November issue is an improvement over earlier ones but I believe there is still a further way to go. Specifically, I agree most emphatically with your conclusion "What America can do best for Chile is to organize a movement" here in the United States.

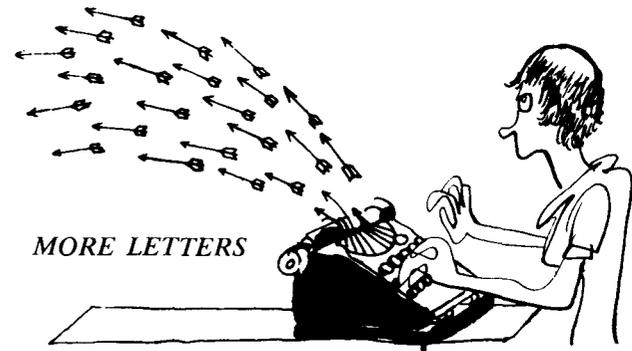
Larry Garner has evidently done a great deal of careful research into existing publications in preparing "Engineers and Unions." Nevertheless the article suffers from incompleteness because key elements in the condition of U.S. engineers — like many other U.S. conditions — are completely ignored in academic pieces.

No publication that I know of addresses the fact that organization of engineers was vigorously attempted in the period before and during World War II by the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians, based in New York City. The leadership was socialist or communist in complexion. After World War II, the government and the FBI intervened directly to destroy FAECT along with all other socialist-leaning trade unions. The FBI used a black-list effectively against FAECT or other engineers who inclined toward unionism in any but the narrowest sense. Many projects — air-space, radio communications, radio control — were directly involved in military work. Nearly all industrial plants — chemical producers, heavy equipment manufacturers, power stations — could be classified as important to the national defense. So, management merely turned over to the FBI the name of any non-conformist engineer who spoke up a bit too vigorously. That engineer was fired unceremoniously and black-listed nationally from his specialty. About 1939, a couple of marines publicly marched a fired FAECT engineer out of the Brooklyn Navy Yard. In the years since, I have heard whispered accounts of similar incidents in other engineering offices. Not surprisingly, most engineers yielded to the pressure to conform in order to keep working and eating. This is an important part of the background behind the apparent low-level of engineers' understanding described by Mr. Garner.

Mr. Garner effectively discusses several cases of engineers who placed the public welfare above their employers' greed and were fired and black-listed for their trouble. Mr. Garner is absolutely right in pointing out that only an employee controlled engineers' union can protect genuinely professional engineers who consider the public interest primary.

Given the existing solid employer control of engineering publications, the cases that Mr. Garner mentions must comprise only a small portion of those that have actually occurred. SESPA would perform a real service if it reported on employee engineer working conditions — information totally censored out of existing engineer publications.

Sincerely yours,
Old-Time Engineer
Los Angeles



Dear Friends and Colleagues,

I've read the first part of your book on Science in China. Great book! I have to say that you folks are amazing. Many of the questions and problems I've been racking my brain with recently are just the ones you address in this book. I decided that I shouldn't waste any time getting in touch with you. It's incredibly exciting to discover the existence of a somewhat together group of people who share some of my ideas and frustrations about science and the world. It's especially helpful now at a time when I'm confronting such serious questions about how I can follow a real interest in science and still fulfill myself as a conscientious and politically active human being. I just can't see involving myself in all the misdirected energies of our society, which is unfortunately what the educational/scientific establishment tends to encourage. What your organization states as its goals and concerns are *exactly* what I'm interested in. I haven't been studying science seriously for that long, and my experience with political activity is even more meager. Nevertheless, my commitment to both is now definite. I'm now in my third year at Hampshire College concentrating in "biophysics," and continuing a fairly intensive study in hard science. I'm interested, though, in starting right now to co-ordinate my study in science with my concerns for social change, etc. That's why I'm writing to you. I want to know as much as you can conveniently tell me about SftP, and especially how I can participate. Also, would you let me know, if possible, who else in my immediate area (Amherst) is communicating with you. Again, the China book is really fine. I'm looking forward to hearing from you.

Will Dibrell
Amherst, Mass.

CALL TO IEEE ACTION

We are planning an action at the IEEE (Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers) Annual Convention to be held in New York City, April 8—11, 1975, at the Coliseum (59th Street, Columbus Circle). Anyone interested in helping is asked to contact us at the address below:

Committee for Social Responsibility in Engineering
475 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10027



"Shucks! . . . I remembered my pencil, crayons, eraser, notebook, but forgot my list of demands."

REPORT FROM THE BOSTON SCIENCE TEACHING GROUP

Several years ago, the Science Teaching Group (STG) decided to shift its focus from the annual National Science Teaching Association meetings to more continuing contact with local teachers. We surveyed 200 Boston area teachers and found they would be interested in a conference on several science and society issues. That conference was held in March 1973, and the STG still has this "science and society" orientation.

Since our last major report (*SftP*, March '74), this orientation has led the group to send a few members to the NSTA convention in Chicago (*SftP*, July '74), play a major role in an all-day meeting organized by the Mass. Biology Teachers Association, produce a conference on "teaching for survival," and put together a Speakers Bureau. So the STG has developed into a *radical resource group* for science teachers. We have been largely successful in this sort of activity, publishing a well-received pamphlet series on science and society and providing support for progressive but isolated teachers.

Still, we have not been entirely satisfied with this development. In Spring 1974 we had a day-long retreat to discuss our goals and politics. We recognized that while our work with science teachers was important to continue, relating to them as professionals (dealing only with teaching methods and content) was politically limited. Most teachers are too overburdened to relate to the STG except through our materials and occasional events, so we have begun to move from where we are to broader science-politics education and to involvement in larger struggles. The broader education approach is best exemplified in the area of health and nutrition. One member

is contributing articles to a working-class food co-op newsletter. The STG health and nutrition collective prepares a column for the magazine and is planning activities for national Food Day, April 17.

Getting involved in larger struggles is not a simple change of direction. We have examined some of the new career education programs in our area. They are a new form of tracking, but there is no struggle already developed and we are too small to begin it. We have also spent a good deal of time discussing what to do about racism and busing. Without a single Boston teacher in the group, we felt we could not play a major role. The busing fight also temporarily tabled a project in the South End* that we are very interested in. We had been contacted by a group from that multiracial community about aiding their effort for community control of a new school by preparing an alternative health and science curriculum. This project is now starting to move again. Initial meetings with community groups have left us very hopeful.

Our latest large-scale project was a conference, "Teaching for Survival," which took place Dec. 7. We held the conference at Boston State College, hoping to attract many student teachers. We put together six workshops: "World Food Situation," "Science and Society Courses," "Limits to Growth?," "Biological Bases for Sex Roles?," and "Genetic Engineering." A major new high school curriculum unit was developed: "Feed, Need, Greed: Where Will It Lead?" (\$1.50). The forty people who attended had many positive comments about the usefulness of the conference, but we were disappointed by the turnout. (In comparison, over 100 teachers attended our March 1973 conference.) The small attendance has been attributed to the closeness of the conference to Christmas, the tardiness of our advertizing, and the small amount of prior involvement of other teachers and student teachers. We are now discussing how to make further use of what we have prepared, possibly by bringing workshops directly to schools.

The Science Teaching Group has carried on its activities with only a limited amount of explicit political unity. But the group has continued to function well together, sharing a sense of solidarity. (One aspect of this solidarity is a common understanding of the importance of being sensitive to our constituency.) It has been project-oriented and has attracted people who are more "practical" than interested in political theory. This has meant that the group is relatively open to new people, as long as they are sympathetic to radical social change. On the other hand, our common experiences, combined with critical discussion within the group, have led us to develop a more unified political perspective. We, as a part of *SftP*, have embarked on a discussion of principles of unity, and we feel it is likely that our political unity will grow.

* The South End is an economically and racially mixed area adjacent to the predominantly Irish-American working class section called South Boston. South Boston (Southie) has been the scene of many confrontations over the busing of school children to achieve integration.

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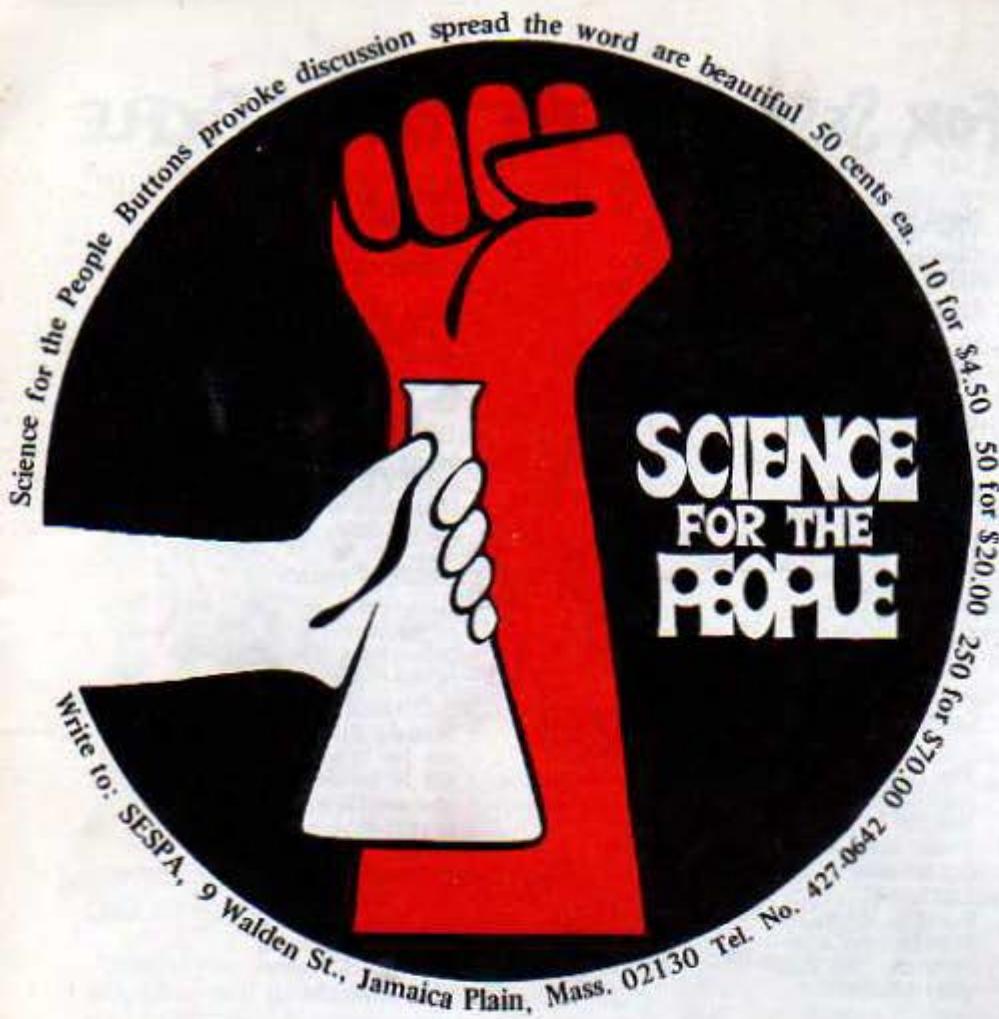
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SUBSCRIPTIONS TO SCIENCE FOR THE PEOPLE AND MEMBERSHIP IN SESPA

SESPA is defined by its activities. People who participate in the (mostly local) activities consider themselves members. Of course, there are people who through a variety of circumstances are not in a position to be active but would like to maintain contact. They also consider themselves members.

The magazine keeps us all in touch. It encourages people who may be isolated, presents examples of activities that are useful to local groups, brings issues and information to the attention of the readers, presents analytical articles and offers a forum for discussion. Hence it is a vital activity of SESPA. It is also the only regular national activity.

We need to know who the members are in order to continue to send *SCIENCE FOR THE PEOPLE* to them. Please supply the following information:

- 1. Name:
- Address:
- Telephone:
- Occupation:
(if student or unemployed please indicate)

- If you are working, do you work in industry [], government [], university [], other _____
- 2. Local SESPA chapter or other group in which I'm active:
- 3. I am enclosing money according to the following scheme: (a) regular membership—\$12; (b) indigent membership—less than \$12, (c) affluent or sacrifice membership—more than \$12, (d) completely impoverished—nothing, (e) I have already paid.
- 4. I will sell _____ magazines. This can be done on consignment to bookstores and newsstands, to your colleagues, at meetings. (If you want to give some away free because you are organizing and can't pay for them, let us know)
- 5. I am attaching a list of names and addresses of people who I believe would be interested in the magazine. Please send them complimentary copies.
- 6. I would be willing to provide technical assistance to community, movement, or Third World groups in the areas of:

Please add any comments on the magazine or SESPA or your own circumstances. We welcome criticism, advice, and would like to get to know you.

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