

CALIFORNIA

Brown stirs storm with appointment of anti-war P.O.W.

By Larry Remer

SAN DIEGO

IF THE NEWSPAPER DATES READ 1969 instead of 1979, the content of the turmoil would have seemed less unreal. Nevertheless, for much of this summer the focal point for political debate in California has been the Vietnam war, with former anti-war activists locked in a pitched battle with right-wing Republicans and mainstream Democrats.

The controversy was triggered when Brown appointed Edison Miller, an attorney and Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED) activist, to a seat on the Orange County Board of Supervisors. A former Marine Corps colonel who spent seven years as a POW in Hanoi and, while in captivity, made public statements against the war that were widely broadcast, Miller's appointment drew immediate fire from the right.

Describing Miller as "Vietnam's answer to Tokyo Rose," State Assemblyman Richard Robbins (D-Santa Ana) rallied opposition. He was joined by State Senator John Briggs (R-Fullerton), who championed last year's unsuccessful initiative to ban gays from teaching in California public schools, and State Senator H.L. "Bill" Richardson (R-Arcadia), who heads the state's gun owner lobby, in pushing the legislature to create a "POW Recognition Day" in protest of Brown's action. Four days after Miller's appointment was announced—on the same day he was sworn into office—both houses of the legislature unanimously passed Robbins' resolution.

Brown snubs regulars.

The political acrimony between Brown and Robbins and between Brown and the Democratic controlled state legislature runs much deeper than the Miller appointment. Brown has repeatedly shunned use of the traditional political apparatus. He does not consult leaders in the legislature on appointments, legislative initiatives, or other political decisions. As a result, many observers state that his relations with the Democratic controlled legislature are worse than Ronald Reagan's were. As proof, they cite the fact that Brown has had his vetoes overridden more times than any modern California governor.

The "regular" wing of the Democratic party had its candidate for Orange County Commissioner—former State Assemblyman Ron Cordova, a traditional liberal who'd been beaten in a GOP landslide in last year's election. In looking past Cordova for another candidate, Brown was acting very much in character.

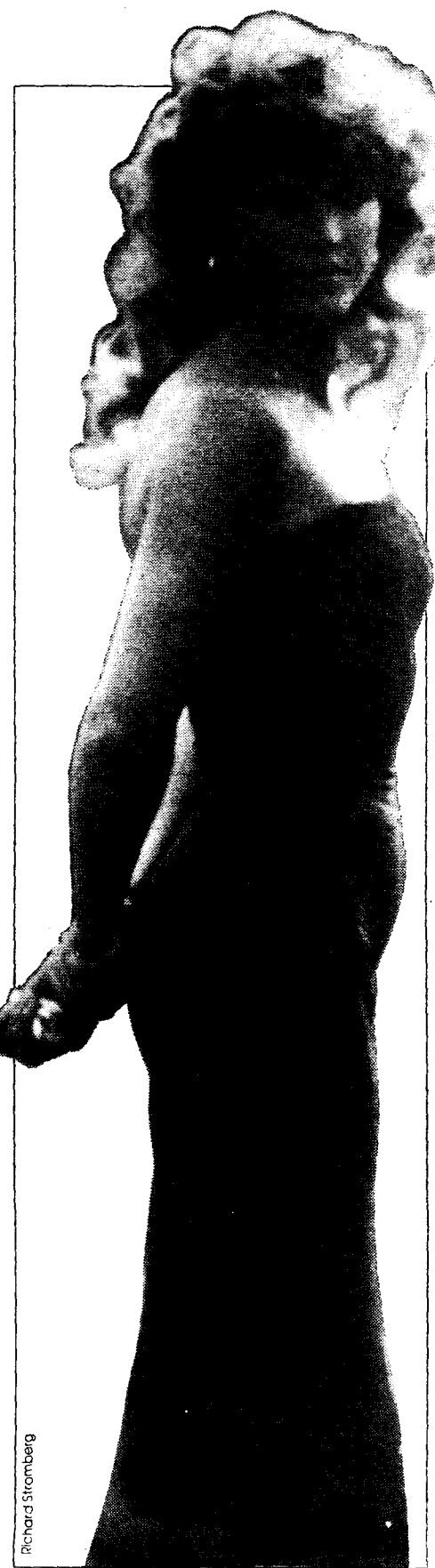
But Orange County was a particularly ticklish situation. Once a bastion of knee-jerk Nixonian conservatism, the county had begun to elect moderates in recent years. Most of the moderates, however, were corrupt, and the area has recently been rocked with scandal. In the last five years, more than 40 public officials—at the county, city, and school board levels—were convicted of various crimes ranging from bribery to influence peddling. Miller was chosen to fill a seat vacated by Ralph Dieckrich, who was sentenced to prison for bribery and conspiracy.

In Miller, Brown said, he had sought "a humanist... a doer in life... a genuine kind of a person. Ed Miller, as a human being, was the most interesting [of the candidates for the job] and would provide what perhaps will be a new direction for that particular service district."

However, the pivotal dynamic in the Miller situation has been the impact of CED and the lobbying Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden did with Brown on Miller's behalf. The connection was very well publicized in the nation's most media conscious state with dozens of political commentators speculating that Brown and CED had "cut a deal" for the appointment, under which Fonda would raise \$3.5 million for Brown's presidential bid.

This added fuel to the barrage of criticism,

The State Senate retaliated for Gov. Brown's appointment of Edison Miller by rejecting Fonda's nomination.



Richard Stromberg

cism, leading the *Los Angeles Times* to condemn it as "a cynical act" and other papers to decry Hayden's growing influence with Brown.

The same ran true in the legislature, where law-and-order conservatives joined ranks with liberal Democrats to pillory Brown's ties to Hayden and Fonda. "It seems clear the Governor is only thinking of his presidential ambitions by appointing an individual who is more acceptable to Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda than to the people of Orange County," declared Sen. Briggs. Added Assemblyman Louis Pappan (D-Millbrae), "I thought Miss Fonda and Mr. Hayden were a thing of the past."

With every daily newspaper in the state editorially pillorying the Miller appointment and veterans' groups picketing Brown's public appearances and sessions of the Orange County Board of Supervisors, the cry for political blood continued.

Fonda rejected.

A week after Miller took office the state Senate voted 28-5 to reject Brown's appointment of Fonda to the California State Arts Council—an avowedly apolitical body that doles out small state grants to promote the arts.

While Fonda, who has twice won the Academy Award for Best Actress, was out of the country, the Senate debated her nomination and considered everything but her merits as an artist. Conjuring up Fonda's trip to Hanoi in the early '70s, Sen. Ruben Ayala (D-Chino) declared, "Any individual who gives aid and comfort to our enemies forfeits any right to hold appointive office." Added Sen. Robert Nimmo (R-Atascadero), "By the code under which I served for 25 years she is guilty of treason."

Such vitriol did not surprise CED's leadership who read the anti-Miller sentiment as every bit as strong an anti-CED reaction as an anti-Brown reaction.

"You've got to understand that CED

has been phenomenally successful," declares staff director Sam Hurst. "The attack is an escalation of the conflict we've been having as our influence in California has grown."

CED wasted no time in readying a counterattack. In an appearance before the Arts Council, with Brown at her side, a tearful Jane Fonda decried the State Senate for "resurrecting the tactics of the McCarthy and Nixon periods."

"A number of senators appear to have forgotten that they are part of a democracy [and] have overlooked the fact that, historically, artists have played the controversial but healthy role of critics of the establishment," she declared in a prepared statement that was later reprinted on the Op-ed pages of several major California newspapers.

Fonda's statement was strongly backed by Brown who chastized the State Senate in even harsher terms. "Some of these big men in the Senate are afraid of Jane Fonda—they felt her art, her voice and her influence were too much for them—and they wanted in their own small feeble way to strike out at her," the Governor declared.

In the Miller/Fonda turmoil, Brown's strong stance helped temporarily abate the controversy. So did a full-page ad decrying the "McCarthy tactics" of the Senate signed by a fistful of Hollywood luminaries—a more that struck close to the pocketbook of the liberal political establishment.

Emerging with increased visibility from the fray, CED is girding up for more struggles with the forces that spearheaded the Fonda-baiting drive in the Senate. Already, legislative investigations have been launched into the Southwest Border Regional Commission and threatened for Solar Cal—two governmental agencies that Brown has appointed Hayden to head. "What we're concerned about is that Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda have too much influence," Assemblyman Robbins flatly declares.

CARTER/CONGRESS

Congress pares down Carter's request for foreign aid assistance

The Carter administration has tried to justify foreign aid on the grounds that it aids American exports. But U.S. Church officials question whether foreign aid really benefits the Third World countries to which it is given.

By Jack Colhoun

BUDGET-BALANCING FEVER ON Capitol Hill is causing headaches for the Carter administration's foreign aid package for fiscal 1980. Both houses of Congress have completed the authorization process. The Senate recently voted to slash 11 per cent for the Administration's \$2 billion bill, while the House cut 5 per cent earlier in the year. Later this summer Congress will vote to appropriate funds for the authorized programs. Hard-pressed to build support before the final vote in Congress, the Administration has resorted to lobbying aimed at highlighting the domestic economic benefits of foreign economic assistance.

From the White House to the State Department, the Treasury Department and the Agency for International Development (AID), the Administration is arguing that foreign aid is good for the economy. Rather than being a humanitarian hand-out to the Third World, the Administration argues that foreign aid subsidizes the export sector of the American

economy. Private lobbies enthusiastic about the economic rewards of foreign aid are joining in. Greg Mignono of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, which is lobbying for the Administration bill, told *In These Times* that "the economic benefits for the U.S. of foreign aid are fantastic!" Fred Stockeld of the Chamber of Commerce noted that many of its corporate members support economic assistance, but "have to be careful not to appear to be making profits out of poverty-stricken countries."

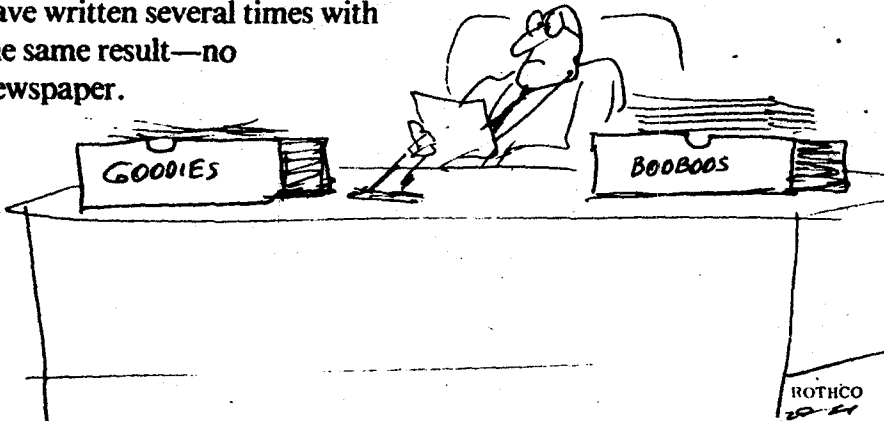
Much lobbying for the Carter Administration's foreign economic assistance bill is done privately. But a *Washington Post* article by Timothy Lovain, a legislative representative for the foreign-policy lobby, New Directions, outlined the Administration's case. "Seventy-five percent of the AID budget is spent in the U.S. to purchase American goods and services," Lovain wrote. "In fiscal year 1978," he continued, "over \$1 billion worth of products were exported under AID financing." Most U.S. aid goes through multilateral development banks (MDBs), such as the World Bank. Since

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Joe Garick

Chrysler

Continued from page 3

"We've said to the auto industry in North America for many years that they ought to downsize the cars," UAW vice-president Marc Stepp, who directs the Chrysler division, said. "They didn't listen to us because in this Neanderthal society they don't give workers a voice in the corporation. Had they listened to us in 1971, the company wouldn't be in the trouble it is today."

Now, if Chrysler gets its aid, it may have to listen to some other advice. The UAW had introduced a bargaining demand at Chrysler before the current crisis for worker participation, arguing that "with the stakes so high, and the costs of failure so maldistributed, it is clear that the Corporation can no longer afford to overlook the talents of its workers when making the decisions that affect their livelihood." The union wanted worker participation on the board of directors and worker committees at various levels with authority equal to management involving at least questions about plant location, product planning, capital spending, pricing, production planning, quality control, health and safety and overtime.

When Chrysler asked for the tax credit bailout, the UAW urged instead the 30 percent government equity interest managed by government officials, Chrysler workers and citizens with a background in autos, environment, safety, consumer affairs and finance. They could restrict and direct investment as well as provide protection for laid-off workers and minimize plant closings.

The equity proposal has little chance. "To be honest, nobody is interested in the equity position of government in Chrysler," says the union's director of governmental and political affairs, Stephen Schlossberg. "But nobody is rejecting the things we would want to do if we had an equity position."

Some of these potential restrictions or redirections of Chrysler include the following:

- cut top management salaries and bonuses dramatically;
- have banks convert some of their loans to non-voting preferred stocks;
- cut dividends to stockholders well into the future;
- reduce the number of models, the big cars and the superficial differences between cars such as the Omni and Horizon, Volare and Aspen;
- force the corporation to concentrate on development of a small car, such as the research safety vehicle developed for the Dept. of Transportation (a small, lightweight, 4-passenger car that protects passengers after a collision at 50 miles per hour with a brick wall, gets 40 miles per gallon and could be sold for \$6,500);
- turn some of Chrysler's capacity to production of co-generation units for homes, apartment buildings, businesses, as Fiat does and Barry Commoner recommends (co-generators can be powered by natural gas, use auto-related technology and very efficiently produce electricity and use the waste heat for heating or other work);
- make preservation of workers' jobs a top priority.

Any aid to Chrysler will also bring calls for relaxation of emissions and safety standards and for the UAW to accept an inferior contract. Chrysler bargaining council members voted 239 to 6 in favor of being "flexible" in negotiations, according to Graser, but rejected the proposal for a two-year wage freeze that would have actually cut real income drastically. No concessions will even be talked about until after the GM and Ford contracts are settled, but there is the possibility of deferred benefits or taking part of the cost-of-living or other payments in Chrysler stock.

Concerned as many Chrysler workers are about losing their jobs, they may balk at taking too much less than other auto workers. "Our members have not fully accepted the fact that they will not be part of the Big Three," Stepp said. "You're dealing with some very proud people."

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