

together dominate the coal business of Australia.

The alliances created between Japan and the multinational companies, most of them based in the U.S., raises unusual questions. In Appalachia, the joint U.S.-Japanese venture is only feasible because it is profitable. Those profits depend in turn on the skein of existing colonial policies which, throughout Appalachia, ensure that property taxes remain low, safety and health laws remain lax, and hence la-

bor remains relatively cheap. Those policies, the historic cause of poverty in Appalachia, make U.S. coal competitive with the coal mined in South Africa.

There is deeper irony to the situation. U.S. workers in the coal fields are exploited to produce coal which is shipped on to Japan, made into steel and other products, and in that form reimported into the U.S. to undercut more expensive products made by other U.S. workers. In a very real

sense, by tolerating the conditions in Appalachia, the U.S. labor movement is cutting its own throat.

In a narrower context, the same companies which are now promoting the energy crisis (i.e. Continental Oil, Occidental Petroleum, etc.) are themselves contributing to that crisis through direct export of fossil fuels, and by directing production away from U.S. markets, where the prices are not judged to be sufficiently high, to more lucrative foreign markets. ●

## THE INDONESIAN CONNECTION

by steve weissman

POLITICS, IT IS SAID, MAKES STRANGE bedfellows, and among the strange people George McGovern has found in his bed is a certain Edmund G. "Pat" Brown, former Governor of California, Democratic stalwart, and the man who beat Richard Nixon for office in 1962. A former Muskie supporter, Brown was asked by McGovern to serve as his Western States Campaign Chairman following the Democratic Convention.

Little did McGovern suspect that, in extending the invitation to Brown, he was also bringing into his boudoir a group of people he has sworn to cut off from American support in the event of his election—namely, the military dictators of Indonesia. The latter, it turns out, have employed Brown for four years to represent their interests in the United States. Only recently Brown was in Indonesia on business, and he evidently does not view McGovern's campaign pledge to end U.S. support for military juntas as any threat to his clients. At present, the Indonesian dictatorship receives hundreds of millions of dollars a year in aid from the United States and U.S.-supported international lending agencies.

Brown first joined the generals in 1968, after they had overthrown the tottering nationalist regime of President Sukarno. To consolidate their victory, they incited the massacre of over 300,000 communists, peasants and local Chinese. They then took steps to make Indonesia, in the words of one business magazine, "the major focus of

international companies in the less developed world."

From that time Brown's Beverly Hills law firm—Ball, Hunt, Hart, Brown and Baerwitz—has provided legal counsel to the generals, and is now on record as a "registered foreign agent" for PERTAMINA, the generals' state-owned oil monopoly, which awards oil concessions to foreign firms. According to one of Brown's



Former Governor "Pat" Brown law partners, Bernard Elias, the former Governor handles most of the work on the Indonesia account himself.

In this role Brown works directly with both General Suharto, the top man in Indonesia's "New Order," and General Ibnu Sutowo, Director-President of PERTAMINA and one of the more successful of Indonesia's new soldier-tycoons. The Indonesian military now runs a vast array of banks, airways, mining companies, plantations, and insurance and trading concerns. In control of Indonesia's richest resource, oil, Sutowo actually pays the expenses of a large part of Indonesia's armed forces. Sutowo was also reported to have played an active role in the bargaining over Vietnam's offshore oil between the Thieu government and the international oil companies.

Brown helps the generals in several ways. Using his wide-ranging contacts, he introduces them to key officials in the American government and in the

oil industry. Last year he conducted a group of businessmen on a tour of Indonesia, and his firm regularly sends out letters urging investors to put their money in the new Indonesia. According to his partner Elias, Brown is "enamored with what the generals are trying to do in terms of rectifying the mess Sukarno left." Known for his liberal sympathies, Brown finds the generals "honest and dedicated." Brown is also a director and legal counsel for two business firms involved in Indonesian oil—PERTA, a joint venture with the generals, and the United States International Investment Corporation.

Apparently McGovern knows nothing of the former Governor's links to the Indonesian dictatorship. Sources in Brown's law office knew of "absolutely no talks between Brown and McGovern on the subject of Indonesia." Yet it is now likely that the McGovern campaign chest will benefit from Brown's support through contributions from the executives of two of the California-based oil companies which do business with PERTAMINA—namely Natomas and Standard Oil of California.

What would such support buy? At present, the United States—directly and through the World Bank—provides the Indonesian junta with massive economic and military aid. McGovern's statements about "corrupt military dictators" would seem to signal a possible end to this aid. Yet Brown, who knows both American and Indonesian politics better than most of McGovern's supporters, evidently feels so certain McGovern doesn't mean what he says that on the day of his appointment as Campaign Chairman he flew off to meet with the generals in Djakarta. (AFS) ●



## This is the Far Eastern Thought Issue from the multimedia magazine called ASPEN It's yours free with a trial subscription

ASPEN is not just a magazine. It is a multimedia collection of experiences. It comes in a box or portfolio so we can put in all sorts and sizes of "individual things," using whatever medium best expresses the message—posters, records, scrolls, films, booklets, cut-outs, fold-outs, anything goes.

If it's aleatory music, there'll be an LP record. Nature? Perhaps we'll put in wildflower seeds. Thus when a new ASPEN arrives, you don't simply read it...you hear it, hang it, feel it, frame it, even fly it.

But ASPEN is not just a conversation piece. It is intended to delight the mind as well as the eye. Its content is as original and unexpected and rewarding as its format.

Take our issue on Far Eastern Thought, for instance. First, you unfurl a landscape scroll, over 5½ feet long, from the 11th Century Sung Dynasty—Kuo Hsi's "Clearing Autumn Skies Over Mountains and Valleys." It is an exquisite landscape of the mind which the ancient Chinese escaped into to lose their cares and frustrations.

As Allen Atwell's articles explain: "Each time you walk into the landscape not clothed in steel, you will discover new things to nourish the spirit." And we'll show you how to do it!

You'll also find a yard-long frieze of voluptuous Indian temple sculpture with an article on Hinduism...a spontaneous "splashed-ink" painting by a 13th Century Ch'an (Zen) monk...a wild and vibrant Tibetan tanka from the collection of the Calcutta Museum.

There's a 24-page booklet of Rajput Indian paintings with their exotic symbolism explained...a collection of five miniature Japanese screens...a calligraphy kite which you fold and fly. You even do some astonishing origami folding to make the box the issue comes in.

There's much more, of course. And it is all yours free with a year's trial subscription. What other multimedia happenings will you be receiving? The possibilities are limitless. By unbinding our magazine, letting it run free in its box, there's no end to our three-dimensional ideas. Each issue is built around a different theme by a different team of editorial-design experts (the best that we can find) so the content and format change radically each issue.

ASPEN is about excellence in any field. It brings you new ideas in new formats. Its contents are created by today's leading painters, sculptors, composers, filmmakers, musicians, satirists, poets (as well as experimenters so far afield, the art world can't even agree on what to call them yet). To give you an idea of our free-wheeling, eclectic scope, here are a few of our past issues:

A **Master of the World**, featuring the most prestigious artists of our time...a collection of 15 sculpture and 13 articles...Our **British Issue**, London's box of British wit & whimsy by London's most adventurous artists and writers...**The World of the Underground** as explored in sight and sound by Andy Warhol and 20 conferees, ranging from Jonas Mekas to Claes Oldenbourg...**A Global Village**, inhabited by Marshall McLuhan, Quentin Fiore, John Cage, Mario Davidovsky, et al...An **Art/Information/Science Issue**, featuring the artists using scientific concepts in their work.

So you see, it's like getting a surprise present every issue. ASPEN's readers-listeners-viewers-participants never know what will pop out next.

Would you like to see what ASPEN is like? We have a tempting subscription rate to help you find out. ASPEN is published four times a year at \$18 on a single copy basis. But on our money-saving offer, you get your first issue free, thus you pay only \$12.95 for a year's subscription. So mail the coupon today—before you forget—and enjoy the first truly new idea in publishing since paperbacks. And what an unusual and thoughtful gift for friends and relatives.

### ASPEN MAGAZINE

333 Sixth Avenue, New York, New York 10014

R-1172

Yes, I'd like to see what ASPEN is like.

☐ I enclose \$12.95 for a year's subscription with the first issue free—a saving of \$5.05. ASPEN pays all postage, shipping, handling and insurance.

☐ I want to take advantage of your subscription rate for two years, with the first issue free, for which I enclose only \$23.90.

☐ Check enclosed. ☐ Charge to my Master Charge.

Card # \_\_\_\_\_ Expiration date \_\_\_\_\_

Note Canadian and foreign orders: Add \$2 per year for postage.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

☐ New Subscription ☐ Renewal

☐ This is a gift. Please send a card in my name before Christmas.

# WOMEN

HEALTH CARE HAS CHANGED radically in the last century, both in quantity and in kind. Seventy years ago, 80 percent of all health workers were doctors, in contrast with 12 percent today. Seventy years ago, roles were limited; today, there are over 375 different occupations in the health field. The number of health workers has also increased dramatically.

But some aspects haven't changed; doctors are still the stars of the show. Their wages, their skills and their prestige are high; 90 percent of them are men. Yet 75 percent of all health workers are women, for much health work reflects traditionally "feminine" functions: nurturing, caring, cooking, educating, cleaning.

The supporting cast of registered and practical nurses, dieticians, technicians, social workers, housekeepers

*The work of the Women's News Collective has grown out of a weekly radio program of women's news at KPFA in Berkeley. We welcome contributions.*

## LA RAZA UNIDA COMES TOGETHER by rodrigo reyes

AMONG THOSE WHO WERE PLANNING to attend the first convention of La Raza Unida Party (LARUP) was a certain Ricardo Falcon from Colorado, a member of that state's dele-

*Rodrigo Reyes, a free-lance journalist, has been working on "Reflecciones de la Raza," a news program on KPFA-FM, in Berkeley.*



and clerks find that most jobs are dead-end. Such low-paying, semi- and unskilled work has traditionally gone to women, especially Third World women.

There is wage discrimination as well as job discrimination. For example, female practical nurses make an average of \$10 per week less than their male colleagues. In only one field are men's and women's salaries equal: medical technology. Throughout the medical system, women can expect less advancement than men. Yet with their numerical supremacy, women health workers are a powerful potential for change. (condensed from *Health/Pac Bulletin*, April 1972.) ●

OFFICIAL STATISTICS SHOW that the divorce rate in the United States is increasing to an incredible degree. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare reports that the rate of divorce is now nearing half of the new marriages in a given year.

Ms. Diana Dubroff, a New York lawyer, has proposed divorce insurance. She suggests that people take out

divorce insurance when getting their marriage license. Then, "if a divorce occurs, payments from the policy would support the wife and children." And if the marriage survives, the policy could be converted into an educational fund for the children, or even into a regular life insurance policy. (ZNS) ●

JOB BREAKTHROUGHS for women occur in every field. According to a British security expert, a revolution in organized crime is producing a new variety of women gang leaders and urban guerrillas. "We can no longer assume that women are the gentler sex," private detective Peter Hamilton told the annual conference of the Council of International Investigators.

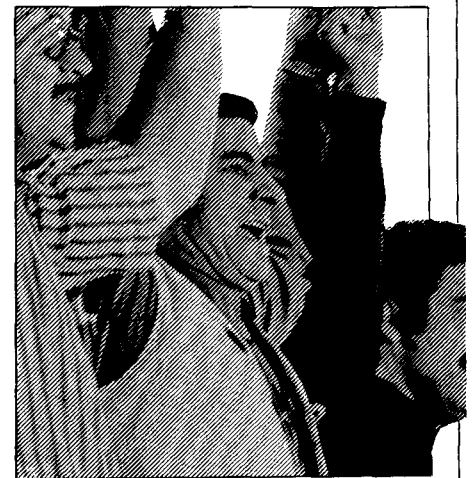
Women have taken leading positions as operators and planners in the underworld organizations of Britain, the United States and Germany. Mr. Hamilton was impressed that women gang bosses do not shrink from violence and added, "Women are among the strongest and most daring members of the Irish Republican Army." ●

gation. On August 3, Falcon, his friend Florenzio Granados, and three others were en route to El Paso—the convention site—when their car's radiator became overheated. They pulled into a small service station in Oro Grande, New Mexico, to let the engine cool. The owner of the station, a man named Perry Brunson, was outraged that they would use his facilities and not make a purchase. He began to shout and Falcon argued back. Moments later Brunson drew a revolver and fired four shots into the unarmed Falcon, who died shortly thereafter. Arrested and charged with manslaughter, Brunson walked away on his own recognizance an hour-and-a-half later. When Falcon's wife, Priscilla, arrived and approached local authorities about the details of her husband's death, she was told she had no right to the information. More than once, officials simply slammed their doors in her face.

Such was the prelude to La Raza Unida's national meeting in El Paso, over Labor Day weekend. The convention, which drew four thousand dele-

gates from seventeen states, established LARUP as an independent political party that will not support or compromise with either the Democratic or Republican parties.

In his key note address, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, founder of Colorado's Crusade for Justice, called on the people to stop voting for candidates who grab a taco and *mariachi* band every time election year rolls around and then forget the needs of



PHOTOS BY STEVE RAMIREZ