

TITLE:  
Chairman of the Board,  
Castle & Cooke

Owners of:  
Dole  
United Fruit

Not just I, our whole management and our board would agree, that we're in business to make money; we're in business to grow and sell pineapples if it produces a profit. Similarly, with bananas, similarly with the land development, and building and selling homes and so forth. We are not in business to satisfy society if that requires us to lose money. Because if that's the way we go at it, we're not going to be able to satisfy society for very long because we're going to be broke and out of business. So, a profit has to be number one.

TITLE: CONTROLLING INTEREST:  
THE WORLD OF THE MULTINATIONAL  
CORPORATION

Narrator

The dozen largest corporations control more of the world's economic resources than all of the farmers and workers, all the rich and poor, even all the other business, of two-thirds of the nations on earth combined.

They are among the multi-national corporations...Vast, international conglomerates whose decisions and actions shape the lives of people throughout the world.

There are more than 200,000 thousand industrial corporations in the U.S. today. Yet, 100 companies control more than half of all manufacturing assets. Just 10

Narrator  
(continued)

companies make 22% of all the profits. The biggest of the corporations are the oil companies. In addition to half the western world's oil, these giants now control over half this nation's coal and uranium reserves. Exxon, the largest, reports assets of \$48 billion dollars.

Michael Tanzer,  
author, former Exxon economist

In recent years, the oil companies have almost been embarrassed by their enormous profits in an era of energy crisis, but their defense has been: "Well, we need these tremendous profits in order to have the funds to explore and develop crude oil." What they did do with their profits: first of all they paid out big dividends, billions of dollars to their stockholders; secondly, as we have seen, we have situations where Mobil Oil goes out and takes a big hunk of their profits and buys Montgomery Ward. Or you have Atlantic-Richfield going out and buying Anaconda, which is a copper company. You're not going to get any oil out of that. Standard of California buys itself 20% of one of the biggest mineral companies and the topper of all was that Gulf Oil went after Ringling Bros. Circus.

Narrator

In banking, concentration is so advanced that America's 50 largest banks and insurance companies own

Narrator  
(continued)

fully half of all financial assets. The top five banks alone have amassed 200 billion dollars in assets. Moreover, the 50 largest banks and insurance companies share over 600 directors with the 200 largest industrial corporations.

Senior Vice President -  
Foremost McKesson

The investor gives you his money to use so long as you give them a return which is greater than the original. So you have to grow. You can't stand still.

Chairman of the Board,  
Castle & Cooke

Increased earnings come only from an increase in the size of your operations. Now, if you don't grow in the market place and your position begins to erode and relatively shrink, your whole financial structure is going to fall right behind that. You do die. (Question: So you either grow or...) You die!

Narrator

By 1970, nearly 1/3rd of all capital assets owned by U.S. corporations were located outside the U.S. in a vast network of more than 23,000 branches and subsidiaries. Exxon, Phizer, Honeywell, Mobil, Colgate, Coca-Cola: all make half their profits overseas. Just two companies: Cargill and Continental control fully half of the entire world's wheat. If present trends continue, by 1985 some 400 corporations will control 80% of the productive capital of the western world.

Vice-President;  
Crown Zellerbach Int'l

I guess I have to go into what we do as we analyze investment opportunities. We go through the complete economic study of an opportunity. And the basic why, is of course, profitability. So we go overseas to help our profit just as any company does as they look for investment opportunities in the U.S.

Narrator

It is this need for ever-expanding profits which drives corporations to their world-wide search for the most favorable investment conditions.

For ever cheaper labor;  
for more abundant resources;  
new markets;  
and a political climate

that allows companies the freedom to utilize these other conditions to their best advantage.

Secretary of the  
Bank of America

Now, this bank in particular has a strong attachment to what they call the Pacific Basin and I think there will be extensive investments in this area.

Vice President, Multinational  
Division of the Bank  
of America

But in large part, inevitably it depends upon certainty and security. I think it's perfectly obvious that growth will take place where there is relatively little political risk of expropriation.

Stability. Whenever there is a stability we will be in there. No

Vice President, Multinational  
Division of the Bank  
Of America  
(continued)

question about that.

Member of Board of Directors,  
Standard Oil of Calif.  
Bank of America  
Prudential Life

Look at Brazil and what happened to them in the last 10 years since they had what was known as a peaceful revolution in 1964.

(Question: Wasn't Goulart, who was President, overthrown by the Military?) That's correct. But today, if you're not familiar with it, I've been to Brazil, I've studied it in great depth. They have a very unique advance, in my opinion, on how to operate a country such as South America. They have a group of businessmen, military men and elected government men that form an adhoc commission that established policy for the government and the government, in all these years, has never failed to carry it out.

(Question: In other words, Brazil has achieved a record of extreme stability. This is of course, attractive for any kind of business interest.) Yes, and the people, from the guy that cleans the streets, to the man who sits in the high office, all work together. It really works.

Narrator

In 1964, Brazil's liberal government was overthrown by the military.

Narrator  
(continued)

Immediately, the new regime unveiled its plan to develop the country... A plan centered on greatly increasing the freedoms allowed foreign investors. Labor unions came under the tight control of the government, and strikes were outlawed. Multinational corporations, attracted by this free investment climate, proceeded to make more investments in Brazil than in any other third world country.

Director of Mineral  
Planning, Utah Int'l

The government says, you come to Brazil before you go anywhere else and we'll really make it worth your while. They give you fiscal incentives, free convertibility into dollars and you can export your earnings freely up to 12% of your invested capital. So up to 12% is free. But they give you so much encouragement in the way of additional tax rebates to re-invest that money into the country, It's pretty hard not to.

Narrator

Businessmen and government officials have called the results an economic miracle - a development model for the third world. Brazil's economy has expanded even faster than Japan's. It's gross national product has tripled since 1964. Brazilian executives have replaced North Americans as the world's highest paid managers.

Narrator  
(continued)

But despite the tripling of Brazil's gross national product and a growing segment of well-off consumers, the real income of the poorest 80% of the population has been steadily dropping. One-third of the people have had tuberculosis. Half of the children have no schools. The infant mortality rate is climbing. It is now the second highest in the hemisphere. This girl, like one out of every five in Brazil is suffering from malnutrition so severe, that if she survives, her brain will be damaged for life. Her diet, like most Brazilians, consists mainly of black beans; but today, there is a black bean shortage. Corporations, like Anderson-Clayton and Chase Manhattan Bank, have been financing the switch from black bean production for domestic consumption, to cash crops like soy beans for sale on the more profitable world export market.

The black bean shortage is just one example of how the shape of Brazil's economy is dictated by the needs of the multinationals. Multinational corporations control 80% of Brazil's TV and radio industry. 60 Brazilian electronic firms were drive out of business or taken over by their foreign competitors. Multinationals now control 60% of heavy machinery, 90% of pharmaceuticals, 100% of tire and rubber production, 95% of

Narrator  
(Continued)

auto production. In 1971, Volkswagen made a 42% profit on its Brazilian operations. Like Volkswagen, multinational corporations have focused production on goods for export and luxuries for the small class of well-off consumers. Electronic appliances, autos, TV's, sugar, coffee: production of these goods has greatly increased since the multinationals came to Brazil. But production of basic necessities - housing, clothing and food for the majority of the people - has remained stagnant. In the countryside, speculators and large corporations have been buying up the large farmable land. One foreign-owned cattle company now owns 7 million acres - almost the size of Belgium. A 60-year old woman, who worked for 20 years on one plantation, said that she and 1,000 other workers were told to harvest your crop, plant grass for cattle and get out. Unable to survive in the countryside, millions have migrated to the cities where they joined the swelling ranks of the jobless and the under-employed.

This boy's family came to Sao Paulo from Bahia...in north-eastern Brazil.

Small boy in the street

In Bahia it is very tough. My father was hunting for a job and couldn't find anything. Now I came here to Sao Paulo to try my luck.



Small boy in the street  
(continued)

(Question: Don't you think, in this situation, dressed as you are, it will be hard to find a job?)

I tell you. Here in Sao Paulo, I already learned my way around. I worked at a warehouse on Orient Street, I worked with my father collecting paper, collecting cardboard, iron scraps, buying and selling them. I've worked there, my father's worked there, my whole family's worked there, except the women...

Narrator

The high unemployment rate, coupled with government-controlled unions and the banning of strikes, has caused wages to fall. The 12-hour day is common. The Brazilian industrial accident rate is now the highest in the world. Meanwhile, over 12 billion dollars a year is spent on the U.S.-trained armed forces and security police - the most powerful in Latin America.

Director of Mineral  
Planning, Utah Int'l

The army in Brazil has never fought a foreign war in a long, long time. They are more of a civil service. They are, in fact, a civil service in uniform.

Narrator

Opponents of the system in Brazil, including militant trade unionists, have been jailed. The press is censored. According to Amnesty International, torture, and even murder of dissidents, is common.

Narrator  
(continued)

In 1975, 18 Catholic bishops and clerics issued a statement banned by the military on the condition of the Brazilian people.

Voice over Brazilian clergy

"The Brazilian miracle has resulted in privileges for the wealthy. It has come as a curse for those who have not asked for it. The rich become always richer and the poor always poorer in this process of economic concentration. Far from being the inevitable result of natural deficiencies, this tragedy is the consequence of international capitalism. Development came to be defined not in terms of the interests of Brazilian society, but in terms of the profits made by foreign corporations and their associates in our country. The absence of freedom, the violence of repression, the injustices, the impoverishment of the people... all in favor of foreign capital."

Senior Vice President,  
Foremost McKesson

(Question: What would it mean to business if you no longer were allowed to invest outside of the confines of that country?)

Well, to total American business it would be very significant. I can't think of anyone who isn't significantly involved one way or another with international business. I don't think we could make it. There are some things we couldn't do. It would cause havoc.

Senior Vice President,  
Foremost McKesson  
(continued)

(Question: So international business is clearly essential to American business?) That's my firm belief.

1st worker outside plant

If this plant closes down, we no longer have any jobs. They take 600 jobs out of here and you put nothing back in.

2nd worker

They'll be repossessing homes and cars and everything.

3rd worker

I don't know... I don't know where I'd go.

4th worker

They may as well close up half the town.

Narrator  
(continued)

These people live in Greenfield, Mass., a small New England city. They work for the Millers Falls Company which has been manufacturing cutting tools here in Greenfield for over 100 years. 15 years ago, the company was bought by Ingersoll-Rand, a two billion dollar multi-national corporation. Even though the company has consistently made a profit, Ingersoll-Rand suddenly demanded that the workers take a cut in pay and that the town build them a brand new plant. Otherwise, they say they will shut down the factory, and move to South Carolina where wages are under \$3 an hour.

Earl Marsh,  
Welder; Plant Chairman,  
United Electrical Workers  
Local 272

We are part of a multinational corporation and they have headquarters in New Jersey. The only thing these people operate on is the bottom line, which is profits. Profits don't show any place for people. Woodcliff Lake, New Jersey doesn't give a damn what happens to Greenfield. And they don't give a damn what happens to the people of Greenfield. They're looking for the bottom line, which is profits.

Gene Currier -  
Lathe Operator

They're just like all the other multinationals. They feel like they can run away someplace to get cheaper labor, from here to the sun belt...yeah, even South Africa. I think they got 44 factories outside of the United States

Anne Giniusz -  
Assembler

They can pay people less an hour and get more work out of them... that's what they want.

Narrator

Workers at Millers Falls first learned of the company's ultimatum by reading about it in the local newspaper, the Greenfield Recorder. Apprehension quickly ran through town. The union local began to quickly consider its options. How could they defend themselves against a company which, while not a giant in multinational terms, still has the power and flexibility that comes from employing 45,000 workers in plants that range the world, from South Africa to Singapore to Brazil.

Don Tormey,  
International Representative  
United Electric Workers

The executives begin demanding lower wage settlements and the town fathers pitch in and say, yeah, why don't you take a little less, because half a loaf is better than none, and the process of agreeing to a theory that a half loaf is better than none means that an eighth loaf is better than none, and a sixteenth, and pretty soon they got you crawling for crumbs.

Shirley Gagnon,  
Secretary-Treasurer,  
U.E. Local 274

Our union is going around town and we got over 3,000 signatures of people that want the company to stay in Greenfield. Because it's not only going to hurt our workers, it's going to hurt every worker in Greenfield. We have plants in Greenfield that are coming up for contracts and its hurting their contracts right now.

Don Tormey

We have a whole record in New England, for instance, of the textile industry. That they threatened the textile workers and the textile workers union with going south if they didn't accept very low increases or no increases. And for many years they accepted no wage increases to keep the wool, and to some degree, the cotton textile industries in the north. When the contracts ran out and they finished out their years with no wage

Don Tormey  
(continued)

wage increases, they went south anyway. And its not only a question of running away to the south in the United States. One of our locals in Massachusetts, General Electric Corporation, making timers and clocks, small motors. General Electric simply picked up a large part of the timer department in Massachusetts, where the average wage now is well over \$5.00 an hour, mostly women workers who've been in the union a long time and moved it to Singapore.

Vice President,  
Hewlett Packard

When we started in Singapore, we could hire a girl there for \$20 U.S. a month for 48 hours a week. We were attracted there because it had a good supply of labor. The unemployment rate 4 years ago was 10%. It had a political and economic stability that we though made sense for us to become involved in. Here in the U.S. people don't like tedious kind of jobs. You find that most people won't do that kind of work here, even if they had an opportunity to.

Director of Mineral  
Planning, Utah Int'l

Those industries require a great deal of labor input such as sewing clothes and knitting and electronics assembly, or even assembling cars for that matter, you will find more of these plants moving into the Mexicos, the Philippines. This has already happened in Hong Kong...into some of the African countries...primarily

Director of Mineral Planning,  
Utah International  
(continued)

because of the cost of labor and the native ability of the people to work with their hands.

Vice President,  
Hewlett Packard

They live much differently, obviously, than we do here. They don't have the social distractions that we have here. They don't object to sitting down and doing very tedious jobs on a continuing basis.

Narrator

The President of Admiral International, explaining the reason for his company's moving their color TV assembly to Taiwan said that, "The move won't affect pricing stateside but it should improve the company's profit structure; otherwise we wouldn't be making the move."

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Titles:

General Electric-Ashland,  
Massachusetts. Moved to  
Singapore-1,100 jobs lost.

Zenith-Chicago, Ill.;  
Springfield, Mo.  
Moved to Mexico and Taiwan-  
5000 jobs lost.

RCA-Memphis, Tenn.  
Moved to Taiwan-4,000 jobs lost

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Union Meeting-Greenfield,  
Mass. Don Tormey, Int'l  
Representative, United  
Electric Workers

The company owns the land. The company owns the plant. The company owns the equipment. The company owns the jobs. All they want from us is our labor. And they want to buy it from us...

Union Meeting-Greenfield,  
Mass. (Continued)

If the price is right. And if the price is not right, the company claims, and there is a lot of evidence to make the claim valid, that there are a lot of other people, in other towns, in other states, in other countries, who will sell them their labor cheaper than we do. We who have nothing to sell but our labor have been, in effect, reduced to a level of bidding against each other to see whether or not one or another group of people, whose problems are similar, will work for Ingersoll-Rand, or General Electric or ITT, or Gulf-Western or TRW.

SONG: "Hemos dicho Basta" (1970)  
("We say Enough") from  
Chilean election film

Narrator

In 1970, Dr. Salvadore Allende, a socialist, was elected President of Chile. In contrast to Brazil, the development program of Allende's government was aimed at ending the domination of Chile's economy by multinational corporations.

Chilean Woman-  
Alicia Muchaca

The people were optimistic about the Allende government because it was committed to beginning to solve our problems - jobs, schools, clinics, and other things like housing that our community needed.



Vice President,  
Crown Zellerbach Int'l  
(1973)

You drive down to the central valley of Chile and you are appalled. Houses without windows, people who are living very, very close to the subsistence levels and you just wonder at times, if they are actually on a subsistence level. Now, you try to say, how is Mr. Allende going to accomplish developing Chile? I don't think he is going to do it in the way he's going about it. Because what he's doing is cutting himself off from a very, very necessary source of outside investment to help speed this process along.

Narrator

Twenty-four of the top thirty multinational corporations had investments in Chile prior to the election of Allende. The largest were the copper companies, Anaconda and Kennicott, which had invested \$800 million dollars in Chile. They took out \$4 billion dollars in profits...Five times their investments. The first major act of the Allende government was the nationalization of these mines.

Hernan Valasquez, District  
Representative, Central  
Federation of Workers  
(C.U.T.)

I was a mine worker in Chile. With the Popular Unity government, the management of the company came under the exclusive direction of the workers - workers who were elected by their fellow workers. As a result of this, they increased production, because their factory's profits benefited them directly, rather than benefiting the owners, as had been the case throughout history.

Alicia Muchaca

Children were better fed and had more school and weren't seen scrounging for food in the street. They had shoes and clothes. I saw this in my own family, for I have 30 nieces and nephews. They did better in school since they could eat fresh food. It was because we finally had enough money to buy a refrigerator and meet the payments.

Octavio Caceres, Workers  
Administrative Council,  
Bella Vista Textile Mill

Many children of the workers, and not just in our factory, were mentally retarded. We found that in our factory of 600 workers, there were 25 retarded children. Immediately, we began a plan to create a school for the mentally retarded. This school was one of the first to be built in Chile.

Vice President,  
Crown Zellerbach Int'l  
(1973)

Right now, they are in the revolutionary stage. This has been a matter of tearing down any structure that they go into and building up. It usually means that you are left with virtually no management. When the government comes in, they take over, they take care of all the management, they send them packing. And maybe the union president is hired as the manager, and its pretty well directed by the far left and some of the companies that have had these expropriations are really in bad shape.

Voice over, quote from  
Edward Korry,  
U.S. Ambassador to Chile.

"Not a nut or a bolt will be allowed to reach Chile under Allende. Once Allende comes to power, we'll do all within our power to condemn Chile and Chileans to the utmost deprivation and poverty..."

Narrator

The U.S. Government plan to destroy the Chilean economy began immediately. The first step was a systematic boycott of Chilean products. World lending institutions were pressured to cut off credit, and economic aid to Chile was terminated. Aid to the military, however, was increased.

Former soldier in Chile,  
Amador Aquila

I was a Lieutenant in the Chilean army... Sent to the anti-subversive unit which trained in Las Manillas. This training was directed by North Americans, Major McKay, a member of the Green Berets, a veteran of Vietnam, and another one, a sergeant. I remember one time when we were in class, the North American Officer, Major McKay, said: "Communism is bad. We have to prepare ourselves to wipe out communism. You should follow the example of Brazil. In Brazil, since the armed forces took power, the nation has progressed."

Phillip Agee,  
former CIA agent

In Chile, operations were going on there to make it impossible for the Allende regime to govern after

Phillip Agee,  
former CIA agent  
(continued)

earlier attempts to prevent him from taking office failed, such as the attempted assassination of General Schnieder and attempts to bribe the Chilean congress.

Narrator

According to a Congressional report, the scale of CIA involvement in Chile, was unusual but by no means unprecedented.

Phillip Agee

In general terms, everything that the CIA is doing in the propaganda area or in the political warfare area tends, in one way or another, to help create the optimum operating conditions for multinational corporations in that particular country. The cases go back to the early 1950s - to Iran in 1952, to Guatemala in 1954, to Cuba in the early 1960s, to Brazil in 1964, to Indonesia in 1965, to the whole program in Vietnam from 1954, even earlier, right through the 1950's and the failure of those operations which required the massive overt military intervention in the 1960s.

Former Pres. Lyndon Johnson,  
voice over

The purpose of America is never to suppress liberty, but always to save it. The purpose of America is never to take freedom, but always to return it. One month ago, it became my duty, to send our Marines into the Dominican Republic,

Former Pres. Lyndon Johnson  
(Continued)

and I sent them for these same ends.

George Ball,  
Former Under Secretary  
of State

I think that the Dominican Republic was a situation where we indulged in a certain amount of overkill. Well, we sent in 25,000 American troops before we finally got through, which, as I say, was overkill. I think we overdid it.

Narrator

U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic blocked the return to office of Juan Bosch, the first democratically elected President in 40 years. His reform constitution called for profit sharing with workers, the distribution of land to poor peasants and restrictions on foreign ownership.

George Ball

Nevertheless, if you look at it as a case study in something that turned out pretty well, the Dominican Republic certainly did. They got the stability that they would never have otherwise, and the prosperity that they never would have had, and I think that people, on the whole, are reasonably happy.

Narrator

Since the invasion, the U.S. based conglomerate, Gulf-Western has become the biggest investor and the largest private land-owner in the Dominican. In addition to \$200 million dollars of its own

Narrator

investments, Gulf-Western controls an industrial "free-zone"--free of taxes and regulations--which it rents out to other U.S. companies. An investment report for one of these firms states:

Voice Over  
Investment report

"The present minimum wage in the textile industry is 30 cents per hour. What is more, with 4-5 applicants for every available company job in the Dominican, a company has the opportunity to expand rapidly, within a framework of labor peace and dedication to work."

Narrator

At the time of this interview, Ball was a Senior Partner in Lehman Brothers, a Wall Street investment bank.

George Ball

From the point of view of the investor, you're looking at the policies of a government with respect to foreign investment. Is it hospitable? Does it welcome foreign investment or does it want to squeeze foreign investment? And you're looking at the issue of stability, which is very important. Now, from the point of view of the social situation, we are interested in the degree to which the labor force is prepared to work. We're interested in the degree of unrest that may prevail in the country and in the society because he doesn't want to have a

George Ball  
(Continued)

succession of strikes or problems  
with his work force.

Narrator

Ball is not unique. The list of  
government officials linked to major  
corporate interests seems inexhaust-  
ible.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles,  
Lawyer for Standard Oil and the  
Rockefellers.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Head  
of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger,  
a long-time foreign-policy advisor  
to Nelson Rockefeller.

Secretary of Defense Thomas Gates,  
President of Morgan Guarantee Trust.

Secretary of Defense Charles Wilson,  
Chairman of General Motors.

Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara,  
President of Ford Motors, currently  
head of the World Bank.

Carter's ~~National~~ National Security Advisor,  
Zbigniew Brzezinski also served as  
chief foreign policy consultant to  
First Manhattan Bank Chairman, David  
Rockefeller. Secretary of the  
Treasury, ~~Michael~~ Michael Blumenthal was the  
Chairman and President of Bendix

Narrator  
(Continued)

Corporation. Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance was a member of a Wall Street law firm, a director of IBM, PAN AM, and the New York Times, and a Trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation.

George Ball

I've been in the United States government five different times in my life. Most of my life, I've been in the private sector as a lawyer. Since 1968 I've been a banker. Personally, I've found it enormously useful to me and, I hope, to my clients, to know how the government works and that I also know how business works. Just as I found it very valuable when I was in the U.S. government at different times, to understand how the financial and commercial world worked because I had experience in the private sector. And I believe in this idea of cross-fertilization and the moving back and forth.

(Chilean music)

Vice-President - Crown  
Zellerbach International  
(April 1973)

Chile, still under Allende is a very democratic country. They have a Congress, they have a very single-minded government services, like Banco Central who are professional



Vice-President - Crown  
Zellerbach (April 1973)  
(Continued)

people. So it really isn't quite like you see in the papers. There's still a lot of independence in Chile. And, the Armed Services of course are a moderating factor.

Narrator  
Titles:  
Santiago, Chile, Sept.  
11, 1973

More than 30,000 Chileans were killed resisting the military coup that swept Chile in 1973, including President Allende himself.

Raul Sanchez, Local  
President, Copper Foundry  
Union

Our factory was completely surrounded by the military and they began looking for the leaders. Many Companeros were taken prisoner in our factory, put on army trucks and taken to the jails and the concentration camps.

Titles:

Imprisoned 32 months, exiled. (Over Raul Sanchez)

Imprisoned 33 months, exiled. (Over Octavio Caceres)

Imprisoned 34 months, exiled. (Over Hernan Valasquez)

Imprisoned 25 months, tortured 6 months, exiled. (Over Amador Aquila)

Narrator

Since the military coup, the junta has denationalized many industries; wages have declined by 1/3rd. One worker in four is out of work. Trade Unions and all political opposition has been suppressed.

General Gustavo Leigh  
Member of Military Junta

"We assure the entire world that we will open our doors to foreign capital."

Wall St. Journal Ad -

"Chile: Safety Zone for Foreign Investors"

Orville Freeman, President  
Business International,  
Former Secretary of  
Agriculture

The program that is being followed now, at least it's one that most of the banks, and a good many economists ...We currently have two economists from the University of Chicago, who are down advising the Chilean government. And the course of action that they are advising to follow economically is one that banks and the investors think is sound.

George Ball, Former  
Undersecretary of State

Well, I think American foreign policy is geared to the needs of business to the extent that its main thrust on the economic side is to try and keep the world economy clear of all obstructions...to keep the obstructions cleared away so that American business can operate effectively in the world market.

Orville Freeman

(Q. To what extent was the rise of America as a world power, a determining factor in the growth of American business?)

I think it was not only American business, I think it was on all kinds of business, European international

Orville Freeman (Continued)

companies as well as U.S. companies, a very important factor, because following World War II the U.S. followed very enlightened policies in terms of an open world of free trade, free investment and competition and free movement of people...The most open world and it was also <sup>very</sup> a stable world; and so this was one of the periods of freedom. Freedom to invest, freedom to trade, freedom of economic intercourse, freedom of people to move. Stability and freedom.

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Music.

Narrator

In Greenfield, Union members have been negotiating <sup>with</sup> Ingersoll-Rand in their attempt to prevent the company from moving away. The town had already offered to provide the company with a new plant. After four months, the union was faced with the company's final proposal.

Union Meeting  
Don Tormey, International  
Representative, United  
Electricalworkers

We have to understand the power of this company in relation to our power. We have the power to shut the company down. We have the power to go in the shop and take it away from them for about 12 hours. Then the cops and the National Guard will come in. There has to be a way to protect ourselves from Ingersoll-Rand and the rest of 'em beyond the organization and the contract in the community. If we knew

how to defend ourselves economically and organizationally when the plant was there and it could not operate without us and now we discover the plant has the whole world to run away into, we have to discover a way we can politically prevent them from doing this to communities, to families, to the country. We need the kind of protection that will be effective with the force of law, with the force of the police, with the force of the National Guard on our side. In order to do that, we have to have political power. We're defenseless without it. You have had, what we believe, is probably their final proposal, and I say probably, because the whole thing is a gamble, even if we were to accept this proposal. There is no guarantee that Ingersoll-Rand, somewhere in New Jersey will not refuse it and move south anyway. The inclination is to say "No! And if we have to have a showdown with you, let's have it now." The difficulty with that is, that in such a showdown they will probably move.

Earl Marsh, Plant Chairman,  
U.E. Local 274, outside of  
plant

The agreement we have just reached with them is not a victory for us. It is simply a hope that we can keep this plant in this state and still have enough money in our pocket to pay the grocery bills. We've not made any gains. In fact for the next

four years we will not make any gains at all.

Don Tormey

The multinationals have no loyalty to any country except where they can make the most money. If they can make the most money in America, they'll do it. If they can make the most money in Penang, they'll do it. If they can make the most in Rhódesia, they'll do it. If they can make more in Chile, they'll do it. We that we are all subject to the country of the multinationals, which is the whole world -- at least that part of the world that will let American multinationals in. They have also as their allies, American foreign policy. And all of a sudden when the Asians, Africans and South Americans, like in Chile, take up the struggle to free themselves from the American multinationals that have taken over their country, we discover that we are in a dispute about "freedom". What they mean by that "freedom" is the freedom of the American multinationals to make profits in any place in the world.