

NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

Vol. 2 No. 4
Jan., 1973

**LIFE in these
UNITED STATES**

B of A & UNIONS

**WOMEN'S
CONFERENCE**

**TEACHERS
STRIKE**



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THEY CREATE A WASTELAND, AND CALL IT PEACE . . .

SOUTHERN U.



THE EVENTS AT SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY are well known by now: official violence against Black students, cynically justified by government bureaucrats

THE STUDENT DEMANDS that precipitated the violent repression dealt primarily with internal relations in the university. But an attack on the social relations at one of the largest Black universities in the world was perceived by state officials as too menacing to tolerate. The use of state repression and intimidation confirmed the students' analysis that what was at stake was more than the issues addressed by their demands, but the very issue of Black student power.

IT IS VERY DIFFICULT for such struggles to be successful in relative isolation. There can be no disguising the weakness of the response to the murders by the Left in this country. In the absence of massive student outcries of solidarity, like those that followed the killings at Jackson and Kent State, the prevailing response has been a continuation of on-going projects. In one sense, this is a necessary step. But it is also a reflection of the Left's weakness and fragmentation. Honestly recognizing this is a precondition for translating our anger at the murders into effective action in the future.

Creative Socialism

In the next issue, we're going to start a column with the theme of "Creative Socialism". All of us have many different and exciting ideas about how various social, economic and political institutions might look in a socialist society. However, we rarely communicate these ideas in any organized fashion because we are so caught up in current struggles, in fighting against immediately oppressive conditions.

We of the newspaper collective feel that it is necessary to start thinking about, discussing, and communicating in a positive way different possibilities of what life will be like when we win the revolution. So send us your thoughts either on one specific area or on a whole range of things—and let's get some creative exchange going. The one limitation we'd like to put on what is printed in this column is that it be a positive, concrete approach to whatever subject is discussed—if you are appalled by the ideas expressed in the column you have just finished reading, please express your horror in a "letter to the newspaper" and it will be printed in that context rather than in this column.



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

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This is a copy of a letter received recently from the Provisional Revolutionary Government's spokesman in Paris.

Paris, November 25, 1972

Dear NAM:

The MOVEMENT publications interest us very much. We share much of your opinion on the present situation, as well as on what is to be done now to help put an end to the long drawn-out war in Vietnam.

It is common knowledge now that, while claiming that "peace is at hand," the Nixon administration has made an about-face and refused to sign the Agreement that had been reached. Moreover, it intensifies the air war in both South and North Vietnam, and accelerates arms deliveries to Nguyen Van Thieu. The latter, on his part, raves about continued war, and steps up repression and persecution in areas under his control.

Efforts are required now to mobilize further the American public to bring more pressure to bear upon Nixon, to demand that he abide by his own pledge, sign without further delay the Agreement already reached, and stop backing Thieu—so an end be put to American involvement in Vietnam, peace restored there, and all American servicemen, those held captive included, be able to come home by Christmas.

Particular attention should also be given to the fate of political prisoners in Saigon's jails, whose life is in danger due to Thieu's plan to eliminate them physically.

Yours friendly,

Chubry



VIETNAM:

bombs for the holidays

The saturation bombing of the major population centers of North Vietnam that began on December 18th proves once more that Nixon and Kissinger have no intention of abandoning the U.S. presence in Southeast Asia. Yet both the planning of this latest escalation and its consequences point to the increasing desperation and isolation of the Administration's continuing genocidal policy.

First, the Administration deliberately timed the bombing escalation for the Christmas holidays when students were scattered and protest actions were difficult to mount. Despite our frequent despair at mass mobilizations, ~~Nixon's and Kissinger's timing indicates that they are acutely aware of the danger of such a movement.~~ We can expect that they will shift the focus of the bombing to less visible targets in the North by the time schools are back in session. The Administration hopes that the magnitude of their Christmas atrocities will make subsequent crimes more "acceptable," thus minimizing protests.

Second, the escalation coincided with a new round in the government's campaign to intimidate the mass media. The proposed legislation to tie broadcast license renewals to the "fairness" of news reports is clearly designed to scare both newspaper and television reporters away from an exposure of the NIXON-KISSINGER BIG LIE. The Administration perceives now that its election-eve trickery was just too obvious. Furthermore, it feels that it cannot afford, at this critical juncture, sustained opposition from those segments of the ruling class who control the media. Many of these elements now believe in the wisdom of a tactical retreat from Vietnam and have expressed strong criticism of the renewed bombings.

When Nixon and Kissinger decided to renew and extend the bombing, they did not anticipate the critical military and diplomatic consequences of their policy. First, the loss of U.S. planes and pilots (at this writing 77 planes and 100 pilots) has been at unacceptable levels. The magnitude of these losses is especially striking in the case of the fleet of B-52 bombers. Since the 18th, the North Vietnamese have shot down 33 B-52's out of a total war zone fleet of 225-250.

A critical reason for this high loss rate is the continued flow of Soviet SAM missiles into North Vietnam despite the blockade of Haiphong Harbor. This has clearly contradicted U.S. expectations. China, too, has continued to supply important military and civilian supplies to the North Vietnamese. This continued aid clearly indicates the failure of the Nixon and Kissinger policy of detente with the Soviet Union and China to materially isolate the North Vietnamese.

Second, the saturation bombing of North Vietnam has led to unprecedented criticism of U.S. policy by U.S. allies. The anti-Nixon demonstrations now sweeping Europe and the world-wide outrage over the bombings (including the boycott by Australian and New Zealand Seamen's Unions of U.S. ships) endanger many of Nixon's political and economic projects—projects that require allied support.

Finally, there is no possibility that the escalated bombing will accomplish its primary purpose of breaking the resistance of the Vietnamese. The

struggle in the South continues; as in the past, the key consequences of the escalation in the North will be heightened solidarity and even tougher negotiations.

When we consider the incredible destruction and the terrifying number of slaughtered civilians brought by the bombing, this evidence of the isolation and the futility of the Nixon Administration's tactics provides little comfort. Nonetheless, it does place our own activity in a proper perspective. Through organized protest activities, we can help make the difference in finally convincing Congress that the costs of the Vietnam adventure are too high. ~~The anti-war movement can and must exploit the declining legitimacy of the war~~ that resulted from the great Peace Hoax. It must emphasize the link between the tremendous costs of the war in Southeast Asia and the cutbacks in social services here at home to build a mass anti-war outcry.

This outcry must focus not only on the bombing in the North, but also very heavily on the entire U.S. presence in Southeast Asia. On several occasions, the Johnson Administration used the widespread relief which followed the halt of the bombing of the North to gain time to pursue its war aims in other ways, such as systematic bombing of the South and of Laos. We must also focus on the plight of the thousands of political prisoners in U.S.-financed South Vietnamese jails who face mass execution if Nixon and Thieu think they can get away with it.

Hopefully, massive demonstrations, such as those now being planned for Inauguration Day, will prove that Nixon has no mandate for genocide.



'A small, inexpensive group of U.S. planes was viciously attacked while on a mission of peace and goodwill . . .'

UNIONS HAUNT B OF A

The following are excerpts reprinted from a Bank of America manual distributed to B of A supervisory personnel.

Each office and department is a potential union organizing target.

We will strongly resist any effort to organize any of our employees.

We believe we can best accomplish our objectives and recognize the individual dignity and contributions of each employe when we are free of union domination and restraint.

Senior Management recognizes its responsibilities in the matter of unionization. We will continue to review all policies relating to personnel in order to assure that those policies effectively discourage unionization. However, your position on the firing line will mean that you will be the key to successfully resisting unionization of our staff. You can expect the complete and unwavering support of Management in your efforts. Should an attempt be made to organize your employees, professional staff assistance will be made available to help you immediately.

HOW TO RECOGNIZE A UNION ORGANIZING ATTEMPT: SIGNS AND SYMPTOMS TO LOOK FOR

There are several common signs which frequently signal that a union organizing drive is in process. If any of the following signs or symptoms are observed, report to Management immediately.

Union authorization cards, handbills, or leaflets appear on the premises or in parking areas. (See page 4 for exhibits of typical union authorization cards.)

Employees meet and talk in out-of-the-way places.

Employees begin meeting and talking with known union members.

The nature of employe complaints changes, and frequency increases.

Complaints are made by a delegation, not single employees.

Strangers appear on bank premises or in work areas.

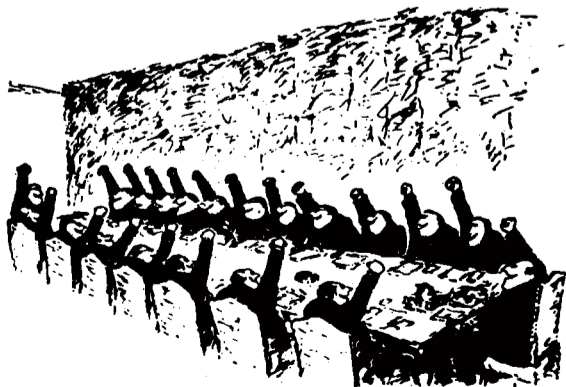
Employees develop an unusual social consciousness or begin using a strange vocabulary.

Employees or strangers show **unusual** curiosity about bank affairs and policies.

A personal visit, a telephone call, or registered letter is received from a union representative.

Early recognition of an organizing attempt and the initial reaction to such activity is the most critical factor in resisting unionization of our staff.

It is in the first few hours of a campaign that the most serious errors, both legal and political, are made. These errors may result in long, expensive litigation, or in the union becoming the bargaining agent for our employees, or both.



"All power to the Board of Directors!"

YOUR CONDUCT DURING AN ORGANIZING DRIVE

If you are contacted by a union representative, follow these procedures:

1. DON'T PANIC

As a supervisor, you can commit your office or department or perhaps the bank to unionization—if you act improperly. If you are contacted by anyone purporting to represent your employees:

- Don't look at **any list** of employees.
- Don't look at **any cards** with names on them.
- Don't **agree to discuss** with a union representative alleged complaints regarding employe grievances or other employe matters.

As a supervisor, you can unknowingly commit an unfair labor practice, thus forcing the bank to bargain. For example:

- Don't **threaten** subordinates participating in union activities with reprisal such as: reducing staff, reducing employe benefits, firing the employe, or threatening physical harm—directly or through a third party.
- Don't **interrogate** employees regarding union activity or spy on employe activity such as: meetings, how they intend to vote, whether they have signed up for or belong to a union, what they think about the union or a union representative.
- Don't **promise** benefits to those who do or may oppose **the union. Don't promise wage or benefit increases, promotions, or any other future benefit.**

2. DON'T KEEP IT TO YOURSELF

Remember:

- The union organizer is a professional in the business of union organizing. You are not.
- You are not in a position to see the entire union picture bank-wide.
- Even experts have difficulty in keeping up with the changes in labor relations rules.
- It's no sign of weakness to ask for help. So get the assistance of the bank's experts.

3. OBSERVE AND REPORT

What to report:

- A. Report confrontations with union officials.
 - Arrange to have a witness with you if at all possible.
 - When they identify themselves, either get their business cards or carefully and specifically in their presence write down their names, addresses, phone numbers, and exactly what union they claim to represent.
 - Under no circumstances carry on further conversation with them.

STATE CLEARLY:

"I have no authority with respect to union matters. I will refer this to my superiors who will be in touch with you immediately."

- B. Report inquiries about union affairs—particularly those from your employees.
- C. Report suspected union activities. ●

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Over Thanksgiving weekend, on the first anniversary of NAM's founding Davenport convention, over 250 women attended NAM's Conference on Feminism and Socialism in Durham, N.C. The conference was hosted by the Charlotte Perkins Gilman Chapter, an all-woman NAM chapter in Durham. About one-third of the women were NAM members; there were women from all over the country and representing many different elements of the women's movement—radical lesbians, independent feminists who have become socialists solely through the women's movement, and socialist women who haven't identified closely with feminism.

THE MOOD OF HARMONY AND SERIOUSNESS that characterized the conference reflected the need that many isolated radical women have felt in the past year—to create a revolutionary direction for the women's movement that has class consciousness but is truly feminist. The history of the movement has been one of splits, often bitter, over life-style and theory—between gay and straight women, socialist women and radical feminists. Furthermore, feminist ideology spawned an anti-authority, anti-elitist attitude that created an overall anti-structure and anti-organization bias. Thus, any overall unity and clear socialist feminist organization and direction have been impossible.

The fragmentation of the revolutionary elements of the women's movement has created an organizational vacuum filled only by the cooptable reformist feminist movement, characterized by such groups as the National Women's Political Caucus. With the publication of "Socialist Feminism: A Strategy for the Women's Movement" (by the Hyde Park Chapter of the Chicago Women's Liberation Union) and the development of NAM's socialist feminist politics during the last year, the possibility of a new direction for the women's movement has finally emerged—socialist feminism as a clearly formulated and organized alternative to reformist feminism.

THE DURHAM CONFERENCE ATTEMPTED THREE THINGS: 1) to provide an open forum for feminists who are socialists or are interested in socialism to come together on a national level to share experiences and map out strategy for the first time in the history of the women's movement; 2) to introduce NAM's socialist feminist politics to women unfamiliar with NAM; and 3) to develop specific program possibilities, primarily in the social services, from the Somers-Johnson paper "The Political Economy of Sexism," (presented at the Minneapolis Convention and incorporated into NAM's Political Perspective). The three goals were accomplished astonishingly well, given the severe time limitations of a two-day conference.

The conference opened Friday night with film showings by the Mad River, Ohio chapter (who provided limitless media resources all weekend). Randomly selected small groups met to discuss the state of the women's movements, mixed movements, and people's expectations of the conference itself. On Saturday morning, over 300 women heard several theoretical presentations, all of which grew out of the Somers-Johnson paper. First, Kathryn Johnson (of Berkeley NAM) outlined the historical polarization of feminist and socialist theory; she then detailed the integration of the two into an understanding of the sexual division of production—the division under capitalism between home and workplace, culturally experienced as a division between the personal and the political.

Sara Evans Boyte, from the C.P. Gilman chapter, presented a historical analysis of the role of women over the past 30 years, detailing the contradictory needs of capitalism that have put increasing stress on the sexual division of production and that have created an expanding social services sector, ripe for feminist socialist organizing.

"INTEGRATING THE PERSONAL AND POLITICAL," a long and eloquent paper, was presented by Judy Henderson (from Chicago). She spoke of her personal experience as a socialist, feminist lesbian, and the role that the Somers-Johnson paper had played in understanding her own life. She emphasized the importance of gay and bisexual life-styles, because they provide the possibility of breaking down male/female sex roles that are rooted in the division between the male-defined, public sphere and the female-defined personal sphere. Judy also shared some of her thoughts on the psychology of group dynamics, and the importance of the individual's assertion of her own needs within a group context.

Finally, a film about Mozambique, "A Luta Continua", was shown, with an introduction by Tami Hultman (of the C.P. Gilman chapter and the Southern Africa Committee). It is a film produced by two men who found that to accurately depict the revolution in Mozambique, they had to focus much of the film on the liberation from traditional sex roles that people are experiencing in FRELIMO and in the liberated areas of Mozambique. After the film, the women met in small groups and discussed their personal/political lives in the context of the presentations.

Signal of a New Harmony

PROGRAM PRESENTATIONS

Saturday afternoon was filled with program presentations—for many, the highlight of the conference. Judy Henderson had spoken Saturday morning about the need to avoid the rigidity of doctrine she felt had characterized much of both the feminist and socialist movements; she spoke of the need for political "generalizations to be in a fluid dialectic with the particular." Day Creamer (from the Chicago Women's Liberation Union), Jane Hershman, Mary Ryan, Susan Padwee (N.Y.C. NAM) and Sally Avery (C.P. Gilman chapter) gave the clearest set of presentations reflecting that goal that at least I have ever heard.

Day described the process of organizing around day care in Chicago, and the strategic conceptions that had both informed that process, and risen from it. She gave the audience a real sense of the day-to-day struggles she had shared with other women in Chicago, and the larger lessons in future strategy for women organizing in day care and other areas.

The NYC women and Sally Avery combined strategic evaluation with detailed discussion of their personal experiences organizing in the social services and welfare. They emphasized the need for a careful institutional analysis, the problems of organizing both inside and outside unions, and the problematic nature of organizing as socialists in an area designed to help people survive in capitalist society.

The social services, as the area that intersects the two realms of production, the home and workplace, is a critical area for socialist feminist organizing.

WORKSHOPS

Following the afternoon panel, women divided into program area workshops. These included: social service organizing, women in factories, gay liberation, national liberation struggles and several others. The success of the workshops varied; scheduled at the end of a long day, energy was low in many workshops. No specific proposals emerged from these sessions, but experiences were shared and important strategic questions aired.

After the workshops, Saturday night provided the much-needed time for relaxation. Although some workshops continued, most women talked informally or danced into the night. There were more media presentations, and folksinger Ruthie Gordon entertained us with some original ballads written from her own woman's consciousness, and led us in collective song.

WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

Many NAM women had felt pressure to come out of the Durham conference with program proposals so that we could have major feminist input into the NAM National Council meeting in January. The majority of the women at the conference, however, were not in NAM; in fact, many had not been exposed to NAM in any way before. Many of these women, chiefly from the autonomous women's movement, were excited by the theoretical developments integrating feminism and socialism within NAM, and wanted to know more about NAM. There had been no time scheduled for a basic introduction to NAM politics and program. To the frustration of some NAM women, Sunday morning program workshops and internal organizational discussions were waived in favor of a plenary that included presentations on NAM and a general discussion of socialist feminism.

THE HARMONY AND SPIRIT OF SISTERHOOD that prevailed throughout the conference was an acknowledgment of the need to integrate feminism and socialism. The personal and political debates that have fragmented the women's movement, and stymied its growth in a revolutionary direction, were conspicuously absent. Rather, the women's conference seemed to signal a new direction, in strategy and in spirit, for feminism: the socialist feminist movement is beginning to come together as a strong alternative to the dead-end of reformist feminism that has gained prominence in recent months. The Durham conference was an important first step in the process of creating a movement that can meet women's real needs in the struggle that challenges capitalism and its hegemony over all the spheres of our lives. ●

Sisterhood at 8:00 A.M.



Somerville

Teachers' Strike ...

I am a high school teacher in Somerville, a rather uniformly white, low-income, blue-collar community in New England. Early this fall, after one day of classes, a huge majority of the town's public school teachers voted to go on strike—the first teachers' strike in the town's history. The important demands were a return to the previous year's working conditions in the high school (4 instead of 5 classes per day) and improvements in conditions in the elementary schools—primarily more specialists in reading, art, and so on, and one free period a week for preparing lessons. Ten days later the teachers accepted a two-year contract which gave them almost nothing except a pay raise that had been offered before the strike began.

The issues first emerged last winter, when teachers in the high schools were notified that the school day would be changed from six to seven periods, in order to offer more classes and supposedly enrich the educational program. The catch was that instead of hiring new teachers and ordering new supplies, the schools planned to increase each teacher's load from four to five classes each day. This actually made it possible for the school to lay off teachers in some areas while increasing the amount of teaching supposedly being done. When teachers returned to school this fall, they found that supplies for the new courses were not in, and in some cases had not even been ordered. The condition of the building was worse than ever, although expensive renovations of the high school gym and auditorium, both intended showpieces for a centennial celebration, were well under way.

Women in the Elementary Schools

Teachers at the elementary schools had similar problems, though their working conditions were not under attack in the same way. Elementary school teachers have traditionally been less militant than high school teachers, a tradition which was maintained in the strike. To many men in the system, the lack of militance in the elementary schools is entirely explained by the fact that most elementary school teachers are women. Men who dislike the teachers association for its generally moderate (not to say timid) stance describe it as "effeminate". Women in the high school are no less militant than men, however; if anything, the opposite may be true.

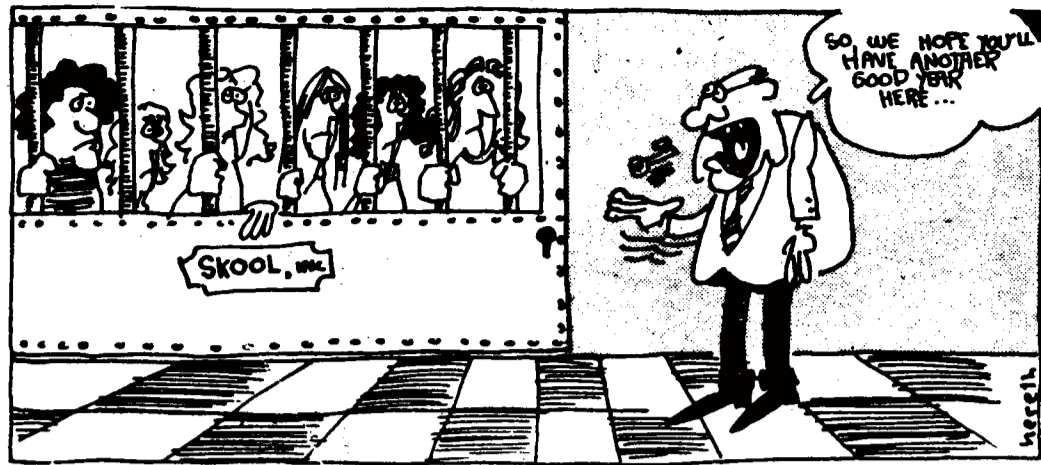
The generalization about women in the elementary schools, nevertheless, seems true. It may be that many women who go into elementary teaching are doing the closest thing to being mothers that they can get paid for. If this is true, elementary teaching may attract women who are especially well trained in the feminine role and tend to be pretty docile. Even if this is not true, the structure of the small elementary schools is often similar to that of a (polygamous) family. For instance, the one school which remained open throughout the strike has a male principal who rules over 6 female teachers, who in turn tend a larger number of children. The family-like structure of these small schools probably makes authority intimate and easy, rebellion embarrassing and difficult. By contrast, the high school has a handful of often remote administrators ruling 300 teachers and 2500 students—a far more factory-like atmosphere.

On Strike: Teachers and Their Leaders

The strike did not begin over money. The teachers were concerned about working conditions much more than about their salaries. It is not that the average teacher is a dedicated, unselfish saint. It's just that teaching can be a wonderfully satisfying job when it can be done well. When conditions make it impossible to teach successfully, it becomes "just a job" or else a constant source of irritation, frustration and failure for teacher as well as student.

The strike was militant and effective. Only a handful of teachers or even substitutes would cross the picket lines. Parents, students and even policemen joined the teachers in picketing the schools. Several times the School Committee announced that school would be open, hoping to break the strike. But bewildered children arrived at the schools to find that they were not open at all. After several days, parents realized that the schools were closed until further notice, regardless of what they heard on TV.

The teachers probably could have won the strike. Instead, they followed their "leadership" to defeat. As early as last winter, when some teachers had suggested that the local Teachers Association take a vote on what the members would demand in a new contract, the leadership answered "You can't do that. You'll tie our hands in negotiation." Last spring when teachers wanted to begin canvassing the community, explaining the issues, a state Teachers Association lawyer passed down the word: "You can't do that while we're negotiating. It would violate the collective



following leaders to defeat

reprinted from
**Somerville
Free Press**

bargaining law." And so on. Through last winter and spring, as the teachers grew angrier and angrier, they were constantly told to follow the leaders and listen to the lawyers. Suggestions from the floor were never welcome.

By the time of the strike, this emphasis on listening to the leaders instead of trusting the membership had become fanatical. Teachers were instructed never to talk to anyone from the press and to be extremely careful in talking to each other, lest they "start rumors." Any discussion of the issues which led to the strike was "divisive". When a normally rather conservative teacher spoke from the floor and reminded the negotiators that teachers at the high school were not willing to compromise on the issue of teaching five courses per day, teachers and union leaders alike attacked him for speaking out of turn, having no sense of what was appropriate, and threatening the unity of the strike. Not that they all disagreed with him—but he was told he should have written his thoughts down and handed them to one of the leaders.

A married man with children suggested (in private) that the teachers offer to give up half of their 5% pay increase in order to hire more teachers. Many teachers liked the idea, but there was no way to put it up to a vote. The idea was offered to our negotiators (the "correct" procedure). They dismissed it as idiotic.

The Myth of Blue-Collar Conservatism

It may seem strange that an angry group of people—and the teachers certainly were angry—would put up with such manipulation. But the teachers' ability to organize was crippled by their lack of faith in each other, by their belief that no one else in the school, or the town, shared their anger.

The town is one of those areas that everyone "knows" is reactionary. Hip liberal college students sneer at it. Cautious administrators tell me, "You could get away with that in a liberal suburb, but here. . . ." Individual radicals, and even liberals, feel terribly isolated in the town because they know that no one else agrees with them.

But in fact, the town is quite liberal: McGovern beat Nixon by more than 2-1. About half of my students, by a count of hands, believe in socialized medicine. Last year I came to school somewhat crabbi-

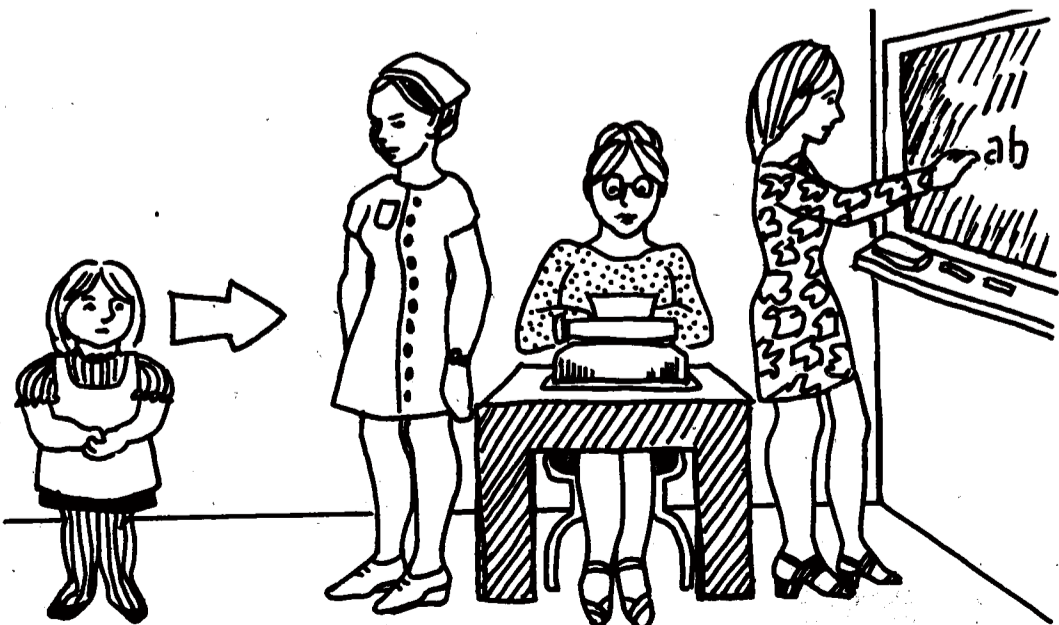
er than usual after Nixon announced the mining of Haiphong harbor. "Hey," someone yelled after a few minutes of class, you're really made at Nixon, not us, aren't you?" I acknowledged the fact, but my mood didn't improve. A few minutes later the same kid tried again. "Will you cut it out?" he demanded. "We're all gonna vote for McGovern."

Our faculty includes a handful of socialists—some of them recent graduates of the student movement, others simply people who are fed up and interested in finding a better way to run a society. A larger group of teachers is less political but sufficiently disaffected to be comfortable around radicals. And most of the teachers and students, radical, liberal or conservative, share a down-to-earth sense of oppression and almost of rebelliousness which makes a radical feel quite at home.

The myth that the school and the town are conservative, though, dies hard. A year ago when the change in teachers' working conditions had been announced, a strike had seemed the obvious response. But all the experienced teachers, including the few socialists, said "You don't know this town" or "You don't know these people" or "The elementary schools would never go along with it". Even radical teachers were glad to see the state Teachers Association organizers manipulating us, since they were certain that everyone else would desert the strike if given a chance at democratic discussion. Soon most teachers were convinced that they would only destroy the strike by scaring everyone else with their "radicalism" if they were insistent about the issues which had produced the strike in the first place. So the professional unionists were able to fill the void created by the teachers' distrust of each other.

This seemed natural enough to most teachers, who had no experience with the likes of participatory democracy. All day long they take orders from their bosses and teach their students to obey. For many Americans, the concept of democracy has the same sort of ritual meaning as the Mass in Latin. I was appalled at the lack of democracy which my (older, radical) friends tolerated in the Teachers Association. They thought I was simply being naive and idealistic, unwilling to face the dirty side of politics.

Continued on page 14



LIFE IN THESE UNITED STATES

One of the strongest features of U.S. Capitalism is its ability to fragment the people it oppresses. The problems are well-recognizable: women treated as second-class citizens; old people relegated to invisible, unproductive lives; workers tied to empty jobs. Two of the following articles, reprinted from the establishment press, identify such problems. A third, reprinted from a corporate bulletin, attempts to formulate a response. Taken together, they offer a revealing glimpse at the quality of life under U.S. capitalism.

MS. GENERAL MILLS

CORPORATE PLANNERS & THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

EVERY SOCIAL MOVEMENT OF OPPRESSED GROUPS in capitalist society has two paths it can take. It can fight simply for integration into the workforce—for equality with the already established—“privileged”—workers. Or, in addition to seeking equal opportunities and treatment, it can become part of a revolutionary movement that seeks to make basic changes in the ways that all people relate to one another and to society as a whole. Equal rights movements, although not in themselves revolutionary, are good in themselves since they improve conditions and tend to break down racial or sexual stereotyping and discrimination. But movements like the black movement of the 1960's and the women's movement also meet with resistance from other groups in society to whom these movements appear as threats. This is inevitable under capitalism, which is based on the principles of scarcity and of competition for scarce goods and services. Of course, if a group—like blacks and women in the last ten years—fights hard enough, if it threatens to disrupt the existing society, it can win concessions. But to achieve equality, even within the existing workforce, is difficult if not impossible.

The following article, taken from a newsletter published by General Mills, shows that the women's movement is taken seriously. But it also shows what movements like this mean as long as they are—or appear to be—simply movements for integration into capitalist society. The needs of women to live lives as full human beings, to develop fully and creatively are understood only in terms of new products and of new ways to sell old products. Human development is reduced to the right to participate equally in decisions about buying a new car, or a new cake mix. The possibility of making history—of women participating in determining social priorities for the United States—is absent from this article, even though the author, herself a woman, is clearly sympathetic to the women's movement and understands the need for equality in private social relations.



Do you hear me loud and clear?

Is your loving family taking you for granted? And just because you fill the role of homemaker so superbly, don't they realize that your training really qualifies you for much better things? Express your (slightly rebellious) personality with this Apron/Potholder Set. The important question is hand-screened on heavy green/white 100% cotton, with adjustable chrome buckle to fit all sizes of women's hips.

Please send me the University Women's Apron/Potholder Set. My check for \$6 (\$5 plus \$1 for post. & insur.) is enclosed. Call, add tax. Return within two weeks for full refund if not delighted.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____

204 Washington, San Francisco 94111

haverhills
A Subsidiary of Time Inc. 1487

THE CHANGING ROLE OF WOMEN

The following is a shortened version of the October 1972 issue of General Mills' newsletter, FOCUS ON TOMORROW, published by its Corporate Planning Department. The newsletter is based on General Mills' belief that "continued success is dependent upon our ability to capitalize on emerging opportunities." It was written by Erica E. Whittlinger, a Planning Analyst in the Corporate Planning Department. This is a shortened, but otherwise unchanged version.

Changing female lifestyles and new marketing opportunities for the 1970's: fulfillment through better packaging.

The role of women in American life is changing rapidly and the impact is being felt throughout society. Women's attitudes, values, and lifestyles are changing with implications for consumer goods producers like General Mills. How will the woman of the 1970s differ from her predecessors in the 1950s and 1960s? The following characteristics are likely to increasingly prevail, particularly among the trend setting younger woman:

- She will be better educated, with a desire to use her education and pursue a broader range of interests,
- She will remain single longer, delaying marriage (or deciding against it), being more apt to work after marriage and to continue working after marriage,
- She will have fewer children (an average of 2 rather than 3) and take less time off the job for childbirth and child raising,
- She will have more discretionary income because of these factors, and
- She will have more "liberated" views on a woman's role, views on sharing responsibilities with her husband, pursuing a career, and equality of opportunity.

CHANGING ATTITUDES ABOUT WOMEN

The "women's liberation movement" is following a course similar to early stirrings in the black and counterculture movements: a few controversial figures and isolated incidents get publicity, yet the ramifications spread through all levels of society. A 1972 Lou Harris poll found that 48% of all women favor efforts to strengthen and change woman's status in society, while only 36% oppose. Strong support for upgrading the woman's role comes from single women, divorced or separated women, black women, college educated women, and women under 30—groups that will all grow in size during the 1970s.

While the women's lib movement is controversial and women supporting it are in the minority, it would be deceptive to believe that the movement is only a passing fad. The issue of greater female equality has very explosive potential, and more leaders will come along to increasingly articulate support for it among most women. Already all types of women are increasingly solidly behind such issues as equal pay and job opportunities—and many favor liberalized abortion laws.

One of the most interesting aspects of the women's movement is its inclusiveness—women's concerns encompass race as well as sex discrimination, employment, legal rights, education, poverty, day care, health, and virtually every other modern social issue. For this reason, it is unlikely that the movement will ever form a cohesive whole to the extent, say, of black "brotherhood." However, opportunities do exist for virtually all women to become involved in some aspect of women's concerns, even though they may not be interested in or necessarily subscribe to goals of other groups (e.g., a mother may be concerned with day care and education while a single woman may focus her interests on employment or legal rights, but some of their sympathies will undoubtedly overlap).

The women's movement is most notably evolving into a concern over stereotyped roles, which in turn emphasizes a societal trend toward individuality. Emphasis will shift away from stereotyping of roles—a strict societal definition of your behavior because you happen to be married (or single), a man (or woman), a business person (or homemaker), etc.—toward the concept of "personhood," a concern for each individual human being with his or her own needs, desires, and abilities. The individuality trend will also impact on marriages—resulting in greater mutual understanding, equality of responsibilities, and jointly reached decisions. The upshot of the individuality trend is not that we will degenerate into a society of selfish hedonists, or idealistic do-gooders, but that individuals will be accepted as equals no matter what they choose to do. As a result, the woman of the 1970s will gain acceptance whether she decides to work full-time at a career, hold a part-time job, run for public office, or concentrate on being a homemaker.

THE NEW HOMEMAKER

One of the traditional female roles that is likely to undergo change is that of the homemaker. Many homemakers have resented women's lib because they feel the movement "puts down" the career of homemaker; they see no gain in denying the inferiority of women while having to acknowledge the inferiority of the role of homemaker. These homemakers are caught in a dilemma—they realize that the duties of childraising and maintaining a family life are crucial to society, but society in general has not traditionally valued these roles as much as purely economic ones.

With the movement toward individualism and the increasing belief that each woman should have the right to pursue whatever role she prefers, attitudes

Continued on next page

What you need for Christmas is a new wife.

How would you like a wife with calendar girl legs, a Scarlett O'Hara waist, French starlet everything else?

You'd like? Then send the wife you've got to a Spa Health Club for Christmas.

But understand one thing: we're convinced a woman's measurements do not exist apart from the rest of her. They relate to the look in her eye, the texture of her skin, the warmth of her feet, the state of her sinuses. And these, of course, depend on the workings of her heart, lungs, digestion, circulation.

That's why—before she lifts a finger—she's thoroughly examined by our medical staff (or she may use her own doctor). This is followed up with a program from our physical culturists and a suggested diet from our dietitian. At this point, she's off for expertly supervised exercise in our professionally equipped gym. (As any athlete knows, three 1/2 hour sessions like this a week, equals three hours, every day, at home.)

Finally, there's her reward. She can abandon herself to bubbling Mineral Springs. Tingle in the Finnish Ice Plunge. Toast in our Eucalyptus-Scented Desert Dry Room. Loll in our pristine clean Turkish Bath. Swim in water fit to drink. (Who could feel anything but tingling, rosy, relaxed, energetic, sexy, after all that?)

Cost: a lot less than a second wife. But rate structure increases after the holidays. So call between 10 a.m. and 10 p.m. weekdays, 10 a.m. and 6 p.m. weekends, if you like our gift suggestion. Or let us arrange for either of you to have a free, pre-Christmas trial. It's the ultimate demonstration that we're in business for your health.



NEW YORK CITY: 505 Park Ave., at 59th Street 636-0002
401 E. 55th St. at Sutton Place 633-9650
SCARSDALE: 520 Central Ave. 472-3010
PHILADELPHIA: 4600 City Line Ave. 679-5860

Life in these united states

NO PLACE



Corporations and the government hire people to work for them only if a profit can be made from their work. Those who cannot work efficiently, who no longer can produce, are not wanted. And since no one can make money from inefficient workers they are put out to pasture, usually without enough money to buy their feed. This is true of auto workers, farm workers, teachers, advertising executives, technicians, salespeople—every kind of worker. It happens either when they slow down or when their technical knowledge is outdated and newly-trained workers get out of school to replace them. How much permanently unemployed persons suffer depends in part on how well organized they are as a group. Old people are scattered, generally demoralized, and without organization. Their market value is minimal. The result is described below in the article from the Wall Street Journal.

MACARTHUR PARK — The elderly come slowly, and usually alone, from the cheap hotels and rooming houses nearby, passing the pawnshops, eateries and movie houses on their way into the park. Here they sit on splintered green benches, rarely talking to each other, rarely turning away from the main path where each hopes something interesting might happen.

It seldom does.
"Why am I here?" says Joe, a 72-year-old retired house painter. "I am here because I have no place else

to go." Shielding his face from the sun, he surveys the silent people on the benches around him. "We are old now," he says, "and we've been put out to pasture with no hope and not even enough hay." There is no bitterness in his voice.

Joe, who makes do on \$176 a month from Social Security, is one of the more than 20 million Americans who are over 65, a group that expands daily by 1,000.



ms. general mills

Continued from page 7

about the importance of the homemaker will change. She will increasingly be viewed as a "manager of family life" who controls considerable assets and widely varied functions. She will assume a position of greater equality with her husband, resulting in a greater sharing of ideas as well as responsibilities.

Homemakers will increasingly spend less time in the home. Non-working women will become more involved in community activities in pursuit of self-expressive goals. They will also increasingly pursue individual interests such as special education courses. *The Wall Street Journal* reports that some 500,000 women over 30—twice the number a decade ago—have returned to college to complete their bachelor's degrees or do graduate work. With fewer children, more day care facilities, and more years after her youngest child leaves home, the homemaker of tomorrow will increasingly have the flexibility and freedom to seek personal fulfillment in activities outside the home.

IMPLICATIONS TO BUSINESS

Changing female attitudes and lifestyles will create new and varied marketing opportunities for business during the 1970s. Among the general implications of the changing role of women on business will be:

—**Rising demand for convenience foods.** Time will assume increasing importance as women expand their interests and activities. Demand will rise for all types of convenience foods and for appliances such as microwave ovens to aid in their preparation. With rising incomes and the desire to spend less time on traditional homemaking activities, women may well increasingly choose frozen and ready-to-serve varieties over "mix" forms when they seek out "convenience" foods in the future. Such changing perceptions will help stimulate an 80% increase in the consumption of frozen items during the 1970s. Outlays for food eaten away from home will also increase substantially during the 1970s, with more working wives and homemakers who want to get out of their kitchens oftener and with rising family incomes to permit more frequent dining out.

—**Growing demand for home maintenance services.** As more women work and others pursue activities outside the home, time available for and interest in routine cooking, cleaning, and other maintenance or repetitive work will diminish. This will stimulate demand for new work saving appliances such as ultrasonic cleaning equipment. As a result of the trend toward greater equality among spouses, husbands will increasingly help their wives with household activities. No longer will kitchen and cleaning duties be viewed as the exclusive province of the wife.

—**Increasing demand for day care centers.** Day care facilities will undergo very substantial growth during the 1970s. The number of children under six who have working mothers will rise 43% during the 1970s to 8½ million. Yet only 650,000 spaces currently exist in day care centers. Perhaps even more significant is the fact that only 2% of those children under six with working mothers are presently cared for in certified day care facilities.

—**Mounting interest in consumer issues.** Better educated and more informed women will have growing influence in the purchase of big-ticket items, and will more closely scrutinize the hundreds of products they buy daily. Among their growing concerns are likely to be: nutritional value of food products, use of unit pricing and open dating, safety of toys, labeling and safety of caustic products, flammability, fiber content and durability of clothing—as well as the cost/value relationships of all products.

—**Changing employer attitudes.** Employers will become more flexible in dealing with the needs, desires, and abilities of individual employees, rather than holding a unilateral view of what the employee can do for the company. They will be increasingly receptive to providing part-time jobs for professional and managerial women with children, developing flexible schedules for women who want to care for their children after school, and permitting innovative approaches such as two half-time secretaries splitting a regular full-time job.

—**Rising demand for "career" apparel.** The growing number of working women, and particularly those in office and professional positions, will stimulate demand for well designed, functional clothes to wear at work. Special opportunities are likely to occur in appealing to younger women who wish to dress appropriately for work without resorting to conservative clothing aimed at older women. Their spending patterns will carry over into accessories and sportswear as well, especially as they pursue more interests such as golf, skiing, and business entertaining.

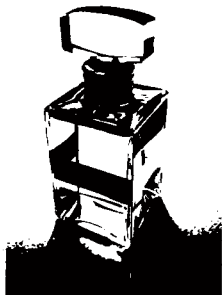
—**Increasing sales of hobby items.** Demand will also grow for sport and hobbycraft goods aimed at or used by women as they seek to express their creativity. The more creative arts of painting, sculpture, and gourmet cooking will also gain in popularity. Women will exert more influence in decisions concerning family recreational items like camping goods, and will continue to develop interests in sports.

—**Changing marketing and advertising thrusts.** New female attitudes and roles will have impact on advertising trends during the 1970s. Their better education and broader backgrounds will make younger women (and younger men too) more skeptical about advertising messages and product promotions. This will stimulate demand for more information on a wide range of issues—everything from nutritional content and ingredient percentage labeling to shelf life and overall product quality. "Sexism" in ads will repeatedly be attacked; as husbands and wives share more responsibilities, ads will increasingly aim at both sexes in promoting products and also in recruiting prospective employees. AT&T, for example, is running ads featuring a male telephone operator and a female phone installer, and Merrill Lynch has ads seeking female as well as male account executives.

The trends listed above are but a few of those that will stem from changing female attitudes and values. The new lifestyles that will result from these changes will open up many new opportunities, which companies such as ours may capitalize on.

You're liberated.
You don't believe in marriage.
You tell him so.
You wear MaGriffe.
He slips on the ring.
(It's five carats.)

MaGriffe apologizes for
unliberating the
liberated woman.



TO BE

"It Rained Every Day"

A feeling of uselessness, of being shelved and ignored by a society enamored of youth, pervades. Retirement is a consignment to oblivion—and, frequently, to poverty.

Fully half the elderly have incomes averaging less than \$75 a week. Many live on far less. A study by New York City's Office for the Aging found in 1968 that one-third of the households in the city headed by people 65 and over subsisted on less than \$2,000 a year. Social Security is the only income for millions of the aged, and even recent boosts in benefits will not alleviate grinding poverty. Twenty percent of very little is—very little.

Some of the elderly poor lived decently while they were working, but were booted into mandatory retirement without adequate reserves. Now, they watch anxiously as inflation and rising taxation eat away at small fixed incomes. Others, who always had to struggle, have to struggle even harder. They are caught "between depleting resources and increasing lifetimes," says Jack Ossofsky, executive director of the National Council on Aging in Washington. "The poor never saved for rainy days because it rained every day of their lives."

So, like Joe the retired painter, the aged poor drift to the inner cities, to neighborhoods like the ones surrounding MacArthur Park. They come by necessity: only in neighborhoods like these can they find low rents and easily available shopping and services, important to people for whom even a few blocks may be too far to walk and for whom 25 cents for the bus is an expenditure to be carefully weighed.

One Room, No Plumbing

So, the elderly poor quickly fill the old hotels and rooming houses, competing with drunks and drug addicts for space, yielding the parks and the streets after dark because they are afraid. Like Sylvia, a 66-year-old widow who lives in terror of darkness. She does not, ever, go out at night. Alone in her room, suffering from acute depression, she surveys a hopeless future.

There are many Sylvias, many parks, in the big cities. The MacArthur Park area isn't the worst of them. But the neighborhood has run downhill. According to 1970 census data, it is a warren of cheap apartments, most of them one or two-room units that rent for \$45 to \$100 a month; the median rent is \$79, 20% lower than the city-wide median. The number of units that lack plumbing in the rooms is four times the city-wide average. And, the area has one of the highest crime rates in this city.

The shabby apartments are packed with the poor elderly—the average age in one census tract near the park is 64—and most of them live alone, as do five million of the total U.S. population over 65. Coupled with their sense of uselessness, their solitude breeds despair. Some fight it. They haunt the U.S. and state courthouses for trials, picking up a legal education that astounds attorneys, and become fans of particular judges and lawyers whose cases they never miss.

Many go to the park regularly; it is their outdoor living room, their only recreation. Still others fill the days with the organized activities of senior citizens groups, fighting loneliness at the ballroom of the Elks Club with foxtrots done to the ballads of long ago. And a few are lucky enough to get work. Says an old man clerking at one of the cheap hotels: "I know that if I couldn't do this, I'd go on the bottle. I'd be drinking all day to make the time go."

Many of the aged are gnawed by the fear not that they will die, but that they will die unnoticed. It is a fear well founded. "At least a third of the elderly we find in the central city have no friends or family who care about them," says Lois Hamer, director of the Program of Retired Citizens, a privately financed volunteer group that seeks to help the aged here.

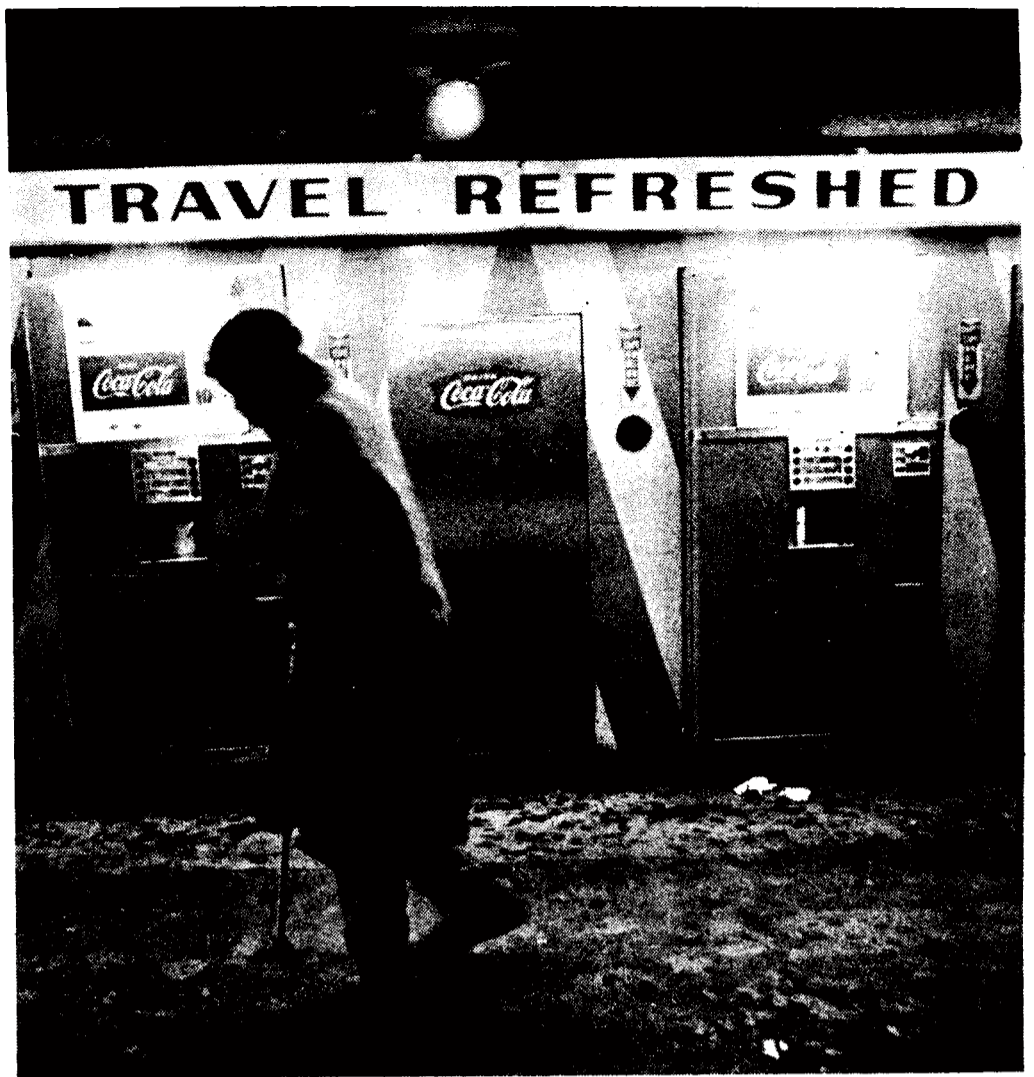
Recently, Miss Hamer's volunteers found one woman seriously ill who had been in bed a full week. No one knew; no one cared. She was taken to a hospital. She was fortunate. Many die before the volunteers, or anyone else, find them.

Fear and Losses

Many of the elderly poor are so deeply withdrawn that they consciously avoid human contact. The oldsters sit side by side in the hotel lobbies watching TV, but they don't speak to each other. Or they spend the day looking out the windows of their rooms at a world they won't be part of again.

To many, these rooms are the only security they have, so they cling to them beyond reason. At this moment a 93-year-old woman is slowly starving her-

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L
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self to death in an apartment near MacArthur Park; she is unable to get out to buy any food, and she refuses to accept help from anyone.

Even this kind of "security" is marred by fear. Many of the elderly say they are afraid to ask landlords to fix broken plumbing, peeling wallpaper or other problems, lest the rent be raised. Even a \$5 boost can send them out into the streets in a painful search for new quarters that are cheaper. The fear of fire is a major one; one old woman constantly seeks reassurance from her social worker, tells her again and again of a fire three years ago, worries constantly that she will be unable to get out this time because she is arthritic.

Nutrition is a staggering problem and contributes to the poor health of many of the elderly. Some hotels serve decent meals at low prices, but most don't. Even hot-plates can't be used in some of the older buildings because their wiring can't take the current load. Many of the elderly eat what they can get, or afford, not what is good for them. Miss Hamer of the Program of Retired Citizens gives a typical day's menu for too many. For breakfast, a roll and coffee with all the milk and sugar that can be poured into it. For lunch, the same. For dinner, the same, with maybe a piece of pie.

Others eat dog food. "They can get two meals out of a can," says Robert Forst, an official of the National League of Senior Citizens in Los Angeles. "Where else could they get so much protein for so little money?"

"You Get Tired"

Miss Hamer's group tries to alleviate that sort of thing by sponsoring 19 meals a month for the elderly in downtown churches. Each meal costs 70 cents and is served at noon. But by 10:30, many of the poor are already there; it is the only meal many of them will have that day. For the more affluent, rummage sales



are held concurrently with the 70-cent meal; shirts go for a dime and suits for a few dollars.

Those old people, who do have a little disposable income, are prime targets for consumer frauds. John Ramos, 68, says that he has been cheated three times by people who have taken his money without delivering the goods. Says Mr. Ramos, who used to operate a dry-cleaning shop: "Nobody helps us old people. I went to 10 agencies looking for help, and then I got tired. You get tired, you know. You get very tired. You just give up when you can't find justice anywhere."

Beset by problems, the elderly poor still cling fiercely to their pride; many won't ask their relatives for extra help. They don't want to be a burden. Says Hilda Smith, a 72-year-old black woman who has an income of \$210 a month: "I see my children regularly, and I don't feel neglected. But they have their own needs. My oldest boy has 12 children of his own; how can I even ask him to help me?"

There are also several million aged poor who are eligible for state and local supplements to Social Security, the so-called old age assistance benefits, who don't even apply for them. New York City's Office for the Aging estimates that there are about 160,000 elderly poor in the city eligible for extra welfare benefits, but only 79,000 collect them. Of roughly five million elderly in the nation who are eligible for such aid, only two million or so are getting it.

Many people are confused by all the bureaucratic footwork and forms required. Others don't even know they are eligible. But many others are just too proud. Harold MacKay, a 72-year-old retiree, is one of these. He is stone broke, living on \$176 a month Social Security, "and just waiting for the good Lord to call me." Out of his check he pays not only for food and rent, but also for special medicines for his diabetes and arthritis, costs not covered by Medicare.

Yet he won't even apply for old-age benefits. "What does it matter to them what my children do for a living?" he asks. "What does it matter to them how much money they make? Why must they take my privacy for only a few dollars a month?"

Joe, the retired painter, feels the same way. Sitting on his bench, he snaps: "Listen, I may be poor. But I'm not charity."

This article is reprinted from the Wall Street Journal, November 15, 1972. It was written by Barbara Isenberg, a staff reporter for the Journal. We have made several deletions.

WORKING MORE AND

SINCE PEOPLE IN THIS SOCIETY work only, or mainly, to make money, a job is rarely an end in itself. It is simply a means to survive, or, at best, a way to earn enough to enjoy leisure time. If everyone had enough money to live comfortably and securely without working for a living, few people would work at their present jobs. This is true of people in all walks of life, as the following article on Blue Collar Blues shows.

JOB BLUES AFFLICT ALL WHO WORK FOR A LIVING

This article is reprinted from the San Francisco Chronicle, November 24, 1972. We have condensed it a bit and have made minor editing changes.

He is a middle-aged man drawing a middle-income salary from his factory job. His job is dull and dreary and there isn't much chance to move up or out. Life is tedious, he detests his work and he puts into it just enough effort to get by.

Dissatisfied with his lot, he is also politically angry. He believes that others above and below him in status get all the breaks: the rich have tax advantages, the poor have welfare.

The stereotype is that of the man with "Blue Collar Blues," an affliction supposedly peculiar to the man on the assembly line.

It isn't true, according to recent research at the University of Michigan. The middle-aged factory worker is no more afflicted with the "blues" than, for example, the white collar employee who makes more money.

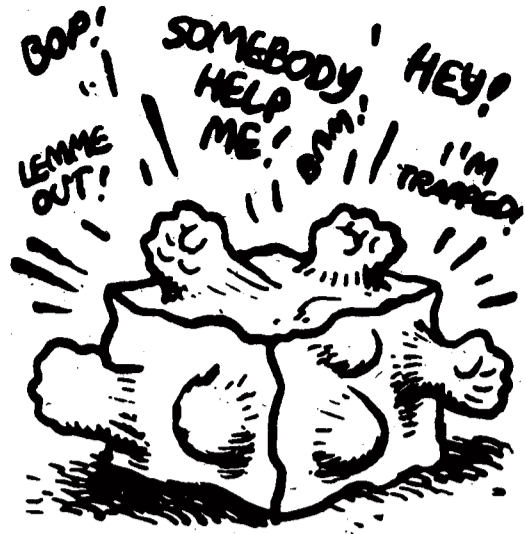
BE PAYMENT HIGH OR LOW

Dissatisfaction with jobs is common in all strata of American life and the blue collar, middle-aged worker isn't any more dissatisfied than people above or below him. He feels stifled at his work, but no more so than people in other sectors of the working class.

He isn't so much disturbed by the low pay or discomforts of his job, but by the lack of personal initiative and fulfillment it provides. Even that bothers him no more than other Americans of higher or lower status.

"It is grossly in error to believe that the blues syndrome is the exclusive property of the hardhat," say the researchers.

"He shares it about equally with his neighbors of diverse personal backgrounds, occupations and incomes."



WORKERS

The study of what they call the "middlemass" American workers was performed by Stanley E. Seashore and J. Thad Barnowe of the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research.

The authors tried to determine whether the cluster of attitudes popularly known as "Blue Collar Blues" could be attributed to a particular strata of workers. They couldn't. "... Vulnerability to the 'blues' is endemic in the whole of the work force," they concluded.

They found that there was little relationship between the "blues" and the amount of money earned. More often, the afflicted complained of less tangible factors, such as inability to use personal skills or having to put up with petty-minded supervisors.

Having to work very hard or very fast at their jobs, surprisingly, seemed to diminish rather than increase the feelings associated with blue collar blues.

The researchers said that, "the message is clear: the blue collar blues are prominently associated with those working conditions that discourage good performance, impede personal growth, fail to stimulate hard and fast work, and that stifle autonomy and creativity."

In their political and social views, people of "middlemass" tended to differ little from their contemporaries in higher or lower income brackets.

In only one or two respects were their attitudes markedly different. They were, for example, inclined to be more "racially ethnocentric"—finding it more difficult, for example, to make friends with blacks of similar incomes than with whites.

More than other groups, they were inclined to discourage contacts between members of different races. Yet they were less inclined than those of higher income to say that whites have a right to keep blacks out of their neighborhoods.



TAKEN TOGETHER, these three articles are examples of what it means to live in a system where all social priorities are determined by the needs of a small group of property owners. "Blue Collar Blues" and "Boredom on the Job" are news these days, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has issued a report on "job frustration" and "unhappy workers." But they make it clear in the report that they are interested mainly because of "reduced productivity, the doubling of man-days lost per year through strikes, rising absenteeism, sabotage, high turnover rates and poor quality of work." (U.S. News & World Report, December 25, 1972, p. 52.) The HEW report correctly sees that "a great part of the staggering national bill in the areas of crime and delinquency, mental and physical health, manpower and welfare are generated in our national policies and attitudes toward work." But they have and can have no solution since the cause is the meaning of work under capitalism. Workers may be able to change some of the conditions of work, but they cannot gain control of the product or determine the social goals. These are decided by capitalists in the interest of the constant expansion of commodity production. Human welfare and development can be our first priority only after we eliminate capitalism and replace it with socialism.



ENJOYING LIFE LESS

IN THESE UNITED STATES



Soldiers patrol the streets of Santiago, to keep crowds from forming during recent disturbances in Chile.

Chile Crisis Cools

Richard Feinberg,

Author of *The Triumph of Allende: Chile's Legal Revolution* (Mentor 1972)

Chile has returned to relative calm following 26 days of anti-government strikes with the forming of a joint civilian-military cabinet. General Carlos Prats, the commander-in-chief, is President Salvador Allende's new Minister of the Interior and head of the cabinet, while an admiral and an Air Force major have accepted positions along side of Allende's more traditional associates, the Socialists, Communists, Radicals, API, and MAPU.

The lengthy and tense October strike of truck-owners, merchants and professionals was ordered ended by General Prats without formally accepting the strikers' demands. These included the abandonment of plans for a state trucking firm; "free and reasonable" retail prices, and the limitation of grassroots price-control committees; the return of industries requisitioned by the Left during the strike; no "reprisals" against the strikers; and the relicensing of a shutdown opposition radio station.

Nevertheless, General Prats did reassure small businessmen, and suggested that no reprisals be taken. Allende agreed to drop the idea of a state trucking firm, and to allow the closed radio to reopen.

But by mid-December, the president of Chile's Association of Manufacturers, was complaining that "only 2 of the 25 industries requisitioned by the government" during the strike had been returned to their owners. (Allende had told workers to seize their factory should the boss attempt a lockout.) And functionaries who had struck at the Central Bank and at other government agencies remained fired.

LEFT CRITICIZES NEW CABINET

Initially, the more leftist factions in the Unidad Popular, notably the Socialists and the Christian Leftists, together with the independent Movement of Leftist Revolutionaries (MIR), criticized the incorporation of the Armed Forces into the Cabinet. They felt a definite victory over the seditious Right, not the projected period of "social peace", was required.

"La Aurora de Chile", one of the numerous publications that blossomed during the October struggles, and which reflects the views of the Santiago division of the Socialist Party, exclaimed:

"We had before us an undisputable victory, won in the streets, in the factories, the farms, in the hospitals and in the schools, everywhere except in the very caves of the Oligarchy itself. The fascists tried to bring the country to a halt and to overthrow the government, and they failed.

"It was necessary to solidify this victory, that the country take note of the failure of the bosses' strike and the victory of the workers, so that they would never again dare such a venture. It was necessary that the delinquents with white-collars and ties, who rose up against the nation and its laws and its people, receive the punishment that they deserved."

The Christian Left, while reiterating its support for

the government, withdrew from the cabinet. The secretary general of the Christian Left criticized Allende's ending of the strike: "The intended overthrow failed, but now the Reaction can recuperate, and has made important advances: it strengthened the alliance between the grand bourgeoisie and the professionals and petty bourgeoisie; the civilian power has been reduced in psychological terms; and the untouched existence of the rightist groups assures them impunity for future attempts."

He continued that "while the masses greatly increased their revolutionary consciousness, the political leadership did not."

On the other hand, the rightist National Party were unable to accept that the Armed Forces, whom they had been counting on to help topple Allende, were suddenly participating in a predominantly Marxist cabinet. Clearly, their strike had backfired, pushing the army and the police into upholding the legally constituted government.

The more centrist Christian Democratic Party, which supported the strikers, apparently were satisfied that the incorporation of the military into the cabinet would help maintain order for the important March parliamentary elections. The Christian Democrats believe that a decisive victory at the polls would force Allende to permanently slow his socialization process, or allow for his legal impeachment. But by Christmas the CD was concerned at the growing identification General Prats was showing with his chief, Dr. Allende.

Allende had difficulty convincing Socialist Party general secretary, Carlos Altamirano, to accept the military compromise. Finally, Altamirano apparently felt that the new cabinet would strengthen the Left's chances in the March elections for Congress, which is currently controlled by the obstreperous Opposition. Altamirano, previously dubious of the efficacy of elections, said that "The battle of the March elections is a continuation of the anti-sedition struggle of October."

The armed forces are well regarded in Chile, and have not directly intervened in politics since 1932. Their incorporation into the cabinet bolsters Allende's legitimacy, of extreme importance in Chile's "legal revolution." A vote for Allende in March of more than 40% of the electorate is considered necessary to maintain this legitimacy.

POPULAR INITIATIVE DURING STRIKE

The effects of the strike are still being analyzed. Socialist Altamirano exclaimed that "the proletariat learned more in those 26 days than in the whole previous 26 years." For example, previously passive women were incorporated into price-control committees, or JAP, which also helped distribute food-stuffs while the shopkeepers were striking. Despite General Prats' assurances to the merchants, JAPs

continue to operate, and many see in them the popular basis for a rationing system, which the US credit blockade, and the radical redistribution of income, may necessitate.

Factory Commandos, organized in industrial belts, have continued to exist, and are trying to win over workers who in the past have voted for the Christian Democrats, but who did not join the anti-government strikers. "Their class-consciousness intuitively made them solidarize with their work mates," a laborer explained.

During the strike, unions, price-control committees, women's centers, and other mass fronts centralized distribution of essential articles. In addition, white-collar workers opposed to the strike formed "Patriotic Fronts."

ALLENDE'S U.N. SPEECH

Yet President Allende felt that the situation was calm enough to allow for a 15-day tour of 6 nations, leaving General Prats as acting chief executive. Allende's tour, his third since taking office in November, 1970, took him to Peru, Mexico—where he was greeted with tremendous crowds, Cuba—where Fidel offered Chile free sugar, Algeria, Venezuela, the USSR, and to New York to address the United Nations.

On December 4, before a packed General Assembly, Allende denounced ITT's attempts to overthrow him, Kennecott's maneuvers in European courts to block Chilean copper sales, and the US financial blockade of Chile, "a new, terrifying form of imperialism."

"Like most developing countries," Allende explained, "Chile's highly vulnerable on the export side of its economy. Over the last 12 months the slump in the price of copper has cut our export earnings by one-fifth, by about \$200 million, whereas the products we must import have risen sharply in price. Thus, as always, Chile is having to sell cheap and buy dear."

"Moreover, my government has had to face the following concerted actions designed to take revenge on the Chilean people for their decision to nationalize the copper industry.:

"Until my inauguration, Chile received a new inflow of resources of about \$100 million per year in loans granted by such international finance organizations as the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. This source of finance has been abruptly cut off.

When I became President, my country had short-term lines of credit with the United States banking system for \$220 million. Shortly, about \$190 million of this credit was withdrawn, and we had to pay this sum forthwith."

Allende also outlined how supplier credits, EXIM-BANK loans, and AID funds had also been cut, of "which drastic elimination has important implications affecting our balance of payments."

Kennecott's attempts to win embargos in European courts on copper shipped from their former mines have gravely affected Chile's normal commercial relations, Allende explained to the UN delegates.

ITT's plan, which they submitted to Henry Kissinger, Allende stated, "had objectives which included stragglng our economy, diplomatic sabotage, sowing panic, and fomenting social disorder, so that the Armed Forces would be impelled to impose a dictatorship . . . (but) The Chilean people's decision to defend the democratic system and the progress of the revolution, and the loyalty of the Armed Forces to their country and its laws have foiled ITT's sinister designs."

"Chile," Allende concluded, "is a nation which has attained the political maturity to decide, by majority vote, to replace the capitalist economic system by a socialist one. Our political system has shown that it possesses institutions sufficiently open to have allowed the expression of this revolutionary will without violent upheavals. It is my duty to inform this Assembly that the reprisals and economic blockade that have been employed in an attempt to produce a chain reaction of difficulties and economic upsets represent a threat to domestic peace. But they shall fail. The vast majority of the Chilean people can resist this threat with dignity and patriotism."



New Workers & THE NEW MANHANDLERS

by Robert Jackall

The recent fashionable concern with "worker dissatisfaction" and the "blue collar blues" is closely tied to experimental programs designed to "humanize" work. Rising worker absenteeism (up 35% since 1961), turnover (33% yearly in some industries), work stoppages (in the last three years, up an average of 100% over 1965), and sabotage threaten industrial discipline and productivity. This has created concern and raised the issue of the "quality of the workplace experience." The proposals and experiments to eliminate worker dissatisfaction by "humanizing" work mark a shift in the managerial tactics of certain corporate circles and may present opportunities for workplace organizing.

Humanization Experiments

There are basically two types of "humanization" experiments. The first type decentralizes authority and simultaneously enlarges workers' job roles. These programs eliminate several levels of supervisors and reorganize jobs to include greater diversity and responsibility. The second type creates semi-independent work groups whose members are trained in all aspects of an operation, for example, the construction of an entire motor. These groups then operate in relatively unsupervised settings with the authority to make decisions on work schedules and many work processes.

Scores of European and American corporations, including SAAB, ATT, General Foods, Procter & Gamble, Ford, Chrysler, and many German firms, have tinkered with such programs. Studies of those experiments make certain things clear. Productivity is not diminished; indeed it frequently rises. Rates of absenteeism and turnover decline indicating a drop in worker dissatisfaction.

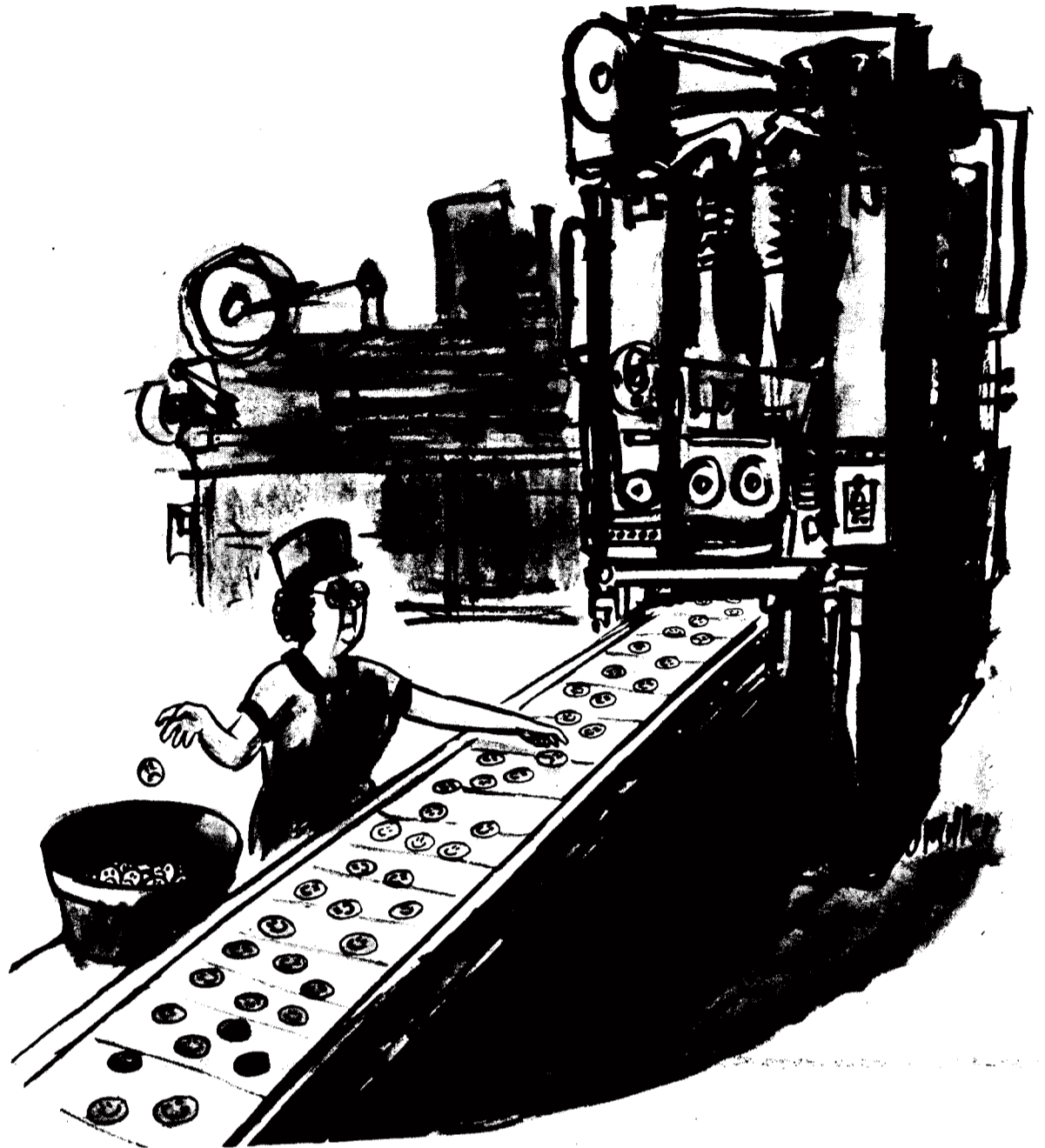
Managerial Tactics and Ideologies

Managerial tactics for pursuing capitalism's central goals, increasing productivity and profits, are always shifting. Managers strive to attain these central goals by constantly attempting to "handle" labor and thus establish their own supreme authority in the plant. Tactics for "handling" labor have changed greatly in the last fifty years. The shift has been from private armies, company unions and trade schools, to batteries of aptitude tests and employee counselors. At the same time, the techniques used by management to justify their tactics—their ideologies—have also changed. In the United States, different "servants of power" have contributed to the making of these ideologies. Scientific Management theory furnished the theme of "economic men" cooperating scientifically to the benefit of both capital and labor; industrial psychologists suggested that personal interest shown to employees could take the place of interesting work; and, finally, the Human Relations school of sociology offered the image of the worker as a "sociable being" who would respond to kindness and attention with greater productivity.

Managerial tactics and ideologies have shifted in response to the changing composition of the industrial working class. Within the last several decades, this group has become younger, more skilled, schooled, urban and affluent. This process has not made workers middle class and content but has rather made available to them character models, styles of life, and images of society, which conflict with traditional concepts of worker subordination. However, work role content has not changed to keep pace with the attitudes and aspirations of this new work force. Late capitalism's twin processes of work role specialization and centralization of power continue to shape workplace experiences of boredom, monotony, and a sense of powerlessness. The ideologies of management have failed to keep up—generally, they have simply reshaped themes from the Human Relations school. The result is a potentially explosive mix: discontented workers alienating work roles, and increasingly outdated managerial ideologies. It is within this context that the humanization of work experiments and their accompanying philosophy must be understood.

Forward Looking Elites and Institutional Opposition

Certain managerial elites clearly foresee the growing conflict between the new work force and authoritarian industrial structures. They also recognize the threat that increased conflict poses to already shaken low-cost productivity (U.S. unit cost jumped 22% between 1965-1970; Japan's rose only 3%). Their solution is to abandon old pacification programs and patched-up ideologies and adopt instead, as a new set of tactics and ideologies, the humanization of work experiments. Their boldness in going to the heart of the problem of alienating work—control at the workplace—should not conceal their fundamental aims: to increase productivity and profits, to quell dissent, and to bolster their own authority. The



humanization programs, at present, mean greater cooperation between top-level management and workers, increasing the possibilities for direct manipulation of workers. The final aim of this managerial elite is to find another way of "handling" labor. This is partially indicated by management's refusal, in most cases, to consult unions about the programs.

These elites face considerable opposition to their plans. The key sources of opposition to this Organizational Development school, as it is called, are: labor unions; middle management and first-line supervisory personnel; and, most important, other corporate and managerial elites.

Many labor unions are deeply suspicious of the Organizational Development school. Union leaders correctly fear the manipulative potential of close contact between management and workers. They see it as a wedge to undercut unions' legal position as the sole representatives for workers, and also as a means to woo away the loyalty of workers who are increasingly disaffected with union bureaucracies. Indeed, some unionists see Organizational Development as the first step in a new frontal assault on unions.

Middle management and first-line supervisory personnel bitterly oppose Organizational Development. The decentralizing programs would drastically limit or eliminate their own roles. These groups themselves are subject to great stresses in their own work roles because they are caught between bureaucratic elites and the workers below them and because they are condemned to impersonal work in an atmosphere of compulsive sociability. They are unlikely to yield to the new organizational theorists without a protracted struggle.

Finally, other managerial and corporate elites are very opposed to the humanization programs despite the success of the programs in increasing productivity and cutting worker dissatisfaction because the programs disperse authority. These elites, centered in some of the largest American corporations (G.M. for example), feel that the Organizational Developers are overestimating their ability to manipulate workers once authority is dispersed. They see such dispersion eventually leading to the breakdown of industrial order. These groups will increasingly face hard choices:

whether to maintain older managerial tactics and ideologies and live with increasing worker discontent or to accept Organizational Development as the new managerial tactic and ideology and risk the dissolution of their authority. In all likelihood, most will avoid the dilemma by adopting the humanization rhetoric and not the substance of the new programs. More permanent solutions are also available: automating more extensively; importing foreign labor, as in Germany and Norway; and exporting dull jobs to the Third World—the adoption of an imperialism of boredom.

Organizing Opportunities

Because of the multi-leveled opposition, the Organizational Development elites are not likely to prevail. While the humanizing experiments last, however, they constitute an excellent context for workplace-organizing demands. Recent evidence seems clear—with the exception of some traditional workers, when workers are placed in decentralized working situations, they tend to reach for more authority. Such experiences affect not only the consciousnesses of the workers involved, but may, through formal and informal community networks, also reach wider circles of workers.

Where humanization programs already exist, management manipulation can be countered by supporting, tactically, the demands of such unions as the UAW to turn the experiments over to outside consulting firms. Such demands will help reveal management's determination to keep firm control of the experiments. Organizers can further demand that experiments be generalized to all workers in the plant and that worker decision-making authority include not only control of work processes, but, indeed, of what is produced. Where there are no experiments, organizers can exploit the new-found legitimacy of "humanization" by pressing both workers and unions to focus on job content rather than on the drift toward increased free time and buying power. While leisure and consumption are critical components of peoples' lives, they can never constitute the solution to alienating work.

NEW ENGLAND CONFERENCE REPORT

by John French

ON THE WEEKEND OF NOVEMBER 18th and 19th, a hundred people gathered for the first New England Regional NAM conference, "Radical Strategy After the Elections". The conference was attended by people from existing NAM chapters and by a wide variety of independent radicals interested in and sympathetic to NAM, including people from New Unity, an independent collective that puts out a working class monthly in Springfield, Mass., Indo-China Peace Campaign, and a number of other groups. There were people from every state in New England, with Massachusetts, Vermont, and Maine the most heavily represented. The conference, held at the Amherst Campus of the University of Massachusetts, represented a solid first step in the direction of creating a viable and unified New England New American Movement.

CHAPTER ACTIVITIES

THE CONFERENCE BEGAN with presentations by three National Interim Committee members, Harry Boyte, Frank Ackerman, and Torie Osborne, on NAM's history, its prospects, and a brief survey on NAM activity across the country. A women's caucus followed, allowing women to get together early on in the conference. The afternoon session was devoted to a discussion of organizing activity. Harvard-Radcliffe NAM is the largest chapter in the region, involving 40-50 people, and has been doing a variety of projects. They've produced an 80 page booklet, "Introducing Harvard", a model for other campus-based NAM chapters. In addition they have been attempting to relate to the Cambridge community as a whole: doing research on Harvard's real estate interests and expansion plans, and participating in the general uproar earlier this year over the police murder of a young black. The Brandeis and Maine chapters have just gotten themselves together and are developing plans for the future. The Amherst chapter, which hosted the conference, has just begun the real task of building a chapter this fall, with plans for a variety of educational and agitational efforts. Vermont NAM has developed some plans for a state-wide tax initiative.



Photo by Mark Majoski

CAMP NEWS is a monthly newspaper covering news about the GI movement. Over the past year, CAMP NEWS has regularly published the truth about the resistance of servicemen and women to imperialism, racism, and the daily oppression of life in the American military. Each month, CAMP NEWS contains news, features, analysis and reprints from the GI underground press. Keep up to date on the GI movement by reading Camp News!

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WORKSHOPS—Feminism and Socialism, Rural Strategy

AFTER THE PRESENTATIONS the group split up into a variety of workshops. In all of them an explicit attempt was made, as one NAM woman put it, "to deal with NAM's feminist socialist strategy of reintegrating people's fragmented lives as part of the revolutionary process; attempting in strategy to move towards uniting home and workplace, public and private, and overcome the sexual division of production." The largest workshop was the one on community organizing, whose largest problem was the lack of experience of most people attending it. A workshop on rural strategy evoked a great deal of enthusiasm. The participants, from Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, saw themselves as faced with common problems stemming from the "colonial" economic situation of their states. The discussion focused on their common problems: the potential strip-mining threat, the increase in commercial recreational development, and the purchase of large areas of land by conglomerates like Gulf & Western and Textron. A women's caucus that met after the workshops developed criticism of the general dynamics and operation of many of the sessions, and presented this criticism to the entire conference at a criticism self-criticism plenary that ended the day.

TOWARD A MOVEMENT STRATEGY

THE SECOND DAY OF THE CONFERENCE went a great deal smoother—owing to the previous day's criticism self-criticism session and the chance people had to get to know each other at the collective dinner and party of the previous night. The day began with a panel on Movement strategies and problems. There were presentations on NAM's developing analysis of sexism and the inter-relationships of feminism and socialism. Frank Ackerman spoke on "NAM and the Unions", arguing for the importance of work in organized labor. He argued against factory missionary efforts motivated by guilt, and suggested instead that college-educated workers should be involved in labor work in the areas where they themselves are: "white collar" jobs, teachers, government workers, social and medical workers, and so on. In addition there was a presentation on the basics of the New England economy by Dick Krushnic, and one on where we are now in terms of the Cold War and the sixties, by John French. Harry Boyte concluded the panel offering a general perspective on "Nixon's Next Four Years and the Political Openings for the Left." The rest of the morning and afternoon were devoted to discussing the presentations and general problems of NAM's future and direction.

CONFERENCE RESULTS: Problems and Promise

ONE OF THE GENERAL PROBLEMS with the conference was that many people lacked a strong idea of exactly what NAM's politics were. Also, the need to develop non-sexist, comradely, sensitive, and open styles of personal relations was made clear by the tensions among the people there. Nor have we solved the problems of leadership and organizational structures. As one NAM member observed, "Leadership potential appeared to be inhibited and unutilized because of our collective reluctance and fear." However, most people attending felt the conference served a useful purpose. The sharing of the collective experiences of previously isolated chapters signaled the emergence of a visible New England Regional NAM, with the beginnings of a concrete regional structure.

THE DOMINO SUGAR BOYCOTT

A national boycott of Domino Sugar Company has been called by the Federation of Free Farmers and the Kamayan Party of the Philippines. The FFF is a mass based socialist organization which is recognized as representative by approximately 64% of the rural farmers of the nation. Its ends include: in the short range, bringing pressure to bear on the feudal landlords to recognize the rights of the peasants to collectively bargain, and protecting what lands are controlled by the peasants from the continued harassment by the landlords' private armies. In the long range, the FFF aims to facilitate the arrival of democratic socialism in the Philippines, through whatever means necessary.

The primary emphasis of recent years has been mass political education, selective strikes, civil disobedience, and the fielding of candidates for local and regional political office as well as the Constitutional Convention. Marcos' recent declaration of martial law in part reflects the growing success of the FFF's political arm, the Kamayan party.

WHY DOMINO?

After the Cuban revolution, the United States boosted its importation of Filipino sugar, guaranteeing the Philippines' ruling elite fabulous wealth by such devices as the sugar quota (a fixing of the price of bulk sugar well above the world market value). In return, American corporate interests are protected and favored by the local ruling elite of the Philippines.

G. Victorias, a former Filipino, now naturalized U.S. citizen, is a multimillionaire example of this elite. Victorias has controlling stock in Victorias Sugar Company of the Philippines, a company notorious on the island for its wretched working conditions and the recent target of various actions by its peasant-workers. Victorias Sugar exports in collusion with Amstar Corporation of the U.S. Bulk Filipino sugar is marketed in the U.S. by Domino Sugar, a wholly owned subsidiary of the corporate conglomerate Amstar. G. Victorias is a long time member of the Board of Directors of Amstar Corporation. Here we have a perfect example of how U.S. imperialism creates a handful of reliable and powerful puppets to oversee its foreign interests.

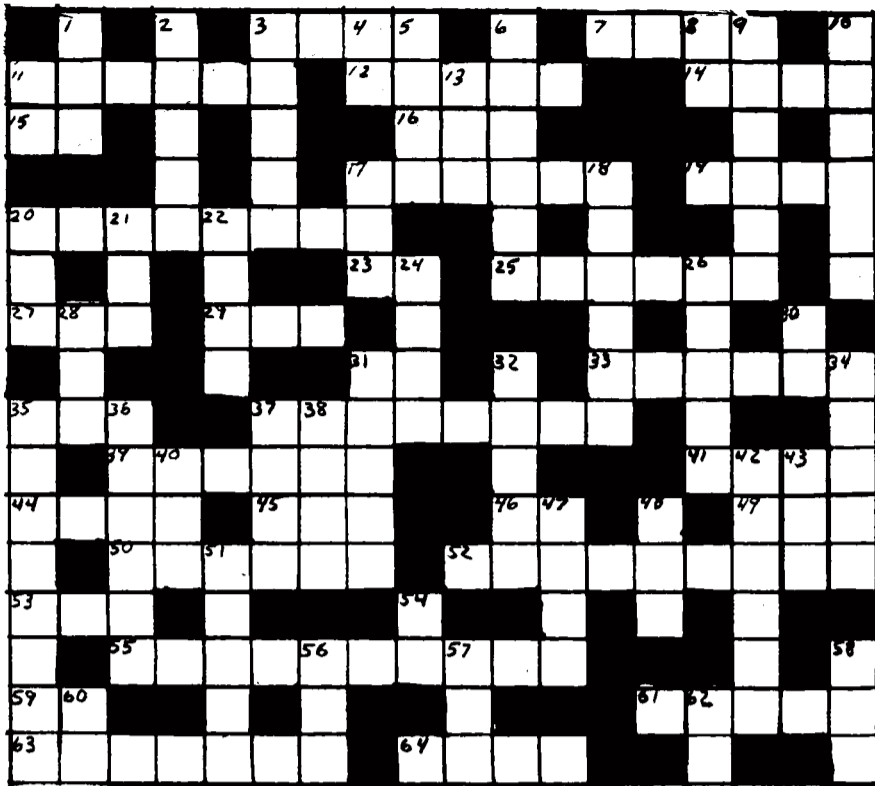
WHY A BOYCOTT?

The boycott is intended primarily as a support of the Filipino people's continuing struggle to rid themselves of foreign economic domination perpetuated by a tiny ruling elite. The decision to initiate a boycott was made after long discussion at all levels of the Filipino movement, and is a way to exert direct pressure on Victorias Sugar by attacking its total reliance on the U.S. market.

Support has been offered so far by the United Farm Workers Union and Cesar Chavez; some initial grassroots organizing has begun in the Longshoreman's Union. But the main educational work and forming of coalitions is just starting. For further information, write or contact:

Tulley Avenue Coalition
1908 S. Halsted St.
Chicago, Illinois
(312) 733-6774

(This article was prepared by Thomas E. Tulley, Liaison Officer of the Federation of Free Farmers in the Philippines and member of the Chicago NAM chapter)



ACROSS

- 3 Outcropping of rock
- 7 Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola
- 11 Pertaining to a precapitalist Social Order (as in Serfdom)
- 12 Right-Wing labor leader
- 14 A decimated, colonized New World "Tribe"
- 15 Preposition
- 16 Fountain Pen Point
- 17 The Founder of the Socialist Labor Party
- 19 Prisoners of War
- 20 Vietnamese city that no longer exists
- 23 American male who implements Imperial policy to his own detriment.
- 25 Home of George McGovern
- 27 Uneven
- 29 The most political mineral
- 31 Mother
- 33 Attire not worn by countercultural types
- 35 Uncle Sam's Tax collector
- 37 A sexist, imperialist, racist banana
- 39 Method of Social Control originating in Southeast Asia.

- 41 To Expectorate
- 44 Recreational water tank
- 45 Nixon's teacher and leader (deceased)
- 46 to not stop
- 49 Source of pure metals
- 50 One who achieves the most
- 52 What happens to traumatic memories
- 53 A good place to be a catcher
- 55 The path to a better world
- 59 like like
- 61 Islamic text
- 63 A component of both Patriotism and Class Consciousness
- 64 Black Hairstyle

DOWN

- 1 Vietnamese lunar New Year
- 2 US Airbase in Thailand
- 3 What every movement needs
- 4 Ante Meridian
- 5 What's inside a chromosome
- 6 To straighten
- 8 Chinese measure of distance
- 9 Portuguese colony struggling to be free
- 10 Capital of Poland
- 11 A musical note
- 13 To be sick
- 17 The operation of moving soil to create a ditch
- 18 Deceased deposed boss of the USSR
- 20 Status_____
- 21 An American foreign policy agency with a misleading acronymic name
- 22 Ecologists are opposed to seeing urban areas_____
- 24 Middle-Eastern Oil-exporting country
- 26 Usual source of government revenue.
- 28 A reactionary women's group
- 30 Civil disobedience
- 31 A person who extracts minerals from the earth (and can get killed doing it.)
- 32 The major portion of political rhetoric
- 34 Decided
- 35 American Foreign Policy
- 36 Traditional celebration for new baby
- 37 Military term for counterinsurgency
- 38 A long walk in the woods
- 40 Cotton gin inventor
- 42 An inexpensive propaganda medium
- 43 Anger
- 47 New style in education
- 48 Over a billion people are poorly_____
- 51 bellybutton
- 54 Sexless pronoun
- 56 To have sexual intercourse
- 57 International Monetary Fund.
- 58 small insect
- 60 _____ What?
- 62 Right_____

Teachers' Strike

Continued from page 6

The Leaders' "Victory"

The end of the strike certainly was dirty. After a few days of the strike, the School Committee got a court injunction ordering the teachers back to school. The teachers ignored it. Several days later the injunction was followed by contempt of court citations. At 7:00 PM on a Sunday, teachers met and were told that they would assemble the next morning and go to court by the busload, singing all the way. Hundreds of teachers were due in court; the citations had been made up from last year's staff list so that all of last year's teachers were facing arrest: strikers, teachers who had retired last June, scabs who had faithfully crossed the picket line—all were being charged with contempt. The roomful of teachers, previously a pretty law-abiding group, seemed excited with the new adventure—a little nervous perhaps, but hardly ready to give in.

The next day, teachers arrived at the strike headquarters at 7:00 AM, prepared to be in court at 9:00. But there was only one bus in the parking lot. Then the leadership delivered the wonderful news: after an entire night of negotiations, they had brought back a contract. The leaders reminded the teachers that there wasn't really time to caucus and discuss the contract before voting. After all, the buses were waiting (except they weren't) to take everyone to jail if they didn't ratify the contract within a few minutes.

Many teachers were appalled at the offer—a two-year contract, a "study committee" to look into the increased work load at the high school, one preparation period per month for elementary school teachers, \$150,000 to be distributed by another "study committee", but also a nice pay increase and no loss in wages due to the strike (the last is hardly a concession since state law requires us to make up the missed days of classes anyway). Was this what everyone had been

getting up at 6:00 AM to picket for?

The teachers were grudgingly given five minutes to discuss the contract. But after being silenced all week, and all the preceding months, they had no organization except the one that was telling them to accept the contract. And in the elementary schools, most of the women were sure that the leaders knew best. Maybe this really was the best possible contract. (Ask the men in the Teachers' Association—it's all those damn obedient women in the elementary schools who prevent anything from being done. But of course that's exactly how they want their wives and daughters to behave at home.)

The contract was accepted by a hurried voice vote, averting the threat of jail for teachers or the leaders, and freeing the state Teachers Association staff—the men who really called the shots—to get on to the next strike in a nearby suburb. Teachers from the high school gathered in one corner of the room to voice their sense of betrayal. The negotiators came over to try to quiet them, and as tempers flared the issues finally surfaced, too late to affect the outcome of the strike. The negotiators called the votes "democratic"; the teachers felt that the votes were meaningless since any disagreement with the leadership was considered divisive. The negotiators were contemptuous of anyone foolish enough to give up wage increases for more reasonable working conditions. They claimed that only their leadership had ever unified the teachers, and that the "apathetic" community would not have supported a longer strike.

Conclusion: Looking Backward

The teachers left the hall, muttering about sell-outs or explaining that the contract was pretty awful but the Teachers Association staff knew best. Some talked about burning their NEA (National Educational Association, the parent group of the Teachers Association) membership cards and joining the AFL-CIO. People asked each other for matches and discussed the possibility of throwing the solidarity pins worn during the strike at the staff people who were giving a final self-congratulatory round of speeches. The next day everyone went back to school.

As the year crawls on, morale is unbelievably bad. For a few teachers, already radical, the strike proved

the importance of relying on the rank-and-file instead of lawyers and bureaucrats—even young lawyers and bureaucrats who talk militantly. For most teachers, who never thought that they would ever find themselves marching on picket lines or defying the law, the strike was proof that you can't beat city hall, one more justification for the defeatism that allowed them to be bullied into losing a strike that they might have won. The one positive result of the strike is the unity it bred among the teachers. Young and old, conventional and (relatively) freaky, strict and permissive teachers, who had never before had either the time or the inclination to meet each other, learned during the strike that they had a great deal in common. This feeling of shared grievances and concerns lingers into the dismal year.

Three points stand out in reviewing this small tragedy:

1. The docility of women untouched by the women's liberation movement was one of the major weaknesses of the strike.

2. The myth of (blue-collar) working-class conservatism pervades even blue-collar communities, and is an important force in diluting people's anger with helplessness, and eventually with apathy.

3. The emphasis on democracy which was so important to the early New Left and which the women's movement has resurrected is central to the way we want to change America. It is as important (and possibly as difficult) to convince people of the need for real democracy as it is to convince them of the need for socialism.

The second part of the Farm Workers series will appear next issue. Both writers have been seriously ill.

LETTERS

Dear comrades,

I found the December issue very helpful, particularly in discussing elections, "counter-institutions," counter-culture, and imperialism in Indochina and the Philippines. Other members of the Washington, D.C. chapter and I agree with the thesis advanced by Fred Block that the Left should increasingly oppose imperialism and the state by exposing the fiscal crisis and its consequences. The crises in education, the protection of the world's natural resources and environment, and other social services are particularly acute, and can never be resolved within the framework of capitalist profit-seeking, competition, and hierarchy. Since many NAM members and potential allies are workers or people seeking employment in the public sector, there is a solid base for action on this front. We can and should demonstrate that the capitalist state can never fully serve the people and indeed suppresses dissent by any means it considers necessary, and should clearly demand that social services be financed entirely by taxes on the wealth extracted from productive workers.

One of NAM's tasks in the next few months must be to study, in a critical and self-critical fashion, the history and current practice of other organizations on the U.S. Left, such as social democracy, the CPUSA, the SWP, and PLP, as well as smaller revolutionary organizations and study groups, including those on campuses and in work places and 'Third World' communities.

To take one important case, in the December issue of the Militant, the Trotskyist SWP announces that it has obtained 35,441 new subscribers to its organ in nine weeks. To the extent that these subscribers (of which I am one) are curious to see what each Left organization has to offer, this is no doubt a good thing. But unfortunately, in light of the SWP-NPAC opposition to the Vietnamese demands calling on Nixon to sign the 'Nine Points' and honor them, which has helped to create a bad and demoralizing situation in the anti-war movement, the Militant's successes are a mixed blessing. Accordingly, it's important for organizations and periodicals which support the Vietnamese leadership (which, as writers in the Militant admit, is the best judge of the Vietnamese situation) to improve their own "visibility" and readership. The bad effects of Progressive Labor Party influence since 1968 should be considered in this context.

The Militant now claims more than 100 subscribers on "scores" of campuses. Accordingly, NAM and other Left organizations which are independent of sectarian bonds should learn from our friends in SWP and YSA how they did it, and establish and fulfill some quotas of our own to reach both students and working people. It seems particularly important at this time that we reach people on the campuses, and especially campus newspapers and Left or reform organizations; many students have more time and energy to devote to political activity than full-time workers.

Besides distributing the NAM paper, which presently is only able to appear monthly, NAM members should surely also consider supporting, criticizing and distributing other independent Left periodicals, especially the weekly Guardian, Socialist Revolution, Monthly Review, Radical America, and other national and local journals and similar materials, including publications of radical academic caucuses and radical presses, would also help to enrich the offerings on tables at political meetings, and help finance chapter activities as well as improve the dialogue with other Left groups and individuals.

—Don Layman

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Letter to the Editor:

After reading Jim Weinstein's article in the Dec. 1972 paper on why McGovern lost the election (and agreeing with much of his analysis), I would like to add a few thoughts on two important factors not touched on.

First, I feel that Nixon's relations with China and the Soviet Union not only benefited his reelection, but also seriously undermined the struggle of the Vietnamese. Nixon (Kissinger) correctly perceived that the Soviet Union and China were more concerned about each other than they were about the dangers from the U.S. They also were more concerned about their economy and their national interests than they were in decisively supporting the Vietnamese and other internationalist struggles.

The days of the "Paper Tiger" theories, and "two, three, many Vietnams," and "decisive and resolute support for national liberation struggles," are for now at least more or less over. World imperialism has generally crushed, or resisted, or sidetracked, or subverted, or derailed most of the struggles for liberation around the world (that looked so promising ten years ago).

Now is the time for detente. The Superpowers have economic and political problems at home. They have tested each other and they have a fair idea of how far they can push. (The Chinese and the Soviets can send aid to Vietnam, but the US can bomb at will, but it cannot invade the North with troops, etc., etc., etc.)

The scenes on TV of Nixon back-slapping in Peking and Moscow were enough to convince most Americans that Nixon was a STATESMAN. Those trips, and the deals that followed them, raised Nixon above the level of a petty politician to enable him to act like a KING during the campaign.

Soviet President Podgorny and Chinese Premier Chou-En-Lai clearly indicated they supported Nixon's reelection. The trips and the deals, in and of themselves, were reasonable acts for states to carry out; but viewed in light of the barbaric savagery of US actions in SE Asia, they clearly undermined the struggle of the Vietnamese, Laotians and Cambodians. As soon as the trips were made, the US began diverting its army, navy and air force from their "protective" roles in Taiwan, Japan, South Korea and Europe to SE Asia. (After the famous "cease-fire" announcement by Kissinger, the US started to reinforce Thieu with an unprecedented amount of military supplies and the US had to "borrow back" 120 F-5A Freedom Fighter jets given to Iran, South Korea and Formosa.) The material aid sent to North Vietnam can thus be seen as "conscience money."

Of course, who the Soviets and Chinese support for US President is their business, but when their actions undermine the struggle against the war, we have a right to be concerned. As soon as the first trip to China was announced, sections of the anti-war movement felt there was no longer any need to struggle. (The Guardian editorially guaranteed its readers that China would not invite Nixon unless it was part of a deal to end the war.) So Nixon's trip had many dividends—for him.

A second decisive factor in Nixon's reelection was the unspoken issue of the campaign: the issue of "race." Nixon early in the game (remember the Southern Strategy) learned that he could both keep his right at bay and win votes from large sections of formerly Democratic white voters, by appealing to their racial prejudices. So the terms were developed—"bussing," "quotas," "work ethic," "welfare chiseling," "law and order," and so on. They are designed to provoke the image of black people, brown people and other minorities "pushing" their way into schools and jobs, and of people who don't want to work but rather live off welfare and crime.

McGovern, fearful of losing white votes, did not aggressively expose this ploy. After being hurt by taking pro-bussing and welfare stands in the primaries, he decided to ignore these questions in the final campaign. But he was not let off the hook. In order to get black votes in the primaries and at the convention he paraded the support of prominent black and brown leaders. This showed many of the white viewers where he stood and their prejudices, pandered to by Nixon, took over.

The strength of racist attitudes in the US must be constantly remembered and any movement, such as ours, that is determined to raise consciousness for social change must face the difficult task of challenging and defeating racism (and all the other reactionary isms that plague American society).

—Phil Rosen



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The newspaper needs articles, letters, photos, graphics, accounts of local struggles, etc. The only way the paper will be a national one is if people in different parts of the country send in material. Our deadline for the February issue is January 25th. Material for the March issue should be in by February 20th. Send all items to NAM, P.O. Box 5061, Berkeley, Ca. 94705.

BART



DROP ANOTHER NICKEL IN ...

AND ANOTHER... AND ANOTHER...

After eight years of delays, four years behind schedule, BART is finally running. Barely. Already involved in one major accident—a train's automatic stop signals failed to work and it plowed into a wall, off the tracks, and onto a parking lot—BART has been plagued since its inception with technical breakdowns. These technical problems will probably be worked out. But the real problem will remain: the absence of decent urban mass transit in the San Francisco Bay Area.

In case you've missed the public relations explosion celebrating its launching, BART stands for Bay Area Rapid Transit, the first new mass transit system in the U.S. in forty years. BART will eventually cover 75 miles with 34 stations, connecting San Francisco, Oakland, and their surrounding suburbs.

With its sleek comfortable cars, computerized controls, and space-age speed, BART is supposed to "revolutionize" urban mass transit. It has been hailed as a "marvel of technology" and "the wave of the future" in mass transit. Cities such as Atlanta, Ga., Los Angeles, and Washington, D.C. have been watching BART closely as a possible model for their own projected mass transit systems. Yet, like the proposed system in Washington, D.C., BART itself will not meet the transportation needs of city dwellers in the Bay Area.

Like every urban area in the U.S., Bay Area cities are traffic-clogged, polluted, and over-crowded. For years, Bay Area residents have demanded low-cost, quality mass transit—BART was accepted because it was supposed to be just that.

The major corporations in the Bay Area have a different idea about the area's transit needs. For them the main purpose of mass transit is to assist the development of downtown San Francisco as the major commercial and financial center on the West Coast. Industry has been forced out of San Francisco and in its place have risen the skyscraper headquarters of Bank of America, Standard Oil, Wells Fargo and Crocker Banks . . . the list is long. Of course, the high-level management needed to staff these corporate giants is not to be recruited from the minority and working-class population of San Francisco, but from the suburban communities that dot the Bay Area. The highest-paying managerial and professional jobs in San Francisco are held in large part by commuters. BART, initiated and controlled by the dominant Bay Area banks and corporations, is designed primarily to serve these commuter groups, and thereby facilitate corporate centralization and domination in San Francisco.

The geography of BART makes this clear. Lines connect the suburbs of the East Bay to downtown San Francisco. Within San Francisco, lines run on only two main streets, not allowing travel from one point in the city to another. The same holds for Oakland, Berkeley, and the other East Bay cities involved.

The scheduling of trains reflects this commuter bias: a rush of trains from the suburbs to downtown in the morning and the reverse in the evening. If you don't work downtown, BART trains won't help much to get you to your job. If you're an industrial worker, BART will be next to useless. For several of the heaviest industrial regions of the Bay Area, the northern tip (Pittsburg and Antioch), and the southern tip (San Jose and Santa Clara), BART lines are not even planned. The one exception, a commuter service between Oakland and Fremont, is due to the pressure of General Motors, whose large Fremont plant employs many black workers who live in Oakland.

As for the needs of the people who live in the city, the corporations behind BART have little interest. In San Francisco, the building of BART has been coupled with an attack on the only existing means of mass

transit within the city, the MUNI network of buses and trolley-cars. Only a strong rank and file movement of MUNI drivers, with support from passengers, has been able to prevent cutbacks in an already slow and inadequate system of transportation.

BART will ignore many of the people who most need mass transit. There are no stops planned in either of the two major black ghettos of San Francisco, the Fillmore and Hunter's Point, or in the East Oakland black community. San Francisco's Chinatown will also be without service. No stops were planned in the San Francisco Chicano community's Mission district either, but early community pressure exerted mostly by small Mission businesses resulted in the construction of a line. This has backfired, however, as the corporations are now planning to transform the Mission district into a commercial extension of downtown, replete with high rise office buildings and shopping centers.

High fares—a range of 30¢ to \$1.30 one-way—will also insure that BART remains primarily a commuter service (it will cost more to travel between Oakland and San Francisco by BART than it does with the present system of buses). Poor and working people will be pushed further into the central city, forced to rely on a deteriorating bus service, or will have to use private cars, which will become increasingly expensive as the auto manufacturers and the state pass on the cost of pollution-control devices and road construction and maintenance.

But of course poor and working people aren't totally excluded from BART—they pay for it! 70% of BART's ever-growing cost (over one and a half billion dollars so far) has been paid for by renters, small homeowners, and consumers through property and sales taxes. Another 12% comes from federal tax money. And since BART will primarily serve sparsely-populated suburban communities, it will probably stay in the red and require further public subsidies.

BART hasn't been a total financial loss, though—the corporations constructing it have made windfall profits. Westinghouse, Kaiser Steel, Bethlehem Steel, all have multi-million dollar cost-plus contracts. Bechtel Corporation, the world's largest construction company (with headquarters in San Francisco), enjoys the position of being contractor and controlling force on BART's Board of Directors. By 1968, Bechtel had made over 100 million dollars in fees for "engineering", a 30% profit margin. One reason for these profits is BART's use of expensive highly automated technology. As a result, few jobs will be created by BART—only 1200 employees are planned.

BART will not only fail to solve the need for mass transit in the Bay Area—it will create more problems. It has already accelerated crowding and the construction of high-rises. Where high-rise office buildings do not already exist around BART stations, they are planned. There has already been a 70% increase in San Francisco office space. The land between stations is also targeted for high density commercial and residential use. For example, present Berkeley zoning laws allow for a 120% increase in population.

Suburbanization and the destruction of neighborhoods go hand in hand. BART contributes to both—the property values around and between stations have skyrocketed, resulting in Oakland slumlords raising rents along BART lines and the departures of small homeowners and merchants.

If you think the auto industry is worried about this "revolutionary" addition to mass transit, forget it. BART will support auto use by serving only commuter corridors. Recreation areas will not be touched. Huge parking lots have been constructed at all of the 24 stations in the East Bay. These will be necessary since in most suburban communities, no other form of mass transit exists—the only way to get to the BART station will be to drive. And the state of California has gone ahead with plans for several more freeways, two alone in Berkeley.

If BART is so bad, the question remains: why did the public vote for it? It is here that the corporations' manipulation of real social needs to serve their own interests becomes clearest. The history of BART will no doubt be repeated unless we learn to distinguish corporate rhetoric from reality.

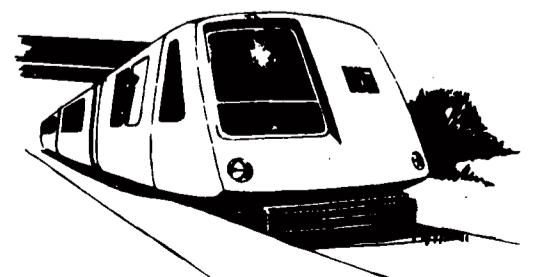
BART was originally conceived by the Bay Area Council, a business group which includes the dominant corporations and banks of the Bay Area: Bank of America, Wells Fargo, Crocker Bank, Kaiser Steel, Bechtel. Their aim was the centralization of business in San Francisco—BART was seen as one means to this end.

The next step was promotion—to convince the public that BART would be the answer to their demands for more and better mass transit. A public relations firm was hired, a massive advertising campaign begun. Firms like Kaiser and Bechtel were promised large contracts if they would use their resources to promote BART. Westinghouse used its local television station to tell people that BART would solve overpopulation and relieve congestion. In short, BART was sold as a total transportation system.

BART has not gone unopposed. At various points in its history, community groups have made demands around specific problems BART has caused. This continues today. A neighborhood group in Daly City, a town bordering San Francisco, is fighting the redevelopment schemes to commercialize their area fostered by BART planners.

But these responses have been partial and fragmented. As in the example of the Mission opposition mentioned earlier, where a group demanded service and now finds its entire neighborhood under attack, BART clearly indicates the ability of corporations to direct social services to their own uses and profits. What is needed is a movement that demands complete control and planning of social services such as mass transit. Without such a movement, BART will truly be the "wave of the future" in urban mass transit.

Joel Parker



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Health

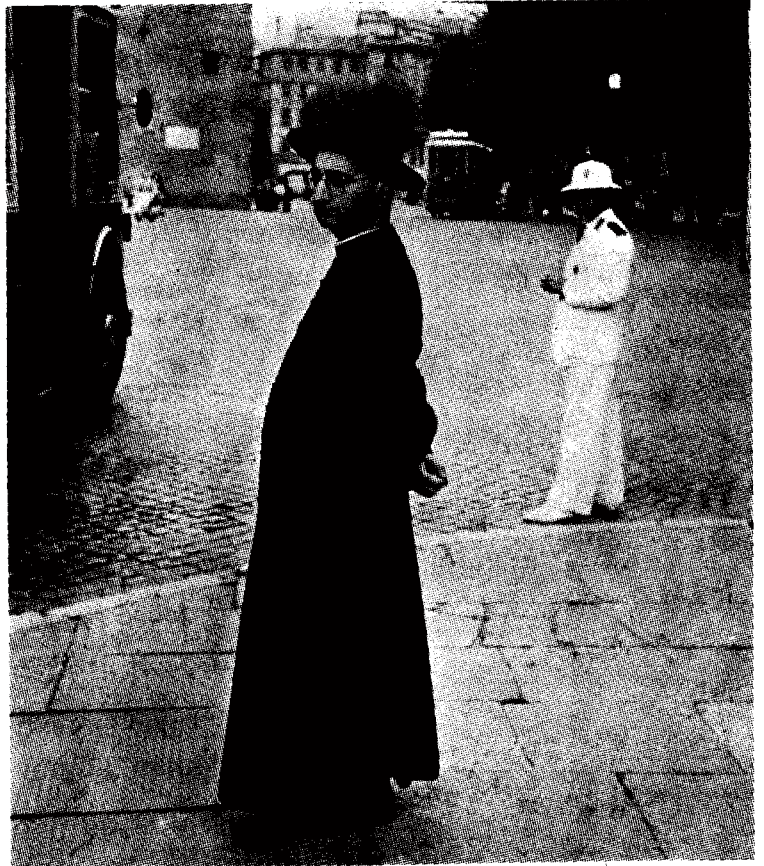
Column

MISCARRIAGES

About 100 young women whose mothers took DES in the 1940s and 1950s to avoid miscarriages have developed vaginal cancer, the report said.

"The story of the morning-after pill gives chilling witness to the recalcitrance of the FDA, the medical profession and the drug industry to learn from tragic experiences," said Drs. Sidney M. Wolfe and Anita Johnson of the Health Research Group.

They urged the FDA to require new labeling and advertising warning against the use of DES for birth control, the drug industry to discourage such uses by physicians, and the medical profession to stop such prescribing unless accompanied with proper controls and adequate follow-up.



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