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Moving On

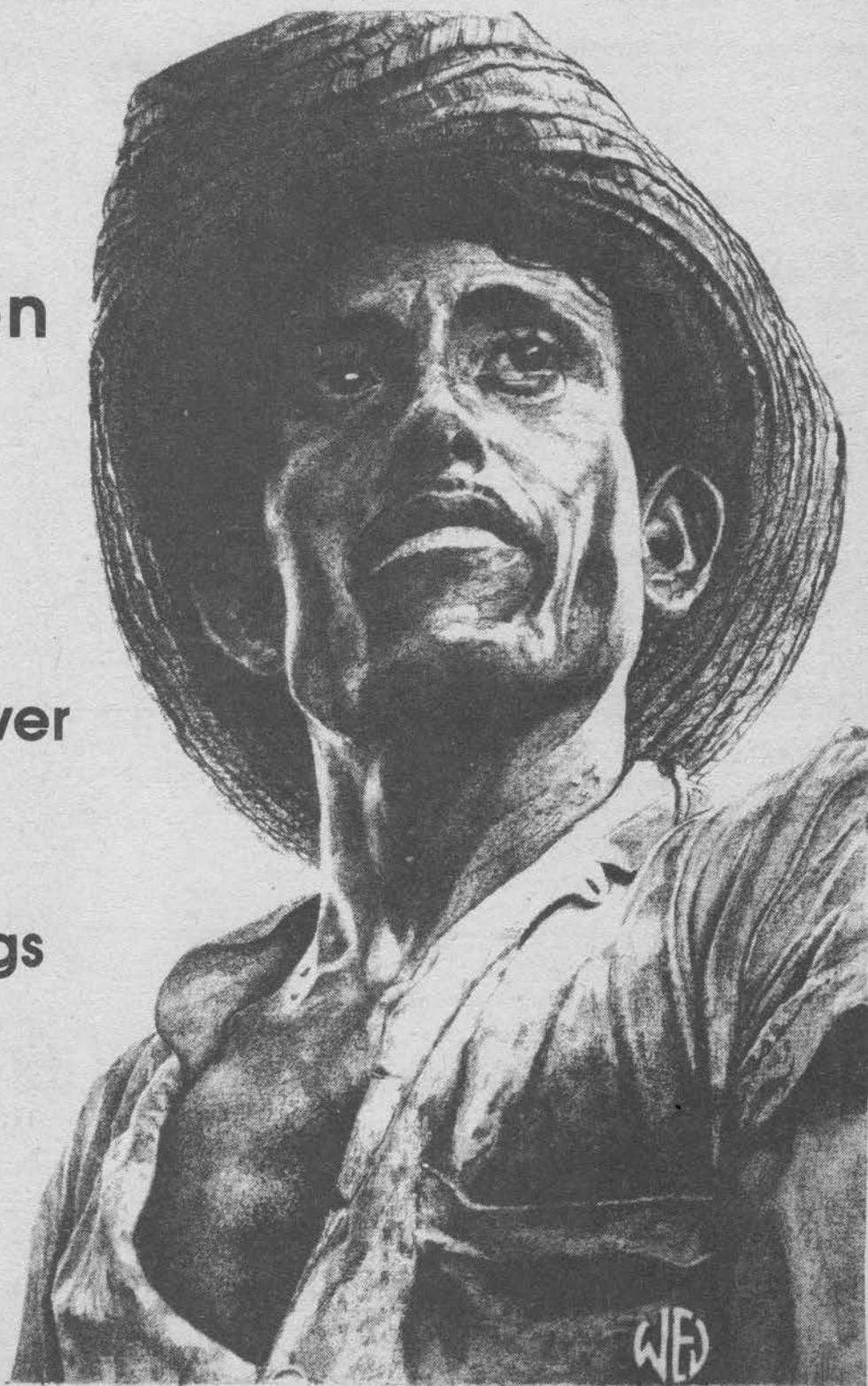
MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

**Immigration
politics**

Pink collar power

Detroit victory

Campus stirrings



Moving On

MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

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Letters

Dear MO:

I feel that I must take issue with the article in the September issue that dealt with the new labor leaders. It referred to them as progressive. One of the new leaders that was mentioned was William Winpisinger. Mr. Winpisinger is the new head of the International Association of Machinists (IAM).

Earlier this year workers waged a bitter thirteen-week strike at the Caterpillar plant in Oakland, California. The strike was ended only after Winpisinger and the IAM leadership negotiated a settlement behind the back of the workers.

In the wake of this strike a red-baiting campaign has been launched by the IAM leadership with the blessing of Mr. Winpisinger against the supporters of that strike. Several workers associated with the strike have been fired. I hardly call this progressive leadership.

The real power of the unions lies in the hands of the rank and file workers. Tactics like those used against the Caterpillar workers only weaken the union movement.

Franklyn Smith
Jeannette, PA

Dear MO:

As Manning Marable indicates, historical analogies at best have a limited value (MOVING ON, Oct., 1977). To compare the state of blacks in the South today with the Thermidor of the French Revolution is to simultaneously overstate the gains made in the last decade and to underestimate the significance of the achievements. Overstated, because the Thermidor analogy assumes that a revolution was made where one never was. Underestimated, because his analysis of the South today denigrates what has been accomplished.

Is repression greater today than it was before the Civil Rights movement? Is the

more letters, p. 15

Cover drawing by William Johnson of South side Chicago NAM.



The broken border — the politics of immigration

by Thomas Hecht

The political questions which surround the rights of immigrant workers and their integration into the North American political economy are not new issues for the left. In times of economic stress one of the principal targets are immigrant workers. It happens with some regularity in this country. In 1977 it's not the Italians, not the Irish, not the Chinese, but the Mexican immigrant. And at the center of the controversy is the issue of the undocumented worker.

It is an issue that begins in Mexico. The economy of Mexico, like virtually every other Latin country, is an unstable mix of multi-national corporate exploitation of native resources, nascent undercapitalized local industry, and undeveloped agriculture. The country is constantly on the verge of economic disaster. Some items: 45 to 55% of the population is either unemployed or underemployed; the inflation rate in 1976 was approximately 30%; the economy has a virtually flat growth curve. The Mexican government has now borrowed to its ceiling from the International Monetary Fund and has no capital available for long-term job development; this year's drought destroyed crops and livestock in substantial numbers, aggravating already-existing food shortages. The most optimistic prediction for recovery from all this is 5 to 7 years, assuming an immediate end to the economic stagnation which has beset Mexico. This, of course, is not a reasonable assumption.

Hardest hit by this deterioration are the rural regions of northern Mexico. Farmlands lie wasted by drought; seed is too expensive to purchase; there are

no adequate irrigation systems. People begin to starve. Life grows extremely hard. It is here that the stream of undocumented workers begins, as wage earners flee to jobs across the border.

The impact of these workers on the North American economy and on the lives of native workers is difficult to estimate. One item is clear, however: they are not the welfare and tax drain which they are alleged to be. A 1976 United States Department of Labor study of some 900 deported aliens noted that 77% of them pay Social Security taxes; 73% pay Federal and State income taxes; only 1% had ever used food stamps; only 0.5% had ever received welfare payments; and only 4% had ever collected unemployment-compensation benefits. The picture that emerges from the Department of Labor study is a flattering one: undocumented workers are an industrious, tax-paying, and law-abiding population.

But do undocumented workers pose a threat to American (sic) jobs? Here the picture is less clear. Most commentators acknowledge that undocumented workers take jobs at wages that most of us would shun in favor of unemployment compensation. Undocumented workers end up in the most menial, most degrading, and lowest paid work. Consequently, their threat to more stable employment is highly overrated. Although it isn't possible to categorically state that they take no jobs from native workers, on the whole undocumented workers pose little threat to more stable employment.

A second, equally uncertain, problem is the impact of undocumented workers on wage structures and union organizing efforts. For the reasons discussed above, these men and women are willing to work for wages well below the federally guaranteed minimum simply to survive. Further, they are not about to complain about poor working conditions and risk being turned over to immigration agents by angered, greedy employers. Problems such as these hamper any collective action that might change repressive job conditions or develop solidarity with other workers.

The life of an undocumented worker is an oppressive condition wrought by



MEXICANS ARRESTED AFTER ENTERING THE U.S. WITHOUT PAPERS



LEONEL CASTILLO

exploitation of the Mexican land and people. People do not cross the border into a great life. They do so because they must. The forces which give rise to such necessity must be confronted. The question is: Short of a socialist transformation of the United States and Mexico, are there solutions?

Solutions

For the most part, solutions to the problem of undocumented workers have concentrated on increased border-patrol activity, sanctions against employers, and amnesty proposals. There are serious problems with each.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Border Patrol have a long history of ineffectiveness, blatant racism, and corruption. They are known to cooperate with the professional smuggling operations that supply the business community with workers who will cross picket lines, work for low wages, and ignore labor unions.* The result of increased funding for these agencies is to continue the exploitation of undocumented workers and to contribute to the continued I.N.S. intimidation of the Hispanic community in general.

Employer sanctions fare no better. Because undocumented workers are dispersed throughout the country and

most work for employers with under 25 employees, it is virtually impossible to police any criminal or civil sanctions against employers. Attorney General Bell concedes that any such laws would have to rest upon voluntary compliance. But voluntary compliance by businesses that recruit undocumented workers in order to break unions and/or pay substandard wages seems unlikely.

In addition, the fines presently being discussed are too small to be effective. Even for the few showcase prosecutions, a \$1000 fine is but an incidental cost of doing business. More importantly, those employers who do wish to obey such laws will find it easier to deny Hispanics jobs altogether than to invest heavily in immigration-status investigations.

Amnesty proposals appeal to the civil libertarian in all of us and, other things being equal, should be strongly supported. The problem, however, is that most amnesty proposals are not amnesty at all. For example, the Carter administration "amnesty" proposal only offers a 5 year temporary resident alien status to persons entering the country between January 1970 and January 1977.

There are no guarantees against deportation after that. The new status denies such individuals the right to social services and requires that they remain in the country continuously for those 5 years. Further, this status is available only after registering with the Immigration and Naturalization Service—the agency that ultimately may deport registrants. Under these circumstances, few undocumented workers will have anything to do with the Carter "amnesty" proposals.

Ultimately, the only amnesty proposal which doesn't involve a burdensome bureaucracy, arbitrary divisions of time and location, and continued deportation is an open border between the United States and labor-source countries. But the political battle for such real amnesty will only be won after the pressure

which creates immigration is relieved. Relieving that pressure implies a different starting point.

Promising Projects

Any plan to reduce immigration over the next decade must concentrate on developmental projects in northern Mexico. This, coupled with the aggressive enforcement of labor-law protections and a liberalization of immigration-status law, provides the best chance for successfully confronting the economic dislocation which is at the root of migration patterns out of Mexico.

There are some developmental projects presently beginning in Mexico which offer some promise of success. The World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the Mexican government have already started several integrated rural development efforts seeking to create small-scale irrigation projects to stabilize agriculture, labor-intensive rural public works projects, and labor-intensive rural industry. There are indications that the first of these have dramatically reduced out-migration in local communities.

The most obvious problem with the projects is that they, like the rest of Mexico, are undercapitalized. It is possible, however, to increase the capital investment available by a substantial increase in the U.S. capital commitments to the World Bank and the Inter-American Bank, earmarked for such projects. Further, the U.S. is in a position to petition the International Monetary Fund to exempt Mexican expenditures for such developmental programs from I.M.F. loan ceilings. The U.S. is also in a position to finance contributions to public development projects in northern Mexico by a tax on U.S. corporations which choose to run from protective labor legislation and trade unions at home and establish operations in other countries.

Such a course no doubt presents its

turn to p. 15

The conference as battlefield — the attack on women's rights

by Judith Coburn

Six months ago, most feminists to the left of the Democratic Party dismissed the series of International Women's Year (IWY) conferences as yet another government sponsored forum for feminists to coopt and contain the radical energy and goals of the women's liberation movement. But in the wake of the Supreme Court's cutoff of medicaid funds for abortion, the ascendancy of Anita Bryant and the takeover of some IWY state conferences by right-to-lifers, feminists of all political stripes are mobilizing to take a stand against the right at the IWY national convention in Houston, November 18-21.

Last year, Congresswoman Bella Abzug got Congress to pass a bill appropriating \$5 million for the IWY conferences. Under the law, each state would hold a convention, elect delegates and pass non-binding resolutions, leading up to a national conference in Houston which will prepare a report on issues concerning women for the President. The conferences were originally conceived as a way of getting federal money to disseminate moderate feminist ideas to thousands of women who have not been directly involved in the movement so far.

But the framers of the law and the IWY staff did not count on the ascendancy of the radical right, its focus on feminist issues like abortion, ERA and gay rights, or its new found skills at grass roots organizing. No sooner had IWY begun, than a highly coordinated coalition of leaders of the Catholic and Mormon churches, fundamentalists, anti-ERA and right-to-life activists, the John Birch Society, conservative corporate interests and, in some cases, Nazis and KKKers, began moving in on the state conferences. In Utah, the IWY convention elected an entirely Mormon, anti-abortion and anti-ERA slate of delegates. Mississippi included in its delegation five men reported to be Nazis; the conference there voted to repeal the Social Security Act, the Fourteenth and Nineteenth Amendments, and passed resolutions against free kindergarten, abortion rights, ERA, foreign aid and legal rights for gays.

In many states, right wingers have presented themselves as a grassroots "pro-family" rebellion against a manipulative establishment force of "women's lib." Because of fed-

eral sponsorship, liberal IWY staffers are reluctant to openly fight the right; under the law the conferences are open to all women, so anti-feminist resolutions and delegates can't be excluded. Nor, under federal anti-discrimination laws, can men; those who attended were primarily the leaders of the right wing forces.

Taking Initiative

New York State's IWY conference was held two weeks after the Supreme Court's medicaid abortion decision. That tragedy galvanized many feminists who had dropped out or moved onto other issues after winning abortion reform in the early seventies. They realized that we will have to mobilize a mass movement to keep from losing hard-won concessions. That discovery plus reports that thousands of right-to-lifers were to converge on Albany led many feminists who hadn't planned on it to go to Albany.

If IWY had become a lightning rod for the right-wing backlash, it was also an arena where feminists could re-seize the initiative. United by a new-found urgency, feminists went to Albany with a variety of political goals, including: beating the anti-feminists' attempts to elect delegates and pass right-wing resolutions; convincing the thousands of women there that abortion and other feminist causes are in danger; and countering the right-wing presence with a highly visible feminist one.

The IWY staff, most of them liberals, had put together an official slate of delegates "representative of the women of New York." It was, however, unrepresentative of black, Asian and Latin, rural, gay and working class women. In addition, it took no positions as a delegation, or individually, on any issues. The official slate seemed destined to go down in defeat as each separate group lobbied only for its own candidates, raising the possibility that the right-to-lifers, the largest group behind a single slate, could elect all their people. A day and night of chaotic negotiations produced instead a coalition slate (eventually endorsed also by the IWY staff) of women who have profound disagreements over some questions involving race, class, socialism and feminism, but who agree with the coalition's unequivocal

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Getting Together

Running away — the de-industrialization of America

by Stanley Aronowitz

The closing of the principal mill of Youngstown Sheet and Tube is the latest event in a slow but steady exodus of the steel industry from its traditional centers. Five thousand workers will lose their jobs with little prospect of finding other employment in the area. For those lucky enough to find work, the pay is likely to be much less than the relatively high steel wages. But the story does not end there.

Another affected group will be those suppliers of the big mill. For example, a small water company in the city with about 100 employees depends for at least 25% of its business on orders from Sheet and Tube. Small parts shops and construction crafts will lose work. Retailing in Youngstown, which

depends heavily on steel wages, will drop. Within a year, thousands will leave town in search of work and many will end up in a sunbelt location. In short, a viable city, Youngstown, will join a growing number of ghost towns in the Industrial Heartland—victims of ruthless profit-making by absentee corporations.

As with the huge Bethlehem Steel mill in Lackawanna, N.Y., which is all but closed, the shutdown was in the works for a long time. A few years ago, a Texas based corporation purchased Sheet and Tube and refused to replace the old machines, letting existing equipment remain in poor repair. Under U.S. tax laws the company was able to write off losses; so Sheet and Tube's demise actually represents a long term corporate gain. After

bleeding the mill dry, it is now time to bury the corpse.

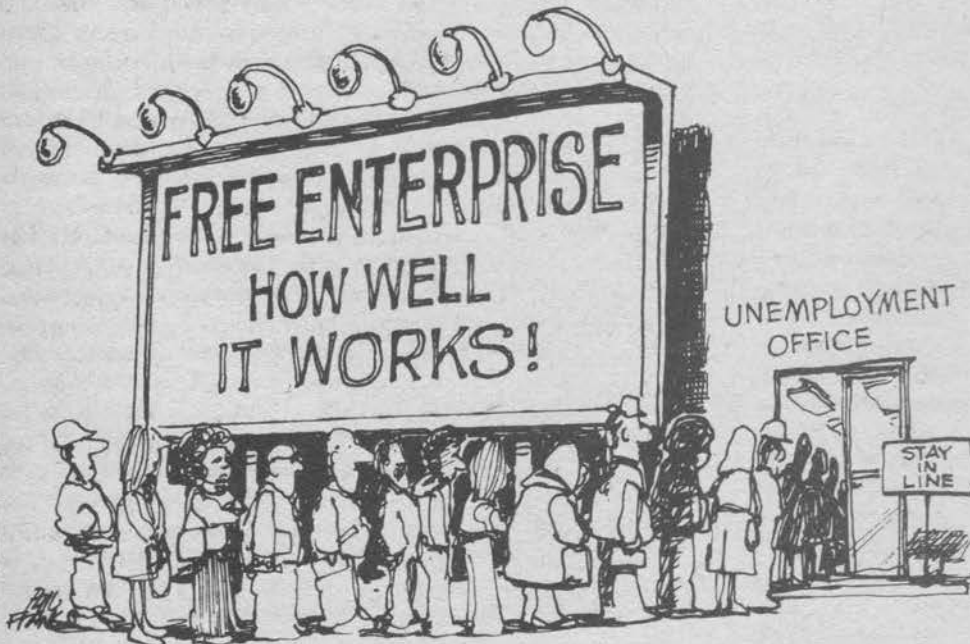
Youngstown and Lackawanna are in the midst of grave fiscal crises. A few years ago, schools in the Ohio city were closed early because funds were exhausted. Now with a major source of tax revenue gone, essential services will be cut back or, in some instances, cut out. Lackawanna, once a city of 100,000 with at least 25,000 workers in the mill, is little more than a shell of its former self.

Regressive Policies

Steel management has been notorious for its regressive policies since the late 19th century. It began with the first experiments in Taylorism at Midland Steel designed to rob workers of their knowledge and control of the work process. The great Homestead strike of 1892 was the apex of the workers' battle to prevent the wage cuts that inevitably resulted from introduction of machines that degraded skills and the rationalization of the work process.

Mechanization came to a halt during the depression and had not resumed until recently on a large scale. The steel corporations benefitted from US world domination after World War II. Overseas sales were brisk, even though steel technology within this country remained relatively backward compared to Europe and Japan. In fact, U.S. capital was involved in developing modern steel making processes in Europe in the 1950's and 1960's while American mills fell behind.

Now a combination of mismanagement, overproduction in heavy metals and international competition is forcing the steel industry to modernize. But it refuses to upgrade the old plants, preferring to move south and even overseas. New labor-saving technologies have resulted in diminished employment in the steel industry even though production has nearly doubled in the past 20 years. Worker productivity is also the result



of sheer speedup and hazardous working conditions. These issues together with the question of union democracy, formed the basis of the rank and file Fightback movement which gave its candidate Ed Sadlowski 40% of the presidential vote in the last election.

The runaway shop is not a new development in American industrial history. The flight of the textile and shoe industries from New England began in the 1920's and was virtually completed in 1950. During the 50's and 60's a second wave of migration occurred as the garment, chemical and oil refining industries closed their doors in large centers such as New York, New Jersey and eastern Pennsylvania. Many plants followed textiles to southeastern agricultural areas. But an increasingly larger number began to set up shop in Taiwan, Korea, southern Europe and Latin America. The high wages and union safeguards on working conditions were forcing a massive realignment of the international division of labor. Consumer goods could no longer be produced profitably in major western capitalist countries.

The 1973 struggle of the Lip watchmakers to save their jobs in central France was a dramatic sign that the pattern of runaways is international. An old plant, Lip was bought by a Swiss multinational corporation, used up and shut down preserving only the trade name of the product. The production of watches is now contracted out to third world countries. A similar pattern has emerged in the TV and radio industry where US based corporations farm out almost all of their production to Japan and other Asian countries. Zenith corporation recently announced that it is shifting operations to Taiwan, immediately laying off 25% of its U.S. workforce.

Youngstown Sheet and Tube, the layoffs of Akron rubberworkers, and the decentralization of the Detroit-based auto industry over the globe



This RCA plant came to Memphis in 1966; it ran-away five years later.

represent a new stage, and perhaps the final one, of the deindustrialization of America. For these are basic industries that are part of the substructure of our economy. Their loss means that the already weakened American unions will suffer further deterioration in their power. Countless communities will find themselves destitute.

The multinational corporations do not intend to let their power move away with industry. America is fast becoming a "technology monopoly." The plans for nuclear development and U.S. control over high technology "software" such as information and computer flows are the new basis of U.S. imperial hegemony. The transfer of plants to other countries may actually strengthen U.S. capital since it retains control over investment, but meets the demands of third world political and economic elites for a share of the pie. For the workers in those countries it will mean low wages and high rates of exploitation.

Survival

The challenge to American workers and their unions is nothing less than a question of survival. Up to now, unions have relied on three main strategies for countering unemployment. The first has been to seek higher cash payments for laid off workers. Through collective bargaining the major industrial unions have negotiated supplementary unemployment benefits to cushion the impact of temporary joblessness. They have also joined with civil rights and community groups in pressing for higher government unemployment benefits. In each case they relied on their own bargaining power to deal with the spectre of unemployment because they had faith in a revival of

economic growth.

Now this approach seems obsolete in many cases. These plans are still useful to prevent a sudden sharp drop in workers' living standards, but they are unable to cope with permanent shutdowns. And permanent shutdowns are increasingly the order of the day. Such important cities as Pittsburgh, Detroit, and Akron are still manufacturing centers, but they are clearly on the decline. Practically no new plants are built in these cities, and old ones continue to close.

The second strategy has been to fight for stiffer import curbs to protect American jobs, including "Buy American" campaigns sponsored by unions. These protectionist policies are rarely effective, and they feed racist and nationalist ideologies among American workers. In addition, they fail to address the real problem—public control over the movement of capital—but instead place the burden on workers in Third World countries for the loss of jobs.

The third strategy is the fight for full employment through federally created jobs and community improvement programs that will provide "meaningful" employment at prevailing wages to the jobless. The Humphrey-Hawkins bill embodies this strategy, but it has many weaknesses and is not likely to get support from the Carter administration. (see *Moving On*, Oct., 1977). Instead, the administration has developed welfare "reform" legislation that is nothing less than forced labor for the poor. While labor needs a good full employment law, the creation of public service jobs cannot replace the loss of high pay in industrial employment.

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Ken Cockrel

drawing by William Johnson

Going the distance in Detroit

by Tony Rothschild

It was September 13th, a wet and cold election day in Detroit. Bad weather usually means low voter turnout and trouble for a non-incumbent city council candidate such as Kenneth Cockrel, noted black activist attorney.

However, the usual was not to be that day. Instead, Detroit had one of the largest percentage of registered voters to even turn out at the polls for a primary. And the left had its most important electoral victory since Cockrel's former law partner Justin Ravitz won a seat on the Records Court in 1972.

Cockrel finished seventh in a field of over eighty candidates. The top eighteen now compete in the November general election for nine city council seats. In reality, only two seats were open to the eighty plus candidates since seven incumbents were running and incumbents lose in Detroit about as often as snow falls in Los Angeles. (In a real coup, Cockrel even managed to finish ahead of one of them.)

Cockrel polled over 100,000 votes, well ahead of all other new candidates. The campaign is now being credited with a smashing victory by longtime political experts in the city.

The Cockrel campaign was conceived of as a broad-based left coalition to establish a political base, independent of the traditional avenues to power in Detroit—the Democratic Party and the United Auto Workers. Although the campaign did not directly raise the issue of socialism, the media frequently referred to Cockrel as a Marxist attorney, and he made no attempt to hide his political sympathies. The primary results indicate that people in Detroit certainly are open to such alternatives.

Some people voted for Cockrel as a step towards building a broad socialist coalition. Most of his support, however, came from the working class black community which sees him as a militant attorney who fights for the rights of poor and working people—and wins. Cockrel also ran very strong in the predominantly white areas of Detroit—where black candidates traditionally are weak—probably for the same reasons that he ran strong in the black community, his fighting image.

Successful Organization

Credit for the excellent finish goes to the successful campaign organization that was built from the ground up and touched all parts of the city. Four thousand leaflets, 50,000 buttons, and 25,000 bumper stickers were distributed. Unlike many campaigns on the left, the Cockrel effort was not run on a shoestring budget. Money flowed in—most of it in \$5 and \$10 donations—as a result of the importance that people placed on his candidacy.

The Cockrel campaign was probably the only significant multi-racial campaign, as well. Black, white, young and old were recruited into the organization. Many (including some of the leadership) were working in their first electoral campaign.

The real magnitude of the organizational success was best exemplified on election day when close to 1,000 volunteers came out in the rain to work the polls for Cockrel's election. There was a sense of participation in a real "people's campaign."

Both opposition to and support for the campaign came from unexpected sources. The Detroit *Free Press*, known as

Attack on women's rights

from p. 5

support for abortion, ERA and gay rights.

On Sunday, the coalition slate soundly beat the right-to-lifers (many women waited eight hours in line to vote); as a result the right wingers decamped and left the passing of resolutions in the afternoon to feminists. New York emerged as the only state to elect a delegation to the left of the IWY official slate. (In some states substitutions to the official slate were made at the convention; in California, for example, more gay women were added).

Compromise Politics

Triumphant feminists who won at Albany and other activists around the country are convinced that these kind of classic compromise politics are worth pursuing at Houston. They are urging feminists from around the country to come to the conference and related activities. A full range of progressive women from NOW members to welfare organizers to gay separatists will be there. In addition to the official delegates, the conference will be open to thousands of observers.

The Albany fight and a presence at Houston have been criticized as "chasing symbols." But those of us who fought the right in Albany are convinced that Houston will be important in putting the Carter Administration and the rest of the country on notice that women will not quietly accept the erosion of our hard-won and still-limited rights. The media is already depicting Houston as a set piece battle between housewives and feminists for the hearts and minds of American womanhood. However phony this is, it is certain that Houston will be interpreted as the representative expression of "what women want." Certainly, if conservative resolutions are passed, they will be seized on as a mandate by the White House, whose occupant is the leading standard bearer of the right-wing "pro-family" backlash.

We believe feminists can play a key role at Houston in focusing attention on the real issues and on our politics. Winning in Houston will also energize our movement, just as the experience in Albany has already spun off a militant coalition to fight abortion cutbacks in New York. As radical feminist Ellen Willis wrote recently: "Let's bring 10,000 women to Houston for a people's convention that will tell the nation 'what women want': an end to the right-wing counterrevolution, an end to the tokenism of liberal politicians and an end to men's control over our lives. Then let's go back home and show we mean it."

A California-based group is coordinating plans for a feminist presence at the IWY conference. For more information, contact: IWY Support Coalition, 1117 Tenth St. #3, Santa Monica, CA 90403.

Judith Coburn is a free-lance writer and activist in the women's movement in New York City.

the liberal daily, did not endorse Cockrel, although it had endorsed Ravitz in '72. The Detroit *Daily News*, considered the conservative daily, surprised many by strongly endorsing Cockrel along with several liberal candidates.

Two important forces in the black community—the first and thirteenth Congressional Districts—did not endorse him, however. They are tied respectively to two powerful black figures on the left of establishment politics—Congressman John Conyers, a DSOC supporter, and Mayor Coleman Young, a man with strong old left ties. The speculation is that these endorsements were denied because of Cockrel's image of not being a "team player," and the potential threat he poses to Mayor Young in 1981.

The UAW's choices were perhaps the biggest surprise. Not only did it fail to endorse Cockrel, but it endorsed all seven incumbents, including three conservatives whom it has opposed in the past.

Its actions backfired, though, when on election day across the city, UAW poll workers took Cockrel literature and passed it out with the UAW slate. In some polling places, UAW workers were crossing out the names of conservative candidates on their slate and putting Cockrel's in their places.

Shifting Gears

Now that the primary is over it is likely that the campaign will shift gears a little. With a field of eighty candidates, it is difficult to run an issue-oriented campaign. Issues tend to lose out to personalities and images—to a simple fight for recognition. Although the Cockrel effort did attempt to develop and articulate positions, it had to rely largely on Ken's long and well-known history as a champion of the rights of poor and working people. It never attempted to play down his radical past, but rather saw it as an asset in establishing his credibility as a serious and committed candidate.

The next phase of the campaign opens up possibilities for translating the meaning of those past battles into present policy proposals. In the general election, Cockrel is stressing such themes as: government takeover of services that the private sector is failing to adequately deliver; the development of labor-intensive employment; and, the curbing of heroin and drug abuse (a topic on which he feels particularly strongly).

The articulation of these and other issues is seen as an important means of expanding the campaign beyond the person of Ken Cockrel. The development of a platform that speaks to the real issues that are affecting poor and working people in Detroit can aid in solidifying a new coalition that can continue after the election and provide a basis for future progressive independent challenges.

The NAM chapter in Detroit has been playing an active role in building the campaign. The chapter's initial decision

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Looking For America

Seabirds — songs of survival

by Michelle Russell

The Sea Birds Are Still Alive: Collected Stories
by Toni Cade Bambara
Random House
\$7.95

With the publication of *The Sea Birds Are Still Alive* Toni Cade Bambara takes care of some long-standing business. Some readers may find the stories collected here more rambling and the voices more difficult to identify than the statements contained in sister Bambara's earlier work, *Gorilla, My Love*. That is not surprising. *Sea Birds* . . . , more than anything else, is a series of reminiscences, not immediate happenings. A combination of nightmare and dream. Not surrealistic, but historic, the experiences in these stories emerge through the lens of Bambara's particular poetic vision and the partially formulated values of a dispersed black generation desperately seeking to re-establish ties to a homeland in the midst of war and exile.



San Francisco Womens' History Group

Those of us who have groped our way to political maturity during the last thirty years will be particularly touched by the imagery, language, and references in this manuscript "assembled in the year of the woman." Its subject matter establishes Toni Cade Bambara in the ranks of all those waging the central battle of our time in America: the battle against being engulfed by collective amnesia. I say "central battle" advisedly, because we are living in a situation where more than our lives are being threatened, more than our economic and physical survival. Our consciousness and memory of the meaning of our lives are being ground to dust. Whether that loss of memory is attributed to the systematic degradation of education, the instant ethos and cartoon character of TV reality, the selective genocide that has wiped out many of our best and most important figures, the rampant individualism inculcated by capitalism, or the simple laziness cultivated in a consumer culture, no one can deny that our active relationship to the past has become enfeebled at all levels. Family history. Regional recollection. Continental development. Class identification. All have become the subjects of conscious reconstruction by our generation because we know the dread of being cut off. Toni Cade Bambara helps us pick up some of the threads.

Last Stops

In *Sea Birds* we relive the black experience of the sixties in a new way. Not through the shrill pronouncements of the black male leadership layer on the evening news. Not through the crush of bodies in massive demonstrations. Not even through the organizational strife that sapped the energies of so many for so long. None of the sensationalism of that period is catered to. Instead, we are put in touch with the women, heretofore hidden from history, who survived. The "many, forced for so long into something or other and can't afford no trouble . . . can't afford to make a human response," but who still do.

We revisit the horrors of daily life in villages everywhere, from Viet Nam to Mississippi, to the cities of the frozen North, side by side with those who hold fast to the will to change in our time. In recreating their struggles and hopes, their moments of weakness and fatigue, their dreams which may never rise above a whisper, their clandestine gestures of caring, the sixties are placed in their proper perspective: as one of the last stops in the centuries-old middle passage that our people have survived before arriving on the shore of a new world.

We are taken through one Babylon after another: running throught the DMZ's of urban projects and Southern land

swindles; romantic dreams of hijacking our way to freedom; the scared-shitless, blacked out, corner-cowering when the police take a notion to raid; the clean-up squads of soldiers that add rape as a finishing touch to the craters left by bombs; and the bathroom hysteria before the first internal bleeding of puberty is recognized as the only natural sign of our continuance we can trust.

Solitary Journeys

In the worlds Toni Cade Bambara evokes, the angle of vision is consistently that of black women: poor but healthy, unsure as yet of their own strength, but eager to test and temper themselves into an instrument of value to the black community. Often, their journeys toward awareness are solitary, winding. But they survive because they delve beneath appearances and make decisions based on a love of life and the future. That, and common sense. They can be discriminating, but not to a fault. As sister Candy reflects on "Christmas Eve and Johnson's Drugs N Goods," "My Uncle Henry all the time telling me they different kinds of folks in the community, but when you boil it right down there's just nice and not nice. Uncle Henry says they folks who'll throw they mamas to the wolves if the fish sandwich big enough. They folks who won't whatever the hot sauce. They folks that're scared, folks that are dumb; folks that have heart and some with heart to spare. That all boils down to nice and not nice if you ask me." She and her sisters survive not because we have the correct line, or the right answer, or the expert to consult, or even the requisite strength to complete our part in full. But because our love for each other leads us to acts of responsibility, sharing, and growth.

The idiom through which Toni Cade Bambara expresses this idea, again, is period specific. The values of UJAMAA, "Each one teach one," "listen to the elders," and "save the children" permeate every line; values themselves rescued from the wreckage of distorted applications of African traditions in diaspora contexts. If the rendering of these values sometimes seems artificial, willed, or downright romantic, it is not due to deficiencies in Bambara's craft. Rather, the times when characters are driven to cling to larger-than-life poster images of struggle, slogans, and even styles of dress for the strength to continue, reflect the objective underdevelopment of the liberation movement in the United States and the dogged persistence of the poor to overcome their isolation, by any means necessary and with whatever tools come to hand in the wilderness.

Above all, this book reminds us that despite constant bombardment, the birds of passage are still alive, their wings unclipped.

Michelle Russell is an author and long-time Detroit political activist. She is currently working on the campaign of Ken Cockrel for Detroit Common Council.



San Francisco Women's History Collective

Women — making it and making do

by Judy MacLean

Women occupy less than three percent of the seats in America's corporate boardrooms. On the other hand, they fill over 90% of the seats behind typewriters. And they stand at way over 90% of the places beside beauty parlor chairs, next to racks of sale coats, behind lunch counters and in front of kitchen sinks. Two books published in the past year reveal the realities faced by these two kinds of working women.

The Managerial Woman (Doubleday, \$7.95) is about, and for, the women who make it to the top. Although authors Margaret Hennig and Anne Jardim make a plea in the last chapter for top managers to creatively use the potentially humanizing influence of women managers, the rest of the book assumes the top brass isn't listening.

It describes how twenty-five women made it to the top of the corporate

heap—president or vice president of a large company that was not a traditional woman's field. The authors, professors at Harvard Business School, describe typical flaws in women's style of management that hold them back from promotion. They also offer lots of practical advice to the aspiring woman manager.

Pink Collar Workers (Putnam, \$8.95) depicts with fresh eyes a world achingly familiar to most women. It's the world we've grown up in, of the jobs most of us are expected to take. Author Louise Kapp Howe did some very creative research in the jobs that the majority of non-college-educated women end up in: clerical worker, homemaker, beautician, waitress and sales clerk.

The most striking difference between the world of the token female executive and what Howe calls the pink collar ghetto is not the pay,

although the difference there is staggering. Nor is it the working conditions or the prestige. It is, rather, the ambience, the social atmosphere, in which these women live.

Women who enter management enter a world fraught with hostility. They have to be better by far than the average man to succeed. Hennig and Jardim's successful 25 all said they had to give up all social life during the first 15 years of their careers. It took all their energy just to learn the necessary skills. Though they all developed good, on-the-job working relationships, the price was high.

Stifle Yourself

In fact, Hennig and Jardim's advice to women who would succeed in business by really trying comes down to Archie Bunker's old advice to Edith: "Stifle yourself!" Build your managerial skills but stifle your

emotions, your anger, your need for human warmth.

The answer to a challenge to your right to be in the corporate world at all, to attempts to undermine you, or to sexual propositions, the authors say, should always be the same. Talk about the task at hand. Make the relationship work-oriented. Learn the "skill" your male counterparts have already acquired. Separate all the emotions out, concentrate on the task. "Think through ahead of time a series of task-related responses you can make to these situations. With practice, you may even be able to smile as you make them," say the authors.

The atmosphere in the pink collar ghetto is quite different. Typically, the women hold two jobs: one unpaid at home, the other at near-minimum wage outside. Job security, benefits, and respect for the work done are almost nil. And yet somehow, Howe finds over and over the women workers create an atmosphere of warmth and friendliness.

Bonnie, a clerical, talks about how socializing with people in other departments makes her work bearable (and, incidentally, makes the work flow to and from the department she works in



photos by Phyllis Ewen

more quickly). A waitress tells how cooperation among co-workers can make or break a job. Homemakers stress the difference good relationships with husbands and children make, and secondarily, those with neighbors. Or take Suzy, who supervises four other women in a small beauty shop, conspiring with them to get around arbitrary rules set by Bumblebrain, as they all call the owner.

She says: "The pay is lousy, the security is lousy, the benefits are lousy, the union is lousy, but it's nice here, isn't it? It's a happy place... And we've got something good between the girls here that means a lot. How you get along."

The "something good" is created wherever it can be by women working in pink collar jobs. It is easily destroyed (Bumblebrain upsets Suzy's world a few months later). Yet it is what makes the job worth having, what enables many women to stay on.

Strange Reward

In addition, many women are stuck in these jobs as society's strange reward for their devotion to another set of human relationships, those with their children. Waitressing, sales clerking, or keypunching are jobs women take because part-time schedules fit in with raising the kids, a job they do more or less alone, whether they have a husband at home or not. Howe shows that their determination to be home when the kids are seals their fate in the labor market and consigns them to a lifetime of low paying jobs.

Ironically Hennig and Jardim found that women's desire to work with people they liked was a large factor in holding them back from managerial jobs. Only by stifling this urge and becoming totally task-oriented could women succeed. Yet this same trait lets women survive, even flourish, in the harsh conditions of the pink collar ghetto.

It is ironic, but the joke is on all of

us. Hennig and Jardim's exceptional 25 rose to the top of corporations that were not traditional women's fields. Not cosmetics, but finance. Not womens magazines, but major industry. In other words, the corporate entities that are destroying life in big and small ways every day. The authors never ask the one question these women policy makers should be asking: *Why* do it? They assume women want to get ahead. But to manage *what*? Corporations that are increasingly heedless of the most basic needs of human beings, the needs those in the pink collar ghetto can not forget.

The Managerial Woman is an important book. Women in America do a lot of unrecognized managing, and any woman who ever managed a home, led the PTA or a community group, or, especially, took leadership in the women's movement or the left will be startled at the recognition of some of the things she will find in the book.

Yet, reading about the two worlds, I couldn't help feeling that if pay, prestige and respect could magically be made equal in both kinds of jobs, one would have to be crazy to choose the corporate boardroom over the pink collar ghetto. Of course, everything

isn't equal. But I suggest the impulse to choose to work where women create "something good" together rather than where power is exercised is not a sign of women's alleged "fear of success." Rather, it is an impulse we must nurture and incorporate into our movement if we are ever to change the way power is exercised. And that's why, for socialists and feminists, *Pink Collar Workers* is the more important book.

Solidarity

After all, the point of a socialist revolution is to build a society based on human needs, not profit. And so we start with the people who've been in charge of meeting a very important number of human needs and who've done it all these years, under the most terrible conditions, against the highest odds, and at incalculable damage to themselves. We start with ordinary working women, in the home and on paid jobs, who've made the food and the beds, cared for the sick and the old, done the laundry, made sure the aspirin was there when it was needed, greased the machinery of industry with their smiles and their sweat, typed the correspondence so products kept moving, wrote all the little letters that kept far-flung families in touch, who



photo by Jane Melnick



straightened the shelves, and cleared the tables, and did it all the while being told, in words and wages, that it was trivial.

And if we want to create new ways for men and women to relate, we can't

begin in the boardroom where women have to prove they can be just as aggressive as men. Instead we begin with the simple solidarity of those who've created something nice where nothing is nice. With the thousands of ways working women have helped each other survive. With the children kept for a few days, the shifts exchanged, with my work in your typewriter when it just became too much. With covering for each other when the boss comes by, with moments of conversation snatched between making salads or rearranging a rack of dresses. Women have been taught to compete—for men, for the best children, the shiniest home. And yet we've shaped together a solidarity somehow. We must begin here. And make it grow.

The women's movement and the part of the left that sees feminism as a

crucial part of a strategy for social change cannot be content with bringing women's faces into high places. Women in these posts do no harm, and can encourage younger women not to assume they will be confined to certain roles.

But it's not enough. We have to wrench the concerns of human life from the sidelines, and bring those who've become experts in them to the center of humanity's stage. The soliarity of working women can become a powerful force to transform the very way we relate—a power coming not from individual women learning to one-up individual men, but from our collective insistence that our experience is crucial and that our voice must be heard.

Judy MacLean is the Organizational Secretary of NAM.

Cockerel

from p. 9

to participate was based both on a recognition of the campaign's potential to catalyze a progressive, independent, multi-racial movement in Detroit, and on a general agreement with the political approach that Cockerel was putting forth.


NAM was the first left organization to get involved in the campaign. Initially, most of the rest of the left simply ignored it or remained aloof. However, when things began to gain momentum, many other leftists did get involved. NAM's early support has enabled it to play a strong role in the entire effort.

NAM members have been coordinating districts, doing community work, researching the issues, and helping

with the development of positions. In the process, the chapter has been able to develop ties with many new forces and to expand its collective knowledge of the issues facing Detroit.

The Ken Cockerel campaign has been one of the most important progressive mass movements—and it is a movement!—to merge in Detroit in the last few years. Whatever the outcome of the general election, it has laid the basis for a new multi racial alliance whose presence is likely to be felt in local politics for some time to come.

Tony Rothschild is a member of Detroit NAM and an activist in the Cockerel for Council campaign.



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Runaways

from p. 7

Industry generates multiple economic activity while service work, although valuable, has limited economic clout.

A bold, but sensible approach to the problem of runaway shops and deindustrialization would be to seek legislation that would require companies planning to move to get licenses from a specially created industrial board, similar in structure to the National Labor Relations Board. Such a program already exists in Britain and Scandinavia. Here's how it works:

(1) If a company wishes to shut down a plant, it files an application with the Industrial Board.

(2) The Board calls a public hearing on the move. The company must present a plan including the following information:

(a) guarantees of relocation rights to existing workers

(b) a training program for those wishing to relocate if necessary or for those who will be changing jobs.

(c) a statement on the economic impact on both the old community and the proposed community including questions of environmental protection.

Unions, community and business groups present their own evidence and the Board decides whether to issue a

license subject to appeals by residents and workers' organizations.

The public hearing is an occasion for agitation, demonstrations, and political education. It offers a first opportunity to raise the question of capital's prerogatives and demands worker/community control over capital movements and allocation. This small, admittedly reform step opens a whole new arena of struggle and promotes coalitions between labor and community groups. It provides an alternative to both the tendency of unions to grab at protection as an answer or worse, passive resignation in the face of capital's international offensive.

The licensing legislation became the occasion for a sustained and successful struggle to keep the Clyde shipyards working in Scotland, and led to factory occupation in Stockholm, when the government granted a multinational's request. The administrative requirement for public exposure of each closing presents an opportunity for public education and action and constitutes a first step in raising the question of popular power at a fundamental level.

Stanley Aronowitz is the author of several books and innumerable articles. He is a member of NAM in Irvine, CA where he is teaching at the University of California.

Immigration Politics

from p. 4

own problems. Can such development projects remain within the public domain or will they merely set the stage for continued (but more efficient) corporate domination of northern Mexico? Is it possible for them to really be administered in the public interest when they are under the control of international agencies or the Mexican government? Is it possible for the American and Mexican left to play a

role in the development of such programs?

There are more. But unless further discussion is rooted in the economic realities of the situation, we will not even be able to address these issues. The undocumented worker has been the scapegoat for American economic problems for too long. The U.S. government will continue to ignore the roots of this problem and exploit its divisive potential unless the terms of the discussion can be changed.

Thomas Hecht is a Chicago attorney who works with the Illinois Migrant Legal Assistance Project.

Letters

from p. 2

daily life of blacks more powerless than before that struggle? Marable gives an answer with which I would agree, but which contradicts his main thrust: "Now Southern politicians openly court the growing black petit bourgeoisie." And I would add: the additional two million black voters. Which situation is better—that where Wallace et al could freely engage in racist rhetoric or where he and others must openly court the black petit bourgeoisie?

This is not to suggest that the New South has become the New Jerusalem. But the Civil Rights movement that focussed on social contradictions had an important influence on the South that placed the struggle on a new terrain. Like all democratic struggles, it can only shape the political landscape for its transformation. The need remains for a movement that challenges not just oppression but exploitation as such.

Marable's article raises some excellent points, but they get lost in the inaccuracy of his central argument.

Dorothy Healey
Los Angeles, CA





The campus calm

What caused it?

Can it last?

by Dick Flacks

It's fifteen years since a group of several dozen students met at a United Auto Workers camp at Port Huron, Michigan to draft a manifesto announcing their intention to help create a "new left", and declaring that, for the first time in American history, students could become a leading force for radical social change. By 1967, the expectations born at Port Huron had begun to materialize on a scale never anticipated by those founders of SDS.

Exactly a decade ago, hundreds of thousands of young people gathered at the steps of the Pentagon, while simultaneously thousands protesting the draft confronted police in the street surrounding the Oakland Induction Center. In the late Sixties, resistance to the draft and the war fueled a more generalized student skepticism toward the claims of national and institutional authority. Protest shook scores of campuses over issues such as university complicity with militarism, in-

stitutional racism, and the lack of a student voice in university policies. Campus antiwar feeling was expressed through every available channel, from militant civil disobedience to support for anti-war electoral campaigns.

The culminating experience of the student movement was the May, 1970 national student strike that followed the Cambodian invasion and the killings at Jackson and Kent State. That strike involved the majority of American students in an impressively rich variety of protest activities that ranged from mass action to efforts at community outreach and education. But this activity, rather than leading toward a deepening of student commitment to collective revolt, was followed by a decline of student mass action.

It's by no means easy to pinpoint the reasons for this decline. One major set of factors has to do with the psychology of mass participation in "history making". Mass action is an exhilarating and morally compelling

experience for most who become involved in it. It provides a sense of transcendence, self-realization, and comradeship not ordinarily available in daily life. But mass action can also be fundamentally threatening to the participants. Involvement jeopardizes the fabric of daily life—disrupting the private routine and relationships that most people find real, urgent and satisfying. Mass action must inevitably give way to the fact that participants must live, must satisfy mundane needs, must pick up the threads of private life. In the "dialectic" of mass movements, collective action begins when a group of people who share a common situation find their accustomed everyday freedom, safety, or well-being threatened by those who wield political or economic power. Collective mass action starts to decline when it successfully influences the powerful to ease these threats to everyday life. Under mass pressure, the authorities try to create a situation in which the risks of continued action begin to outweigh the expected benefits of a return to ordinary private pursuits.

(Of course, two other outcomes of mass movement are possible. On one hand, it can lead directly toward collapse of established power and the revolutionary transformation of everyday life. On the other hand, it can be defeated by ruthless force. Although both of these prospects figured strongly in much movement rhetoric of the time, the organizational staying power of the movement would have been better served had activists faced up to the fact that the United States was in neither a prerevolutionary nor a pre-facist situation.)

Private Lives

Thus, a primary reason for the decline in student mass action was that the movement had succeeded in winning concessions that restored the possibility of a relatively free and less threatened individual, private life for most students. American troop in-

The Long View

volvement in Southeast Asia was de-escalated. The draft was phased out. Within the university: restrictions on student social life were relaxed; student representation in university governance was provided some token recognition; minority studies and affirmative action programs became institutionalized; and left perspectives and social criticism became increasingly available in the college curriculum. Reform, compromise and "cooptation"—as well as repressive attacks against the left—helped rationalize and reinforce what was, in any case, a nearly inevitable tendency on the part of the great majority of students to return to their private lives.

But this was not simply a return to lives determined by family upbringing and programmed by the established institutions of education and career. There is no question that, even as they abandoned public commitment, hundreds of thousands of young people felt impelled to try to incorporate into their private lives something of the critical consciousness, the social ethic, the search for personal liberation that they had glimpsed during the years of the Movement and the Counterculture. Such efforts have been poorly documented, and they present a confusing melange of promise and dead-end. But I think there is little doubt that, at the level of culture and personal relations, the impact of the Sixties is still being worked out.

The most important expression of this has been the feminist movement and its effects on many layers of consciousness and social life. More ambiguous, but nevertheless significant, activities include: the spread of alternative institutions; the growth of the "human potential" movement; the emergence of neo-marxism in the social sciences; the rise of environmental consciousness; and many less public changes in attitudes toward work, family and commodity consumption. We've only begun to understand the longer term cultural implications of

the mass student activity of the Sixties. But it now seems clear that a student movement generates new values, aspirations, and identities in participants, but then becomes too limited a framework for putting these into practice once members "graduate".

Unnecessary Decline

If the decline of the mass student movement was practically unavoidable, *the disintegration of the new left as a nationally organized political leadership may not have been.* Although much has been written about the sixty years of failure of the American left to sustain stable organization, competent leadership and continuity of experience, this failure remains a perplexing problem for left activists. It must be an urgent question for groups such as NAM that are trying once again to build national organization. I don't have the space here to discuss this general problem, but I think some concrete things can be learned from the SDS experience that are particularly relevant for the coming period.

One reason for SDS' decline was the recognition, among both its national and local leadership, that students cannot by themselves constitute the leadership of revolutionary social change. Students are a minority; they lack access to key resources of popular power; and their social and class location isolates them from the mainstream of the working class. Many of the factors that made for the dynamism and solidarity of the student movement—certain status privileges, segregation into campus enclaves, op-

portunities for reflection and discussion—opened up chasms of communication between students and the majority.

This recognition—of the limits of student protest—was healthy and necessary if a mature socialist movement was to be built in this country. But it led to a hasty abandonment of students by the organized new left—a complete abdication of the possibility of building a stable campus-based organization that could foster socialist discussion on the campuses and keep alive student political activity in the Seventies.

Students by themselves cannot change America; but it hardly follows that the potential of students for creative action should be ignored, or that the opportunity to "socialize" students for permanent commitment to social responsibility should be abandoned.

A second factor in SDS' fate was that it lost the moral initiative. I would venture to say that one thing the left has to offer to the middle class is a set of ethical standards as a source of meaning, purpose, coherence. By the end of the Sixties, however, the publicized image of the new left—and to some extent its self-understanding—was less that of "America's conscience" than that of a bunch of power-oriented, publicity-seeking, manipulative and amoral characters—in short, hardly different from those they were trying to overthrow. Although in reality most activists continued to be serious, engaged, self-sacrificing, there was





1937 University of Chicago demonstration supporting worker/student rights.

very little effort within the movement to try to offset the media imagery with a clearly defined moral alternative. Indeed, most of us were silent as self-sacrifice was turned into suicidalism, effective non-violent practice was replaced by violent rhetoric, openness and mutual respect by dogmatism and mutual trashing.

Factionalism

Organizationally, the result was sectarian factionalism that destroyed national networks; for the large numbers of students who were not within these organizations, the result was a heightened disillusionment with the possibility of genuine moral commitment. I am personally convinced that a left that makes its own organizational power its primary goal has neither the moral right nor the practical possibility of success. The key to left organization lies in finding ways to be both a model and a center for the popularizing of a deepening socialist ethic.

Finally, I think SDS declined because it could not overcome what might be called the "dark" side of the youth or generational revolt. Such revolt is enormously creative as an effort to break the hold of the dead hand of tradition. But this very characteristic can create profound personal and organizational problems that can fester beneath the surface. Some of its aspects include: excessive impatience, a scorn for history, romantic expectations about what's possible, a perception of the future in utopian or apocalyptic terms.

Romanticism, utopianism, impatience, antiauthoritarianism—all of these are impulses that must be present in some degree if a movement that has few "material incentives" is to be sustained. But unless these are brought into the open—they can turn against an organization's capacities to fun-

ction. Such traits contribute to the continuous undermining of leadership that was characteristic of the new left. They fostered neglect of the development of methods to socialize members and build organizational responsibility.

Related to these same elements were the ways in which romantic and utopian expectations created a climate in which self-doubt and anxieties of many kinds were largely suppressed—buried in the belief that "new men and women" could be created almost overnight. The result of this was that the already strong reservoir of guilt that these privileged young people brought with them into the movement was constantly being played upon and heightened.

Any movement that's serious about developing members' capacities for sustained leadership must develop a climate in which members are patient with themselves and each other, in which they can be open and mutually supportive about their fears and inadequacies, in which everyday needs for personal fulfillment are recognized as legitimate, and in which everyone recognizes that thousands of years of cultural conditioning and contemporary social constraints can't be overcome by quick conversion, but must be continually worked through and compromised with.

New Movement

The time may well be ripe for a new student movement. When the Democratic Party controls the presidency, it seems impelled to use a rhetoric that legitimates hope for progressive reform and promises to permit dissent. Since, for the most part, these promises are not implemented, both the opportunity and the necessity for mass activity in support of promised reform is fostered. Nineteen-seventy-seven feels a lot like 1971 did—Carter, like Kennedy, has

promised much and delivered little. And, as in 1961, one notices a considerable revival of political will in the organized left and among mass constituencies as well. This Spring's militant demonstrations at Stanford and UC Santa Cruz over South African investments and the anti-nuclear demonstrations at Seabrook and on Hiroshima Day could be harbingers of a rebirth of significant student activism.

All during the last five years of campus quiet, on each major campus, there were probably hundreds of students hungry for some kind of real means to be socially committed. But focal issues that could provide a *credible basis for effective action* have been lacking.

An important precondition for such action are issues that seem appropriate to the resources for influence that students actually have. These resources include: the time and opportunity to study and discuss complex, remote issues; the relative freedom from family responsibilities; a strategic position within a key social institution. Students can be particularly effective in catalyzing social action around issues that may be remote from the immediacy of daily life, that embody some technical complexity, that seem crucial for shaping the future, and that have a strong moral dimension.

Thus the emerging movement to stop the nuclear arms race ought to find a responsive constituency on campus—and among many of the same students that have already begun to mobilize against nuclear power plants. There is likely to be similar interest in issues of majority rule and human rights in the Third World—and the role of the US government and multinational corporations in undermining them. Finally we can expect increased student concern over affirmative action and the human rights of minorities within the United States. To the extent that universities have some direct stake in any of these issues, a rising tem-

The following are excerpts from an article that *LIFE* published in its Special Report, Fall, 1977 — *The New Youth*.

po of student demands concerning university policy is possible. Thus, for example, weapons research, university investment policy, and treatment of minority studies programs were increasingly focal issues during the last academic year, and are likely to remain so in the coming period.

We should not, however, expect—nor hope—that the student movement of the late Seventies will duplicate the patterns of the Sixties. It would be a grave mistake to measure the significance of a new student movement in terms of the late Sixties—if for no other reason than that none of the issues currently on the agenda of concern are as immediately urgent or morally riveting as the genocidal bombing of Vietnam. Students now, moreover, are likely to be a good deal more cautious about total commitment to struggle than they were a decade ago. This caution ought not to be disdained, however, because it provides the opportunity to build more solid political structures than were possible in the Sixties.

Hopefully, a new campus movement would be conscious of the need, and the greatly increased opportunity, to establish alliances with off-campus groups—with labor unions, community organizations and the thousands of young working people and professionals who were the generation of the Sixties. Given the complexity of contemporary issues and the intractability of reformist solutions, the need to combine protest with patient education and discussion seems obvious.

Finally, students—especially those at “elite” schools—are likely to be disappointingly oblivious to fundamental economic problems that most working people must confront. Socialist groups, such as NAM, that do not depend on a campus base, and that have made a conscious effort to come to grips with a broader rage of social experience than did the Sixties’ new left, have a critical part to play in en-

“When I first came to the university, my father sent me packets of articles from the Wall Street Journal and Fortune Magazine that praised the virtues of free enterprise. Someone had told him that all professors had socialist tendencies, and that many were out right Marxists, Maoists, or both. After I had filled a drawer with these clippings, I wrote my father to let him know his efforts were unnecessary. ‘One of every three students I meet is majoring in business administration,’ I told him. ‘Another of every three plans to go to medical school and is indifferent to the economy as long as

doctors are well paid. If the universities are the biggest threat to the established American system, all is safe!’”

“It’s a rut, called looking ahead and we’re all falling into it. We’ll conform. Society holds the trump card, and a niche in a world that doesn’t appear quite so unjust anymore. . . .”

“Now we have no war to protest against. We have no collective itch, so we no longer scratch each other’s back. . . . College students today have no collective identity because we are working toward individual achievement. We are out for ourselves.”

couraging a new student movement to become part of broader coalitions for progressive alternatives. A new student movement must understand the ways in which its own fate is bound up with the fates of other sectors of the working class. At the same time it should foster the capacity of students to serve as intellectual and moral catalysts. This is a

difficult but essential effort if we are to have the potential for an authentically socialist movement in America.

Dick Flacks teaches at the University of California at Santa Barbara and is active in the Campaign for Economic Democracy. He was a leading member of SDS.



photo by Jane Melnick

Sometimes when i watch a woman smoking
i think of my mother
dead of emphysema
age 63
poor and alone

she had smoked all of her life
because:
she was nervous
she had always been poor
she had had four children
and worked every year that she had them
because her mother and husband died
in the same year
leaving her with four children
ages 1 through 13
to take care of and support
in a culture which claims to love its children
but which makes no provisions for them

sometimes when i see the quick intake of breath
the sucking pleasure
a woman takes
her lips gathered as in a kiss
i think of my mother
who died
too soon and too late
whose life was measured out
in Kool cigarettes and Salems

i used to miss her so much while she worked
sometimes i would wait at the bus stop
happy to see her emerging smile
i could always tell when she was home
by the cigarette cough walking down the drive
that cough was a caress to me

i remember her playing ball with us
when she wasn't too tired
and the way she stared off into space sometimes
and i remember her crying exactly twice
except the time my father died
when she cried all the time
then stopped eating, went back to work
and never was plump again

when i see a woman smoking
i think of my mother
holding her cigarettes around her hand
like a life raft
hanging on
to any piece of life she could find
even wrapped in tobacco and darkening her
lungs

my mother did not bake cakes
or go to pta meetings
or iron her daughter's dresses
and she did not wheedle or whine us
into slavery

i was the freest child i knew then
i could walk creeks, dark streets
be out late,
get bad marks, get good marks,
neither mattered
but my presence to her
the affection we shared
even though we were natural enemies

i used to hunger after other mothers
who held on to their children like toys
and never would have let them go where i went
but i was always happy to come home

i could come back from new york city
grown up, smart-assed, knowing everything
and climb in bed with her
and she would put her arm around me
and i would finally be safe again
and she always smelled the same
uniforms and sweat and cigarette smoke
and a too early fatigue

sometimes when i watch a woman smoking
it feels like my own lungs are on fire
there are holes up and down my insides
that women smoking cigarettes have left

and when i see one take a match
and light her lungs up
usually i want to hold her or cry

i do nothing
my mother is dead
she was a beautiful woman
poetry can only go so far

someday i will blow up
every tobacco field i can find
and plant flower seeds
and the face of my mother

who walked through the world as if she owned it
even when it pounded itself into her lungs
year after year
robbing her of everything
but the fire in her eyes

by Martha Courtot

Tribes, pearlchild, 1977



NAM News

BAKKE DECISION "Bakke Passed Over for White VIP's" says the front page headline in the October *East Bay Voice*. The *Voice* is a monthly newspaper published by the East Bay (California) chapter of NAM. The copyrighted story charges that the dean of admissions at UC Davis medical school intervened to admit five underqualified white males who came from influential families. Such admissions, says the *Voice*, were a regular yearly practice at the school. Bakke says he was denied admission to the medical school on the basis of race, due to the special admission program that reserved 16 out of 100 slots for underprivileged minorities. The *Voice*, however, quotes former assistant dean of admissions Peter Storandt as saying, "There's a better than even chance that Bakke would have been admitted had it not been for the dean's appointments." *New Times* magazine bought the story from the *Voice* and the new information is expected to further complicate the most important civil rights case of the decade.

FULL EMPLOYMENT During Full Employment Week, September 4-10, the San Diego County Board of Supervisors passed a resolution creating a Full Employment Commission that will make a study and recommendations towards achieving full employment in the county. This action was taken as a result of pressure from the Full Employment Task Force, a coalition that includes NAM, the Urban League, Chicano Federation, Community Congress and other local organizations. Although the Commission does not have the power to create jobs, it will include representatives of the Task Force. And the community groups intend to keep up the pressure and use the Commission as a means to mobilize people to fight for more meaningful reform.

UNION MAIDS The internationally acclaimed film, *Union Maids*, will be shown on most stations of the Public Broadcasting television network during the week of November 20-27. The film was made by NAM members Julia Reichert and Jim Klein, along with Miles Mogulescue. It depicts the experience of three women who were rank and file union organizers in the 1930's through interviews, documentary footage, and music. Broadcast dates and times will vary, so check local listings.

NETWORKS NAM has several networks developing for both NAM and non-NAM activists in various areas. Contacts include: Socialist-Feminist Commission, Holly Graff, 7125 McPherson Blvd., Pittsburgh, PA 15208; Energy Commission, Paul Garver, 6707 Penn Ave., Pittsburgh, PA 15208; Health Commission, 19920 Lichtfield St., Detroit, MI 48211; Gay Network, Roger Hansen, 4327 N. Kenmore, Chicago, IL 60613.



photo by Eric Nee

Oakland NAM members join Bakke protest.

BAKKE PROTEST Four hundred people gathered on October 3rd in Detroit's Kennedy Square to protest the Bakke decision and urge that it be overturned by the Supreme Court. NAM participated in the rally and march which also included members of NOW, CLUW, AFSCME, the Communist Labor Party, and the Association of Black Edison Workers. Workers in the area who were on their lunch break also joined the rally. It was addressed by speakers such as Detroit City Council candidate Ken Cockrel, Carl Edwards of the National Committee of Black Lawyers, and Mona Scott of NAM. They stressed the necessity of building a broad movement to defend the rights of women and minorities. Scott pointed out that while capitalism cannot solve the problems of discrimination and oppression, we need to fight for the widest possible expansion of democratic rights.

BLAZING STAR Chicago's NAM women's chapter held a concert in mid-September featuring Holly Near and Mary Watkins that drew over 1,500 people. The chapter is also helping national coordination for the boycott of Florida citrus products in support of gay and lesbian rights. For more information on this work, contact: Blazing Star NAM, P.O. Box 7892, Chicago, IL 60680

MORE BAKKE Over 3,000 people marched and rallied in Oakland, California in early October in support of affirmative action and against the Bakke decision. Over half of the spirited crowd were racial minorities. Sponsors of the demonstration included locals of AFSCME, SEIU, AFT, and Retail Clerks. It was also supported by Northern California NAM chapters. Speakers included Alameda County Supervisor, John George, and local Congressman Ed Roybal. Despite an attempted disruption by the American Nazi Party, the gathering was orderly.

NAM literature

Working papers on socialism and and feminism

The second edition of a popular pamphlet on the interface between socialism and feminism, the socialist movement and the women's movement. Includes articles by Barbara Ehrenreich, Eli Zaretsky, Roberta Lynch, and others on black women, autonomy and unity, the meaning of socialist-feminism, and the state of the women's movement. \$.75. Include 10% postage.

Basic political education

Fills a real void in Marxist education. A clear, comprehensive study guide; topics range from fundamentals of Marxist dialectics and alienation through analysis of contemporary racism and women's oppression. . . 13 topics in all. Each topic includes a short overview, core reading and bibliography. \$1 or \$.85 for ten or more. Include 10% postage.

A people's energy program

The first study in pamphlet form of the loss of jobs due to monopoly energy policy nationwide. Published by the Environmentalists for Full Employment. \$2.00. Include 10% postage.

Socialist working papers on energy

A collection of analytic and political reports by NAM and other energy activists on nuclear power, public ownership, utilities, and national energy policy. \$1.00. Include \$.25 postage.

In Memoriam

Patricia Lynn Baker, a member of Chicago Southside NAM, was killed in an automobile accident September 24. She was on her way to participate in a demonstration protesting the construction of a gymnasium on the site of the 1970 murders of four Kent State University students. Member of Southside NAM and friends of Patricia Baker held a memorial meeting on the University of Chicago campus September 30.

She impressed everyone who knew her with her strong opposition to injustice. Although she was new to political activity, she was deeply immersed in it and eager to commit all of her considerable energy to those things that she believed in.

What is NAM?

The New American Movement is a nationwide organization of socialists in nearly forty chapters. It is committed to organizing a majority movement for a social and economic system that is thoroughly democratic, in which wealth and resources of the nation are publicly owned and democratically controlled by all Americans, in which the decisions which shape our lives are decentralized and coordinated in a way that permits us all to have control over them. Membership in NAM is open to anyone who agrees with its basic principles.

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