

# Moving On

MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

## Rizzo takes the count



**In defense of  
mothers**

---

**Socialists  
on campus**

---

**School  
desegregation  
at the  
crossroads**

---

Towards a socialist America

**Moving On** could not appear without the steady help of dozens of volunteers. It begins with writers. All **MO's** writers donate their work. Often, this involves days of investigation and interviewing. Many of our writers are members of our chapters, making their journalistic debuts on these pages. Others are professional journalists or experts in particular fields who donate their work to **Moving On** because they believe in **NAM's** politics and want to contribute to our growth.

When the written story arrives (sometimes after frantic phone calls over missed deadlines) it goes under the careful scrutiny of volunteer Managing Editor, Roberta Lynch. In consultation with the other editors, Lynch spends many days each month editing, cutting, and consulting writers on re-writes, and preparing manuscripts for typesetting.

As Lynch finishes, volunteer Design Coordinator Dolores Wilber takes over. She's in touch with photographers and artists, all of whom work for **Moving On** for the cost of their materials. She decides who will illustrate which story, and locates other graphics.

She also coordinates a small staff, which has particularly relied on Judy Johnson, William Johnson and Andrea Gundersen for the past year, who work long hours weekends and evenings to actually put together the magazine.

When the magazine is printed, more volunteers come to the **NAM** office for the final chore of mailing it out.

We hope to see our movement grow to a size where we can pay contributors, and a larger staff. But we hope the spirit of commitment and involvement that makes **Moving On** possible now can be kept, and that volunteers will always play a big role.

*Judy MacLean*

## Comment

### BUSING—STILL IN LOW GEAR 3

by Manning Marable

A look at two very different cities—Atlanta and Los Angeles—with a common dilemma: busing is not working. Marable argues that the real issue is not integration, but improving the quality of education for black children. Busing may not be the answer.

### AMERICA'S CITIES—THEY DON'T HAVE TO DIE 5

by Frances Fox Piven

The roots of the urban crisis are in economic policies that go back decades. Its solution is in the development of a new popular offensive.

## Getting Together

### RIZZO TAKES THE COUNT 8

by Mark Killinger and Jane Reitzes

Philadelphia's notorious mayor wanted a third term—even if it took a charter amendment to get it. But the city's voters had another idea.

### THE CAMPUSES—BEYOND PROTEST 11

by John Cameron

Can the British model of student unions—patterned on militant trade unionism—work on American campuses? Author Cameron says it presents a new means for channeling activism.

## EDITORIAL BOARD

Stanley Aronowitz, Holly Graff, Rick Kunes, Roberta Lynch, Carolyn Magid, Dean Pappas, Mike Rotkin, Dolores Wilber

## EDITORS

Richard Healey, Marilyn Katz, Judy MacLean

## Looking For America

### MOTHERING—POSSIBILITIES AND PREDICAMENTS 14

by Elayne Rapping

New books on mothering are a mixed bag. Some offer new insights; others offer only old shibboleths. Rapping reviews Rich, Fraiberg, Friday, and Lasch and argues that the family today is on rapidly shifting ground.

## The Long View

### PENSION POWER 18

by Ian Harris

Union pension funds are one of the major potential sources of capital in the U.S. today. Can they be used to serve the needs of the workers to whom they rightly belong?

## NAM News & Views

### WE GET LETTERS 17

Our Readers

### LEFT TURN 21

by Richard Healey

Political Opinion from **NAM's** Political Committee

### ALL THE NEWS 22

### OTHER VOICES 23

## MANAGING EDITOR

Roberta Lynch

## DESIGN AND PRODUCTION DIRECTOR

Dolores Wilber

## STAFF

Susan Green, Andrea Gundersen, Bob Quartell



Comment

## Busing—still in low gear

it may be heading  
in the wrong direction

by Manning Marable

In 1976 as the busing battles in Boston reached a fierce pitch, NAM's National Interim Committee issued a statement in support of the right of minority children to educational equality, recognizing busing as a crucial weapon in this fight.

Our view emphasized the contradictory aspects of busing, noting the mixed motives of white opponents—some of whom were more fearful of change than they were of race—and the threat that it posed to black community identity and autonomy.

But it also stressed that the basic issues of quality education and an end to segregation could not be adequately

*addressed without a unified movement of black, white, and latino parents committed to equal access to all schools for minority children. And the access fight at hand was—and largely remains—busing. We therefore saw it as essential for the left to join with other progressive forces whenever possible to help deflate opposition to busing.*

*Two years have elapsed since Boston, two years of experiments, reflections, some success, and many failures. And where there was a relatively unified left voice demanding busing two years ago, there is a far greater divergence of opinion today.*

*Manning Marable's position is not exceptional. It represents the conclusions of many minority activists. We present his opinions, not as our own, but in the hopes of continuing a debate based on the real experiences of the last few years. In the next issues we will be presenting other views. In the meantime we invite your comments, your reactions, and your letters.*

This September Los Angeles seemingly took its first tentative steps toward school integration. Despite a last minute legal effort by Bustop, an antibusing group, the limited desegregation plan, involving 60,000 students out of 567,000, went into effect. The majority of white children scheduled for reassignment refused to ride the buses; most transferred to private schools.

Outside the schoolhouses, business goes on as usual. An antibusing rally attracted 3,000 people the night before school began. Leading state Democrats from Governor Jerry Brown to Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley oppose a massive desegregation plan, and have offered little direction against racist attacks aimed at the Mexican-American and black communities. Members of the state legislature now claim that the impact of Proposition 13 will necessitate cutting back expenditures to implement the court-ordered busing plans.

To a greater or lesser extent, this drama has been occurring in every

major American city during the 1970s. The characters are by now familiar to any political observer: the integrationists, led by a collection of white liberals and progressives, the NAACP, and the bulk of the black middle class vs. the opponents of busing, consisting of the most divergent of interests from racist, blue collar workers to black nationalists, Maoists and Republicans, the white middle class and President Carter himself. The complex case of Los Angeles cannot be understood outside its historical context and then, only as a single example of the historical inability of minorities to force racial reforms within contemporary, "democratic" America.

For all its glitter and gold, greater Los Angeles remains what it was at its origins: a conservative, isolationist cow town. Carey McWilliams once described the city as "the seacoast of Iowa," in that most of its immigrants before and since World War II have been Anglo-Saxon, politically conservative, entrepreneurial types. Between 1940 and 1960 Southern California's population grew from 3.6 million to 9 million; Los Angeles became the major urban center west of Chicago. Yet, for all the outward changes, its cultural continuity remains; patriotism, Social Darwinism and private enterprise still predominate.

This is not true, of course, for the minorities. The "minorities" in Los Angeles were first the Mexican-Americans or Chicanos. Historically they have been forced into inferior, low paying jobs and confined to the *barrio*, or ghetto. Mexican-American children were initially denied schools, and subsequently assigned to a system of segregated, inferior schools.

The majority of blacks in Los Angeles arrived after World War II, and, like the Mexican-Americans, they were relegated to second class citizenship. During the 1950s and 1960s, the minority groups gradually became the majority population within the public school system. Despite the rapid population growth of the non-whites, the Anglo community and its conservative value system still dominated the educational, cultural and economic structure of the

city.

The struggle for school desegregation in Los Angeles grew out of the Civil Rights Movement. In 1962 several integrationist organizations, including the NAACP and C.O.R.E., asked the school board to initiate a small program of desegregation, which included the development of magnet schools and the building of new schools that would attract an integrated student population.

The school board took a strong stand against busing and even claimed that the city "had no segregation." After the Watts racial outburst of 1965, frustrated civil rights groups took their case to court.

Black lawyers pointed out that about 40 percent of all black elementary school children attended schools that were 90 percent or more black in 1965. Virtually all Los Angeles blacks attended schools with a black majority student population. Segregation in the "city of Angels" was worse than Mississippi. After a two month trial in 1968, the California Superior Court ordered the city to desegregate.

But it was not until 1976 when the case had gone all the way to the California Supreme Court that a comprehensive desegregation plan involving busing was initiated. The city's token program is now in effect. Unlike Boston, there is relatively little violence connected with busing and desegregation in general, but the majority of whites strongly oppose even this modest plan.

### **Another example**

Atlanta has a long history of segregation. Despite its image as the capital of the New South (Mayor Maynard Jackson calls it the "city too busy to hate"), racial equality and economic self-sufficiency for blacks have been elusive goals. Its department stores, restaurants and businesses were desegregated only after bitter political campaigns. Residential zoning patterns were based exclusively on race.

The Atlanta school system reflected the racial segregation found in the rest of the city's cultural, social and econo-



omic changes that directly affected the economic base of these cities. Labor intensive industries were leaving the urban north for the south, a long-term movement beginning with the shift of the New England textile industry in the 1920s. But the persistence of that trend owes much to federal policy. Until the 1960s, the federal government refused to interfere in state policies in the South which enforced a caste system that kept wage rates down. And the federal Taft Hartley law, passed in 1947, gave federal protection to the "right-to-work" laws favored by Southern states which effectively prevent unionization.

The results can be illustrated by looking at North Carolina, a state which has attracted a good deal of labor-intensive manufacturing industry. In 1976, the average industrial wage in North Carolina was \$3.63 an hour, compared to the national average of nearly \$5.00 an hour. Nor surprisingly, North Carolina had the lowest percentage of unionized industrial labor in the United States. Also not surprising, manufacturing jobs doubled in the state in the past 25 years.

The relative growth of such capital intensive industries as defense, oil, aerospace and electronics owes much to the stimulus of federal grants and contracts. And their relative growth in the sunbelt owes much to the "tilt" in the pattern of such contracts toward the South and Southwest. The overall result is that sunbelt manufacturing jobs increased by 30 percent, while the Northeast increased by only 6 percent in the 1960s. Meanwhile, federal subsidies for public works also poured into the South, with the result that during the same period, public service jobs in the Sunbelt increased by 70 percent.

At the same time, suburbanization was draining the central city of its more affluent residents, of its commerce and industry. As the market economists tell this tale, its explanation is quite simple. Everyone in America wanted a little suburban house, and with the relative affluence of the post World

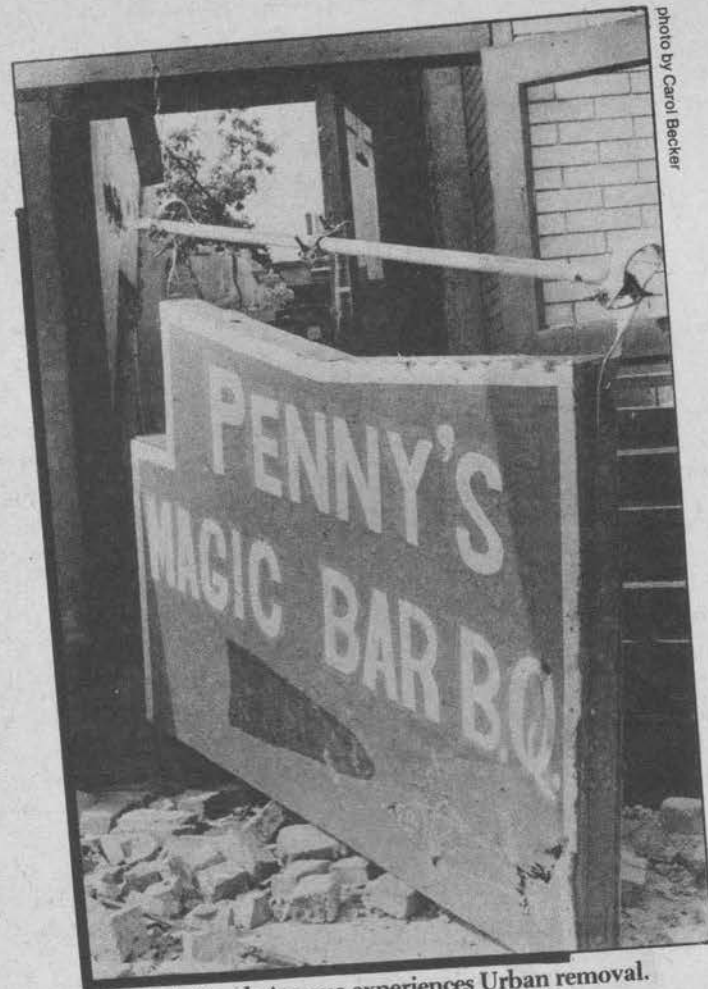


photo by Carol Becker

Chicago's North Avenue experiences Urban removal.

War II period, many people could act on what they had always wanted.

But American society is not so simple. We do not really know that this vast migration of people to the suburbs would have occurred had income tax policies not made home-ownership advantageous, had FHA and VA mortgages not provided the cheap long-term financing which made it possible, and had federal highway grants, and water and sewer grants, not subsidized the whole huge event of the suburbanization of America. If suburban homeowners, if industrial plants, if commercial establishments each had to pay the true cost of suburban relocation, it is by no means clear that this development would have taken place.

Finally, the economic base of the cities was being transformed by urban renewal. Presumably, federal urban renewal programs were designed to improve the urban tax base, even if that required the demolition of the homes and neighbor-

hoods of low income people. But the evidence is now overwhelming that urban renewal did nothing of the kind. Clearance programs helped to destroy small businesses that employed people on the one hand, while on the other hand increasing long-term costs to the municipal treasury as a result of new services committed to the renewed areas. And urban renewal, of course, could not have happened had the federal government not subsidized it.

In brief, declining revenues in the older cities are in a sense the result of a declining economic base. But economic processes in our contemporary United States do not operate according to the "natural law" of a free market. Rather these economic processes reflect the very large role of the national government. And as corporate and banking interests and federal policies combine in the search for greater profit, city governments are left helpless.

All they can do in the effort to main-

tain their economic base and their tax base is to beg and bribe the businesses and industries who have the license to pick and choose among localities in their choice of investment sites. In that process, the doctrine of local self-government turns into a mockery of itself, for it is investors who are governing, and local government that is governed.

### Political machines

The population shifts are obvious. The people displaced from agriculture came to the cities, and those who could take advantage of federal stimulants for suburbanization left the cities. A massive shift in population of this kind is always taxing for the political organization of a community or a society, for it means new linkages have to be forged between the populace and its leaders.

Historically American cities have adapted to this problem through practices made famous by the big city machines which delivered enough friendship and favors to streams of immigrant newcomers to ensure their political allegiance. But by the post World War II period, the old machines had themselves been transformed. They had become bureaucratized, and bureaucratization meant that the stakes in city politics were much more firmly fixed than they had ever been before. What older groups had gotten was now encoded in bureaucratic regulations, and not easily redistributed to help gain the allegiance of incoming migrants.

The result was that the Blacks and Latins who came to the cities during this period were not integrated into the urban political organizations at the very same time that changes in the economic base made their economic absorption more difficult as well. The result was perhaps predictable; the new groups became politically volatile. Thus, in the late 1950s, the Black vote became insecure, and by the 1960s, Blacks were engaging in marches and demonstrations and later riots.

To deal with this problem in the

very heart of its urban base, the national Democratic Party inaugurated a series of programs for the "inner city". The programs were called mental health programs or model cities programs, but their main significance was that people who were causing trouble got something. They got some jobs, some services, some benefits.

But these new demands by newer groups in the city helped to trigger demands by older groups with a large stake in the city's programs. As a consequence, the 1960s also witnessed an unprecedented organization and mobilization by municipal workers and construction workers who also demanded more, and demanded more with tactics far more militant than before. In the face of trouble on all sides, mayors already weakened by population shifts gave in on all sides, and city budgets rose.

The result was that large popular gains were made in the 1960s through municipal politics. The ghettos gained jobs, often paraprofessional jobs, and they got new services and welfare. The civil services increased in numbers as Blacks and Latins were admitted and as older civil service workers won demands for reduced work loads. And civil service salaries and benefits soared. The older forms of patronage also expanded as beleaguered mayors tried to shore up their faltering political fortunes by using the city payroll to support their political organizations.

And real estate interests—always prominent in municipal politics—also gained. In exchange for their usual campaign contributions to shaky mayors, they received the subsidies and tax concessions which made their huge profits on office and luxury residential construction possible. All of this meant skyrocketing municipal budgets, of course, but the cities stayed afloat. They stayed afloat because so long as cities were seething with trouble, the federal and state grants-in-aid were made available.

### Large stakes

The cities of the industrial belt are changing. But they are not dying. There are still large economic stakes in the cities, stakes in real estate, in banking, in corporate headquarters establishments and in all of the professional enterprises that service these corporate headquarters. The much-touted "death" of the cities, and the fiscal crisis itself, can be viewed as a strategy by elites which reflect these stakes and their determination to preserve their own wealth while contributing as little as possible to city dwellers.

By the 1970s, the turbulence of the previous decade had subsided. The manufacturing economy in the cities continued to erode, and to erode more rapidly as a result of rising interest rates and the recession produced by the Nixon-Ford economic policies. With a degree of quiet restored to the cities, federal grants-in-aid were cut, and redirected into revenue sharing. As a result, the discrepancy in the cities between expenditures and revenues widened. And this discrepancy in turn created the opportunity for the mobilization of business groups to deal with the so-called fiscal crisis.

With "efficiency" and "economy" as their rallying cry, business and banking interests launched a drive to reorient the city's budget toward the headquarters office functions which by now dominated many of the older industrial cities. The arguments they made were not arguments about politics, although this was very much a political drive. Rather the arguments were about economic imperatives, about "market laws" to which cities must conform in order to avoid the specter of municipal "death."

Shielded by these arguments, business and banking interests have pushed through business oriented tax-reforms, emasculated regulatory controls including pollution controls, and forced increased public subsidies for business. Meanwhile, popularly oriented services had to be cut: welfare and medicaid

*continued on page twenty*



# Rizzo takes the count— down and out in Philadelphia

by Marc Killinger and  
Jane Reitzes

On November 7, Philadelphia dealt a crushing blow to Mayor Frank Rizzo's political ambitions and his efforts to build a movement for "white rights". By an overwhelming two to one margin they voted down an amendment to the city's charter that would have allowed him to run for a third term next fall.

Rizzo's attempt to remove the two-term limit ran up against a massive popular mobilization, in which the black community and progressive forces in Philadelphia played a crucial part. Philadelphia NAM joined with other left groups and community organizations in the Stop Rizzo Coalition, one of a half dozen coalitions that formed to defeat the charter change.

The heated controversy about the amendment began last winter, when ex-supercop Rizzo, discouraged about the possibilities of a candidacy for statewide office, began to discuss the idea of a third term. In March, speaking to a crowd of supporters, Rizzo attacked housing desegregation and affirmative action launching his open crusade for white rights. "Whites have to join hands to get equal treatment," Rizzo asserted. "The Poles, the Germans, the Jews, the various ethnic groups that made this country great . . . suppose they say . . . 'we're not going to support any black man who runs for office.'"

Through the spring and summer, as Rizzo continued to use racist rhetoric in trying to polarize the city, it became obvious that he was serious about changing the charter to permit himself to run

again. In July, his backers in City Council passed a proposal to put the charter amendment on the ballot. Meanwhile, opposition was crystallizing. In August, police drove the predominantly black, "radical," back-to-nature group MOVE out of a house that had been the scene of a year-long confrontation. TV footage of a MOVE member being beaten by police after he surrendered led to an eruption of militant protest against

**"Whites have to join hands," Rizzo asserts. "The Poles, the Germans, the Jews, the various ethnic groups . . . suppose they say . . . 'we're not going to support any black man who runs for office.'"**

police brutality and the Rizzo administration. Roughly 5,000 people, mostly black, came out on one day's notice for a weekday noontime march on City Hall.

This new wave of political activity, which Rizzo hadn't counted on, did not subside. It led to the formation of a coalition called the Black United Front and a marked increase in organizing

against Rizzo in the black wards. Local black Democratic leaders began to put more of their energy into defeating Rizzo as well.

## Coalitions form

Several other anti-charter coalitions soon appeared on the scene. The Charter Defense Committee, made up of anti-Rizzo bankers and businessmen, started a media blitz arguing that a two-term limit was a necessary restriction on a mayor's power. Apparently, in their eyes, Philadelphia's national reputation for corruption, police brutality, and racist rule was becoming an embarrassment that outweighed Rizzo's pro-business policies.

Democratic party reformers and leaders of the Americans for Democratic Action formed the Committee to Protect the Charter. The CPC emphasized the constitutional aspects, but was open in its criticism of Rizzo for corruption and poor administration. It organized primarily among liberals and in middle-income and affluent parts of the city.

The Stop Rizzo Coalition was formed in July on the premise that to defeat the charter change it had to be recognized that Rizzo was the main issue. There was also agreement that it had to be shown that Rizzo ran Philadelphia counter to the interests of white and black working people.

Recognizing the urgency of the campaign, over 1,000 volunteers had joined the Coalition's efforts by September, as well as about 50 progressive organizations representing such constituencies as blacks, Puerto Ricans, women, lawyers, tenants, and socialists.

The Stop Rizzo Coalition's literature refuted Rizzo's claim that blacks and other minorities were privileged, by showing how they are in fact the biggest victims of the urban crisis. In addition,

## Getting Together



YES



“Shall the Mayor be permitted to serve for more than two successive terms?”

NO



# NO

Stop Rizzo Campaign materials.

the Coalition exposed Rizzo's use of racism not only to obscure the exploitation of white workers, whose living standard is deteriorating, but also to weaken all working people by pitting white against black.

One of the primary campaign issues was police brutality, a concern that cuts across racial lines. But the Coalition also drew attention to political corruption, cutbacks in services, and giveaways to big business as hallmarks of the Rizzo administration.

While maintaining a facade of support for public employees, Rizzo has eliminated over 5,000 city jobs. The public

schools continue to decay while the mayor tries to cut programs and lay off teachers to balance the budget. The racist and anti-working class nature of these attacks was particularly evident with the closing of Philadelphia General Hospital in 1977, leaving the city without a public hospital.

Rizzo's record of raising taxes on working people was a major issue discussed by the Stop Rizzo forces. "No new taxes" was one of Rizzo's campaign themes in his 1975 re-election campaign, but two months later, he "discovered" a \$70 million deficit and pushed through a 30% increase in the city wage and

property taxes. Meanwhile, he eliminated the city's corporate income tax and cut assessment on downtown commercial real estate.

The Coalition hit hard at Rizzo's base of support raising the issue of jobs. All told, the city lost somewhere between 85,000 and 145,000 jobs between 1972 and 1978. Of the 100 largest cities in the U.S., Philadelphia's growth rate ranks 95th. Black and Puerto Rican unemployment is three times that of whites, and the official unemployment rate is over seven percent, above the national average.

Despite this abysmal record, Frank Rizzo still had lots of supporters. His cultivated image was of a working man, "one of the people," and a "tough guy" cop who would defend working people's neighborhoods and even their lives. His base of support is in white, ethnic, working class neighborhoods—both older established ones and outlying areas to which people have attempted to flee. Particularly in the old neighborhoods, people face deteriorating services, declining standards of living, and unemployment. All these forces are destabilizing family networks and undermining neighborhoods.

### Some support

Rizzo's support is two-fold. It has always been based on the calculated building of an old-style machine that exchanges thousands of patronage jobs and other favors for ongoing political support. Secondly, Rizzo's law and order image, with real police power behind it, became the key factor as he unified his white supporters against an unnamed menace from outside the neighborhood.

Thus, a central question for the Coalition was how to deal with the issue of racism when talking with white working people. Some Coalition members argued that quotas, public housing, and busing should be termed "false issues" because Rizzo simply used them to hide the "real issue"—that he doesn't provide jobs, decent housing, or good schools for any working people.

This argument was eventually rejected by the Coalition in favor of a more complete view: Rizzo's racist rhetoric is not a false issue, because it is translated into policies that discriminate against black people. In the long run, white working people will not be able to make improvements in their own conditions unless they are willing to reject this racism and unite with blacks to fight the real enemies, the banks and corporate interests that are expanding their power in the city.

The Stop Rizzo campaign conducted its activity on many fronts. Intensive fundraising paid for two staff people, a downtown office and hundreds of thousands of leaflets.

Mass activity to build momentum was an integral part of the coalition's plan. Two demonstrations were held to demand a smooth voter registration process. Local ward committees had block parties and did massive leafletting and door-to-door canvassing. Picketing took place almost everywhere Rizzo appeared. The weekend before Election Day, the NAACP organized a citywide car caravan with neighborhood rallies to build momentum.

A trade union committee coordinated activities at workplaces: voter registration, leafletting, and anti-Rizzo rallies at plant gates. "We had to rely pretty heavily on rank and file caucuses and activists," said a NAM member involved in this union work, "because much of the union leadership was either actively supporting Rizzo, scared to come out against him, or slow to mobilize their members." A handful of leaders did come out against the charter change.

### The victory

On election day thousands of poll-watchers and attorneys worked to cut down on fraud, as sound trucks and leafletters got out the 70% voter turnout.

Stop Rizzo forces encountered intimidation, payoffs, machine breakdowns, a power failure, incomplete voter rolls, and illegal polling place changes.

Nevertheless, black neighborhoods,

voting as much as 40-1 against the charter change, combined with surprising strength in former Rizzo strongholds carried the day. White supporters of Rizzo were either convinced that he did not represent their interest or else tired of the shrillness and conflict he represented.

In sum, the Stop Rizzo Coalition offered unusual political possibilities for an electoral campaign. It put forth a perspective very close to that of the participating groups, and it tied together just about every progressive local organization.

One weakness of the coalition was its failure to point out the weakness of Rizzo's record on women's rights. The coalition never established a solid base in the women's movement and did no outreach work directed specifically at women.

The Philadelphia Gay Task Force wrote and distributed its own leaflet, and its full participation probably would not have been welcomed. The American left needs to do a better job of linking minority and working class struggles around the urban crisis with the supporters of women's and gay rights who are resisting right-wing attacks on issues of sexuality.

Philadelphians still have an uphill fight in dealing with the loss of jobs, the budget crises, the deteriorating schools, the rampages of the police force, and the like. The need to stop Rizzo forged a degree of unity that will be impossible to duplicate. Nonetheless, Rizzo's defeat was a great leap forward and will improve the terrain for the struggles that still must be fought.

After the returns were in on election night, anti-Rizzo crowds in parts of the city took over the streets to celebrate. In the jubilant chanting of "No more Rizzo!" and "The people united will never be defeated!" there was a sense of optimism, strength and momentum that will not easily be extinguished.

*Marc Killinger and Jane Reitzes are members of NAM in Philadelphia.*

## Busing...

*from page four*

mic relations. In the 1950's the school system was almost three-quarters white, but almost completely segregated. During the 1960's thousands of middle class whites purchased homes in Atlanta suburbs to escape the threat of integrated neighborhoods and schools. The school administration remained politically conservative and predominantly white, while the pupils and parents became mostly black. By the mid-1970's about 80 percent of the children attending Atlanta public schools were black. The basic pattern of segregation, however, remained the same.

The strategy of the black middle class in Atlanta was identical to its position elsewhere: complete desegregation of city and suburban schools using busing as the means for integration. The Nixon Administration's Department of Health, Education and Welfare suggested that minimal integration could be achieved through the pairing of neighborhood schools and no busing. The white religious community, business, labor and municipal government voiced their unrelenting opposition to court-ordered busing.

In 1970, NAACP lawyer Howard Moore proposed an alternative to busing: black community control of Atlanta schools. Moore also advocated the hiring of additional black administrators and teachers, plus a general upgrading of conditions and facilities within black schools. Moore's proposal was bitterly denounced by local NAACP leaders at the time. But the demographic and political realities for desegregation grew smaller every year.

Finally in 1973 the NAACP Atlanta branch officially adopted Moore's approach. The NAACP chapter halted its legal suit against the school board when over half the system's administrative positions went to black educators. Roy Wilkins and other NAACP leaders denounced the "Atlanta Compromise" and suspended the local leadership from the organization.

*continued on page thirteen*

by John Cameron

The hopeful predictions of a reemerging student movement have been gaining more substance recently. The past year has seen a greater and more sustained level of campus activism in many parts of the country. Hundreds, and at times thousands, of students have been mobilized by campaigns, marches, and demonstrations at different schools on a variety of issues.

Students have organized on a local basis to resist tuition hikes, push for decent housing, help unionize campus workers, and oppose the firing of minority, women, or radical faculty. They have also been active on issues with broader, often national implications—resistance to the continuing fiscal onslaught against education and other social services, opposition to the Bakke case, support for the coal miners strike. But by far the biggest and most wide-spread actions have focused on nuclear disarmament or the campaign against apartheid in South Africa.

The prospect of a continuing, nation-wide resurgence of student militance raises two important questions for socialists. The first is: in what directions is it likely that such activity will develop over the next several years? The second: how can the left best participate to both strengthen the student movement and

build a socialist presence within it—a presence that will link campuses to the broader struggle for a just and democratic society?

In considering these questions I think it is worthwhile to look at the experience of the student movement in Britain

which has some of the same roots as our own, but has developed in a different direction.

The most likely fate for present student activity in America is a continuation of the course of events earlier in this decade. Issues emerge, mobilize a growing

number of students, the campaign reaches a peak of intensity, then gradually fades away into obscurity. While concessions—sometimes even major victories—may be won, the isolation of single campuses and the intransigence of the problems confronted, have minimized the momentum generated by these gains.

Even multi-campus organizations such as those formed to oppose state government education cut-backs have had difficulty in surviving. And because the no-nukes and anti-apartheid movements lack any inherent relation to higher education they may not provide for any continuing radical consciousness.

In short, due to the lack of any institutionalized student organization with an inter-campus network, the militance may subside without contributing to the growth of the kind of radical student movement that will be a necessary part of a coalition for socialist transformation.

It is in this respect that I think we have something to learn from our fellow activists in the British student Left. Unlike their American counterparts,

## Beyond protest— a trade union for students



photo by LNS

British campuses did not become the scene of mass radicalization until the last few years of the 60s and the opening years of the 70s. This upsurge was stimulated by several external factors—the American anti-war and student movements, the May events in France, student militance in Italy and Germany, and the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Despite these international influences, however, the major foci of student activism were the British campuses themselves.

### Student unions

In particular, the local student unions and their national network, the National Union of Students (NUS), became the primary arena of student political struggle. Until that time British student unions had been much like those in the U.S.—farfetched exercises in parliamentary procedure that primarily served to funnel funds to sports groups and to provide a debating forum for careerists with political aspirations.

The student Left began to push for a number of major changes in their operation, including less school administration control and a broader concept of union democracy, with an emphasis on popular student participation in decision making. The left also struggled for a new concept of the role of student unions—replacing a narrow service orientation with a wider *political* concern for student interests. NUS was perceived not only as a way of sharing experiences and resources among students at different schools but of representing student interests at the highest level—of becoming a political actor on the national stage.

To this end a coalition of Left forces—Labor Party, Communist Party and independent socialist students—joined to form the Broad Left state which won election to top NUS offices in 1973. Since then, under Broad Left leadership, NUS has become a major force in the British Left and an important part of that country's political scene.

At the local campuses NUS has continued to provide student welfare services, but these have been greatly expanded to include legal, health care and travel services, as well as the more politically charged ones of student financial grants and housing rights.

While the particular political complexion of local student unions varies from campus to campus and year to year, many have become involved in local off-campus issues such as community struggles, labor disputes and political campaigns. The transition from debating society to activist organization has been accomplished even at the most conservative schools.

Nationally, NUS has become a strong pressure group on issues of education. This is particularly important in Britain where so much of the educational policy-making has been centralized at the national level. It has acted effectively to mobilize resistance to the continued attack against education and other social services, allying with the teachers' union (NUT) and several other public employee unions in these fights.

Part of its efforts have also gone to building NUS itself—expanding its own membership from that of relatively privileged universities to include technical schools and continuing educational colleges that have predominantly working class student bodies. As a representative of student interests, NUS has modeled itself after the more militant trade unions which have played such an important role in British politics.

The concerns of NUS have not been limited to those of the students' immediate self-interest, however. It has also played an important part in broader social struggles such as mobilizing major support for the miners in their dramatic 1974 strike against the Tory government. For the past several years NUS has also been active on such national issues as the fight against unemployment and on international issues such as the anti-apartheid struggle.

Thus, under socialist leadership, NUS

has begun to move beyond a narrow self-interest approach to become a valuable ally of the most progressive working class forces.

### Defensive posture

The struggle to restructure NUS in this direction has not been without its difficulties, though. Many of the unions have failed to address one of the most central aspects of students' lives—the educa-

---

**The National Union of Students was perceived not only as a way of sharing experiences and resources among students at different schools but of representing student interest at the highest level—of becoming a political actor on the national scene.**

---

tional process itself. Given decreasing job opportunities and increased concern over the relevance of education to students' careers, this lack has weakened NUS' influence.

On some campuses there has also been a decreasing concern with the democratic nature of the unions—a failing that has allowed their right-wing critics to cloak themselves in the mantle of "democracy."

On the whole, as the system of higher education has been restructured by government policies designed to fit more closely the needs of capital, NUS and

its affiliated unions have been forced into a defensive position that has hampered their activist orientation.

Nevertheless, NUS has been vital to British students in consolidating and furthering the early 70s beginnings of campus activism. As such it offers an alternative to the fragmentation of radical American student politics in this decade.

Almost every American institution of higher learning has some form of student

---

**"Pessimism of the mind,  
optimism of the will."**

—Antonio Gramsci

**Notecards from NAM  
with messages of  
revolutionary optimism**

Notecards & envelopes — 10 for \$2.50

blue/green; yellow/gold; white/white

Postcards — \$.25 each; 10 for \$1.50

blue; gold; gray

Send for yours today!

Add 10 percent for shipping

**Order from NAM, 3244 N. Clark St.,  
Chicago, IL 60657**

---

union, assembly, government or council. For the most part they are in a state similar to that of British unions a decade ago—debating societies with little purpose or power. Yet they can provide a focus for political struggles. NAM chapters at the University of California at Santa Cruz and at the University of Chicago have used student government to raise progressive issues or support progressive causes.

Many of these local campus unions are affiliated, however loosely, with the National Student Association which recently merged with the National Student Lobby to form the United

States Student Association (USSA). As a national organization comparable to the British NUS, USSA offers a major arena in which to develop a socialist presence.

Although it is a very broad group and far from the sort of Left leadership that NUS has, it does have an activist orientation. The recent founding convention of the USSA adopted a long platform of reforms for higher education that includes lower tuitions, greater student participation in decision-making, and opposition to the dismantling of special programs for minority and other disadvantaged students.

The general lines of a socialist program for student unions is fairly clear. At many schools the unions are dominated by a conservative conception of their purpose as a service institution—an appendage to the administration dealing with certain, select student needs. To this must be posed a conception of student union as activist organization, fighting for all student interests—not just those that fit easily into the accepted structure. In those areas, such as the national USSA, where this activist orientation is generally accepted, we should try to link student needs with those of the broad majority of society.

In short, we should seek to develop a sort of "class struggle student unionism" that can transcend the pressure group concept of student interests and help to lay the basis for strong, sustained and progressive political action.

*John Cameron is a member of Southside NAM in Chicago. He recently returned from a year in Scotland.*

---

**Donald Shaffer Associates,  
Inc.**

**ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE**

**11 Grace Avenue  
Great Neck, NY 11021**

**212-895-7005  
516-466-4642**

---

## Busing...

---

It has become fashionable in liberal political circles to condemn the "Atlanta Compromise" for its acceptance of racial segregation. This criticism misses the point: increased mandatory busing inside Atlanta's city limits would simply accelerate "white flight" to the suburbs. A comprehensive desegregation plan involving Atlanta's white suburban schools is not desired by the school board, the overwhelming majority of whites, or a substantial percentage of black Atlantans.

### Evaluation needed

We have reached a point when we must realistically evaluate the failure of certain struggles for desegregation.

First, the problem of "white flight": In Los Angeles, for example, a large majority of white students now live in the San Fernando Valley. In the rest of the city black and Mexican-American student populations are 65 to 70 percent. Demographically, school integration has become increasingly more difficult with residential segregation. White parents often oppose busing because of the genuine inconveniences involved as much as their opposition to allowing their children to attend primarily non-white schools.

Secondly, integrationists ignore the problem of ethnicity and culture. Most Chicano students are from bilingual homes, and would prefer an education that reinforces Mexican-American language, culture and history. The same could be said for many black families who have grown to maturity in the post Black Power period.

Third, and most central, is integration itself an ideal that is politically realistic or even desirable from the perspective of the nonwhite community? Are financial costs, the extensive political and legal battles, in the final analysis, worth the final goal? *continued on page twenty*

## Looking For America

*The Mermaid and the Minotaur*, Dorothy Dinnerstein, Harper Colophon.

*Every Child's Birthright: In Defense of Mothering*, Selma Fraiberg, Basic Books.

*My Mother/My Self*, Nancy Friday, Delacorte Press

*Haven in a Heartless World; The Family Beseiged*, Christopher Lasch, Basic Books.

*Of Woman Born*, Adrienne Rich, Norton.

"Think of the children, Edna. Oh think of the children." These lines from *The Awakening*, a very early and very powerful feminist novel by Kate Chopin, strike at the heart of a problem that still plagues all women who, whether by choice or necessity, are struggling to be both autonomous persons in the world, and mothers.

Edna's problem is this: she has moved out of her patriarchal husband's home; established an unconventional life of her own; and is pursuing a career as a painter. But she is torn apart by her sense of responsibility as a mother. And she rightly sees that the responsibility of motherhood and the right to freedom are in conflict. At times she is consumed by a "flaming, outspoken revolt against Nature." But at other times she is less confident and more guilt-ridden. "I don't want anything but my own way. . . (but) that is a good deal. . . when you have to trample on the lives of others."

In the end, in typical Victorian melodramatic style, she solves her problem by walking into the sea and drowning.

The problem this book poses is still with us. And for all the influence of the Women's Movement and the New Left on popular consciousness, we have not come up with a convincing alternative for Edna, or what's worse, for ourselves.

Indeed, it's no accident that a spate of books on the family and childrearing, mostly by anti-feminists and political conservatives, are reaching wide audiences. For these authors have grasped what the left by and large has missed—that the crisis of the family, and the increasing difficulties of raising children, are issues that zero in on many Americans' major anxieties and concerns.

# Mothering — possibilities & predicaments

by Elayne Rapping



© K. Kollewitz

Before looking at the more popular and/or significant of these current books, however, we need to digress for a moment and look at what's been happening in the last fifteen or so years.

First the sixties. For political activists this was a heady time. We knew what was wrong, and we believed we could correct it in a decade or so. Many of us, (and others influenced by the spirit of the times), made what Alix Kates Shulmann, in her novel, *Burning Questions*, calls "irrevocable decisions." Did you have a rotten marriage? Then you threw the bum out. You set up a commune. You took a low paying "meaningful" job. You raised your children as political equals.

What made these attitudes popular was the political and economic climate of the day. The economy was stable. The ideas and lifestyles of the counter-culture were terribly fashionable. Dissent was in the air and the children of anti-war activists were proud to say their parents had, say, spent a night in jail for what they believed in. And *Easy Rider* rather than *Animal House* was the youth cult film of the day.

Today we are forced to recognize the naivete of many of our ideas. Those of us who did in fact, for whatever reason, move out of nuclear families, are finding ourselves beset by problems we could not have anticipated.

First the economy collapsed. Women, whether married or not, were forced, more and more, to work fulltime. Social service money dried up, which meant less child care and more unsupervised children. Those who tried communal arrangements, often as not, found the same interpersonal problems that besieged the family.

Fifties nostalgia replaced the utopian optimism of the sixties as the level of pain in peoples' lives created an audience for sheer escape to an imagined past. The six year old boy who took pride in learning to cook, when it was hip, has become the fourteen year old for whom peer pressure has made John Travolta the new model for male behavior.



But perhaps most importantly, children of those years, brought up to think for themselves, are now thinking about us for themselves. They rightly perceive that we have not created the brave new world we promised, and they are looking outward to friends, and even TV, for the sense of community and shared values they need.

### Psychological insights

So what we have is a backlash on two levels: a fantasy of returning to the patriarchal family; and a renunciation of feminism as the cause of all this trouble.

Three of these books, *Of Woman Born*, *The Mermaid and the Minotaur*, and *My Mother/My Self* are all about interpersonal relations between mothers and children. But while they range, politically, from radical feminist to (implicitly) anti-feminist, what they share is an approach to child raising that is largely psychological rather than institutional.

Rich's book is the best analysis of what it's like to be a mother in our society. She lays bare her soul in an important way by saying in print what

many of us who are mothers have never said to anyone: that the demands of motherhood do such emotional damage to women that hatred, violence, even infanticide are understandable.

The guilt, the personal sacrifice, compromise and ensuing anger and bitterness that every mother sometimes feels are all there. It is liberating to read one's own feelings in print and know that it is the institution of motherhood, and not one's personal failure that is at fault. Rich suggests no alternatives, however, except perhaps that men take responsibility for childcare.

This is also the conclusion of Dinnerstein's book. Having argued eloquently that our current heterosexual arrangements are the cause of much human misery, and particularly, of the most common forms of hatred and hostility between the sexes, she ends rather lamely by proposing that fathers share—from the moment of birth—in child rearing. All well and good if there is a father present and he can work out a schedule to achieve this lofty goal.

Friday's book deserves a bit more attention because it has been on the best seller list for months and is obviously

saying something people want to hear. It's an infuriating book for a feminist and a mother to read, (Friday is neither), because it is so hostile to mothers. It's a compendium of psychoanalytic theories and anecdotes about problems between mothers and daughters, all of which take sides with the daughter in her desire to be free of, and different from, her mother.

It is never suggested that mothers themselves started as daughters and that the patriarchal family itself may have something to do with these problems. Indeed, if you read between the lines you will notice something never actually stated: that the problems between mothers and daughters stem from two main causes. First, women in families compete for the father's approval. And second, since every woman in our society has had to make compromises in order to juggle personal fulfillment and responsibility, every daughter must view her own mother as, in one way or another, inadequate—a failure. It's therefore no accident that daughters look to their fathers as models of success. What child wouldn't?

This blind spot in Friday's view of women leads to some outrageous generalizations. For example, she quotes a therapist as follows:

The more I talk to women the more anger I uncover. All the depression, the going to sleep early, not having energy, the fact that it's three o'clock in the afternoon and she's still in her housecoat. . . are forms of anger. . . [And] the anger has to do with the way she was raised. (p. 360).

A feminist would surely read this differently! In fact, it may be too obvious to point out that this example suggests *righteous* anger, if not at the individual husband, then surely at the male dominated society which puts women, and not men, in such unhappy situations.

### Common emphasis

What these three books have in common is an emphasis on interpersonal change. And the last two books, although more

institutionally oriented, share that focus.

Both Fraiberg and Lasch have received serious attention from the liberal press, perhaps because both—from different angles—suggest a return to the comforting old family structure. Moreover, both start from a premise that ignores the real reasons why women became feminists in the sixties. To put it more strongly, both assume that women's liberation is a *cause* rather than a *symptom* of the crisis of family life we have been seeing and experiencing for years.

Fraiberg's book *In Defense of Mothering* is a polemic urging women to go back home and put primary emphasis on one to one relationships to children. Her arguments fall into two categories. First she makes analogies with the animal world, i.e., if it's good for the greylag goose, it's good for us too. Such arguments have always struck me as spurious at best. But even if you accept them, there's no reason to think that *only* the biological mother can fulfill the role of the greylag goose—exemplary mother though she may be.

But the second part of the book makes clear why Fraiberg thinks it's the mother who must provide the physical and emotional care for the infant. A social worker herself, she devotes a disproportionately large section of the book to the problem of childcare in our society. She argues, quite rightly, that given our current economic and social structures, there is no affordable, acceptable alternative to the fulltime mother staying home and raising her children alone.

This is not news. It's increasingly clear that under capitalism we will never achieve adequate, affordable substitute mothering. But the answer is not for all women to quit their jobs and stay home. Indeed, it's financially impossible for most American women to do this. Women must work outside the home now if their families are to survive even on the most primitive level.

The effect of this book on women—rich and poor alike—will surely be to guilt trip us into thinking about ways to stop working and stay home. After

all, when you read that your relationship with your child "in the first eighteen months" may determine whether he or she (!) grows into the type of person "driven to brutal acts of sexual aggression" (p. 48) you're going to think twice.

### Hatchet men?

But the most serious and provocative argument for the return to the patriarchal family is found in Lasch's book. Where every book I've mentioned so far has automatically assumed the primacy of women as socializers of children,

---

**"The father is weak and acquiescent at home," Lasch says, and therefore "the American mother has become the dominant parent." He attributes her dominance to her "imposition of her own madness on everyone else."**

---

Lasch goes way out on a limb and focuses exclusively on fathers.

This is not entirely a matter of sexism. Rather, it reflects his view of parenting which stresses authority and control rather than nurturance and human relationships. To him the father functions not as a member of a group of human beings, but rather as a spokesperson (hatchet man?) for certain social and political institutions which, he feels, the New Left and feminism have undermined.

The book is terribly frustrating because Lasch has many good and true insights about raising children in these



times. Indeed, our children do *not* accept our rules as seriously as those of their peers. They are rebellious and arrogant beyond their wisdom or experience, as Lasch says. And they can drive you crazy because of it.

But because of his blind spot about women Lasch comes up with totally bizarre explanations for these common problems. For example, he rightly perceives that the increasing use of outside experts, such as Dr. Spock, "weakens parents' already faltering confidence." (p. 172) But rather than looking to the development of advanced capitalism (as does Stewart Ewen in *Captains of Consciousness*) he blames "Momism." "The father is weak and acquiescent at home," he says, and therefore "the American mother has become the dominant parent." But rather than giving credit where due, he attributes her dominance to her "imposition of her own madness on everyone else." (p. 156) Since this "madness" is never described, we are left with the sense that women are crazy, and so unfit to raise children.

The obvious conclusion, and it is Lasch's conclusion, is that society needs a strong authoritarian father figure to take charge, since women have made a neurotic mess of things. Certainly a dangerous and repulsive notion. And yet, reading this book, as the working mother of two teenage children, faced with previously undreamed of social, cultural and disciplinary conflicts each day, I was struck by the enormous attractiveness of such an idea. Wouldn't it be great, after all, to give up on the whole responsibility of raising children, holding a job, and doing political work, and find myself some nice old fashioned patriarch to whip my life into shape?

It is this emotional appeal that I want to explore and conclude with because it is at the heart of the problems the left has had relating to working class women; and it is at the heart of the enormous emotional and political power of the New Right.

We on the left—socialists and feminists alike—must do some hard soul search-

ing. We must face the fact that we have not dealt seriously with the economic and emotional consequences of our theories. We have suggested radical changes in lifestyle but never took seriously what the crisis of the family meant, on a daily basis, to the people in the middle of it. And most seriously, we have never projected a vision of how—once the nuclear family "dies"—we expect women to provide for their children, financially and emotionally.

But this is exactly what the New Right *has* done. Their answers are dead wrong, of course, because it was not feminism or the left that began to erode the patriarchal family structure. It was the stress of capitalism itself. And while even some new leftists are embracing the nuclear family uncritically once more, it is a simplistic and foolish approach.

Our socialist/feminist critique of the family, naive as it was in places, was essentially correct. What was wrong was our failure to understand the importance of many good and important things that the family does in fact provide and to suggest alternatives when the family no longer could be maintained.

It's time that we, as socialist/feminists, begin talking about these nitty gritty details of women's and children's lives more realistically, because they are, I'm convinced, among the deeply felt issues that will ultimately move people, especially women, to the left or right.

*Elayne Rapping is a member of NAM in Pittsburgh, where she teaches at a local college.*

## We get letters...

Paul Garver's article and Rob Persons' report on the situation in Steel were both informative and troubling. In twenty years, the production and maintenance labor force in the industry has been reduced by some 200,000; plants are closing in key centers; and the USWA leadership is becoming more shrill in its attack against rank and file oppositionists.

What was missing in these pieces is some explanation for the apparent decay in the union in the wake of the crisis in steel. Why did the union greet the stagnation of production and reduced employment with a demand for more stringent import curbs rather than support for new federal legislation to prevent runaway shops? Why has the leadership gone along with relaxing work rules while abandoning the strike weapon?

One possible reason for the lack of rank and file pressure to counter such tactics is that the workers have, to a large degree, found themselves without the weapons of struggle in the face of international competition and domestic stagnation. Lacking the approach of those French workers who recently occupied factories to prevent them from closing, or British workers who insisted that the Labor Party and its government save the Leyland plant when Chrysler threatened to pull out, many American steelworkers have bought the ideology of cooperation advanced by the companies or given up in despair.

Paul Garver's program suggestions are excellent, but they do not explain why workers have failed to rally behind them. I think we have to face some harsh realities: the accretion of undemocratic practices, cooperation with management, and political moderation has taken its toll on the fighting capacity of the workers who are truly disarmed by the present situation.

Sadlowski's campaign was an important beginning for the revitalization of the union. But militant, democratic unionism is not enough. We have to break the grip of the *ideas* of the corporations and top conservative leaders, not just their political power. Until this process gets underway, nothing will change much in steel.

Stanley Aronowitz  
Irvine, CA



# Pension power— a new weapon for American workers

by Ian Harris

*The 'North Will Rise Again*, Randy Barber and Jeremy Rifkin, Beacon Press.

It is 1988, and the industrial Northeast renaissance is in its heyday. One-fifth of all capital in the U.S. has been used to reopen factories, provide jobs, restore neighborhoods. South Bronx, once an abandoned wasteland, has been turned into a checkerboard of small factories, neighborhoods and garden parks. School systems have been revitalized. The cities' fiscal situations are improved.

Sound farfetched? The capital is already owned by workers in those states, and a new book says it's possible to put it to such uses.

•Randy Barber and Jeremy Rifkin, formerly of the People's Bicentennial Commission and currently of the People's Business Commission, have written a book that could have a profound effect on private capital in the United States. *The North Will Rise Again* describes the state of the art of pension

fund management, pointing out that the accumulated money in public and private pension funds now stands at over \$500 billion, a sum that equals the federal budget for 1978 and surpasses the gross national products of England and France combined. Pension funds grow at 10% a year, and already own between 20 and 25% of the stock of companies on the New York and American stock exchanges.

What is happening to this capital? More than half of these assets belong to the workers in the older industrial northeast section of the country. Right now their retirement funds, money earned through hard-fought contract disputes, are being invested in the Fortune 500. These companies are in turn investing the money in the South or abroad in South Africa, the Philippines, Taiwan, and other countries where corporations reap huge profits and pay low wages.

Rifkin and Barber argue that this money, a form of deferred wages, is being invested in ways that actually

harm workers in the industrial north because of the corresponding drain of jobs that follows the capital as it is invested in other parts of the country and world.

The authors have compiled excellent statistics on the flight of capital, which alone make the book worth reading. Between 1967 and 1972 new capital expenditures went up only 1.6% in New England and 4.1% in the Middle Atlantic states, while in the South Atlantic states new capital expenditures rose 37.8% in the same time.

This shift of capital has had a severe effect on employment. Since 1960 manufacturing employment declined by 9.9% in New England and 13.7% in the Midwest, while manufacturing jobs in the Southeast have risen by 43.3% and 67% in the Southwest.

It has also had a drastic effect on the American labor movement. According to the U.S. Department of Labor, unions lost almost 600,000 members between 1974 and 1976 with most of these losses occurring in the Northeast and Midwest states.

## Wresting control

The enormous assets of pension funds are controlled by a handful of bankers and insurance companies. Through a provision in the Taft-Hartley Act private pension funds must be controlled by boards that are made up of 50% management and 50% labor. Public pension funds are not bound by the same provision, and are managed by publicly appointed boards.

Amazingly, between 1972 and 1976 these funds earned less than 1% a year. Senator Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio, calling for Senate hearings on pension policy, said their record on investment return had been "positively embarrassing." From 1962 to 1978, 87% of all pension fund investments failed to keep pace with stock market performance in general as measured by Standard and Poor's 500 stock index.

This book offers three distinct areas for pension fund reinvestment in ways

more beneficial to workers: unions, state pension funds, and local municipal funds. Because of the complexity of the issue, many labor unions have preferred to leave the handling of this money with the business community. Managing such huge sums of money is an enormous task, the responsibility for which many labor leaders have left to the "experts" of Wall Street.

But this is beginning to change. A few unions have had some success in gaining control over their pension funds. The International Ladies' Garment Workers has used pension funds to build moderate cost housing in Brooklyn, and the construction trades have used some of their pension funds to finance mortgages that in turn will provide jobs to union workers in the construction industry.

On a national scale, some unions are starting to use pension funds to pressure corporations. The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union was recently able to force two members off the J.P. Stevens board and is continuing to threaten to withdraw its pension fund from banks that support Stevens.

Other unions that have tried to wrest control of their pensions away from management have not had much luck. Some have made this a bargaining issue, but management has been reluctant to give up its control over this capital. Benefits are quickly granted in other areas instead.

On a state level, Milton Shapp of Pennsylvania recently used that state's pension funds to float a low cost loan to Volkswagen to finance its new plant in Western Pennsylvania. The availability of this large sum of capital at low interest rates is one of the reasons Volkswagen chose Pennsylvania over other states that were bidding for its manufacturing plant. While this approach of subsidizing private capital is certainly questionable, it does help to create jobs in the state.

There is another approach that could lead to more publically-controlled enterprise. Several years ago the state legislature of New York came close to passing a law that would have created a

state public bank with state pension funds. Such a bank could be used to finance state businesses, community development corporations, and economic development projects. The state of Wisconsin has a pension fund with assets of \$4½ billion. A bank capitalized with 10% of that money would be the fifth largest in the state. A precedent for such a bank already exists in North Dakota, which has run a successful state bank since the beginning of the century.

On the municipal level city workers have large pension funds that could be put to use for the benefit of the area. The investment of \$3.1 billion of public retirement funds in Municipal Assistance Corporation ("Big Mac") bonds in New York in 1975 was a step in this direction, but one shaped and dominated by the big financiers who were calling the shots.

Rifkin and Barber argue that pension funds accumulated by northern industrial workers could be similarly used to reverse the corporate trend of disinvestment in northern industrial areas. The funds could provide venture capital for new businesses and financing for civic improvement to rebuild older sections of the cities.

## Generating interest

Barber and Rifkin advocate a massive educational campaign, in which unions use their newspapers to let their membership know where their pension funds are being invested and what retirement incomes they can anticipate. When workers hear that they are only getting a 1% return on their money, and that it is being used to shore up giant monopolies, they might just prefer to offer mortgages to their own members at 8%, or otherwise invest in companies and institutions that will more directly serve their needs.

The authors hope that within two years this book will have a strong enough impact to launch a widespread discussion of the pension fund issue throughout the United States. The book came out on Labor Day this year. Two weeks later it sold out the first printing. There

has been wide interest, particularly from unions and municipalities in the northeast.

Barber and Rifkin's proposals could slow capital flight and job loss from the industrial northeast. But there are many unanswered questions. Pennsylvania Governor Shapp lured Volkswagen to that state with a pension-funded loan; the workers whose money he used had no say in how VW used it. The week the plant opened, VW faced a wildcat strike over substandard wages. VW capitulated, but Pennsylvania's state employees still have no effective control over how their money is used once it is turned over to Volkswagen.

In New York City, pension funds kept the city afloat. But they did so by giving banks much tighter control over city fiscal policy, a concession that cost thousands of public jobs and laid the groundwork for greater milking of New York by banks in the future.

Given the structure of many of today's labor unions, control by the union itself may be problematic. Without democratic unions, more control over pension funds can lead to a situation like the Teamster's fund—certainly little improvement over present investment practices.

"Pension-fund socialism" could, however, provide a beginning for a much needed debate in the U.S.. Pension funds, capital belonging to workers, could be used not just to subsidize corporations, but to begin questioning who controls investment decisions. Unions entering the arena, even in the tentative ways they've done so far, could pave the way for a much needed movement for popular control over investment decisions.

*Ian Harris is a member of Milwaukee NAM and teaches at a local community college.*

---

## Busing...

---

*from page thirteen*

Evidence increasingly suggests that new approaches are needed. The "Atlanta Compromise" may provide the foundation for one such approach, but other educational priorities are also essential.

The principle of community control of schools must be explored as an important method for improving the educational process within urban black communities. Major cities like New York, which has had community school districts for nine years, have never actually had community control per se. Local school boards have few official powers, and the state legislature carefully circumscribed the authority of local school administrators. Real community control, where the final educational authority actually resides in the black community, could mean the beginning of a healthier, more productive and challenging atmosphere in the public schools.

Community-controlled schools, progressive black administrators, plus massive, new federal expenditures in the form of outright grants and low interest loans to such schools, could produce an educational experience for black children superior in most respects to a suburban, white school. The choice of setting linguistic and ethnic curriculum standards would remain in our own hands, as would our children's futures.

In certain circumstances, busing may be the only way to improve the quality of education for black and Hispanic children. In the majority of urban centers like Atlanta, however, the reverse seems to be the case. We need not destroy black schools and universities that have already proven their effectiveness in order to achieve a real departure from second class education. An all-black school, provided with good learning

facilities, dedicated black educators, and controlled locally by black parents, is not an inferior school.

Despite the desire to repeat tactics from previous Civil Rights struggles, it is essential to consider the kind of realistic alternatives to school desegregation that can benefit nonwhite children *now*. It has become imperative for nonwhite educators to restructure their priorities, by looking at potential educational values and resources within our own communities that can improve our public schools. Unless this occurs, the quality of minority education will continue to decline, since white opposition to busing and desegregation is not likely to diminish in the near future.

---

*Manning Marable's syndicated column "From the Grassroots" appears in newspapers throughout the country. He is an associate professor at University of San Francisco.*

---

## Cities...

---

*from page seven*

programs were slashed, senior citizen centers and drug abuse programs were closed down, services to working and lower class neighborhoods were cut back, and public jobs were eliminated by the tens of thousands.

So far, this drive has been succeeding. The people of the cities appear to have been rendered helpless. To a considerable extent, they have been rendered helpless by the prevalent definitions of their situation, by definitions that ascribe the fiscal crisis to *inevitable* market imperatives and to spendthrift politicians; by definitions which raise the fear that the older cities are dying, and surely will die if people do not settle for less. Accordingly, whatever small-scale struggles have emerged have been bounded by these definitions and popular groups turn only on each other in

their struggle to preserve shares of a shrinking pie.

The lesson of the city crisis is that the fate of our cities has not been inevitable; and their future is not inevitable either. The future will not be forged by autonomous economic processes. Rather it will be a future that, like the past, will be forged by government policy, and by the dominant economic business and financial groups who have so far used government policy to their advantage. And it is not the "natural law" of the market place that underlies the action of government, but another kind of law, the law of political-economic power.

The future of the cities in the industrial belt depends on our ability to pierce the definitions of the fiscal crisis that have paralyzed us; to resist the cuts in our services and facilities and jobs; and ultimately to exert the considerable force of an aroused people. Having recognized the large role that government action has played in determining our fate, the question will be in whose interests government will act in the future. And that in turn will depend on how forcefully the people in cities push their interests and demand their due, on the platforms, in the polls, and in the streets.

*Frances Fox Piven is a political scientist and the author of several books. This article is reprinted from Shelterforce, a progressive housing publication (380 Main St., East Orange, N.J. 07018).*

# NAM News & Views

by Richard Healey

It's a moot question which branch of government displayed more subservience to big business this year. Congress failed to pass labor law reform and gutted the full employment bill, to name just two.

Carter has an energy bill that feeds the oil companies and a tax package that starves working people, the wage-price guidelines and the big jump in interest rates.

If, as Douglas Fraser of the United Auto Workers says, big business has declared war on the working class, it is Carter and Congress who supply the weaponry.

It is a war that will be characterized by rising unemployment, continued inflation, and further cutbacks in services. And the question is what kind of counter-offensive can be mounted.

The November elections reflect not a turn to the right but deep-seated confusion. People don't know what is causing the economic problems they face today—but they do sense that the politicians don't, either. A real counter-offensive requires an alternative that is credible to masses of people.

Trade unions, organizations of women and minorities, and left activists will need to come together based on a common agenda and a new political approach if that alternative is to emerge. In the last year at least three coalitions have formed that offer hopeful steps in this direction.

Last spring the Citizens/Labor Energy Coalition, headed by William Winpisinger of the IAM, got off the ground. It united unions, community, and environmental groups to defeat the Carter/corporate energy policy.

Some of these same forces have recently initiated the COIN campaign—Consumers Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities.

Potentially even more important is the Detroit meeting called by Fraser to respond to the attacks on workers, women, and minorities. Over 30 unions were represented, as well as the NAACP, NOW, and major environmental and community groups. Significantly, the over one hundred invited participants also included the New American Movement and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

Each coalition has the limitations that would mark any body shaped by those still within the dominant traditions of American politics. They are comprised in some cases of trade union leadership that does not always act in the interest of its own membership, of political figures firmly entrenched in the Democratic Party, and of Washington-based groups with little commitment to activism.

Yet this is not the whole picture. For they also include trade unionists who are beginning to break with past policies, ac-



Richard Healey is Political Secretary of the New American Movement.

## Left turn

### Charting a new course

tivists not yet ready to leave the Democratic Party but open to realistic strategies to challenge it, and groups such as NOW with real and increasingly radical constituencies.

Socialists need to be part of these formations, not as sideline quarterbacks or preachers of the line, but as integral participants. This is true even where we might have to work directly with those with whom we might be battling in other arenas.

This is a real dialectical approach: to be able to see the importance of bringing the power and prestige of a Lloyd McBride into the fray against the energy monopolies through the Citizens/Labor Energy Coalition, while maintaining our commitment to support the rank and file opposition movement within the United Steelworkers union.

The potential of these coalitions depends on several factors.

1) The organizations must make a commitment to mobilize their ranks, as well as reach out beyond. This means, for instance, regional and local structures actively organizing.

2) A serious and radical educational campaign can begin to break through the popular cynicism. It should focus on such issues as the role of corporations, who benefits from higher interest rates, and the wage-price guidelines ripoff.

3) The counter-offensive has to focus on the social control of big business in a way that can unite the different constituencies. Nothing less can deal realistically with America's problems—and hence nothing less will ultimately be credible.

If socialists can participate on this basis, and if other forces remain open to new possibilities, these coalitions may prove an important step toward a new alternative for America.

# All the news...

## MOVING AND SHAKING

•For the first time since the 1930's, a major city is funding a study on converting privately owned gas and electric companies to public ones. **Buffalo NAM** is a member of the People's Power Coalition, the group that has organized for several years to force Buffalo's Common Council to initiate the study. . . . California chapters are celebrating the defeat of the Briggs Initiative November 7. The initiative would have kept gays and gay rights advocates from working in public school. All NAM's California chapters made anti-Briggs work a fall priority. . . . **St. Louis NAM** was part of a broad coalition that led to the defeat of Right to Work legislation in Missouri. . . . **Detroit NAM** helped defeat a Proposition 13-type tax initiative and a measure that would have replaced the public schools with a voucher system. . . . **Seattle NAM** helped block a measure that would have repealed the city's gay rights law. . . . **Philadelphia NAM** was part of a coalition that successfully blocked Mayor Frank Rizzo's bid for a third term (Rizzo's slogan for the campaign was, "Vote white."). . . . **Milwaukee NAM** members are active in a struggle to stop cutbacks in CETA funds that go to community-based organizations. . . . **Los Angeles NAM** members hosted a very successful meeting November 1 of the Ad-hoc Committee for a U.S.-Vietnam Friendship Association. . . . NAM was one of over 100 labor unions, women's groups, minority organization and others invited to a national meeting called by the United Auto Workers to discuss forming a new coalition that can bring a more progressive voice onto the national political scene.

## GRAMSCI

•A weekend for NAM members on the relevance of the writings of Antonio Gramsci to conditions in the U.S. today will be held in Detroit December 10. Teachers will be national leaders Richard Healey and Holly Graff. The school kicks off a year long organizational political education program. The program will include weekend and week-long schools for chapter leaders and members.

## ON THE RANGE

•NAM is growing in the Rocky Mountain area. New chapters have formed in Denver and Wyoming. **Bread and Roses NAM**, in Denver, plans work around opposition to nuclear power and to violence against women. The members include people who've worked around labor and feminist issues. . . . Welcome.

## HEALTH ACTIVISM

•NAM's Health Commission just published a special issue of *Health Activist Digest* on "Secrecy in and Privatization of Public Sector Health Services." Commission members also attended the American Public Health Association's national convention in Los Angeles in October, and are active in that group's socialist caucus. The Health Commission develops NAM policy on health issues and a left presence in the health field. It's open to non-NAM members. For more information, or for the *Health Activist Digest* (single issues \$1.00; subscriptions \$3.00) write 19920 Lichfield, Detroit, MI 48221.

## SPEAKING

•Paul Schrade, longtime United Auto Workers activist and members of **Los Angeles NAM** spoke on Union Democracy in New York November 1. . . . **Buffalo NAM** sponsored Long Island NAM member Barbara Ehrenreich on "For Her Own Good: 150 Years of Expert's Advice to Women" Oct. 27. The title is the same as that of Ehrenreich and Dierdre English's new book. . . . "Tax revolt: how do you spell relief?" was NAM Labor Commission head Stanley Aronowitz' subject in Chicago November 9. . . . NAM Health Commission Chair Rick Kunnes spoke with Quentin Young on "Capitalism is making you sick" at **Chicago NAM's** Second City Socialist School November 12. Young is Medical Director at Cook County Hospital and a leader in the movement for a National Health Service.

## RESOURCES

•Two chapters have published alternative orientation manuals for students. **Willamette Valley NAM's** *Disorientation* acquaints incoming students in the Eugene, Oregon area with social change activities and includes articles such as "The Many Faces of Eugene Racism." **Southside Chicago NAM's** counter-orientation issue of its magazine *Red Gargoyle* features a "Red Star Course Guide" and muckraking about the University of Chicago. . . . NAM's Internationalism Commission can be contacted c/o Healey, 1733 1/2 W. 84th, Los Angeles, CA 90047.

## NAM in Brief

The New American Movement combines a Marxist analysis with careful attention to the current realities of American politics. It combines a deep commitment to its socialist principles with a tactical flexibility in its political approach. It combines a focus on the development of theory appropriate to our times with an activist orientation that stresses involvement in the crucial issues of the day. And it combines a vision of a socialist future based on democracy and human freedom with efforts to project

in our work elements of that future.

NAM has over 35 chapters involved in organizing for labor union democracy, against nuclear power, for abortion rights, against violence against women, for affirmative action, against apartheid in South Africa, and much more. Chapters also organize cultural and educational events that attempt to present a new and challenging socialist perspective on our world.

All of this work is informed and united by certain basic political ideas:

- NAM is committed to working toward a socialist society in which material resources and the decision-making process are democratically controlled by all people.

- We are committed to a socialism that has equality and respect for all people at its core—one that carefully balances the need for collective planning, ownership, and decision-making with a high regard for individual rights and freedom.

- The development of a movement for socialism in America will require the growth of socialist consciousness within the working class—all those who have to sell their labor power (even if they are not directly paid) in order to survive. For it is only a broad-based movement representative of the diversity of the American people that can fundamentally challenge the power of capital.

- American capitalism is a powerful and entrenched system. Yet it is also rife with contradictions. Organization is key to changing power relationships and exposing these contradictions. We are committed to the development of a socialist party that can carry out these tasks, as well as to the growth of the most strong and progressive possible popular organizations.

- Democracy is central to the process of building a movement for socialism. Only as working people become active, organized and begin to take control over their lives can a new society take shape.

- NAM sees the struggle for the liberation of women as integral to a socialist movement. We value the contributions of the women's movement in showing how revolutionary change must deal with all aspects of people's lives. And we defend now, and in the socialism we project, the liberation of gay women and men.

- Racism cripples national life—it denies the humanity of minorities and thwarts the potential of the working class as a whole. NAM is committed to fighting against racism and national oppression in all forms.

- The fate of socialism in the United States is tied to the rest of the world. We support struggles for national liberation and human freedom wherever they occur.

- NAM supports the positive achievements of the existing socialist countries. However, we are also critical of various aspects of their policies, and see no one of them as a model for our own efforts.



What She Wants/pt

## Other Voices

Most working people never make it into magazine articles or onto TV shows. They are seldom interviewed and rarely quoted. Yet throughout history it has often been the buried voices of such people that provide the most dramatic and moving picture of how capitalism damages our lives—and that suggest alternative ways to live. Each month we hope to feature on this page the words of those whose voices are rarely heard. We will include both historical and current quotes. We welcome contributions from our readers—things you've read, heard, or said.

Rosa Taft was the victim of a botched and careless abortion. She spent eight months in the hospital recovering from the complications that set in:

**"I don't have a normal body. My abdomen looks like a sky map of the Grand Canyon. All my internal organs are taxed. I don't have a spleen. My voice is totally changed and I have a lot of psychological scars that will be with me forever.**

I'm lucky to have lived. The problem isn't whether abortion should be legal or not. We need to have free and safe abortions available to women as a right. The problem is to get people out of abortions who are in it for profits only."

—Chicago Sun-Times  
November 15, 1978

## NAM chapter list

**Austin NAM, c/o McBryde, 2204 San Gabriel, Austin, TX 78705**  
Baltimore NAM, P.O. Box 7213, Baltimore, MD 21218  
**Blazing Star NAM, P.O. Box 7892, Chicago, IL 60680**  
Boulder NAM, c/o Zarichney, 3305 E. Euclid Ave., Boulder, CO 80303  
**Buffalo NAM, P.O. Box 404, Buffalo, NY 14205**  
Chicago Northside NAM, c/o NAM National Office, 3244 N. Clark, Chicago, IL 60615  
**Chico NAM, P.O. Box 3476, Chico, CA 95927**  
Clear Fork NAM, c/o Donoho, 2626 1/2 Sixth Ave., Fort Worth, TX 76110  
**CSA/NAM, c/o Rick & Sue Momeyer, 210 N. Bishop St., Oxford, OH 45056**  
Danville NAM, c/o Young, 2 Westwood Pl., Danville, IL 61832  
**Dayton NAM, c/o Mericle, 321 Neal Ave., Dayton, OH 45405**  
Denver NAM, c/o Crawford, 1376 Eudora, Denver, CO 80220  
**Detroit NAM, Box 32376, Detroit, MI 48232**  
East Bay NAM, 6025 Shattuck Ave., Oakland, CA 94609  
**Harriet Tubman NAM, P.O. Box 24521, Los Angeles, CA 90024**  
Leo Gallagher NAM, c/o John Hare, 655 S. Euclid Ave., Pasadena, CA 91106  
**Long Island NAM, P.O. Box 608, Huntington, NY 11743**  
Madison NAM, P.O. Box 401, 800 Langdon St., Madison, WI 53706  
**Middlesex NAM, P.O. Box 443, Somerville, MA 02144**  
Middletown NAM, Department of Sociology, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT 06547  
**Milwaukee NAM, P.O. Box 1315, Milwaukee, WI 53201**  
Mather Jones NAM, c/o Lasley, 1127 S. 8th St., Springfield, IL 62703  
**New Haven NAM, c/o Kennedy/Shaffer, 125 Dwight St., New Haven, CT 06511**  
New York NAM, P.O. Box 324, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013  
**Philadelphia NAM, c/o Hamilton, 1501 Cherry St., #287, Philadelphia, PA 19102**  
Pittsburgh NAM, 5420 Penn Ave., Pittsburgh, PA 15206  
**Portland NAM, 1118 SE 20th Ave., Portland, OR**  
Red Cedar River NAM, c/o Jaquie Brown, 725 Westmoreland Ave., Lansing, MI 48915  
**St. Louis NAM, c/o Fox/Howes, 721 Interdrive, University City, MO 63130**  
San Diego NAM, P.O. Box 15635, San Diego, CA 92115  
**Santa Barbara NAM, c/o Davis, 2757 Foothill Rd., Santa Barbara, CA 93105**  
Santa Cruz NAM, c/o Rotkin, 123 Liberty Ave., Santa Cruz, CA 95060  
**Seattle NAM, c/o Frank Krasnowsky, 3117 E. Thomas, Seattle, WA 98112**  
Southern Oregon NAM, c/o Gaboury, 2080 Siskiyou #14, Ashland, OR 97520  
**Southside Chicago NAM, c/o Johnson, 5100 S. Ellis, #2, Chicago, IL 60615**  
Willamette Valley NAM, c/o Dudman, 209 E. 30th St., Eugene, OR 97405

## Give a sub to Moving On for the holidays!

The holidays are a perfect time for a gift subscription to **Moving On**...

• A magazine unique in its scope and perspective. Each month **Moving On** covers labor, the women's movement, minorities, culture and international events. It doesn't just report, it analyzes, probes, or lets organizers speak in their own voices.

• One of the very few publications committed to democratic socialism and to activism. Because it can take an articulate stand on an issue while leaving open space for differing views. And because it is part of an organization, the **New American Movement**, that is working to translate its words into political action.

There are probably two or three people in your circle of friends who would like receiving **Moving On** all new year. Send them a gift subscription today.

### Enclosed is \$5 for a Moving On subscription to:

name \_\_\_\_\_  
address \_\_\_\_\_  
zip \_\_\_\_\_

name \_\_\_\_\_  
address \_\_\_\_\_  
zip \_\_\_\_\_

name of gift giver:  
\_\_\_\_\_

**NAM**  
**New American Movement**  
3244 N. Clark St.  
Chicago, IL 60657  
312-871-7700