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Moving On

MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

Latina Feminism



photo by Scott van Osdal

Gas Crisis—No Shortage of Profits
NAM Convention Tribute to Herbert Marcuse

One of the most difficult questions for any organization is how to determine priorities, allocate resources. Over the years in NAM, this issue has taken many forms, sometimes at the level of abstract debate, sometimes at the level of very concrete concerns.

This year our National Convention has raised the question of whether MOVING ON—in its present form—should continue to publish. Some people wondered whether the magazine has a sufficiently wide distribution to justify its cost in financial terms or national staff time. Others argued that there are already a wide variety of publications on the left and that MO does not have a special role to play.

Other alternatives being considered are a bi-monthly edition of MO, the publication of a magazine that is more oriented toward NAM's own work and concerns, or the wider distribution (and more judicious editing) of NAM's Internal Discussion Bulletin.

Those of us who have been associated with MOVING ON believe that it has been vital in giving people outside the organization a sense of what NAM is about. Both the style of its articles and the concerns it has addressed have served to illustrate our unique position on the spectrum of the American left.

We also believe that there are few—if any—other publications on the left that have consistently presented so many articles that are both politically stimulating and easily accessible.

But "belief" is not enough, in this case. The decision whether or not to continue publication will depend in large measure on the kind of feedback that we get from our readers. Do you feel that MOVING ON is a valuable publication? Is it an important aspect of NAM's work?

These questions will be discussed in NAM chapters across the country over the next two months in preparation for our National Council meeting in early winter. But we are also particularly interested in the views of those who aren't in chapters—at-large and associate members and those readers who aren't NAM members. I'd like to encourage all of our readers—but especially those who aren't in NAM chapters—to take a few minutes to send us your views on the magazine and the issues raised here.

Roberta Lynch

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Comment



UPI photo

Getting the Lead Out—

by Rich Carlson

UNLEADED GASOLINE, THE demand for which has grown by more than 20 percent in each of the last two years, has been in the tightest supply during the recent gasoline crisis. This shortage was caused by a bottleneck in the ability of the refining industry to boost the octane level of unleaded gasoline, rather than by any real or administered shortage of crude oil. The demand for unleaded will continue to grow rapidly for the next few years, exacerbating the mounting octane shortage in the face of petroleum industry efforts to thwart environmental and energy conservation efforts.

Rich Carlson is a Research Associate at the Center for the Biology of Natural Systems. An earlier version of this article was prepared with the assistance of Robert Scott.

the truth behind the gas crisis

Several types of evidence illustrate this point. During the first half of this year stocks of unleaded gasoline fell to dangerously low levels—16-18 days of supply—while stocks of leaded gas remained at normal levels—22-24 days of supply. Normally, enough gasoline is held in stocks to meet consumption for about 20-24 days. The fact that unleaded stocks fell to the 16-day level is

particularly dangerous because gasoline stocks are normally built up at this point in the year, and because demand for unleaded is rising very rapidly.

The rate of change-over from leaded to unleaded gas can be quite accurately predicted from the sales of new vehicles and the expected increase in total gasoline demand. Comparing the expected demand for gasoline in the first three months of 1979 to the same period in 1978, we see that demand for unleaded gas was expected to grow by more than 26 percent, while leaded demand should have fallen by 7 percent, resulting in an increase of 1.5 percent in total gasoline use.

Total gasoline consumption increased in the first quarter of 1979 by 3.9 percent—substantially more than the projected demand. The supply of unleaded grew 3.5 percent less than expected, while the supply of leaded gas did not



fall as fast as the prediction. The slightly higher proportion of leaded gasoline may be due to the greater than expected sales of light trucks and vans, which run on leaded gasoline.

However, the subsequent four months of 1979—the period of long gas lines—show a much more dramatic drop in unleaded than in leaded gasoline supply relative to expected demand. The shortage in unleaded was, 15.2 percent, while the shortage in leaded gasoline was only 7.5 percent.

Basically, the inability to produce unleaded gasoline is at the heart of the present gasoline shortages. It is caused by the inability of the present oil refining system to produce the high-octane gasoline needed to achieve the transition from leaded to unleaded gasoline. One of the basic steps in gasoline production is the increase of octane far above the levels found in natural gasoline refined from crude oil. Additional refining of straight run gasoline has always been necessary in order to make a product useable for automobiles. As the octane number of refined gasoline increased, it becomes more and more

expensive to attain the next higher octane level. For the past 50 years, refiners have found that the use of lead to add the final 6-10 octane points in gasoline is more economical than additional secondary refining.

Lead is now being phased out of gasoline due to the use of catalytic converters on U.S. autos since 1976. The Environmental Protection Agency is requiring this phase-out because only half a tank of leaded gasoline in a car with a converter will ruin the device and because the presence of lead in the environment is a health hazard. The octane bottleneck has been created because refiners have failed to build sufficient refining capacity to meet the need for higher-octane unleaded gasoline.

Questionable shortage

The problem is compounded by the fact that U.S. refineries have not been operating at anywhere near peak capacity level. Refinery runs averaged 85.7 percent of capacity in both the January to March and April to July periods of this year compared to a normal factor of 90 percent. Government and industry

officials claim that underutilization of capacity is caused by a world-wide shortage of crude oil. For example, John O'Leary, Deputy Secretary of the U.S. Department of Energy (DOE) blames the nation's current problems "on the curtailment of Iranian production."

But, in reality, the shortage is not the result of any worldwide production deficit. Rather, it results from Department of Energy directives to refiners which, early in the year, were urging them to "shun spot cargoes of oil so as to not bid up prices." Although this practice has been abandoned in the wake of consumer outrage over shortages, its impact is still being felt. In addition, the fact that total world oil production in the first half of this year is up 4.6 percent from last year while crude imports to the United States have risen 6.1 percent this year deflates the claim of a crude shortage.

The oil refiners have attempted to meet the rising demand for non-lead octane improvement by using other types of additives, such as MMT (a manganese-based compound.) Although MMT was banned as hazardous to human health and damaging to new cars' catalytic converters, the oil companies have successfully pressured the U.S. government into allowing its use (on a temporary basis) in order to increase the production of unleaded fuels. In addition, they have pushed to be able to increase the amount of lead used in regular, leaded gasoline since this will allow them to skew their secondary refining capacity towards the production of more unleaded fuels.

The failure of the oil industry to meet current requirements for unleaded gasoline is clearly the result of a conscious decision to resist adapting to a changing regulatory environment and gasoline market. A 1979 study done by Bonner & More Associates for the EPA demonstrated that the oil industry had the technical and economic ability to add the necessary secondary refining capacity (for expanding and upgrading the gasoline component of crude oil) within 2-3 years to meet the 1979 lead standard of 0.5 grams per gallon.

It appears that the strategy of the refining industry for meeting octane demand in the future is built around continuing gasoline shortage.

But the capacity has not been added, and as a result, a no-lead octane shortage has developed. It is, in a word, a sellers' market for gasoline. Former Secretary of Energy Schlesinger recently admitted this when he decided that the government did not have the power to force the oil companies to refine more gasoline.

Limited capacity

Had the refiners accepted the lead phase-out, they could have built more secondary refinery capacity. Existing refineries, however, have only limited ability to increase octane above present levels, and often a limit is reached between 80-85 octane. Beyond this range, every one point increase in octane level results in roughly a one percent decrease in gaso-

line output since some hydrocarbons are converted into other fuels, such as propane or butane with the more "severe" (higher temperature) refining. Expanding refinery capacity is not overly capital expensive—about \$2 billion for each octane point per gallon added to the gasoline pool. But it is expensive in its lower output of gasoline and higher energy consumption.

The current construction plans of the oil refining companies will hold the gap between primary and secondary (gasoline) refining capacity constant for the next decade. These changes will not be adequate to meet the demand for non-lead octane improvement for several reasons. First, the phase-out of lead will virtually be completed by 1990, significantly reducing the supply of octane-boosting additives.

Second, automobile fuel efficiency will be increasing throughout the 1980's as a result of DOE regulations mandated by Congress in the Energy Policy and Conservation Act. In order to meet these regulations the auto manufacturers are planning to build cars with higher compression ratio engines which will require a higher level of gasoline to prevent engine knock.

It appears that the strategy of the refining industry for meeting octane de-

mand in the future is built around continuing gasoline shortages. The current shortage has been used to obtain waivers from the government to allow the use of more lead and to reintroduce additive compounds that had previously been banned for health reasons. The pattern of induced shortages and concomitant demands for lowered environmental standards may prove to be a long-term industry strategy for the coming decade.

Existing limitations on lead and MMT have already caused refiners to turn to a second octane-boosting strategy, the use of petroleum-based octane additives, such as MTBE (methyl tertiary butyl ether) and TBA (tertiary butyl alcohol), both approved by EPA. Aside from the fact that they are expensive to produce, both of these additives are bound to rise in price as petroleum becomes scarcer. They do not increase total energy supply or augment the transition to an energy system based on renewable solar fuels. Furthermore, production capacity for both of these additives is very small and will be slow to expand, even though a maximum allowable seven percent blend is needed to boost octane by just 2-3 points.

Ethanol

There is a solution to this gasoline crunch, however. Ethanol from grain and sugar crops can help solve the growing octane shortage because it allows crude oil imports to be reduced, in addition to raising the octane level of the fuel. Ethanol derives much of its present value from its octane enhancement ability: blended at a 10 percent level with gasoline, ethanol raises the octane of the fuel mixture by 3.0-3.5 points over that of the base gasoline, according to DOE tests. Used initially in low concentrations, ethanol will have an octane credit of at least \$.30/gallon over its fuel value, based on a value of \$.01 per octane point credit for ethanol.

Currently, the refinery gate price of regular unleaded gasoline is about \$.70/gallon, giving ethanol a market value of \$1.00/gallon when used in a

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NAM Convention

by Tom Lonergan

THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT's eighth National Convention was very much a "sign of the times." Born in the early 1970's on the political wave of the 1960's, NAM has been slowly evolving a politics that can carry it into the 1980's.

The 400 members and observers who gathered in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on August 8th through 12th found themselves summing up the lessons of a decade and taking some steps that would have been unthinkable in the organization's early days.

Debates on left unity, electoral politics and the Middle East are standard fare at most left gatherings, but at this Convention they took some surprising twists.

NAM responded positively to an initiative from the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee for exploration of common concerns. A special committee was mandated to foster joint work between the two organizations and to discuss their similarities and differences. A sometimes heated debate on electoral politics—once anathema to many portions of NAM—produced a resolution that recognized the vital role of electoral activity in building a socialist movement in America. Committing the organization to the development of an independent socialist party over the long term, the new resolution recognizes that for the present electoral participation

will take several forms, including participation in certain progressive Democratic Party campaigns. It outlines guidelines for such involvement.

The Middle East discussion—rooted in a year-long process among members of NAM's International Commission—produced a thoughtful, clear and sophisticated analysis. The resolution emphasized the national rights of the Palestinians and urged recognition of the PLO, while also supporting Israel's right to exist. It committed NAM to working with all forces struggling for a just solution in the Middle East.

The convention was a "turning point" for NAM, according to national leader Roberta Lynch, who addressed a plenary session on "strategy and estimates."

Lynch stressed that there is a worldwide re-evaluation going on in the socialist movement and that NAM must be willing to be part of this process. She urged that the organization avoid making dogma out of such concepts as "socialist-feminism" or "self-actualization."

Looking toward the 80's, Lynch emphasized the need for a *national* movement that can pose realistic alternatives to the present social order. The beginnings of such a movement may be there, she noted, in such formations as the Progressive Alliance. "We have a responsibility to help shape the directions such groupings take," she said.

There is an urgent need to try to conceptualize and popularize our socialist vision, Lynch continued. The development of urban coalitions that can pose alternatives for the cities can further this process. Such coalitions, she said, can also "challenge existing power relationships and unify blacks, whites and

Latinos in a way that can concretely address racism."

She concluded by noting that "Any course of action that moves us forward is going to involve risks." For NAM there is not now the historical risk of physical danger, but there is the risk of seeming reformist, of criticism from others on the left. We cannot progress unless we are willing to take these risks, she stressed.

The question of these risks was a major element in the debate on relating to DSOC. Since DSOC approached NAM with a "possibility" of merger, the convention debate often drifted towards the danger of a merger splitting NAM, even though none of the motions on the floor mentioned discussion of merger.

Some members, primarily those organized as the August 7th Caucus, saw the DSOC overture as a drift to the right for NAM, often posing the debate between "reformist" DSOC and "revolutionary" NAM.

Focusing the debate on whether NAM should move "left" or "right," was a dangerous path, according to Stanley Aronowitz, of Irvine (Cal.) NAM.

The question, Aronowitz said, was "are we going to begin to become a part of what can be a vital socialist movement in the U.S.?"

"Many look to NAM's left as if there is a mass movement of the left. There is none," Aronowitz said. "To look to the left is to look to extinction."

But to talk to only one organization (DSOC) is sectarian, countered national leader Marilyn Katz. NAM also had to look toward, "developing a revolutionary current" among activists in the anti-nuke movement, third world organizations, trade union rank and file movements and socialist-feminist groupings.

Tom Lonergan is a newspaper reporter and member of Detroit NAM.

Getting Together

The resolution that finally passed, however, did focus specifically on a dialogue with DSOC. It represented a recognition that such systematic and comradely interaction can not only help to clarify and influence the views of both organizations, but may also help to spark renewed debate and discussion throughout the non-sectarian left.

While the debate on left unity—which became more of a “what part of the left to unite with” discussion—showed that some sharp differences exist in NAM, it also showed that there is room in the organization for a variety of views.

And that is likely to remain a characteristic of NAM as the organization moves towards building an American socialist movement.

But issues don't remain stagnant in NAM because of its multi-tendency character. Take electoral politics for example.

This convention marked a growing tactical flexibility around a number of questions relating to electoral work, including participation in certain campaigns within the Democratic Party. The resolution emphasized certain political considerations that must be taken into account before NAM members get involved in any campaign work, however.

While cautious about electoral activity, and realizing the level of participation varies widely among chapters, the agreement that electoral politics is an important arena for socialist work was somewhat of a milestone for the organization.

Internally, a new maturity was reflected in a structural change of the national leadership body—the National Interim Committee (NIC). The NIC was abolished in favor of a National Council that will be composed of chapter delegates and meet twice a year between conventions. In the interim, the Political Committee will function as the main leadership body.

New Political Committee members are Halli Lehrer (Baltimore), Bill Barclay (San Diego), and Rick Kunnes (Detroit). The National Council will provide



photo by Scott van Osdel

David Smith, Brian Bertino, Carrollee Howes (East Bay)



photo by John Jurek

*Roberta Lynch (Chicago), and
Anne Hill (Cleveland)*

Rosie Fine (Los Angeles)

Ben Dobbs (Los Angeles)



photo by Scott van Osdel



photo by Scott van Osdel

more direct links between chapters and the Political Committee (PC).

A new national leadership was elected, unopposed, posing a continuing dilemma for NAM on how its leadership can develop beyond administrators of the national office into political leaders with more developed tasks like representing the organization's positions and views among national mass movement groupings.

In addition to these major political and organizational decisions, the Convention provided an important setting for the exchange of experiences and ideas in small groups. Over 40 workshops and educational sessions allowed NAM activists to explore topics ranging from "women look back at union organizing in the '30's," to "solar strategy."

There were opportunities to talk about socialist-feminist theory of sexuality, the gas crisis, U.S.-Vietnam Friendship, the Mideast, gay liberation and electoral politics, women and workplace organizing, as well as the nuts and bolts of building a NAM chapter.

NAM's multi-tendency character has encouraged a wide range of activists to join and stick with the organization.

Perhaps this is best shown via a review of a convention agenda that included films and slide shows on urban displacement in older cities, workplace safety, the intelligence network, reproductive rights, good daycare and the anti-nuke movement.

The five days of workshops allowed those in like occupations—teachers, lawyers, social workers, public sector, cultural and industrial workers, to spend a couple of hours sharing experiences.

The workshops addressed both the personal and the political, a unique characteristic of NAM emanating from its socialist-feminist politics. Raising socialist children was a workshop topic, as was reproductive rights in the workplace, personal problems in chapter life, culture as a political tool, the successful state takeover by revolutionaries in Nicaragua, the continuing liber-

ation struggle in South Africa, new urban coalitions and back home to "burn-outs" among movement activists.

Commissions on labor, energy, anti-racism, health, international issues, socialist-feminism and urban issues met to review what's been going on in other cities as well as to evaluate the commissions to make them a more effective organizational tool.

The Convention also demonstrated that the development of what old left veterans call "socialist family" has begun to take hold among those who have helped develop NAM over the years.

The cultural evening, featuring Kristin Lems and Tim Vear of Champaign-Urbana NAM, perhaps best displayed NAM's internal solidarity. Eight thousand dollars was pledged by chapters and NAM members as a shot in the arm for the national office. And a special awards program included NAM members recognizing their comrades' achievements during the past year, from a council win for NAM member Mike Rotkin in Santa Cruz, Calif., to successful fundraising for a socialist school in Detroit.

Another late evening event that provided a different kind of stimulation was the presentation by the Convention's guest speaker, Barry Commoner.

Commoner noted a vacuum in American politics, caused by the Republican and Democratic parties "literally abandoning politics. Unless the two parties are willing to question the basic precepts of capitalism," Commoner said, "they are not capable of discussing the issues of the day."

The vacuum, said Commoner, provides an "enormous opportunity and danger," because the right could move into it as well as the left.

The Citizen's Party, of which Commoner is one of the primary organizers, plans to raise the issues the status quo politicians won't in the 1980 campaign—namely, citizens' control of the basic productive decisions of the country.

Commoner invited NAM to participate in the new grouping, which will try to deliver an anti-corporate control message across the country.

"We need a new party simply to bring the issue in the realm of democratic discussion," Commoner said.



photo by Scott van Osada

John Rossen, Susan Cohen, Stella Nowicki (Chicago)



Singing the Internationale

photo by Scott van Osdol

As the 1980's beckon a continuing decline in capitalist economic growth, the issue of who controls the resources and major decisions that affect people could move into the headlines and onto the TV screens.

"It's now possible for the left to move in and say, 'We have an idea to solve problems of the national interest,'" added Commoner.

For NAM, Commoner's invitation is another recognition of the organization's relative stability and modest growth within a deeply fragmented new left.

The Convention didn't take up the Citizens Party initiative, but the issue is to be addressed and debated pro and con throughout the organization over the coming months.

In fact, the next year is likely to witness an intensification of political discussion throughout NAM. The 1980 elections will pose sharply many of the questions that emerged in muted form in Milwaukee. Moreover, the dialogue with DSOC is likely to open up many areas that have never really been systematically examined within NAM. The August 7th Caucus has elected to continue as a "network" to try to formulate its views. And the new Political Committee has committed itself to furthering political education and development in the organization.

Many of the issues facing NAM do not tend to surface in such debates, however. They include: the complicated problems faced in building and sustaining chapter life; the question of how to

integrate socialist politics into effective popular organizing; and the urgent need for creative socialist theory and program that can address changing American realities.

Without an approach to these issues, many of the fierce debates at the Convention will fade into irrelevance. For no matter how "major" such battles may seem, they will not really take on meaning until NAM is able to extend its scope, influence, and presence.

The organization has decisively rejected a sectarian approach that would narrow the arenas in which it could participate. The task now is to move deliberately and vigorously toward new approaches that can broaden its understanding and practice.

by Ronald Aronson

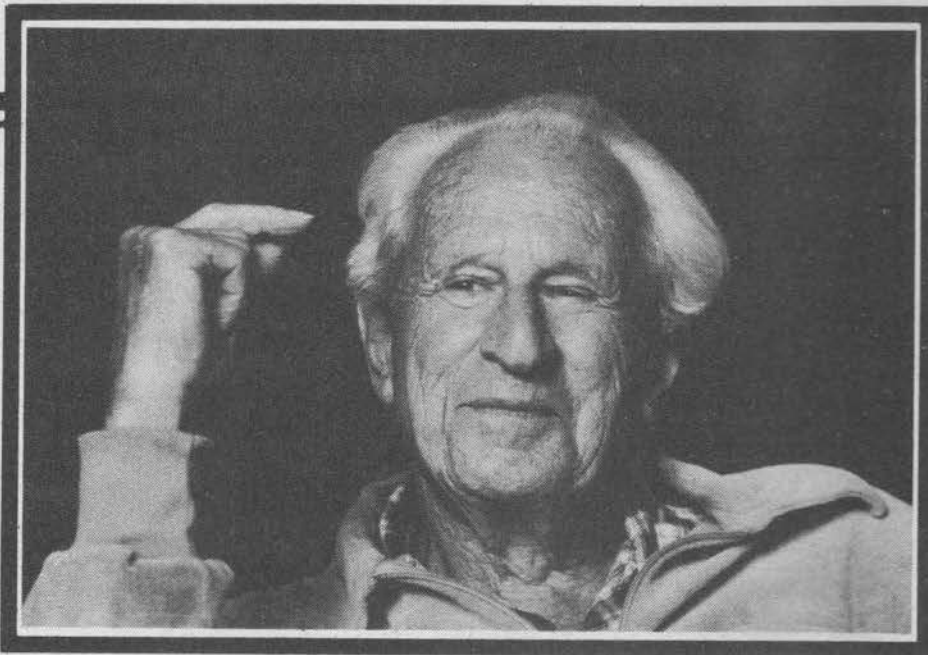
HERBERT MARCUSE DIED ON Sunday, July 29, at the age of eighty-one. My teacher at Brandeis University, Marcuse was one of the decisive influences in my personal and political development. I will deeply miss the beautiful old man who seemed to tower over us even when, standing next to him, we discovered he was just another frail mortal. In a typically half-comprehending editorial, the *New York Times* claimed that the shape of the New Left, and thus recent history, would have been different if not for Marcuse. True, but how did this septagenarian, Germanic professor of the history of ideas and philosophy come to be so widely read and heard by the student movement that the media made him into one of our superstars?

After all, Marcuse taught Plato and Aristotle, Kant and Hegel, taught them as a member of the tradition—as an equal (referring once to Plato as “the old man,” I recall). His aristocratic bearing and immersion in the Classical culture of the West seemed light-years from our deeply anti-authoritarian and often anti-intellectual politics.

In the 1960’s Marcuse legitimized us. As we broke with the conventional authorities—the parents—all around us, no matter how minimally we understood his words, we found a message of confirmation from this caring but severe figure. *One-Dimensional Man* expressed how negative, how oppressive was this

Active in Detroit NAM, Ronald Aronson is the author of JEAN-PAUL SARTRE, to appear this fall.

Isolde Ohlbaum



Herbert Marcuse

A Heritage to Build On

society that seemed so positive. It broke with the American end-of-ideology smugness intellectually as the Civil Rights movement broke with it politically. Marcuse gave philosophical and historical validation to our inarticulate yet explosive demand for a totally different vision. He made available to us a genuinely alternative intellectual culture, style of thought, and reservoir of ideas and writings.

Child of the defeated German revolution, Marcuse studied with Heidegger and became associated with the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt in the 1920’s. As an exile from Nazi Germany he published *Reason and Revolution*, on Hegel and the rise of Marxian theory, in 1940. His later books include *Eros and Civilization*, *Soviet Marxism*,

One-Dimensional Man, An Essay on Liberation, and, most recently, *The Aesthetic Dimension*.

These books move in two fundamental directions at once: forward towards a radical vision of liberation, by reaching back and incorporating and building on major strands of Western thought and literature. Our enterprise, Marcuse is saying, is part of the very meaning and movement of Western history, and is supported by its great cultural currents. *Eros and Civilization*, which I personally consider to be his most important work—and must reading for all of us—accepts the essential validity of Freudian theory and then struggles with it to locate, in its tensions and weaknesses, the space for a truly liberating, not resigned, vision of human possibility.

Looking for America

This Marxian study of Freud immerses itself in the pain of daily life, but builds tools which help us to seriously and systematically conceptualize a land of milk and honey.

Liberation as affirmation

Going from work to work demands that, if we are to understand Marcuse, we must think dialectically. Not dialectics as recipe, but as the only appropriate way of grasping a reality in which the oppressive whole unites negative and positive features. In Marcuse's hands dialectics is also a style of thought in which we see connections, as well as trying to understand how the larger society produces or conditions its many localized expressions.

Perhaps most important is the utter freshness and uncompromisingly radical quality of Marcuse's vision of liberation. For the first time in history a world is now possible—indeed, even urgently necessary if we are to avoid catastrophe—in which humans can be happy. Liberation is the “affirmation,” as he put it in *An Essay on Liberation*, “of the right to build a society in which the abolition of poverty and toil terminates in a universe where the sensuous, the playful, the calm, and the beautiful become forms of existence and thereby the Form of the society itself.”

So grounded in classical culture, his thought pushed to the limits a sensitivity to new trends emerging in the Movement. For example, there was his hope that one of the major contributions of the women's movement to the struggle for a new society might be the feminization of men and the whole social apparatus—in other words, in the subver-

sion of the traditional masculinity and creation of new social forms and new human beings.

I hope these remarks suggest to some of us and recall to others why Herbert Marcuse became such a vital force in the 1960's and early 1970's. But, as the *Times* pointed out, his influence has waned notably since. Is it because, as the *Times* asserted, his vision was fundamentally flawed? Marcuse would be

Perhaps most important is the utter freshness and uncompromisingly radical quality of Marcuse's vision of liberation.

the first to point for explanation to the waning of the Movement, as well as the partial absorption of his insights. But only partial. If we are sad that he is gone, we can be grateful that he left us so much, so many works that can give us illumination for decades to come.

We in NAM have a special obligation to learn, preserve, make known and extend the thought of Herbert Marcuse. If his heritage belongs to any group on the left it is NAM. First because of our

commitment to socialism as human liberation—reflected most tellingly in our commitment to Socialist Feminism, Gay Liberation, and integrating the personal and the political, not as tactics but as the heart of our approach to political struggle. Also, because we use Marxism not as orthodox doctrine but as tool to explore, wherever it leads us, the state of our social life and the conditions for change. Marcuse leaves us with a model of how to remain Marxists and revolutionaries while not being threatened by, but rather drawing from and using, the best of the intellectual and cultural world.

Finally, he shared with us our place on the political spectrum. The impossible task for socialists today is to keep our feet firmly planted in the real world of daily struggles and our hearts and imaginations focussed on our vision of socialist liberation. Comrades on one side of the spectrum tend to lose the vision and become cynical and what they call “realistic”; comrades on the other side tend to lose contact with the real world as they find refuge in Marxist certainties and doctrine. NAM, like Marcuse, situates itself exactly at the point of greatest tension, willing to give up neither the vision nor our sense of reality.

In spirit, Marcuse was one of us. The old man would probably say that the proper celebration of his death would be to forget him by appropriating his work to our own work and lives. Our best goodbye to Herbert Marcuse would be to return to him for a new hello.

by Diane Avila

MUJERES BEGAN SIX YEARS AGO out of a Midwest conference for Latina women. At the end of the conference women decided that their mission was to go back to their individual communities and to organize for the women there, to get together behind whatever they wanted and achieve those goals. And that's how Mujeres started.

It began as a group of women who met once a week wherever anybody would give us space. And slowly, after that, there was enough money to rent a storefront. Then, for about a year and a half, it was a disco a month to pay the rent. Now we have our building, as well as a shelter for runaway teenagers and a co-op. So, we've come a long way.

I've not been with the organization for the six years, but I wanted to tell you a little bit of my personal story because I think that my story proves that Mujeres has been effective and it portrays the types of things that Mujeres tries to accomplish.

I walked into Mujeres about three years ago. I had a daughter who was about a year old and I didn't like the way I had been treated at the hospital when she was born. I didn't have any money, but I didn't want to go to County Hospital because people had scared me about the way they treated you.

So I did anything I could to get enough money to pay for the baby. But my treatment while I was in labor and delivery, as well as what happened to my daughter afterwards, really got me very angry,

Diane Avila is a member of Mujeres Latinas en Accion, based in the Pilsen neighborhood of Chicago. (MOVING ON, 3/79). This article is excerpted from a talk she presented at NAM's National Convention on a panel on "Minority Women and Feminism."

very upset. I set out to talk to other women to see if they had the same types of experiences. They turned me on to more women and to books and articles that had been written around the area of childbirth. That was my beginning. I designed a program of prenatal education for women that included all the things that nobody ever told me about.

Every day as I went to see my mother, I would pass a sign that said "Mujeres Latinas en Accion Drop-In Center." And it was just something you see, like whenever you ride the bus, you become familiar with street signs and trees or a certain house or a gas station. Well, I was becoming familiar with this sign. So one day I got up enough nerve to walk in. And I said, this is what I have, it is for women and you can have it if you would please do it, because we really need it. They said, well, come to our next meeting. I was scared, because I didn't know what was going on, but I went. They talked to me about what they were doing, and they seemed interested in doing the things I was talking about, but they didn't have any staff person. They said, "Well, if you think that we really need it, then you do it."

That bowled me over. But I did it. I arranged to have my husband stay with my daughter in the evenings, and I began a class of about 10 women. And I did a lot of visiting because it was wintertime. After about the sixth or seventh week, some of the women couldn't come because it was too cold or too near their term. But all in all, it was pretty successful.

At the time my husband wasn't working and we were on welfare. I was getting an attitude about being on welfare because things were beginning to be a little too easy, and I think I was developing sort of a get-over mentality, which was not healthy for myself or my children. So I took the job and I got off welfare.

After that, I developed another program which would get information out of women before they got pregnant. It



Diane Avila and daughter

Mujeres One

centered on sexuality and birth control as well as taking care of your own body. The textbook that I used was *Our Bodies, Our Selves*. Shortly thereafter, we became a distributor for the book in Spanish. We had arrangements with the Spanish bookstores to sell them without making any profit, so we could reach women who may not walk into Mujeres.



photo by Diana Solis

Mujeres Latinas— A Woman's Story

New growth

Since then, I've done a number of other things at Mujeres. And I've been growing along the way and taking other women with me and I feel real good about that. The classes that I taught were offered in the community high schools, even though I don't have a college degree and should not, according

to the Board of Education, be allowed in these places.

The thing that was sort of ironic was that the first school where they let me in was a Catholic school. It was a women's school, and working there gave me new ideas about what the term "women's school" meant.

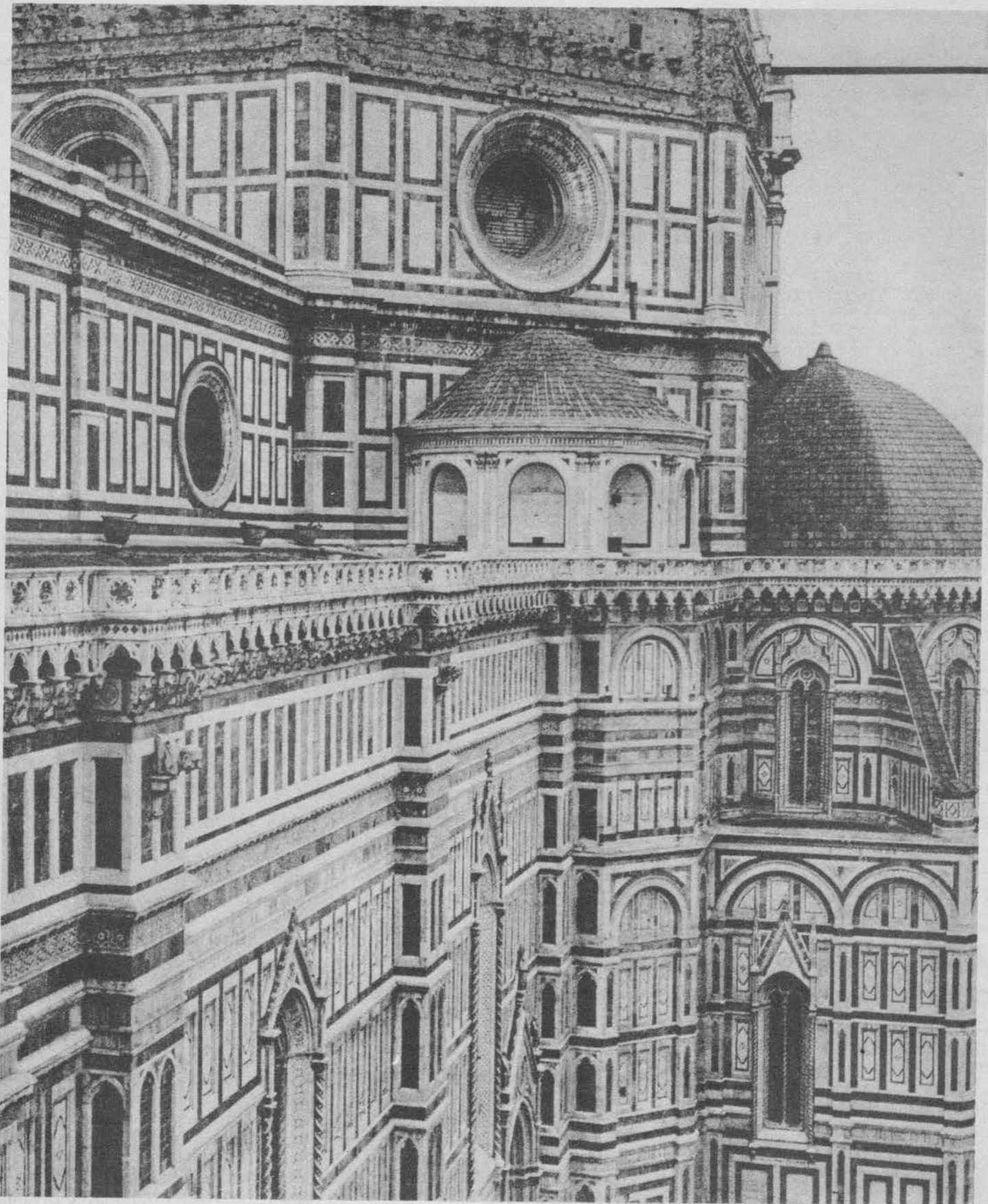
The students felt really good about their teachers. Their teachers felt good

about the students. However, there was one thing missing in this attempt to reach out to students—almost all the teachers and counselors were white. When they tried to address women's issues, the students just didn't want to hear it because the teachers were white. It was really necessary for them to hear it from their sister, from someone who grew up where they grew, who lived a block away from their school, who they saw in the streets, who went to a Catholic high school too. Everything just fit in so well and the year that I spent there was just great. Some of my old students come to Mujeres now for activities.

Even though I can reach one woman in a class, I know that she can reach three or four other women, because the family is very important in my community. I have mixed feelings about that, because family gives a sense of support. It really helps you out and it's all you have when everything else is against you. And yet, I feel that the structure of this very same family has been so oppressive to women.

Mujeres has decided to work within the structure of the family, and the family is very important to us. I use the family in reaching women. I think that there is a bond between mothers and daughters and sisters and aunts and grandmothers and great-grandmothers and we talk about the relationships a lot. When I tell women things that may seem strange or different from the things that their mothers have told them, we talk about those differences, and we encourage the women to talk about those differences with the relative that is in question. We don't want to disrupt this bond because the bonds between women are very important.

The family has been somewhat of a problem in dealing with battered women. Because although we are definitely in support of the family, when the family system is so oppressive or hurts so much, we have to put the woman first. We are that woman and we have to be first.



Alluvione Rosa

Florence and the Flood

by Martin and Sally Chancey

CITIZENS OF FLORENCE BOAST that theirs is the city of such giants as Dante, Michelangelo, Da Vinci, as well as the 'popolo minuto'—the little people. In fact, it *has* become a model of participatory democracy.

It was not always so. It began to happen only a few years ago, and can be explained in part—but not entirely—by the advent of a Communist administration. Rome, too, voted Communist about the same time, but didn't experience the same transformation. In fact, Rome's Communist officials complain that they have hardly made a dent in the vast bureaucracy inherited from the Christian Democrats (DC).

The difference between Florence and Rome can be explained in one word—*alluvione*—the flood.

The dramatic events that resulted in Florence's great transformation were recounted to us by one of its important participants, Dominichetti Sandro, president of the 7th Consiglio de Quartiere (neighborhood council), and some of his co-workers whom we met last summer at the Civic Center.

Martin Chancey is a longtime left activist, teacher, and writer. Sally Chancey has been active in various aspects of the labor, peace and women's movements for three decades. They are associate members of NAM in San Diego.

Florence, long a center of middle-class shopkeepers, artisans and tourism, held out as a DC stronghold long after the rest of the Tuscany region went Communist. But all this was changed by the "sea of trouble" that swept in on Nov. 4, 1966. This was the fateful day when the River Arno overflowed its banks.

The flood cut Florence off from the outside world. Food, drinking water, transport, lighting were all swept away and utter devastation was left in their wake. As water and oily mud rose several stories high, more than half the 10,000 artisan shops were destroyed. The greatest loss of life and property was in the poorest neighborhoods. In Gavinana alone, 1600 people lost their homes; San Niccolo and other areas fared little better.

Although Mayor Piero Bargellini knew for several days that the river was rising dangerously, the people were completely caught by surprise. And in the midst of the ensuing chaos, the mayor and entire city administration were nowhere to be found.

At first, the people were stunned. But with no signs of assistance from the outside, they soon realized that salvation was in their own hands. Led by the Communists, with help from unionists and parish priests, the people fell back on their own resources, courage and teamwork, and began to dig themselves out. Before long, committees sprang up in 26 sections of the city.

Soon the bigwigs began to arrive. When President Saragat arrived amid great flourish, the people booed and

shouted, "Go home! Give us bread and water, not speeches!" Pope Paul came on Christmas Eve, and said, "We are come to weep and to hope with you," but the people replied, "What will we do with your tears?" When Premiere Aldo Moro was criticized in Parliament for not having visited the stricken city, he justified his absence by saying, "My 14-year-old daughter is there helping save the books from the National Library."

Once relief supplies started coming from neighboring areas and abroad, the officialdom took over. They stopped food convoys, insisting on completion of forms in triplicate and payment of excise taxes imposed on goods moving from one community to another. Truckloads destined for flood victims vanished, including a shipment from Canada of 500 warm jackets which was appropriated by the police.

Led by the Communists, with help from unionists and parish priests, the people fell back on their own resources, courage and teamwork and began to dig themselves out.

The returning city fathers soon found themselves facing large delegations of enraged citizens who stormed the Plazzo Vecchio, demanding food, water, lights and housing allotments. When their most urgent needs were met, the struggle continued for long-neglected, pre-flood needs, such as housing, schools, health and day care centers.

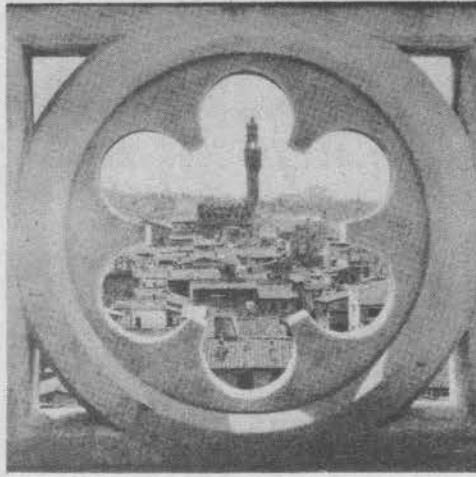
Self-confidence

These were changed people. The former deference and awe of authority was now replaced by a sense of self-confidence and power. Gone was the blind faith in bureaucracy. The people spoke up and demanded to be heard. There was also a new sense of political awareness and compassion for suffering people elsewhere, such as the earthquake victims at Belieice. When Hubert Humphrey visited, he was met by demonstrators demanding an end to U.S. bombing of North Vietnam.

In mid-1975, the city elections provided an opportunity to settle accounts with the corrupt DC bureaucrats. The Communist ticket headed by Elio Gabbuggiani for mayor swept in, and a remarkable discussion got underway on how to put together a new kind of city government that would put to good use a decade of great suffering and much learning.

Among its first acts, the Municipal Assembly set up a Commission to launch citywide discussions on the restructuring and decentralization of government so as to achieve "the widest popular participation with the aim of changing the quality of life in a more humane city." From September to the following May, Florence was caught up in a debate unparalleled for its reach and popular excitement as the people tried to shape a government with a heart, which included the most advanced experiences from other cities.

Sandro recalled the brilliant speech of Mayor Gabbuggiani at the close of the Municipal Assembly's debate on the Commission's final report. This speech, framed and hung in the Civic Center where we met, was translated in part for us by Sandro, as follows:



The mayor placed our city's efforts to achieve a truly responsive government within the framework of our national aspirations for a decentralized, democratic society, rooted in the ideals of Marxists, Catholics, Liberals and Republicans. He went on to say that it is one thing to call for people's power, but it is much more difficult to work out the means by which large masses take direct part in shaping their lives. The direct vote is a necessary but not sufficient condition for participatory democracy. The key problem is to assure the citizen a continuing role in government after he has cast his vote. And he concluded, "We don't intend to let this participation change to a formal exercise, rather we see it as the seeds of a new way of life, a new way of government."

Sandro and his co-workers explained the new government set-up. Its centerpiece is the formation of Consigli de Quartiere (neighborhood councils). The city is divided into 14 zones, each headed by its CQ which operates not only within its respective zone but also on a citywide level. The CQ members are elected by direct vote and have delegated, consultative and deliberative functions regarding all aspects of social and political life. Also, within each zone is a Peoples Assembly open to all who live, work or study within the area. The Assembly expresses opinions, makes pro-

posals, demands further information, and gives instructions to the CQ.

To enable all citizens to participate, the CQ sets up committees within which are represented all forms of people's organizations in the area—tenants, cultural, religious, recreational, etc. This greatly broadens the channels of participation and merges the formal government with all civic activists.

To insure direct input from people, all known electoral devices are used, such as the initiative, referendum, and petition. By collecting a small number of signatures, citizens can call for special inquiries to all levels of government, including the Municipal Assembly.

Does it work?

We told Sandro that it all sounded very impressive, but we wondered if it actually worked in real life. He was quite candid about certain difficulties and told us of efforts to perfect this arrangement over the past three years. The important thing is that the people in his CQ believe in it and are determined to make it work.

"Since you replaced the DC after a bitter struggle, how do you work with them and what of the other half dozen political parties?" we asked.

"The Communist Party of Italy (PCI) works very closely with the Socialist Party," he replied, and as for the DC and six other parties, they made numerous amendments to the proposed democratic reforms, but in the final debate, the new approach was adopted unanimously, except for the MSI (Movimento Sociale Italiano), the neo-fascist party. Obviously, such unity would have been impossible ten years ago. It shows that the views of the other parties change and grow with those of the mass of citizens.

Sandro continued, "In the 7th CQ we have 26,000 people and many large plants such as Fiat and Pignone. As you can see, our center is a beehive of activity all hours of the day and evening. Ten years ago, this did not exist. You can say that here, as in the other CQs, many hundreds, even thousands, of people have come alive politically."

"What are your relations with the Catholic Church?" we asked.

Sandro replied, "We have had our difficulties and still do, but on a much different plane. You can still hear Msgr. Benelli and others in the top hierarchy sermonize in the Duomo against the Communists' stand on abortion and divorce. But there is also increasing cooperation. The lower in the hierarchy, the better the relations. In the 7th CQ, we have been fortunate in having worked with parish priests during the flood—especially with Father Silvano, who would join us on hell-raising delegations to the Palazzo Vecchio."

We were eager to meet Father Silvano but unfortunately he was abed with a fever. However, he wanted Sandro to tell his American visitors that three weeks after the flood, orders came down from the Curia of Florence that parish priests were to remove their muddy boots and return to ministering to the spiritual needs of their flock. "We knew, of course," he added, "that the Church was afraid we would be contaminated by working so closely with the Communists on the salvaging crews." But Father Silvano was among the many who defied the Curia and continued working to save lives first.

Sandro and his friends were eager to show us that under the new city administration, culture was no longer reserved for the elite and the foreign tourists, but belonged to all the people. They invited us to a performance of Verdi's "Requiem" with Renata Scotto at one of the big churches. Admission was free and the church was packed. Sandro asked if we would mind leaving a few minutes before the end of the performance. When we got outside, he showed us about a dozen large television sets surrounding the church, which the city provided so as to bring the performance to thousands of people who couldn't get seats inside.

"You see," he said, "the people want not only bread but also roses."



Getting the Lead Out— *continued from page 5...*

blend with gasoline. Many modern energy-efficient grain ethanol distillery designs are considered capable of producing anhydrous ethanol for \$1.00/gallon, net of high-protein feed byproduct revenue, and at grain prices somewhat above current levels.

The phase-in of ethanol production is technically feasible without disrupting the food supply system. Beginning today, it would take until 1986 at the earliest to attain the 10 percent ethanol/90 percent gasoline mixture known as gasohol. Many analyses assume that the U.S. agricultural system is capable of producing only enough ethanol to reach the 10 percent level. But by (1) fully utilizing surplus cropland, (2) making full use of high protein feed by-products, and (3) growing new major crops such as sugar beets or sweet sorghum in place of soybeans, 35-50 billion gal-

lons of ethanol could be produced annually without reducing domestic livestock production or grain exports. This is equal to one-fourth to one-third of annual U.S. petroleum consumption and one-third to one-half of annual gasoline consumption for the next decade.

By optimizing for both food and fuel output, agriculture can be restructured so that far greater energy production can eventually be obtained than by merely utilizing idle acres or crop residues for energy production. In addition, by the time only 10-20 percent of our gasoline needs are met by ethanol from agricultural crops in the next decade, new cellulose conversion technology is likely to be economically competitive, thereby greatly enlarging the potential feedstock supplies to include municipal solid wastes and forestry residues and limiting the price pressure on food.

The barriers to rapid ethanol development will not be technological or economic: ethanol production verges on being economically competitive today without subsidy. The bottlenecks are likely to be lags in the manufacture of distillation equipment and in the training of ethanol plant operators, and a lack of coordination and planning among the agriculture, petroleum and automobile industries.

The technology for producing ethanol in a trouble-free, energy-efficient, and economic manner is available today. Clearly the national interest would best be served by the development of this non-inflationary, renewable fuel. The major problem does not lie in feasibility or usefulness of this course, but in the reluctance of corporate interests to subordinate short-term profits to this longer-term need.

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

—Antonio Gramsci

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Rick Kunnes, National Secretary



Halli Lehrer, Organizational Secretary



Bill Barclay, Political Secretary

NAM's New Political Committee

"I'd like to see more chapter stability. We need to overcome the gap between individuals becoming more sophisticated activists and the lack of strong chapter structures. Even big chapters rely too much on a few key people," says Halli Lehrer about her goals as a member of NAM's Political Committee.

The Political Committee is NAM's highest leadership body. The three members are elected for one year terms by the national convention and serve full time in the National Office. This year, all three members of the Political Committee are new to the job. Besides Lehrer, who comes to Chicago from Baltimore NAM, the others are Bill Barclay from San Diego NAM and Rick Kunnes from Detroit NAM.

Lehrer, a graphic artist, says her socialist-feminism stems partly from her upbringing. "My parents taught my sisters and me to speak out against injustice, to have concern for others and to respect ourselves as women. When I was older, and got exposed to oppressive situations, I was open to systematic thinking that would make me more able to deal with and understand them," she says.

She was an anti-war activist in high school, and worked with a Welfare Rights community advocacy project in college. After college, she got a job giving architectural, planning and graphics advice to neighborhood groups. "Before that job, I saw the problems as lack of technical know-how. I learned there that what community groups lack is power to assert what they want." These conclusions led her to take a job as a neighborhood organizer.

She was looking for analysis and found NAM's kind of socialism helped her understand the powerful forces faced by community groups and helped her to overcome her own political isolation. She became a chapter and regional leader in NAM, and worked on statewide utilities organizing, helping halt shutoffs of utilities for two winters in the state of Maryland.

Rick Kunnes served two terms on NAM's National Interim Committee and also headed NAM's Health Commission for three years. He's the author of three books on health, mental health and capitalism: *Your Money or Your Life*, *The American Heroin Empire*, and *Repression or Revolution*.

While a psychiatric resident in 1969, Kunnes burned his membership card in the American Medical Association. He dubbed it the "American Murder Association" for its complicity in the high infant mortality rate and generally bad healthcare for the poor. A week later he was arrested for protesting a 60% hike in Blue Cross rates. Kunnes and two others disrupted the hearings by reading a list of victims of the hike into the record—the Manhattan telephone directory.

He also helped to do research and testified in the U.S. Senate showing that Quaaludes are addictive and that major pharmaceutical firms were overmanufacturing the drug and allowing it to be cycled into street use in the early '70s.

For the past three years he's been a member of Detroit NAM, and served on the chapter steering committee. He helped organize a union on his job and became the only physician member of AFSCME nationwide.

"One of the main tasks this year is fighting against sectarianism and isolation," says Kunnes. "We also need far more NAM public presence—speaking, travelling and writing."

Bill Barclay moves to Chicago with rave reviews from his former chapter, San Diego NAM. He is credited with transforming the chapter into an active, varied and more politically sophisticated group in his two years there. He was on the chapter steering committee, convened the Campus Branch of the chapter, and represented his region on the Expanded National Interim Committee. He was also on the executive board of his American Federation of Teachers local while he taught sociology at San Diego State University.

His main goal for NAM during his term is to help NAM "acquire a coherence at a chapter level as an organization, and to deepen our political commitment to dealing with American reality of the last quarter of the twentieth century."

Born to a family of Goldwater Republicans, Barclay became radicalized during the Civil Rights movement. He was active in Students for a Democratic Society for five years, and later joined NAM in Lansing, Michigan.

Lehrer sums up the three's views on leadership: "We need to develop a conception of member and leader that's not alienated, that we can learn and grow from. We need people in every chapter thinking about the whole group and how people are developing," she says.

We Get Letters...

Lasch's contribution

I appreciated Ronald Aronson's review of Lasch's "The Culture of Narcissism". I generally found it to be the best critique of his last two books that I have found. Aronson's identification of the lack of social process and structural determinism is particularly important. Lasch certainly lacked a certain dialectical thesis on the social movements that undermined the family.

The problem with Aronson's review is that he ignored Lasch's best contribution to the debate on the family and culture: That the bourgeois family offered a "space" outside market or capitalist relations and that the logic of capital expansion required the undermining of that type of family relationship. Lasch's critique of the social movements (women's movement and the new Left) within this context, is based on their inability to provide an alternative "space" for individuals to experience something outside market relations.

Despite Lasch's nearly absurd lack of criticism of the oppressive aspects of the family, he has offered more than a mood piece. His books raise many of the necessary questions for a theory of the family and personal development, in creating a politic that creates a different social order.

**David Weingrod
Milwaukee, WI**

Against Eurocommunism

Judy McLean's article linking the New American Movement to Eurocommunism in the June issue of *MOVING ON* saddens me. I was hoping that in the next issue there would be several letters from NAM members outraged at the pro-Eurocommunist point of view expressed in the article. But I was disappointed. The only letter on this subject, written by Jerry Lombardi and Jan Stackhouse, was abusive and very poor. The single argument against Eurocommunism was that Santiago Carrillo crossed a picket line during a speaking engagement at Yale—a rather weak one. I feel there are many good reasons to reject Eurocommunism in favor of democratic socialism.

Recently, the Eurocommunists have come to assert that only they represent the true socialist democratic parties in the world. But talk is cheap. Why should one believe their claims over that of the Communist parties of the Soviet Union, China, etc.? The only real test is in what these parties do, how they function, not what they say.

If you examine the Eurocommunist parties you will find the same lack of permitted dissent within. There are no arguments at the Party Congresses to speak of. Delegates to Congresses are not just simply elected from below, they have to be approved by the next higher circle of authority. Factions are not permitted; no one is permitted to publicly disagree with party doctrine.

The Eurocommunist parties do not control the state and hence do not have the final, ultimate powers of the state to enforce as much discipline as they would like. Participatory democracy in the party structure is a farce. Power flows down. Given state power, we have seen what this has led to in every single case—the totalitarian nightmare of the police state.

Why should you believe the claims of democracy coming from the leaders of the Eurocommunist parties over that of the East European and Asian CP's? Because they say it more convincingly? Because they seem less militant and friendly? Don't be fooled. On the party level, structurally, the Eurocommunist parties are no different than any other kind of communism. It is a warped beyond recognition form of socialism.

I believe you can find people who believe in democratic socialism, social democracy, and communism in all the left-wing parties of Western Europe. Clearly, democratic socialism is the majority ideology in the French, Italian, and Spanish Socialist parties. Why not support the left wing of these parties, who are in fact in the majority within them? Why support the Eurocommunist parties who are clearly dominated by Leninists, not democratic socialists?

Do you support the Eurocommunist parties over the Socialist ones because they appear more militant? In the first case, this is not always true. The present Spanish Socialist Workers' party is putting forward much more militant demands than the Spanish Communist party. If the French and Italian SP's don't seem as militant as their respective CP's, you must remember, being truly democratic organizations they do contain a number of people who are less militant, who are reformist and social democratic, and do have the democratic power in the party to shape policy. In a real democracy, that kind of thing is bound to happen.

But authoritarianism and militancy do not always necessarily go together. I believe it is possible to be democratic and extremely revolutionary.

I will support democratic socialists in any party, in any country. But I will only support those political parties in which democratic socialists are in a majority, or at least have a fair chance of becoming a majority. If NAM wants to support undemocratically structured parties like the Eurocommunists, I am afraid I will not be able to remain a member.

**Donald F. Busky
Philadelphia, PA**

Helpful framework

The two articles on energy in the June issue of *MOVING ON* provide a helpful framework for the national debate on energy alternatives. Unfortunately, both articles were lacking.

In the article, "Cheapest Is Best," authors Luria and Price handicap themselves by limiting their vision to the alternatives posed by bourgeois economics. They take little note of the opportunities that could be made available through political struggle. To argue against labor intensive industry because of the threat they present to workers' living standards is to accept one of the worst features of the capitalist system. This short-sighted view does not point to arenas for mass action which might open up the possibilities for real change.

A problem with all single issue approaches is that success often increases the need of Capital to transfer its exploitation to other arenas. Socialist-Feminist analysis should always break through the limits of single issues and lay bare the connections between related struggles. There would have been no problem with the Luria-Price piece if, for example, they concluded that a switch to labor intensive energy production would require an all-out effort to ensure the unionization of these new industries.

The article by Rhys Scholes also did not go far enough in its attempts to explain the contradictions between a capitalist economy and a rational, democratic, energy policy. While the article does name Socialist-Feminism as an alternative, and provides some good examples of how capitalism fosters alienation, it is not as strong as it could have been in explaining that capitalism by its very nature reproduces the alienation of workers from the products of their creation. Socialism alone cannot guarantee the dissolution of alienation, but it does provide the potential.

Showing the incompatibility of capitalism and decentralized energy is important. Socialists should confront the ascendancy of libertarian ideology which asserts that small scale production is possible under capitalism.

Glen Lazof
Santa Barbara, CA

Join an activist organization for socialists!

Some people are working very hard these days. The corporate elite who run GM, EXXON, ITT and more have a lot to do just keeping up their profit margins. But they don't rest there. They work overtime for even bigger stakes—the future of capitalism.

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All the News



photo by John Judis

Moving and Shaking

NAM chapters in many cities will participate in Abortion Rights Action Week, October 22-29. The week will be a series of events sponsored by local groups in over a hundred U.S. cities. Rallies, teach-ins, forums and demonstrations will be among the activities. The week's theme is that those who support a woman's right to choose are a majority. Other issues include repeal of the Hyde Amendment, which denies Medicaid funding for abortions, and an end to forced sterilization. The week is sponsored by over 50 organizations, including the Coalition of Labor Union Women, Reproductive Rights National Network, National Alliance of Black Feminists and others . . . Members from many chapters will also take part in the National March for Gay and Lesbian Rights October 14 in Washington, D.C. A special "Freedom Train" will leave San Francisco a few days prior to the march and hold "whistle-stop" rallies for gay liberation in train stations along the way. . . Westside Neighbors, a community organization founded by Santa Cruz NAM, recently

celebrated its first anniversary. The group used direct action tactics to get the local government to re-open the branch library and fund a Senior Health Service program in the neighborhood. . . Santa Cruz NAM has doubled the number of NAM members on the local city council. The first member, Mike Rotkin, was elected through campaign efforts by the chapter, Westside Neighbors, and others last spring. The chapter promptly recruited Bruce Van Allen, a fellow socialist-feminist also just elected to the council. . . In Portland, Oregon, the Ratepayers' Union won an order forcing the state public utility commission to withdraw an application by Pacific Power and Light for a 15% rate increase. The group, started by Portland NAM, opposes nuclear power and favors rate reform, conversion to alternative energy sources and protecting jobs during the transition to renewable energy resources. . . Missoula NAM, whose members took part in the successful 1978 initiative campaign that curtailed nuclear power in Montana, is part of a new campaign for public power under the Big Sky.

New Chapter

A new chapter has formed in Orange County, California. Irvine NAM is a group of campus activists who have worked together to fight university investments in South Africa. They have also struggled against post Proposition 13 cutbacks and for better health care for students. Welcome.

Gay and Lesbian

NAM has just published *Working Papers on Gay and Lesbian Liberation*, a collection of articles on gay and lesbian liberation and socialism. It includes "Lesbians and the Left" by Judy McLean and "Culture and Politics" by Christine Riddiough. It is available for \$1.00 from the national office.

Resources

There are two recent publications that will be of interest and assistance to every NAM chapter. Modern Times, one of the best left book stores in the country, is beginning a mail order operation that will enable chapters to keep their literatures tables well-stocked and members to keep abreast of a wide range of contemporary and historical works on Marxism, feminism, black liberation, culture and much more. Their excellent catalog is available from Modern Times, 3800 17th Street, San Francisco, CA 94114. And for readers involved in community organizing, there's a new handbook designed to provide practical information on organizing strategy and tactics. *Actions and Campaigns: Handbook #3* draws on the experiences of ACORN and uses specific case studies to illustrate its approaches. It is available for \$2.50 from The Institute, 628 Barrone Street, New Orleans, LA 70113.