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Moving On

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International Women's Day

Commitment & Politics in the 80's

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Moving On

Towards a socialist America

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Comment

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Looking For America

The Long View

NAM News & Views

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Trends in Women's Labor

By Anne Hill

Zip code sorters for the post office. photo by Bob Fitch

LAST SUMMER WOMEN MADE HISTORY again as for the first time more than 50% of us were part of the paid labor force. In 1975, the Labor Department predicted that over half of all women would be working outside the home by 1990, but only three years later, it had happened. A phenomenal 6 million more women were added to the labor force. This influx of women into the workforce will prove to be the most important domestic social development of the '70s, far exceeding Watergate, the energy crisis, the recession, or even the flight of capital to the sunbelt.

Contrary to a popular myth, most of these women are entering the same kind of jobs that 80% of all women workers hold: sales, clerical, unskilled and semi-skilled service and manual jobs. These jobs bring with them low pay, few promotional opportunities, and even less respect and dignity.

One-third of all women workers are clerical workers, and the number of office jobs is expected to continue to increase as the "paper industry" proliferates. An equal number of women are working in low-paying manual industrial and service occupations, as machine operators in apparel manufacturing and textile factories, assemblers in electronic plants, beautiicians, hospital aides, and domestics.

Only 5% of all women workers are in high-paying, skilled craft jobs. Further, few women are breaking into these craft jobs or into the "professions." The total number of skilled jobs is declining as companies automate or move overseas. And those women who do make it into the "professions" as lawyers, professors, or low and middle-level management, find they share the lot of most of their sisters with discrimination in pay and promotion.

Minority women, who account for 16% of all women in the paid labor force, suffer this occupational segregation as well as white women. Most black women are found in the lowest paid, least-skilled manual industrial and service occupations. Before World War II, an astonishing 72% of employed black women were domestics! Today, 20% are domestics and 21% are clerical workers. Black women have a higher participation rate in the paid labor force than do white women due to the fact that a higher proportion of black women provide the sole support of their families.

What does this job segregation mean for women—minority and white alike? It means low pay. 11% of all female manual industrial and service workers are considered "working poor" by the federal government's definition of poverty. On the average, working women make $.59 for every $1.00 a man earns. Job segregation means little or no training opportunities for promotions or better careers. Traditional female occupations, clerical or manual, are dead-end jobs. Job segregation has benefitted employers by keeping wages down, by keeping expectations of women limited, and by keeping unions out of the female occupations.

Anne Hill is a national organizer for Working Women—National Association of Office Workers, and a member of NAM.

The Role of Unions

What is the role of unions in maintaining job segregation?

Union composition and union organizing mirrors occupational and industrial segregation. Since unions have developed along occupational and industrial lines, this seems logical on its face. But, a deeper look at the union role reveals the race and sex discrimination women face in the society as a whole.

During World War II, the number of women in the manual labor force rose from 350,000 to 2 million, and unionization among women flourished. After the war, the unions acquiesced to the employers and the government firing women and giving their jobs to the returning servicemen. 2800 of 3150 child care centers were closed down to speed up this turnover.

All of the unions, with perhaps the exception of Hospital Workers 1199, have been dominated by white men. Only a handful of these, the Clothing Workers and the Garment Workers, for example, have had any interest in organizing the vast majority of women workers. In the past, the AFL denied charters to female locals and until recently, some AFL Internationals refused to admit women. Women have been discriminated against through union dues structures, the use of separate seniority lists, the grievance procedure, and apprenticeship programs—and continue to be in some unions.

The unions complicity is reflected in the relative incomes of union and nonunion women and men. In the union blue collar sector, men earn an average of 100% more than women, a greater differential than in the nonunion blue collar sector where men earn 90% more than women.

Despite this bad treatment of working women by the unions, unionization of the female labor force does increase women's wages and protection on the job. It is a necessity if women are to improve their situation and if the labor movement is to survive.

There are 100 million workers in the United States today, of whom only 22% are organized into unions. 42 million are women, of whom only 14% are unionized. The 86% of women workers who are not unionized face the inflationary '80s alone. So, the major strategic question must be how to organize a significant number of yet unorganized women, and in such a way that they can participate in the creation of a new movement for progressive change—one that will eventually lead to a broad-based powerful socialist movement in the United States.

Emerging Tendencies

There are some emerging tendencies among women workers, and within the women's movement and the labor movement which point to positive change:

1) Women are entering more occupations than ever before. Although the pace is extremely slow, pioneering women are breaking through the barriers. Every victory increases the expectations which women have for themselves. These rising expectations are a key ingredient in the fight for improved working conditions.

2)Working women have a much more developed understanding of the pervasiveness of race and sex discrimination in employment than they did just five years ago. It is common to hear a female tank teller comment that the male bank teller standing next to her makes more money than she makes, even though she has 18 years seniority on him. It is common to hear the stories of female office workers who have trained a half dozen men for positions above them. Women workers know they are getting the short end of the stick, and they are beginning to learn that there is something they can do about it.

3) More and more women are working and they are working longer—an average of 34 years. This means they are a stable part of the workforce with a significant investment in that workforce and its activities.

These changes are directly and indirectly attributable to the women's movement. The women's movement has created the consciousness necessary for such emerging tendencies to develop, even among women who do not consciously identify with the women's movement.

The woman who has been spending her lunch hour fetching her boss' clothes from the cleaners and who finally refuses to do it anymore, has changed. The woman who has been quietly passed over for a promotion again and again and who finally gets up the nerve to speak up and demand that she be promoted, has changed. These women like thousands of others across the country, many of whom are now joining and building office workers' organizations and unions, have been touched and changed by the women's movement, and they in turn, are now changing the women's movement.

The women's movement itself has changed, stabilized, and entered the American mainstream. And that's good, for it means that more women have joined the battle for equality and respect in every major institution of society. However, many women (especially manual workers) still hold to a negative media image of "women's libbers" as bra-burning, man-hating crazies. We must be sensitive to this image and take the necessary steps to correct it.

Just as the women's movement is changing, so is the labor movement, however, slowly. It has begun to recognize women as a constituency which has special needs, one of which is to be organized.

There are more women in local union leadership positions today; and rank and file women have become more vocal. There are more women's conferences being sponsored by unions today. The Coalition of Labor Union Women has been instrumental in activating trade union women around women's issues, such as pregnancy disability, the ERA, child care and reproductive rights. They have also been successful in pressuring the male union hierarchy to throw labor's official support behind these demands, and to

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hire more women organizers. Activisim among trade union women is undoubtedly rising; and the male bureaucracy and leadership is being forced to respond.

But, generally, unions have been slow in organizing women workers. Some unions such as the Service Employees International Union, the Teamsters, OPEIU, and District 65 have made tentative incursions into the clerical field. And 1199 and SEIU do organize hospital workers, the majority of whom are low-income women and minorities. And, ACTWU is, as we all know, trying to break into the textile mills of the South which are predominantly female. These are scattered examples—too scattered.

Organizing

This brings me to the question of organizing. I think if the labor movement is to survive, it must organize the majority of working women. And it must ;do so in the next 10-15 years. There is not a lot of time to be messing around.

NAM should encourage more women members to take clerical jobs, to work as union staff organizing office workers, and to work with and build the office workers' organizations.

The development of the office workers' organizations, such as *9-to-5* in Boston, *Women Organized for Employment* in San Francisco, *Women Employed in Baltimore*, and *Cleveland Women Working* is a unique opportunity for NAM to have a significant impact in organizing office workers. These organizations are city-wide membership organizations which are reaching out to women who have not previously been a part of political activity of any kind, progressive or otherwise. They are reaching out to black as well as white, to old as well as young, developing leadership and skills within the clerical sector.

The local office workers' organizations and their national organization, *Working Women, National Association of Office Workers*, are creating a national movement which is the precursor to th elarge scale unionization of office workers. Whether it takes the form of one large office workers' union or is done by a number of currently existing unions, it will have an impact on the labor movement not seen since the organizing days of the industrial unions int he '30s and '40s.

Conclusion.

Office workers cannot be organized on a large scale if we organize only on a local level. That is why the national organization, *Working Women*, has been created. The big money, for one thing, does not exist at the local level—it's national. And the people who will decide the role of existing unions in clerical organizing are national, not local, union leaders. For NAM to have a significant impact on this organizing, NAM must establish itself as a national organization with a national program, and shed the localism which now permeates it.

sculpture by William E. Artis

Commitment & Politics in the '80s

By David Plotke

LEFT ORGANIZATIONS—AND NOT only socialist organizations—share a number of problems, across political differences. One of these problems is how to sustain commitment. Everyone knows may hard-working, creative people who have retired from any active relation to politics, whether or not they still think of themselves as leftists.

The process that leads people out of organized activity and toward a more or less routinely privatized life is often called burn-out. It happens in various ways. Sometimes it is a long, slow process of retreat—people who are engaged in organizations or projects gradually withdraw from them, very often without giving any account of what they are doing, even being unaware of it themselves. Sometimes it is more dramatic, with explosive announcements that someone has had enough, is not going to be mistreated by the left any more, can't take the pressure and lack of support. Almost everyone who remains politically active confronts fears of burning out; when feelings of deep disappointment surface, one wonders where they will lead.

Burning out goes on almost all the time, in most organizations. It is often not really a matter of departures, of something that could be measured so easily. Its content is an inability to function creatively and autonomously in political and work situations that demand it. Such inability sometimes produces withdrawal—but it also produces a dispirited routinization of work, a constricted sense of purpose, a repression at times of even the memory of some of the impulses that made the work seem important in the first place.

If burning out amounts to a killing of passion, the result is that those suffering from it are often reluctant to explore what is going on, for fear of confronting desires that have come to seem unrealizable. People usually join the left for complicated combinations of personal and political motives. For most, the choice involves a desire to bring about real changes in social and political life, changes that would make a creative, secure life less of a dream; and for most, part of the motive is to participate in building a community—the left—that would not only fight for those changes but at least to a modest extent try to prefigure some of them in its own forms of organization. When people's work seems unconnected to either goal—when it comes to seem like a routine, a habit, or even a means of repressing pain—then questions surface:

What am I doing now, and how does it compare to what I want to be doing? What are the real barriers, in my present work, to making a contribution—and a life—with which I could feel happy?

If such questions are treated only in private conversations—sometimes within individuals—the results are usually either deep depression, followed by withdrawal; or a false sense that anything is possible, that all that's necessary is harder work. It is right to start with the judgment that this is a difficult period for the left, and that the frustration of personal desire in political work is partly inscribed in the limits of the politically possible. But that judgment belongs in the background, as a way of framing a much more careful analysis of what the left is now and what it can be, what defects are not necessary, rather than as a means of counseling the need to suffer (with a marxist gloss).

Sources of Burn-out

Burnout assumes its most spectacular forms with the bitter departures of leaders and staff people, but its routine aspects permeate most organizations, and are no less corrosive for sometimes being hard to detect.

One source of burnout is shortages of all sorts. Organizations struggle on, below that minimal level required to establish themselves clearly on any level in public space, to generate sufficient interest to establish a public presence,

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to pay decent salaries to their staffs. (Money is often the (partly) symbolic form that condenses various types of material inadequacy and moral anxiety.) Lack of resources often creates an explosive resentment within organizations, cutting across them in many ways; or leads to a less directly explosive introduction of an ethic of suffering disguised as an ethic of service.

A second source of burnout is the notion of "alternative"occupations (for staff) or "alternative" ways of living for members and leaders alike. This conception was formed within the new left and youth culture in the 1960s. While there were analagous concepts in previous major periods of left activity, it received its fullest statement in the last fifteen years, and its decline has been, to a large extent, the historically specific form of disillusionment of the recent past. In the 1970s, "alternative" has tended to end up meaning marginal; and those who took its promise seriously often reach a point where they fill up with rage about the lives that they might have had. They fear the concescension of their friends who chose to pursue more conventional careers, and fear that their marginality will be permanent.

Framing the left as an "alternative" became more and more problematic through the 1970s. Part of this was because political judgments in general changed within much of the left. A renewed emphasis on entering and transforming the main institutions of American life made the notion of the left as a total alternative community seem less appealing. Another part came from the difficult economic prospects of the decade, leading many people to make conventional choices, while sometimes guiltily imagining that they should have done something different. Finally, the forms to which "alternative" lifestyles, or the left itself as an alternative, were supposed to offer a response continued to decay. Thrown back on the need to define a positive content for "alternative" efforts, many of their advocates simply kept quiet or left.

Marginality of the Left.

The problem of resources, and the problem of defining the left as an "alternative" both rest on the fundamental separation of the socialist left from American political and social life. This marginality underlies the form in which otherwise possibly manageable problems of resource allocation take on a pathos, a dreary, painful repetitive qualtiy.

In this setting, it is often the most flexible and open of organizations which are most vulnerable to burn-out. In the 1970s, that meant organizations such as the socialist feminist women's unions, NAM, DSOC, local electoral and trade union efforts, and a multitude of left and feminist service-type projects. Those organizations that try to resist pressures toward routinization, that strain toward establishing some connection between their work and the shaping of political forces in the broader society, place their members in the difficult situation of directly, openly, and clearly experiencing failure when it happens. In a difficult political period, organizations that try to strip away dogmatic and rhetorical accounts of themselves, apologies for their weakness, are very vulnerable.

To sustain desire and creativity in the face of powerful pressures to transform both into fantasy or deadening routine requires some conception of what personal maturity might look like in this period.

The other side of this process is not so much the formation of sects—as such, they are easy targets for ridicule, or, more generously, for sympathy for their cadres. the pressures toward routinization, closure, and denial infect all the cultural and social milieus where the left exists as an identifiable force, the avowedly non-sectarian left as well as the gruesomely sectarian. Openness, flexibility, and modesty can become new ways of routinizing and apologizing for isolation and weakness. The possibilities for transforming leftist political impulses into the construction of lavish new retirement communities are often hard to resist. Such a course, in difficult times, at least offers a continued sense of participation in something that looks like a left (or is reminiscent of one).

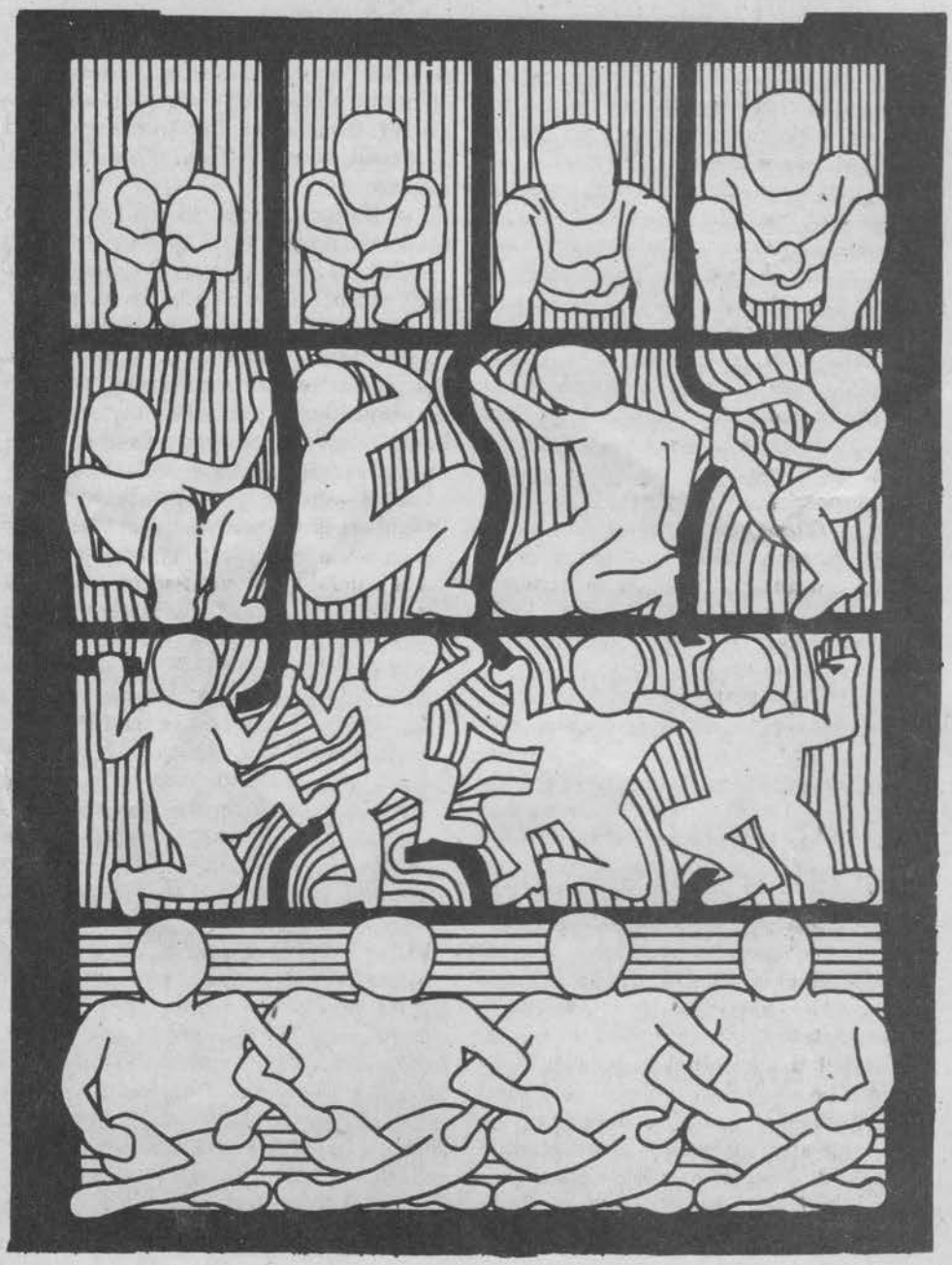
Burn-out often appears as a rejection of what the left has to offer, in terms both of work and personal life. To the extent that the left becomes less marginal, less an alternative, but remains weak, the problems may even intensify for a period, as neither the rewards of sectarian devotion nor the rewards of traditional achievement structures are available.

woodcut by Van Slater

Put crudely, bad politics is at the center of much that eventually appears as burn-out—bad politics, or even the elimination of politics, as a sense of conducting a global struggle over how power is structured. Obviously bad politics is in some sense the only politics we now have—measured not by intentions but by immediate results—and coping with the strains of unsuccessful efforts will unavoidable be hard.

The Personal is Not Always Political

What that means, for at least the coming decade, is that there are some important ways in which the personal is not political. Personal problems will not be disposed of by any imaginable version of a left in the near future, and the best to be gained is the sort of political advances that will open up a more promising terrain for dealing with a range of personal issues. Such advances really can happen in the next decade; the prospects of building a broad, popular left are not negligible. But most of this left will not be socialist, and its accomplishments will be very far from the drastic social reordering that would be a basis for a real transformation of personal life.



Yet even political defeats do not mean the impossibility of personal victories that matter. These victories include finding and sustaining creative work; building stable, close relationships; and generating ways of living and dong political work that permit an expansive, energetic personal development. Rather than simply continuing to insist that personal problems have political roots—which in the context of limited victories can so easily look like a semi-religious faith that suffering will be redeemed—we have to insist that personal and political questions are both interdependent and irreducible to each other. Efforts to dissolve the tension often originate in understandable political motives: to draw attention to the public sources of private pain, or to force attention on the task of contesting for public power. Yet such efforts often produce images of political virtue that are saintly and unliveable, either in public or private life.

At the extreme, the left (and also a wide range of service sector organizations) tends to generate an ethic of sacrifice. Merit flows out of overwork, or a willingness to accept low pay, or endurance of difficult working conditions. In practice, this conception of merit is usually internalized, so that no one tells the staff of an organization—a tenants project or a magazine, a health center or a national political organization—that they have to work too hard. The staff—and often others—just come to believe it to be true. This ethic makes it hard to assess results at any given point. It also produces a tendency toward resentment—when staff and members start to wonder whether all of their work is worth it, and decide that it is not, then there is no one and everyone to blame.

Beyond Suffering and Sacrifice

Can we start to develop an ethic of discipline and sustained effort that is not an ethic of suffering and sacrifice? The temptation to rely on the latter is strong, given that is rooted, among other places, in the religious and cultural traditions from which most of the left emerges. And it is a great means of stimulating productivity, in the short term. Its temporary benefits pale before the costs that it exacts, though, in forcing people to reject the left to defend themselves from being consumed by guilt and internalized judgments of inadequacy.

Building a socialist left in the 1980s will probably be more possible than in the decade that just ended. But there will be nothing automatic about it, and the pressures that produce burn-out will persist—no matter how successful the immediate programmatic initiatives we might undertake, the sense of insufficiency will be with us. To sustain desire and creativity in the face of powerful pressures to transform both into fantasy or deadening routine requires some conception of what personal maturity might look like in this period.

Looking around the room at major political events these days, the demographics are simple in age terms, however complicated otherwise. The great majority of people are between 25 and 40, with a much smaller number over 60, and very few people between 40 and 60. This pattern has been noted in the last few years. One common explanation is the Cold War, as a sort of social anesthesia that prevented radicalization for most of a generation. There's some accuracy in that judgment, but it often signals the presence of other fears: that the choice between radicalism and adulthood is really necessary after all, and how that choice is likely to be made can be predicted by the results revealed in the present age structure of the left.

That fear deserves serious attention, not as a matter of the inherent dilemmas of the aging process in society, but as a cultural and social problem. Part of problem has to do with overcoming the marginality of the left, of trying to build a left that is immersed in American life and able to contest for power, a left that does not push its members and leaders to choose between becoming cynical hacks or earnest sectarians. Despite the broken history of the American left, it does seem to be the case that when it is larger and more powerful, some of these pressures diminish and the choice between "life" and "politics" is not posed in terms that make the latter appealing only to a few. (At its most positive, the movements of the 1960s managed to address this problem by combining cultural and political efforts in such a way that people could withdraw from organized politics and still identify themselves with the left; in earlier periods, this was more difficult).

Yet even were the left more powerful, it would have to face the fact that conventional notions of adulthood have entered into deep crises. The adult lives against which much of the new left protested—and which are sometimes romanticized in views of what was possible in the Socialist and Communist experiences earlier in this century—are not nearly so firmly entrenched in the preeminent place in the range of personal possibilites as they might have seemed fifteen years ago. In the context of a decaying family and career structure, working out notions of achievement and happiness becomes charged. Neither accepting nor rejecting the traditional models is enough, as the former comes to seem like a sad form of mimicry conducted in hope of forced feelings into existence that were supposed to emerge spontaneously, while the latter looks like a pointless rejection with little substance of its own.

How is this related to the problem of burn-out? It is not as though the left should treat the crisis of social adulthood as one more area in which it needs to develop a sound programmatic perspective, like inflation or education. The content of the impulses that lead to burn-out is the end of hope that there might be some connection between the possibilities of building lives that are creative and somewhat secure on the left. Sustaining that hope is a many sided process, which requires both political advances and a redefinition of the forms of adult life. What is at stake in the latter is starting to define, and construct, forms of security, stable intimacy, and personal development that can be genuine alternatives to the traditional form of a single job/family/career/residence. That form responds decreasingly to available experiences, in large part because of the decay of the industrial and professional structures to which it corresponded. Advancing new models is not just an act of will—such models tend to emerge out of the demands of new occupational structurres and new types of family relations. Yet the situation is complex and difficult, because elements of decay and renewal are intertwined in almost every sphere.

In thinking about these issues, we on the left have much in common with millions of other people. Offering the left as a new career is not the answer—it is not a matter of trying to make left jobs attractive as permanent positions, in order to attract people. On this ground, the core of what we can try to gain is a flexible, open model of adulthood, in which intense political activity can take place periodically for large numbers of people. The goal is to begin to create a left culture that is attractive as a crucial long-term part of a developmental adulthood, and not as a substitute for it. This requires a break with the notion of the left as an alternative, in favor of a much more open and aggressive effort to make the left both a place where new images of development and maturity can be fashioned and an instrument for fighting to expand the range of those possibilities within a whole society. We do not want to confront people—including ourselves—with the choice of either avoiding the left or becoming completely consumed by it. We do want to make the left a place where these questions of commitment can be addressed openly and rigorously both in the internal life of organizations and in the broader goals that we try to reach.

Thanks to Fred Block, Barbara Epstein, Judy MacLean and Steve Tarzynski for comments on an earlier draft.

Proposition 13– Fightback at San Diego State

by Prescott Nichols

AS A NAM MEMBER AND AS THE president of a teachers' union, I ask myself what is the appropriate response to Proposition 13? I remember that in May of 1978, during the election campaign prior to Prop. 13's passage in June, the fight against it was being carried on primarily by liberal and not radical organizations. It was at that time that I was elected president of my local, the United Professors of California (UPC, affiliated with AFT) at San Diego State University, and my first official act was to organize informational picketing on our campus just one week prior to the June 6 election. I can't, however, say that we all had our hearts in it. First of all, the opinion polls made it clear that we were too little and too late; Jarvis and Gann were carrying the day and Brown was already waffling on the issue as he began to sniff the wind. But even more than that, many of us felt that it might make more sense to organize *after* Proposition 13 than before.

And we may have been right, for I doubt if the UPC has ever increased its membership and its influence as effectively as it has during the past year. Of course, we were helped greatly by a paradoxical conjunction of events: two months after 13, the state legislature approved California's first collective bargaining law in higher education. So now we had both the carrot and the stick. On the one hand, the passage of 13 and the subsequent decision of Brown and the legislature to bail out the cities, counties, and school districts while inflicting "austerity" upon the state budget and the two university systems showed professors and other campus workers how bad the situation was —how we could depend upon the state government and indeed our own administrators to screw us rather than aid us. And on the other hand, the collective bargaining law showed us a way out. Now at last, after a decade of struggle, we would be able to compete for the right to be a *union* and not mere-

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ly an organizing committee and we would eventually be able to achieve a countervailing power to that of management. Thus, we now knew that we had to organize more than ever, and we knew how to go about it.

The Politics of Austerity

On the opening days of classes in September 1978, the UPC picketed and leafleted at the entrances to the campus, making the point that this institution was not the same as when students left it before that tumultuous summer. And from that moment on, we were engaged in a series of activities that paralleled what was happening at the other 18 campuses in the California State College and University (CSUC) system but which reached a higher level of intensity here than elsewhere. At the same time that we were carrying on the propaganda war against what we then called Jarvis—Brown, we were engaged in membership recruitment as part of a massive statewide effort, netting by Christmas time 100 new members, for a total of 450, representing over a third of the full-time faculty (only about 50 of our members are part-time).

For a while the focus of our struggle was on Jerry Brown, for it was he who had been carrying on his predecessor Ronald Reagan's policy of denying us adequate cost-of-living increases year after year; it was he who insisted on a *zero* cost-of-living increase for all public employees following 13; and it was he who in January of 1979 came out with a state budget proposal that would involve the loss of some 1200 positions (faculty and staff) and necessitate massive layoffs in the CSUC.

But then in February 1979, our attention turned to SDSU's president, Thomas Day, for not only was he informing the campus that we might lose 80 faculty positions in the fall, he was coming out with what later came to be called a "hit list" of seven departments or programs —Health Science and Safety, Natural Science, Social Welfare, Nursing, Mechanical Engineering, Industrial Studies, and Athletics (academic courses)—that he claimed might have to be eliminated entirely. Not only did most people feel this was premature, since all we had to go on was Brown's *proposed* budget, and everyone knew from past experience that what the legislature and the governor finally approved in July would be quite different, but it was heavy-handed in the extreme because Day drew up this hit list quite arbitrarily with no consultation with the faculty involved or even with the faculty senate (this came only *after* the hit list had been established).

The passage of 13 and the subsequent decision of Brown and the legislature... showed professors and campus workers how bad the situation was—how we could depend upon the state government and indeed our own administrators to screw us rather than aid us.

Now a word about Thomas Day. Since he came to us from the East, the University of Maryland, and this was his first year as SDSU president, some might excuse his actions as resulting from political naivete, but it became increasingly clear that he knew what he was doing. We came to learn, for example, that back in Maryland, where he was vice-chancellor at the Baltimore campus, he had acquired a reputation as the administration's "hatchet man." He had confronted student demonstrators during the anti-war days; he had played a role in the firing of David DeLeon, a marxist historian; and he had directed a ruthless reorganization of departments and divisions at both the College Park and Baltimore campuses.

One of his first acts upon arriving at San Diego State was to rule that UPC and other employee organizations could not hold meetings on campus unless they received prior permission from the administration and paid a room-rental fee for each meeting. (A policy, which, I'm happy to report, the UPC publicly refused to comply with by continuing to hold meetings in what Day later referred to as an act of "civil disobedience" until finally, this summer, the policy was rescinded.) Thus, it appears to us that Chancellor Dumke of the CSUC knew what he was doing when he hired Day, as did many faculty and administrators on this campus (those of us who should have been concerned weren't paying attention). Day is the new hatchet man of the CSUC, and he is using the pretext of the budget cuts to reorganize our campus.

That reorganization is his primary goal became clear when he revealed in a "meet-and-confer" session that in abolishing existing programs he wanted to clear the way for new programs which would be more in keeping with the "needs of the times." When in early May he announced his final decision to cut 65 positions he explained that he was simultaneously *adding* 15 positions, in the College of Business and in a newly created graduate school of Public Health, thereby leaving us with a net cut of 50 positions. Apparently, these are two of the programs that, in his view, are in keeping with the times and should therefore be built up at the expense of faculty layoffs in other areas. No department is being abolished entirely, as Day threatened, but Health Science and Safety, Social Welfare, Industrial Studies, and Natural Science are being seriously gutted, and the first two are being forced to merge with each other.

Just what underlies the particular kind of reorganization that Day is engaged in is not readily apparent. The programs that he is axing are not the typical administrative targets that have been under attack at such institutions as San Francisco State and Fresno

For a while the focus of our struggle was on Jerry Brown, for it was he who came out with a state budget proposal that would involve the loss of some 1200 faculty and staff positions and cause massive lay-offs.

Governor Jerry Brown

State (see the just-published book by Kenneth Seib titled *The Slow Death of Fresno State*), i.e., the ethnic studies programs and certain "radical" areas of the humanities such as English and Philosophy. Rather, he has gone after the more vocationally oriented areas and has so far spared the "core" liberal arts programs. If there is a pattern, perhaps it can best be seen in the build-up of Business at the expense of such service-oriented programs as Nursing, Social Welfare, Health Science and Safety, and even Natural Science, which offers science more for teachers in training than for research specialists. Also, a stated concern of the administration is to try to achieve more private funding. For example, Day has hired a new athletic director who has a great reputation as a fund-raiser. By enhancing the already flourishing College of Business, Day hopes to attract additional money from the San Diego business community, and in creating a new graduate school of Public Health, he may be hoping for grants from federal and foundation sources. He has already requested a grant from the San Diego State Foundation to supplement the Public Health Director's salary to bring it up to approximately $50,000. Thus, his reaction to the prospect of losing public funds through Proposition 13 is to explore other fund-raising sources, particularly in the private business sector.

The over-all trend, then, seems very much in keeping with the politics of the New Right, which is hitting primarily at tax-related issues and government funding of human services. Perhaps the ideal "public" university of the future, from the perspective of the New Right, will (a) charge tuition, (b) be greatly reduced in size, (c) cater mainly to white middle-class students (even more than now), (d) receive significant funding from business sources, (e) keep a small but respectable core of courses in the humanities and social sciences, and (f) provide limited training for human services workers (For a more in-depth analysis of these trends, see John Beverly's recent article, "Higher Education and Capitalist Crisis," in the *Socialist Review* #42.) If these are the goals, Thomas Day has us off to a good start in achieving them.

Building a Coalition

In the face of this threat from the right, UPC has developed a fightback strategy, which combines features of contract unionism with more militant or socialist elements. On the one hand, we have, as I said, stepped up our membership drive, and we have also conducted a very successful petition drive to put UPC on the ballot for the upcoming CB election. At SDSU 68% of the full and part-time faculty signed the petition as did over 55% (11,000 faculty) in the CSUC as a whole. But concurrently we have also been leafleting and picketing, sponsoring joint faculty meetings and teach-ins, helping to distribute protest petitions, and forming alliances. When I say "we," however, I want to make it clear that I mean primarily the leadership and the activists within the union and not necessarily the membership as a whole. Anyone who has tried to organize faculty knows that it is difficult in the extreme. Not only do professors tend to be caught up in all kinds of individualism, elitism, and intellectualism, but they are, in the present circumstances, simply afraid. If they're non-tenured, they're worried about their jobs; if they're tenured they're worried about promotion or whether they'll get their sabbatical, etc. This was most evident when some of the faculty circulated a petition expressing a "lack of confidence" in Thomas Day. Roughly 350 signed the petition, but almost a hundred of those approached said that although they agreed with it they feared their signatures would bring reprisals. Thus, one of our main tasks has been to try to achieve some measure of solidarity among the faculty. An overwhelming majority were persuaded to sign the bargaining petition, but getting people to take some kind of action on the budget cuts, even to the extent of just coming to meetings, has been a more formidable task.

In addition to our attempt to mobilize the faculty, we have recognized the necessity of forming alliances or coalitions both on campus and off campus. On campus we first approached the rival faculty organization—the Congress of Faculty Associations (CFA), which is actually a coalition of three groups that have come together in an attempt to defeat UPC in the CB election. (These organizations are the American Association of University Professors [AAUP], the California College and University Faculty Association [CCUFA, affiliated with NEA], and the California State Employees Association [CSEA].) None of our joint actions ac-

The overall trend...seems very much in keeping with the politics of the New Right, which is hitting primarily at tax-related issues and government funding of human services.

Howard Jarvis

complished much, but the show of unity among the leaders of these competing organizations was mildly impressive.

Next, in accordance with state-wide policy of the UPC, we approached staff organizations and student groups to form what came to be called the Rainbow Committee Against Cutbacks. This included UPC and CFA and the two staff unions—the Clerical and Allied Services Employees (CASE, affiliated with AFSCME) and the California State Employees Association (CESA, Local 128)—representatives from such student groups as NAM, the Black Students Council, the Chicano students (MECHA), the Native American Students Association, the Women's Resource Center, and the California Public Interest Research Group (CALPIRG) and the campus ministries. Since then Associated Students (student government) have joined. In the early stages this was an uneasy and rather shaky alliance. The minority organizations were present primarily because at the time there was a threat from the dean of the College of Arts and Letters to cut the ethnic studies programs and merge them all into one department. The Rainbow Committee adopted a policy opposing the merger, but the president of the CFA dissented from this position. Later, when the threat of merger appeared to have dissipated, the BSC and MECHA stopped attending meetings, though they still support us. The major action of the Rainbow Committee was to sponsor a teach-in and outdoor rally on campus in April. This did not draw much of a crowd, but a press conference held two days prior to the rally got the Rainbow Committee some media attention, and the rally itself was well covered in the Daily Aztec, the campus paper.

Now people knew the Rainbow Committee existed, and we had to decide what to do next. The teach-in had focussed primarily on Brown and the way he was creating what was essentially an artificial budget crisis to pave his way to the presidency, but by April it was clear that what Day was doing to our campus was of more direct concern than what Brown was doing to the system as a whole. One of UPC's points in its "Brown Cutback Resistance Plan" was that if there absolutely had to be cuts, these should not be in instruction but in administration and that there should in fact be an independent audit conducted of the administration to see if there was any bureaucratic fat. Chancellor Dumke had set up a task force to investigate the administrative budget for the CSUC system, but this task force was comprised solely of *administrators*, including the presidents of each of the 19 campuses. Warren Kessler, UPC's statewide president, pointed out time and again that the administration had grown three times as fast as the student population in recent years, and everyone at SDSU knew that there were many more deans and mini-deans around than ever before. Furthermore, we knew there had to be a way to avoid the devastation of education that was taking place at the hands of Thomas Day. What was needed was an independent audit, but how were we to go about it?

Fortunately, Bill Barclay, a sociology teacher who was active in UPC and also a member of the San Diego Chapter of NAM, learned through NAM contacts in California higher education of the existence of John Caccavale from the Center for Negotiatons in the Public Interest and contacted him. Caccavale is a sociologist and political activist who has, since Propositon 13, been utilizing the California Public Records Act to acquire vital budgetary information, first in the Los Angeles County budget and later in two community colleges, Orange Coast in southern California and Butte in northern California. In each case, he had been able to make disclosures of misbudgeted or surplus money that seriously embarassed the administrations of those institutions and prevented them from making threatened layoffs of their employees. With strong urging from NAM and the UPC, the Rainbow Committee decided to hire Caccavale and the Center for Negotiations in the Public Interest to do an independent audit of SDSU's 70 million dollar budget. In May, Caccavale presented a letter to Thomas Day requesting that under the Public Records Act we be able to inspect administrative documents in various categories. Day's response, on June 25, over a month later, was to insist that (1) we specify the documents we want and (2) we pay labor time for his staff to locate the documents. As Caccavale has pointed out to us, either of these conditions

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Women in Music

By Torie Osborn

IN 1973, OLIVIA RECORDS, THE FIRST women's recording company, released a 45 by Meg Christian (who later recorded the classic lesbian folkstyle ballad, "Ode to a Gym Teacher,"), and distributed it through a very loose network of some 15 lesbian-feminists, who took the record around to a scattering of feminist stores and women's centers. Today, six years later, there are about 45 LPs and several 45s of women's music on at least 10 different labels, and over 50 distributors, all of them either making or aiming toward making a full-time living at their distribution work. In addition, the distributors work with some 40 production companies that bring live concerts of women's music to thousands of women and men every month nationally. Over ¾ million albums of women's music have been sold (140,000 by Holly Near; 85,000 by Cris Williamson; 40,000 each of Meg Christian and Margie Adam, to cite only the top sellers). Beginning those few years ago with folk music, women's music now comes in a variety of genres: pop, blues, jazz, folk, country.

And it's only the beginning. Unlike punk rock or disco, women's music is not a fad, a mass-produced, packaged cultural commodity with a programmed short life. Emerging from the women's movement, women's music fills a need felt by lots of people for music which reflects the constant dynamic of personal and political change wrought by a feminism that doesn't seem to be stopping any time soon. The demand for women's music has allowed the distribution network to flourish; women's music can now be found in major chain stores around the country like Sam Goody's, Peaches, Tower Records. And the press is just beginning to discover us: with a minimum of hustling on our part nationally, articles have appeared in the past years in the *New York Times*, *Village Voice*, *Boston Globe*, *Washington Post*, *Essence* magazine, *MS.* and many others. There is beginning to be name recognition of the term "women's music." Clearly, women's music seems to be "happening."

The challenge for those producing women's music is how to reach a wide audience—desirable for both economic and political reasons—and still maintain control of the product and ties to the feminist culture that nourishes the music.

Women's culture as a whole is a growing and vital culture of resistance against the dominant sexist and capitalist culture. It is made up largely of lesbians and is defining new ways of living, loving, working, doing art, and politics. It is by nature circumscribed and self-contained, with its own developing language, gamut of styles, ethics, etc. Although not uniform, it does have its own cultural identity.

But women's culture is not only a culture that has sprung from the needs and visions of a certain relatively small group of lesbians and feminists, helps us survive, celebrates our growth, and inspires our work. It is a politically and historically important force in terms of its impact on the world outside it. There are clear signs of its effects on the work of Lily Tomlin, Ntozake Shange, and Adrienne Rich, for example, who each in her own way has been influenced by women's culture, and in turn is affecting other cultural arenas.

So, on the one side, there is the development of a strong, autonomous self-contained subculture, that looks to itself for strength, and that stands outside the dominant cultural forms while affecting them by the power of its critique and vision. Then there's the political need to organize, to do outreach, to bring women's culture outside of its lesbian-feminist center. At this point, no aspect of women's culture equals the potential of women's music to reach a wide audience, in large part because of the place of the music industry in contemporary capitalist culture.

In addition, women's music fills a widespread need for music that is positive but also political. There is a deep cultural and spiritual crisis in this country, and women's music—its spirit of life, its celebration of positive change, and its inherent political message—

Torie Osborn, NAM member-at-large, worked for 2 years for Holly Near running Redwood Records. Currently she is working with Robin Tyler, lesbian comic and activist. She remains active in the women's music network, and will be helping produce the 8th National Women's Music Festival in Champaign-Urbana, IL, in June, 1980. With Tyler, she is also working to help create a national women's music and lesbian gay cultural foundation.

could become an important antidote to the decadent, musical death-culture promoted by capitalism on the airwaves and in our living rooms.

Avoiding the Pitfalls

As producers of women's music, we want to maintain our connection to the culture that sustains us politically, the lesbian-feminist communities around the country that have created the impetus and space for women's music. We also want to begin to actualize our potential to reach as wide an audience as possible. Conceivably, these goals could pull us in different directions. But for several reasons I think we have a good chance at avoiding some of the pitfalls.

First, the political consciousness of the women producing women's music is very high, and we are aware of the problems, most notably the potential of creating a "feminist capitalism" analogous to the black capitalism of Motown music. We wish to avoid becoming an elitist, isolated from the grass-roots, coopted part of the industry, like MS magazine in the magazine world. Whether we call ourselves socialists or lesbian-feminists, we come out of the anti-capitalist, most radical wing of the women's movement. Our consciousness of what the problems are will help us avoid them. An integral part of our feminist politics is our commitment to process, even as we are in busines to create products. We work cooperatively, not competitively, building on each other's successes and failures, and working as a whole with our recording artists, our distributors, etc. We do not follow the usual antagonistic power relations that dominate the regular music industry.

Second, the women's recording companies are part of the larger network that includes' women's concert production companies. Women's concerts are becoming quite a popular phenomenon. They are like contemporary chatauquas in many communities, often among the

Bonnie Kovaleff photo by Toni L. Armstrong

J.T. Thomas

biggest and most exciting political events. Women-only concerts build and celebrate the spirit of feminism, drawing togetherdiverse local feminist communities; in addition, there are increasing numbers of open, community concerts that bring together a broad spectrum of the left, gay, feminist, spiritual, and, increasingly, Third World communities around political issues. A noteworthy example is the recent 30-city anti-nuke concert tour by Holly Near that brought together the two networks, anti-nuke and women's music, as well as garnering major press coverage. Women's music is possibly the most vital, alternative, anti-capitalist music around, and the concerts provide a focus for political groups of various stripes to work together, often building new alliances. This political process behind concert production gives a strong, grass-roots foundation to women's music, the major promotion for which remains touring.

Most importantly, women's music albums are distributed by our own network, the Women's Independent Labels Distribution Network (WILD). This network is in the process of organizing itself; this month (March 1980) will see the second annual conference of the network in Nashville. Only four years ago, the small, "hip capitalist" distribution companies—at the time the only alternative to the four or five monopoly record distributors—told Olivia that they were crazy to try to set up an independent women's distribution network. They were convinced we'd fail, and they were wrong. The demand for women's music has pushed the network into major record stores, which generally refuse absolutely to deal with individual distributors, and has created an autonomous economic foundation for the growth of women's music. Despite slower growth than we could have if we gave over our products to large, profit-oriented distribution companies, we will continue to have control over that growth and to strategize politically as well as economically about it.

The future

So, where will women's music go in the next few years if we pool our resources and decide to try to make it as big as possible? In terms of reaching a mass audience, it's all in the promotion and the subsequent exposure we get through the press and through radio airplay. We will have to take promotion much more seriously, learn a lot of skills, invest in spot ads on radio and TV, do slick print advertising, etc. As Steve Chappell and Reebee Garifola, in their excellent book *Rock and Roll is Here to Pay* (Harper, 1978) point out, an independent women's music will probably not make it without feminist DJs and record producers as well. Finally, we'll of course have to cultivate press relations and push name recognition for "women's music" with various publicity gimmicks.

Whether or not we make it onto the airwaves, we'll no doubt be helping to build the alternative cultural network. As time goes on, I would imagine there will be more cooperation and parallel development between women's music (and other aspects of women's culture) and other alternative anti-capitalist, cultural networks and groupings. There's a lot of organizing that can be done to get women's music out to its potential market just within progressive movements around the country.

There is also developing an interesting crossover of feminist performers signed with major labels into the alternative network, which functions as a sort of contemporary feminist analogy to the "chitlin circuit"—the black alternative nightclub circuit that emerged from the racist exclusion of black performers in the 20s and 30s. One interesting addition to the women's music circuit is Robin Tyler who released her third comedy album on Olivia. For Tyler, a lesbian who was closeted in her role as professional performer for twenty years (including three years on contract with ABC television during which time she starred in her own comedy show), the women's concert circuit provided an alternative that has allowed her to make a living at her comedy and develop material as an out lesbian for the first time.

There are other signs that other professional performers are seeing the women's circuit as a viable alternative to traditional performing arenas.

As the record industry faces sales declines of 35%, and bumps its second string performers, as well as closing doors to new women coming up, some of them may come in the direction of the women's labels. At the very least, concerts produced by the feminist network will quite probably attract bigger and bigger names as our ability to draw larger audiences increases.

For example, Ellen MacIlwaine, noted rock musician and singer with seven albums to her credit on United Artists and other labels, performed last year at one of the national women's music festivals, as did Terry Garthwaite, also a UA recording artists. Most recently, Bonnie Raitt has double-billed with, and performed on the upcoming fourth LP of , Olivia Records recording artist, Cris Williamson.

Finally, aren't we just creating a network of petit bourgeois entrepreneurs who will necessarily lose their political motives. And, if we get a hit record, how could we keep up with the demand without capitulating to the pressures of "rackjobbers," "one-stops," and the myriad of other capitalist distributors who are better equipped to deal with volume than we are? These are big questions, and ones we don't have answers for, but I think it's time to be bold and jump in and try it. The lessons we will learn, the skills we will deveop, the level of confronting power in this society, will be well worth the risks we will be taking. Although not inherently revolutionary, wouldn't it be wonderful to hear people in the subways humming "Song of the Soul" by Cris Williamson rather than "Macho Man?" ■

photo by Stephanie Urdang

Radio operator, member of the National Army, with her child in the liberated zones (Guinea-Bissau).

Women in Struggle— Brazil & Guinea-Bissau

By Kathie Sheldon

THESE TWO BOOKS MAKE MAJOR contributions to understanding the connection between socialism and feminism, and class and sex, in an international (Third World) context. Saffioti's *Women in Class Society* was originally written in Portugues in 1968, and was updated and translated ten years later. Her study, as the title suggests, covers women in capitalism. In contrast, Urdang's *Fighting Two Colonialisms* focuses on women actively participating in the building of a socialist society, in order to transform it. In many ways the difference in approach and subject of these two books indicates the advances in feminist theory and practice in the last ten years. The primary advance is that socialists can no longer relegate women's issues to the periphery of their analysis. Saffioti's book tends to discuss women's issues solely from a Marxist perspective, while Urdang, more broadly, skillfully weaves socialist and feminist analysis together in a readable, non-theoretical manner. Both books impel North American feminists to deal with the ideas and experiences of Third World women, and to acknowledge the very important contributions of other cultures and societies ot the development of feminist theory and practice.

The first section of Saffioti's book is a theoretical overview of women and capitalism from a Marxist standpoint. She deals with the complex relationship of women's work and their integration into a capitalist system of production. Occasionally the discussion becomes overly jargon-filled, and her conclusions about the necessity of socialist

Kathie Sheldon is a NAM member working on NAM's Socialist Community School in Los Angeles. She is preparing for graduate research in Mozambique. This review also will appear in Ufahamu, the journal of the African Activists Association at UCLA.

revolution as a basis for improvements in female status are now familiar to many of us. An important limitation is the emphasis on women as waged-workers under capitalism, rather than the totality of women's lives. Her focus in this section is on sex as a division in the working class rather than the intricate interplay of patriarchy and capitalism.

Saffioti includes more information on families in her central section on women in Brazil. She first presents a useful overview of Brazilian economic history, outlining some of the effects of a slave economy and the development of a wage economy. She is keenly aware of the special position of Brazil in the international economic system (e.g. Brazil as a "sub-imperialist" power and the effect of this on Brazilian women workers. She does not present a simplistic dependency theory for an explanation however. I found her section on the development of the Brazilian family to be very schematic; she argues that rural families have not been altered by industrialization and that only urban families have changed. Her discussion has almost no information on women's responsibilities within the family, the effect of childbearing and rearing on women's options, or the ways that this work supports and interacts with capitalist society.

Two other topics discussed are the history of female education in Brazil, and the manifestations of feminism. (Unfortunately a section on the Catholic Church is omitted from this edition; it was considered less relevant to the United States experience, though it is certainly important in understanding Brazil.) Her discussion of the feminist movement focuses on bourgeois feminist struggles and gains, and she dismisses socialist feminism by stating that it "provide[s] a richer perspective from which to analyze the problems of women in competitive societies, but its simplifications leave much to be desired." (p. 228) This comment indicates that she does not fully understand the intricacy of a socialist feminist perspective and the possibilities it offers for explaining modern capitalism.

Teodora Gomes, Political Commissar in the liberated zones and now a leader of the Organization of Women (Guinea-Bissau). photo by Stephanie Urdang

The choppy quality of the book as a whole is exemplified by a final section that includes general brief discussions of psychoanalytic theory, cultural relativism (an examination of Margaret Mead's work), and the relationship of kinship structure to occupation. There is however much interesting and useful information and analysis on women. Her conclusion is that socialism alone is not enough to end sexism.

Urdang's book on women in Guinea-Bissau presents the efforts and successes of women and men in a country that is actively undergoing socialist transformation. Although clearly excited by the advances made, she is not blind to the continuing limitations on women.

Urdang first visited Guinea-Bissau in

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1974, while the anti-colonial war against the Portuguese still continued. Guinea-Bissau is a small agricultural country on the west coast of Africa, and along with Angola and Mozambique had been subject to Portuguese colonialism for centuries. All three countries began guerrilla wars in the early 1960s, and shared information and support throughout the fifteen yeras until the revolution in Portugal that finally brought independence to the African countries. Thus Guinea-Bissau's place in the international system has been integral to its internal development, and has important effects on women at all levels of society. The revolution in Guinea-Bissau is led by the PAIGC; these are the Portugues initials for the African Independence party of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands.

During her first visit Urdang was able to see some of the ways in which women's and men's work had begun to change. The equality of women and the centrality of women's issues to the revolution had been articulated by Amilcar Cabral (PAIGC's first president) from the beginning of the struggle. Urdang was able to meet and talk with a wide range of women—both active and not active in political organizing, from rural and urban communities, old and young, Muslim and non-Muslim. Her training as a journalist is evident in the skillful retelling of people's lives.

But Urdang does not simply show improvements in living conditions or increasing public activity of women and domestic activity of men. She discusses at length the implications of such decisions as that concerning the role of women as soldiers. The value of women's traditional work was recognized, and the provision of food and other necessities was considered a revolutionary act. Local councils were required to include two women among the five representatives, and these women were chosen on the basis of their political contributions. By recognizing and valuing women's work as a vital part of the war effort, women were able to take part in the new government in a less disruptive way, and to gain important experience as leaders. In addition, men were compelled to acknowledge that there was importance and value in domestic chores traditionally done by women. At the same time, women were being trained in different skills to expand their opportunities, and men were encouraged to share in the household tasks. The change in male attitudes is slow; in the early days of the war, a man who slept with a woman was forced to marry her (if she agreed) as a way of enforcing respect for women and discouraging the view of women as playthings. In a society where most marriages were arranged by parents without the daughter's consent, the early institution of divorce proceedings also meant a real change in women's lives.

The emphasis on learning from local experience is a central one in Guinea-Bissau. While never losing sight of their goal of a socialist society, the Guineans have not simply adopted schemes from other countries. The decision not to use women as soldiers illustrates this. Urdang points out that the dense population and small territory meant that in Guinea-Bissau women were not needed in the army, simply in humanpower terms. In Mozambique, which shared many perspectives on socialism and the inclusion of women in the struggle with Guinea-Bissau, the population was spread more thinly over a large area, and it was necessary to include women in the army. Even so, women in Mozambique had to push the men to be included as combatants; their contribution is well known to Mozambicans now.

Urdang provides a good balance between general background information, her experiences and observations, and Guineans own stories and perceptions. I was deeply moved by the women of Guinea-Bissau and their commitment to socialism and feminism. A bonus in this book is the collection of photographs showing people at work transforming their country.

These books by Saffioti and Urdang are part of a growing bibliography on women internationally struggling for change and occasionally winning a toehold. It is important for us in the United States to understand Third World perspectives on socialist feminisim, and to acknowledge what we can learn from other struggles. This knowledge can recommit us to changing this society, a process that will improve peoples' lives everywhere. ■

Proposition 13

Continued from page 13...

would render the audit *and* the Public Records Act useless. The question about requesting specified documents has been tested in court, and judges have made the common sense ruling that you can't specify the documents you want if you have not already seen them. Likewise, it is neither sensible nor just for citizens to have to pay labor costs every time they request information of a public institution. The upshot is that we have taken Day to court. Rumors of financial mismanagement are growing, fed by the arrival of the FBI at a neighboring CSUC campus (Fullerton) to investigate mishandling of federal grants. And, the UPC heads into the 1980 collective bargaining election as an aggressive, effective choice to represent faculty interests.

NAM and the Fiscal Crisis in Higher Education

Although many people and groups have been involved in the SDSU fightback, the role of the San Diego NAM chapter has been key. In the earliest responses to Day's plan for campus reorganization and budgetary austerity, students advocated larger classes for teachers, faculty in one threatened department offered little support to those in another, and staff were largely ignored. The campus branch of the NAM chapter, which contained student, faculty, and staff members, analyzed the social relations of the educational workplace: who makes decisions that pit groups against one another? We then sought a strategy that could unite all three categories against administrative arbitrariness. The resulting Rainbow Committee and independent audit project have proceeded to spark a broader and more unified coalition.

The importance of the audit, of course, goes beyond merely gaining information about the budget. It will give faculty, staff, and students a way of challenging administrative decisions. It is the autocratic decision making on this campus, and as far as I know at all colleges and universities, that is the real issue. The important decisions are almost invariably budget decisions, and they reflect the values of those who have the power to make them. If we do not want SDSU to be reconstructed in Day's image, we have to challenge him right now, and the audit provides a way that we can do so on our terms and not under rules and regulations set up by his administration. Ultimately, the question is: Can we remake our insitutions so that decisions are made by the people in them? It may not be possible short of a socialist transformation of the whole society, but we have to keep trying.

Finally, let me say a word about our efforts to form a coalition with labor and in the community, for we recognize that we shouldn't be limiting our alliances to the campus alone. UPC is a member of the San Diego-Imperial Counties Labor Council, and most of our official contacts with labor are through that organization. However, through the San Diego NAM Labor Branch some of us also have contacts with progressive union leaders in AFT, AFSCME, SEIU, and the Retail Clerks. Together we have attempted to form a labor-community coalition that would include these labor unions as well as community groups, including such political organizations as NAM, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), and the Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED). This coalition, whose creation has been approved by the Labor Council, will have as its goals the preservation of jobs and human services. To this end it is considering support for the upcoming tax reform initiative, in particular to involve public sector unions in this effort. The Labor Council has approved a Public Services Employees Council, which includes UPC, other AFT locals, mail carriers, postal workers, fire fighters, and potentially AFSCME and SEIU.

This coalition is still in a very tenuous state, and I don't feel that we have been as successful with it as with the campus Rainbow Committee, but it also has greater promise in terms of uniting our struggle with that of (1) other public employees and (2) working class people in general.

As I write this article, we have achieved some successes on the legislative front: the state senate and assembly have approved, over Brown's veto, a budget that will restore most of the proposed position cuts and will give all state employees a salary raise of 14.5%, including 7% retroactive to last October 1st. This represents a victory for UPC and other state employee organizations, and it shows us here at SDSU how totally arbitrary and premature Thomas Day was in his actions. But past experience surely shows us that we can't rest on our laurels. Brown is still running for the presidency on the austerity ticket, and Jarvis, Gann, and the New Right are still intent on imposing limits on spending for public services. We have fought back very well in some respects, but now the time has come to try to mobilize the people as a whole. This fight has to be offensive as well as defensive, and above all it has to be unified.

All the News

MOVING & SHAKING

Elsewhere in this issue of *Moving On* is an article by a member of **San Diego NAM** on the struggle at San Diego State University concerning budget review. Since that article was written, we have been pleased to learn that the court decision has been made. **San Diego NAM** was in court as part of a coalition seeking access to all documents and memoranda which were part of the budget-making process at San Diego State. AFter initial hostility, the judge ruled to grant access to all materials. The judge further retained jurisdiction in the case, in the event of a further dispute over access....**Milwaukee NAM** will be working with Progressive Milwaukee 1980 this year to broaden their contacts in local communities and to gain electoral experience. PM was formed last summer with the intent of keeping progressive incumbents in office, and hopefully increasing their numbers. PM has established criteria somewhat simliar to those discussed at NAM's convention last summer: "support of citizen participation in government, mass transit, neighborhood rehabilitation, and racial, social, and economic integration." Candidates should come as near as possible to meeting these criteria, as well as being pro-environment and supportive of affirmative action. Members of **Milwaukee NAM** see such a coalition as a good opportunity to create a more progressive climate in their city.....a quick mobilization of pro-choice forces in Philadelphia including **Philadelphia NAM** resulted in the demise of an abortion regulation bill written by an attorney for the "Pro-Life Coalition." The Public Health and Welfare Committee of the City Council, after hearing over six hours of testimony on the bill, voted to leave the bill in committee, effectively killing it for the present. A right wing councilman had introduced the bill ostensibly to tighten supervision of health clinics. Pro-choice groups noticed that the bill also contained many provisions simliar to the Akron ordinance, such as a 48-hour waiting period, presence of a second physician to care for the fetus, and the requirement that the woman sign an "informed consent" form. This last provision would require a physician to inform the woman that the "human life of the unborn child begins at the moment of conception." Extensive lobbying and petitioning efforts by pro-choice groups including NARAL, Planned Parenthood, the Philadelphia Reproductive Rights Coalition and others was more easily coordinated since many of the groups had worked together earlier on Abortion Rights Action Week.....members of **New Haven NAM** are participating in strike support activities organized by the Citizens Ad Hoc Committee to Support the Olin Strikers. The Olin Corp. insists on a productivity speed-up and the right to suspend "slow" workers pending any investigation. 1350 members of the Machinists union thought that this was intolerable and have been walking the picket line since July. The support Committee's recent activities include: a Christmas party for the strikers' families, to which other unions contributed; a press conference, at which social service agencies pledged services to the strikers; a subcommittee to investigate media distortions; and a ten week series of radical labor films.

CULTURE

Pittsburgh NAM demonstrated this winter that the Left's vitality can be reflected in many ways. The chapter sponsored an International Smorgasbord, the film "Song of the Canary," a Disco Fandango, and a Kristin Lems concert in recent months, combining fund-raising with the celebration of people's culture. Pittsburgh reports that though these events require as much planning and outreach as demonstrations, they are important (and enjoyable) ways of sharing our values and building a more deeply-felt personal solidarity with people in the community.

ENERGY

Don't be left behind! **NAM's Energy Commission** reports that it has doubled the number of subscribers for its Newsletter. Those interested in a subscription, or with information to submit, should contact: John Cameron, 203 S. Fourth St., Champaign IL, 61820. From it, we learn:...1000 people demonstrated in Jefferson City, MO last fall. The **St. Louis NAM** chapter was present there with a banner which read "Socialists for Solar Power/New American Movement."...**NAM** joined almost 100 organizations in the "Manhattan Project" on Wall St. on the fiftieth anniversary of Black Friday last October 29. 3,000 people gathered to dramatize the connecti0on between nuclear power and the financial community. The protestors were unable to shut down the NY Stock Exchange, as they had hoped, since police arrested 1,000 of them...many new articles and other energy resources are available, including a former nuclear reactor operator willing to use her expertise for interpreting technical information. She is willing to help **NAM** activists.

Barbara Nestor 1884-1979

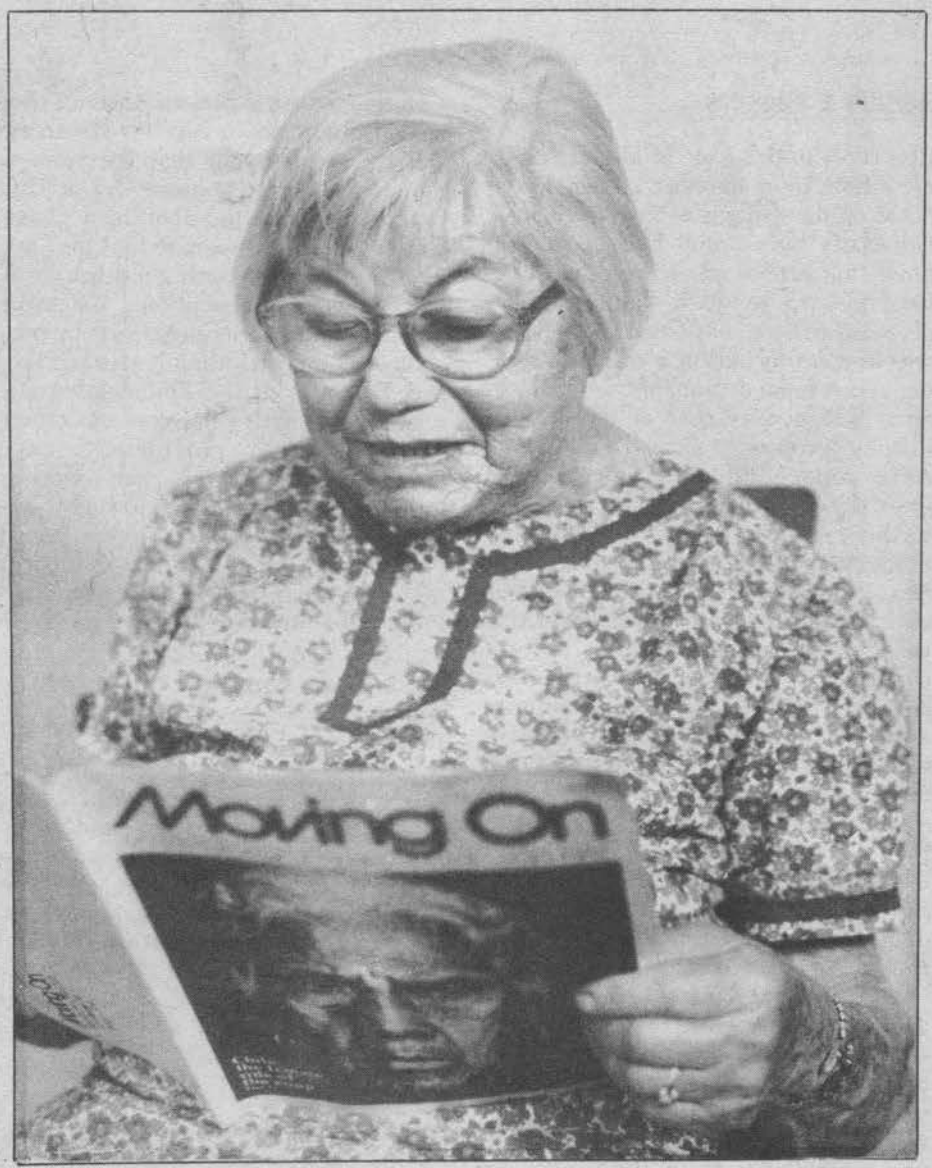

Photo by Jan Breidenbach

IN DECEMBER OF 1979, BARBARA NESTOR died. She was the mother of Dorothy Healey and the grandmother of Richard Healey, both national leaders in NAM. She was born in 1884, became an active socialist not much later, and remained one for the rest of her life. Two of the most politically and personally galling events for her were the Ludlow Massacre and World War I, both of which were intimately connected with the Rockefeller family, and of course capitalism. She noted about WWI: "I didn't raise my son to be a soldier."

She was first a member of the Socialist Party. But when the SP supported WWI, she left it. She promptly became one of the founders and charter members of the American Communist Party, and remained a member until her death.

In spite of her long-life membership in the CP, she always looked upon all socialists and anti-capitalists as her allies. She was profoundly anti-sectarian and actively supported the work of NAM.

One of Barbara's most distinguishing characteristics was her sense of independence and her disdain of political deities. When CBS interviewed Barbara and asked her as a member of the CP what she thought of Stalin, she called Stalin a "bloody sonofabitch." In 1934 members of the Young Communist International from the Soviet Union were widely regarded as heroes. One came to Barbara's home to teach a political education class to local Party members. When the young teacher noted one of Trotsky's texts on Barbara's table, he asked who was reading this. Barbara replied, "My son." The Soviet visitor archingly said, "you're going to have to choose who comes into your home." Barbara responded "Just don't come."

By the same token, she was often in trouble with the CP leadership because she objected to standing up for them when they entered a room, as was expected at the time. Barbara said, "Let them stand up for us. We do all the work."

anti-racist movement, and was often seen picketing discriminatory grocery stores. And despite her birth in the 19th century, she was a strong supporter of the current feminist and gay movements.

Organizations like NAM have disproportionate numbers of younger members, the majority being between the ages of 18 and 40. We need the experience and history of older socialists so that younger ones can participate more broadly and productively in building a new society. The older comrades we do have in NAM are a source of ongoing political and personal inspiration for all of us. And Barbara Nestor, who was undoubtedly our eldest supporter, will be particularly missed.

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 is is also rife with contradictions. Organization is key to changing power relationships and exposing these contradictions. We are commited to the development of a socialist party than 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.

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NAM pre-chapters

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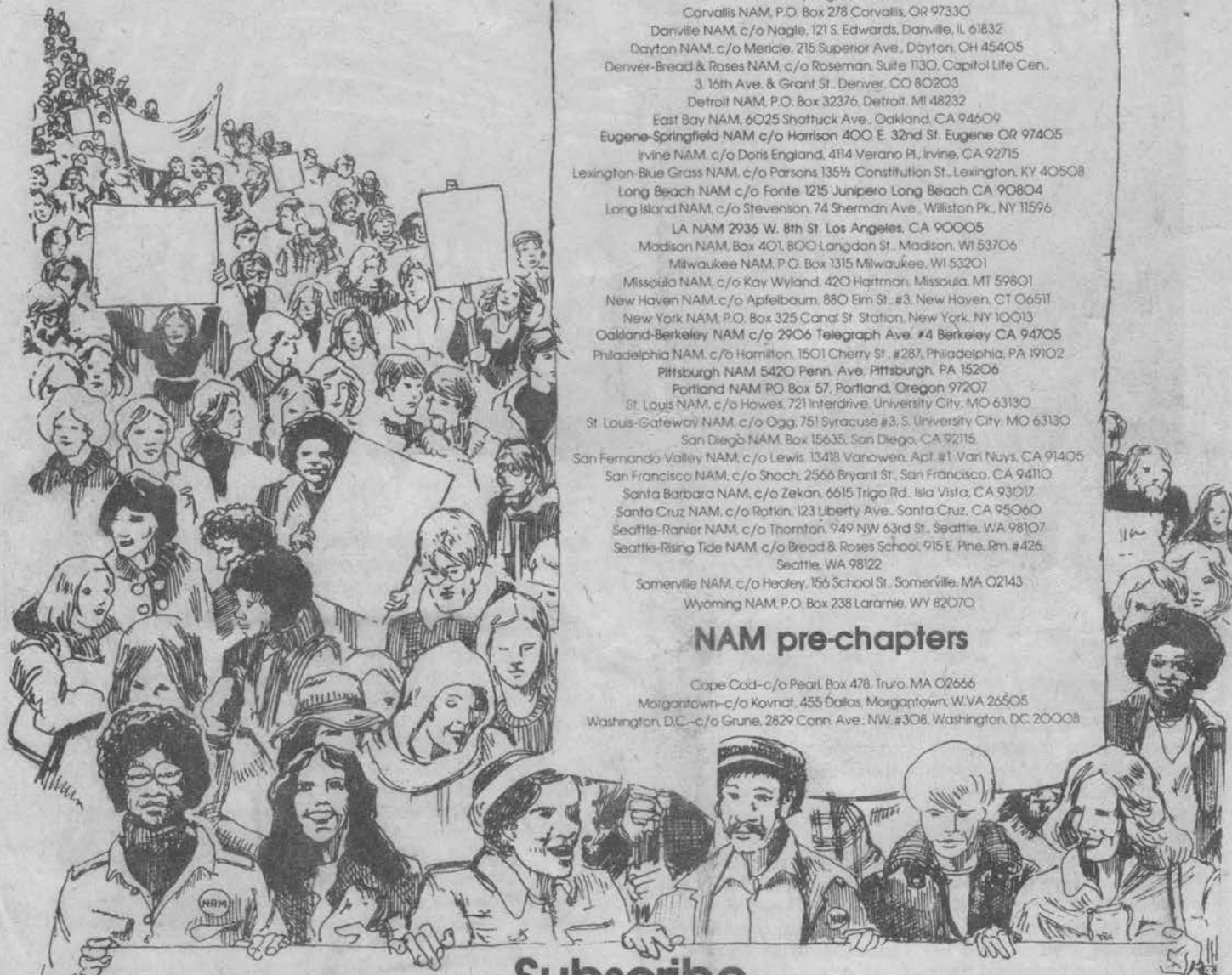
Morgantown-c/o Kovnat, 455 Dallas, Morgantown, W.VA 26505
Washington, D.C.-c/o Grune, 2829 Conn. Ave., NW, #306, Washington, DC 20008



drawing by William Johnson

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