

# Moving On

MAGAZINE OF THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT



Leo Turnerbaum

Liane Wessell

Leo Turnerbaum



*Aronowitz on Religion & Nationalism*

*Christina Stead's America*

*Fighting for Public Power in Oregon*

# Moving On

FEBRUARY/MARCH 1981

VOLUME V, NO. 1

*Towards a socialist America*

## EDITORS

Bill Barclay, Rick Kunnes,  
Holly Graff

## DESIGN DIRECTOR

Tom Greensfelder

## PRODUCTION

Paul Comstock, Donna McGrath,  
Craig Merrilees, Ann Tyler

## Long View

### NEW BEGINNINGS: THE MIDDLE EAST, EUROSOCIALISM, AND WORLD POLITICS

3

*by Stanley Aronowitz*

The relative decline of American power during the last decade has meant the emergence of new forces in world politics. In a provocative and stimulating article, Stanley Aronowitz weaves together questions of nationalism, religion, Eurosocijalism, and the Middle East.

## Comment

### THE LEFT AND THE GAY LESBIAN MOVEMENT

9

*by Torie Osborn*

*Pink Triangles* is a new anthology whose articles attempt to use socialist analysis to understand the situations of lesbians and gay men. Torie Osborn comments on both its overall value and its specific articles.

### THE AMERICAN NOVELS OF CHRISTINA STEAD

11

*by Judy Gardiner*

Christina Stead, a brilliant but little known novelist, has written novels that contain biting critiques of capitalism and insights on parallels between sexual and economic exploitation.

## Getting Together

### THE FIGHT FOR PUBLIC POWER IN OREGON

14

*by Laura Berg*

Members of Portland NAM were centrally involved in a massive electoral campaign to win public power in Oregon. Although public power went down to defeat, we can learn much from their experience.

## NAM News & Views

### EDITORIAL: THE FAMILY PROTECTION ACT AND THE HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT

19

### ALL THE NEWS

21



MOVING ON (USPS 467-810) is published bi-monthly by the New American Movement, 3244 N. Clark Street, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 871-7700. Subscription price: \$5 yearly.

SECOND-CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Postmaster: Send address changes to Moving On, 3244 N. Clark Street, Chicago, IL 60657.



# NEW BEGINNINGS

By Stanley Aronowitz

I AM GOING TO TRY TO DO THREE things and then link them together. First, I will talk about the problem of the relationship between Marxism and socialist movements on the one hand and two very important and often misunderstood phenomena of the modern political world, religion and nationalism. I am particularly interested in West European and American varieties of Marxism. Second, as a case in point of some of the complexity of the relationship between socialism and religion, I will look at the Middle East. Third, as a case in point of some of the complexity of the relationship between socialism and nationalism, I will turn to the phenomena (phenomena, not phenomenon) of Eurosocialism. To tie all this together, I will discuss the response of West European socialist and social democratic parties to events

*Stanley Aronowitz is a member of NAM in New York City and teaches at Columbia University. He is the author of False Promises, several other books, and numerous articles. This is the revised text of a presentation he gave at the 1980 NAM Cadre School in Milwaukee.*

in the Middle East and the implications of this for the U.S. and Soviet bloc structure of world politics.

## Religion

"Religion is the opiate of the people." This is one of Marx's most widely quoted and least understood claims. In

# THE MIDDLE EAST EUROSOCIALISM AND WORLD POLITICS

his concrete analyses of 19th century Europe, Marx made it clear that his view of religion was not the simplistic one that this phrase has often been assumed to signify. When Marx spoke of the struggles against feudalism, he argued that the church's role was not

one of neutrality, and he called for an unremitting struggle against the reactionary role of religion, particularly as represented by the 19th century Catholic Church. But when Marx spoke of religion in general, he made it clear that he was not referring to one undifferentiated reactionary phenomenon. I want to argue that insofar as the left now views religion as such an undifferentiated reactionary phenomenon, we limit our capacity to understand the critical role religion is playing in shaping the nationalist, progressive, and socialist movements in the Middle East, Latin America, and even the United States.

Let me give just two examples of why socialists must come to terms with the significance of religious movements in the United States. First, one estimate says that forty million people in the United States practice various forms of fundamentalist religion. Second, in this last election every major presidential candidate claimed to have been born again. It has almost become the *sine qua non* for the nomination. It may be that one of Kennedy's problems was not his

*I want to thank Bill Barclay, Holly Graff, and Rick Kunnes for their aid in editing and revising this article.*



## Clearly, we don't understand what religion is all about even in the United States, but when it comes to Islam we understand even less.

Catholicism but his lack of born-again Catholicism. Clearly, we don't understand what religion is all about, even in the United States. But when it comes to Islam and the Islamic revolution in Iran, we understand even less.

Marx argued that as long as social relations were characterized by exploitation and alienation, religion would be a haven in a heartless world. It would be a haven for people who required solace and spirituality in contrast to the crass commercialism of their lives. In different circumstances the seeking of this haven may involve withdrawal from the world or from activity of progressive, reactionary, or ambiguous character. The importance of religion actually increases as secular society is more and more characterized by unremitting alienation—that is, when people cannot see themselves as empowered by the social world. This may well be happening in the United States.

### The Evil of Justice

The power of religion is hard for us to grasp not only because of the secular nature of capitalist society but also because, as the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur has said, "We in the West are afflicted by the evil of justice." I want to explain what the evil of justice is because it may give us more understanding of the direction in which Iran and other countries are moving.

The evil of justice is a difficult notion for us. This phrase seems paradoxical to us because there is a deeply ingrained belief in our traditions—both the bourgeois as well as the socialist tradition—that justice as defined by the laws and practices of a government based on popular sovereignty as the ideal towards which we should strive. Another way of saying this is that we assume that a good society can be defined by justice in the form of just laws.

The notion of the evil of justice suggests that this juridical conception of justice is inadequate because it fails to address and even tends to obscure some of the most fundamental of human con-

cerns. When Carter told a delegation of women who were lobbying on behalf of Medicaid-funded abortions that "life is not just," he was referring, albeit unconsciously, to the increasingly held belief that the only true form of justice is divine justice. Secular justice may be seen as by nature unjust because rather than building justice into the nature of human society and of the human spirit, it builds justice into a political process. But when you realize that many people believe that justice cannot be inscribed in a political process but that justice must be part of life and thus must come out of the inner belief in a transcendent being, then the theological becomes politically relevant in many unexpected ways.

I want to tell you about an experience that made me more aware of these issues. Was I born again? No, but I sobered up. I went to a conference on world socialism last September in Yugoslavia. At that conference I met and worked closely with the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), who was an Islamic nationalist and not a Marxist. He asked me to help write his speeches—to transfer his own ideas into Western concepts because he had gotten out of practice with the way Western socialists talk. So we talked a lot.

His basic claim was that the difference between Islamic revolution and socialist revolution is a different conception of progress and justice. For Islamic revolutionaries, progress is the movement of people towards greater spirituality and away from what they call materialism. This means a desire to move away from the accumulation of commodities and the enslavement to the West. His conception of Islamic revolution involves a society built on an idea of progress in which Western "justice", technology, and the accumulation of wealth were not the aims—that is, a society in which the goal was not modernization, but rather the creation of a different kind of spirituality.

My PLO friend said, "If you con-

tinue to have progress primarily in terms of wealth and the development of technology, how is it possible for you to achieve your own historic and now forgotten idea of equality? For equality would assume that you would share what you have with the suffering people of the world." He emphasized that there is no Western socialist movement that has succeeded in defining their aims in terms of the necessity of self-sacrifice for the developing countries. He said, "We are here because we are trying to make you aware that your own Marxist faith in progress has to be in some ways modified to meet our needs. You may have to sacrifice. And unless you have an analysis and a spiritual commitment, you will never be able to argue for sacrifice." For him secular justice and theological justice were almost opposites, and only the Islamic revolution could truly be revolutionary in a socialist sense. But it would not be the kind of revolution in which peace and plenty for all were the aims. The aim was salvation—salvation from a crass world that has destroyed what is most valuable in human life. It would involve an emphasis on health, education and spirituality.

### Nationalism

Another area with which the left has not adequately dealt is the problem of nationalism. A better understanding of nationalism will help us to comprehend both current developments in the Middle East and their relationship to European social democracy. We must begin by remembering that within socialist movements there have been two very different positions on nationalism.

The first position claims that the formation of the nation state was a product of the bourgeois consolidation of markets at the dawn of capitalism. The notions of cultural, linguistic, and territorial integrity are all closely linked to capitalism. This view holds that nations, as we know them today, did not exist before capitalism and that nationalism is the ideology of the bourgeoisie



as it seeks to overthrow the yoke of feudalism. The bourgeois attempt to overthrow that yoke must involve a mass movement (rather than simply an elite movement) and in order to build that mass movement, nationalism was tied to popular insurgency. Given this analysis the role of Marxists should be to show that all nationalist movements are really struggles against feudal societies by a bourgeoisie that does not intend equality and popular sovereignty, but rather bourgeois hegemony. And, therefore, although nationalism has progressive aspects in helping to destroy feudalism, the continuance of nationalism under bourgeois rule simply reinforces bourgeois rule. Thus, many Marxists, especially in the 1880s and on, viewed nationalism as a kind of ruse, as an ideology of domination, a false consciousness to be debunked, and nothing more.

An alternative Marxist view of nationalism was developed by Otto Bauer. It may be viewed as one of the theoretical bases of contemporary Eurosocialism. Bauer, following a considerable number of Jewish socialists in the Bund, argued for a concept of national cultural autonomy within the framework of a socialist federation. Bauer thought that the bourgeois aspirations to consolidate a market and exclude enemies, not only through tariffs but through ideological and political unification, were also shaped by the aspirations and struggles of the underclass of society. Thus, Bauer believed that the national aspirations of people, for linguistic and cultural autonomy as well as economic self-determination, were not merely the products of bourgeois self-interest. In fact, progressive forms of nationalism should be allowed to flourish under socialism. This means that there would always be an Austrian socialism, a Chinese socialism, an American socialism, etc.

If we accept the possibility that both religion and nationalism can be aspects of popular revolutionary socialist movements, we have a better chance of



## Khomeini does not speak only for Iran. He wants to set the pattern for a world revolutionary movement.

understanding both the Middle East and Eurosocijalism. And we also have a chance of evolving a politics that better understands our own country including both fundamentalist religions and the ethnic aspirations of Americans of eastern and southern European descent as well as Hispanics and blacks. Needless to say, some of the most radical organizations in the United States today are composed of Hispanics and blacks, and many of these organizations have adopted positions similar to Bauer's. It is Pan Africanism which is the basis of the National Black Political Assembly. Manning Marable, a spokesperson for the NBPA and a member of NAM has directly argued that Pan Africanism should not be seen as temporary and that his view involves an endorsement of socialist nationalism. Of course, none of this should be taken as license

to ignore the distinction between bourgeois nationalism and popular nationalism or to ignore the dangers made evident by the fascist and racist uses of nationalism.

### Economic Realities

The Middle East and North Africa are the primary locale of the world's oil, and the oil-producing countries have emerged in the last 25 years as a major new force in the world. Yet it is still the case that most socialists cannot view the Middle East outside the framework of the struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union. They fail to grasp the possibility that these countries are not only actors in a game of great power politics, but that they represent something else in addition. And that something else may be uncomfortable for both the United States and the Soviet

Union.

Let me emphasize some painful points. One of the things we have learned from the last 25 years is that Third World countries cannot develop economic autonomy without outside assistance. They don't have the resources. Even if they chose to set up only the most minimal communication, transportation, military, and production network, they cannot do it by themselves. If they don't need financial support, they need technical assistance. They also need access to world markets. They need many things and they must go to the economic and military powers and seek alliances. The result is that Third World countries wheel and deal and look for bargains. They look for ways of getting consistent, reliable support. Fidel Castro's advice to the Sandinistas is a case in point. He told them to try and get aid from the U.S., arguing that the U.S.S.R. cannot be depended upon because it is already overburdened.

The new position of the Middle Eastern countries is significantly different from that of Africa or Latin America, however. Although Middle Eastern countries continue to need certain kinds of support from industrialized countries, the Middle East has the potential for genuine national autonomy. Their choices are their choices. Oil provides leverage that other Third World countries lack, leverage that can be used to pursue their own definitions of "progress" and "development." Within the Middle East, the cases of Iran and Palestine are particularly significant for two reasons. First, these are revolutions that by their programs, as well as by their populist nature, upset the existing balance of power in the Middle East and Northern Africa. Since the late 1960s there has been a detente, a relative balance of power, between the countries in the Middle East and between the Middle East and the great powers. Iran and Palestine upset this balance. But the significance of Iran and Palestine is not simply that they upset the balance of power in the Middle East. More impor-

## Join NAM. *You need us, and we need you!*

Join the New American Movement today. You'll be part of an organization that is serious about building a reasonable left politics in the United States. You'll come in contact with a diversity of activists that combine the support and practical ideas of over 1,000 members in over 40 cities.

Enclosed is \$15. I want to join NAM as an Associate. I'll get Moving On magazine, four issues of the NAM Discussion Bulletin and more.

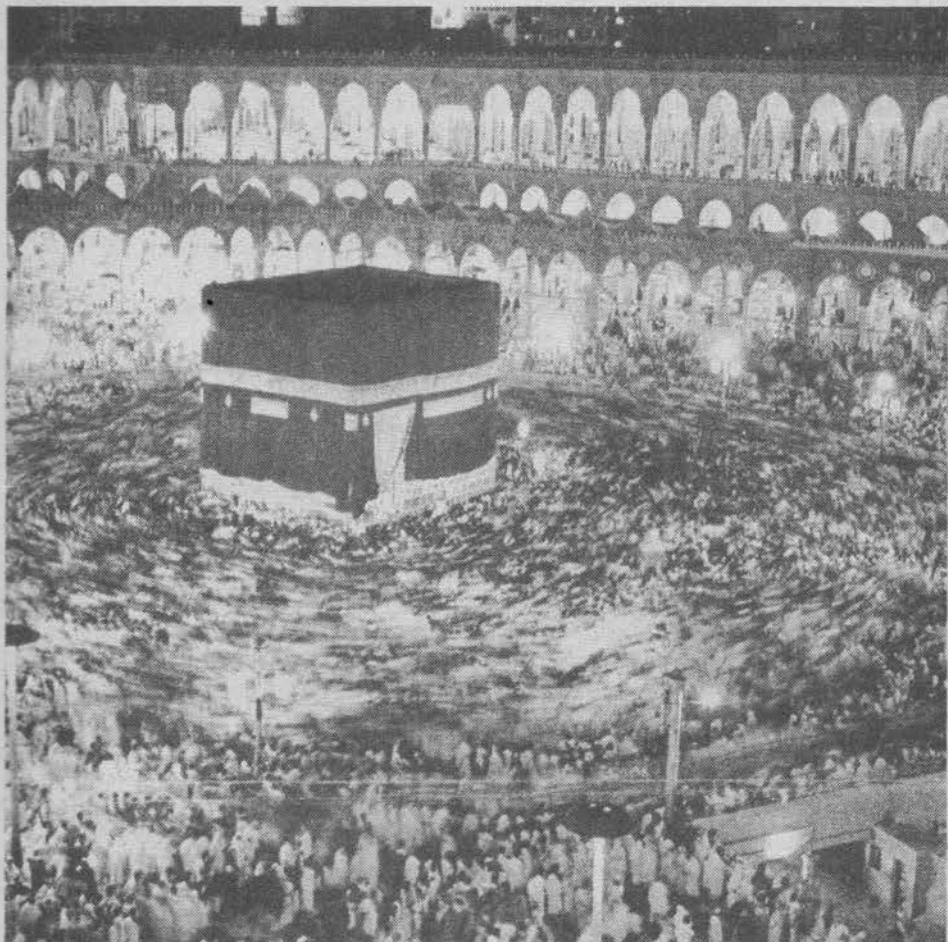
Enclosed is \$5. I'm interested in joining a NAM chapter in my area. Send me more information and literature. \$5 applies toward dues.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to NAM, 3244 N. Clark St., Chicago, IL 60657.



*The Kaaba, Islam's most sacred shrine.*

tantly, both Iran and Palestine are Islamic revolutions, led by Islamic revolutionaries. Thus the revolutionary principles that provide the dynamic, the driving force, for these revolutions are, to a large extent, theologically based. At least part of the PLO, I am convinced, is very strongly influenced by the Islamic revolution.

### **Islamic Revolution?**

Because the Islamic revolution is an ecumenical movement, that is a world historical movement in the sense that Catholicism and socialism are, it has become a major question for all who care about politics. It is not just a national revolution; it is also a popular nationalist revolution that has an Islamic character throughout. What do I mean by an "ecumenical" revolution? Do I mean they are trying to spread it? Absolutely. Khomeini does not speak only for Iran. He wants to set the pattern for a world revolutionary movement.

What is the pattern he wants to set? First, Islamic revolutionaries, as my friend from the PLO made clear, do not seek to integrate their countries into the two major world markets. Second, they

want to elaborate programs and principles that will sever their country from what is usually called "modernization," the process whereby Third World countries are more and more to resemble the advanced industrial countries. This demand for the suspension of modernization and the definition of development in terms of religious principles raises questions: To what extent are urbanization and industrialization desirable? Should we remain a peasant country using oil as a kind of lever? What do we want the social character of our country to be? These are clearly complex questions for a country such as Iran where the middle classes are quite westernized, the working class is essentially divided between western and more traditional conceptions, and the peasantry is similarly divided. Despite this complicated class structure, nobody, including the left, could do anything but support Khomeini because he had what is called ideological hegemony.

Let me make clear what I am saying. I argued that the Islamic revolution rejects a definition of progress as the accumulation of goods, of wealth, and poses instead a definition of progress as

the unfolding, the revealing and achieving, of the correct way to live, or spirituality. Thus the Islamic revolution is a rejection of materialism. However, this in no way means the rejection of economic *means* to achieve these spiritual *ends*. And there lies the significance of the Iranian revolution. As an oil-producing country, Iran has the potential economic leverage to pursue this non-western, non-socialist conception of progress, to reject "the evil of justice." Further, because Iran's revolution is rooted in Islamic nationalism, the other oil-producing countries of the Middle East share this same potential, a potential that the ecumenical Islamic revolutionaries of Iran are eager to encourage.

Make no mistake about it. It is a serious piece of business that has gone on in Iran and has virtually nothing to do with U.S. and U.S.S.R. manipulation. It has everything to do *with* them, but it is not a result *of* them. It is a very different impulse that is profoundly anti-western, whether it be socialist or capitalist western. The Iranian revolution proceeds on different cultural as well as political assumptions. Of course the worst of it is obviously the oppression of women and the attempt to reintroduce an agrarian society as a basis for everything else. But again, it is the question of progress as we define it that is fundamentally challenged.

The Palestinian question has a lot of the same kinds of issues. They are asking for a Palestinian state. They are asking for national, cultural, political autonomy. They are asking, in addition, if you look at the internal composition of the PLO, for the ability to fight out within the new Palestinian state the issues that are being raised by the ayatollah and the Islamic republic. Inside the PLO you have people like Arafat who are clearly western. They are clearly going to opt for the western idea of progress, that Mugabe is opting for in Zimbabwe, that was opted for by Mao's successors. But there will be a struggle on that question in the PLO.

## Eurosocijalism and the Middle East

How does all of this connect to Euro-socialism and social democracy? First, West European socialists and social democrats argue that if socialism is to have a program relevant to the situation of Europe, it must be a program for an economically, politically, culturally independent Europe. These socialists are no longer even rhetorically dedicated to the international working class; they literally speak of themselves within a European perspective. Secondly, this "European perspective" is not merely a perspective of workers and other oppressed groups within those countries, but also of sections of the capitalist class. I should add that both of these positions are held by the Eurocommunists as well.

There are, however, differences between the Eurosocijalists and the Eurocommunists. The left Eurosocijalists have gone further than simply a "European perspective." By left Eurosocijalists I mean the French Socialist Party, the Social Democratic Party of Austria (the ideological leader of this group), the Swedish Social Democrats, and the Danish Social Democrats. These parties define their nation's relationship, not only to the world in general, but also to

the Middle East, as an autonomous relation. And in looking at the Middle East, each socialist and left social democratic party looks at it as one who wants to build economic, political, and cultural autonomy for their own region.

They look at it first with an eye to the oil. In each case these parties have practical possibilities, if not now, sometime in the future, of assuming power. Many of these countries have oil refineries, but they have no oil reserves. This obviously gives them a particular interest in developing a special relationship with the Middle East.

But secondly, there is also a theoretical tradition. This tradition comes out of Austrian social democracy and talks about nationalism as a progressive historical force, not as a necessary evil, with which they must ally. The idea that nationhood, that culture, that language, that political and economic autonomy is something that masses of people have fought hard to win is critical both for the ability of these parties to articulate an autonomous politics in relation to the Middle East and for their ability to have some insight into the nature of the Islamic revolution. After all, religion and nationalism and our ability to understand the progressive aspects of each, are closely related.

A third factor is the growing suspicion that Europe's relationship with the U.S., the kind of exclusive client relationship that Europe has had with U.S. capitalism since World War II, can be severed. That client relationship, which many of these parties helped build, can finally be severed because these socialists and left social democrats feel economically, militarily, and politically strong enough to develop their own policy.

Of course, not everybody in these socialist and left social democratic parties accepts this analysis. In most cases there is a left and a right wing, and it is the left wing that is most committed to autonomous politics that flow from the "European perspective." But that left wing is getting stronger. Even Helmut Schmidt, head of the leading right-wing social democratic party, has been pulled left because of the growth of the left wing in the German Social Democratic Party. Schmidt has been talking more about not only Europe but also about supporting nonaligned movements and national democratic revolutionary movements elsewhere. On the left wing of Eurosocijalism, Kreisky of the Austrian Social Democratic Party introduces Arafat around Europe.

Now what ties all of this together is the question of blocs. Both the U.S. and the Soviet blocs are facing immense strain. There have emerged two new coherent or potentially coherent blocs, one in Western Europe and one in the Middle East. Both are committed to national autonomy and nationalism. I will say without hesitation that nationalism is today the most powerful anti-imperialist force in the world. We cannot, however, ignore nationalism's contradictory character if we are to make sense of what is happening in the Middle East and Western Europe. In the former area, as I have argued, nationalism and religion are an integral part of anti-imperialist politics. In West Europe nationalism and class collaboration are linked parts of Eurosocijalism's politics of autonomy.

What will emerge in Western Europe among the European socialists is not simply the different socialisms of their pasts. While they are not dead, they are certainly not the dominant impulse. We will see instead a contradictory situation. We will see a strong element of class collaboration in most of these parties, and we will also see their continued

*Continued on page 23.*

# Subscribe !

## To a socialist magazine for activists.

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

- \$5 regular subscription
- \$10 sustaining subscription
- \$25 contributing subscription

Name \_\_\_\_\_

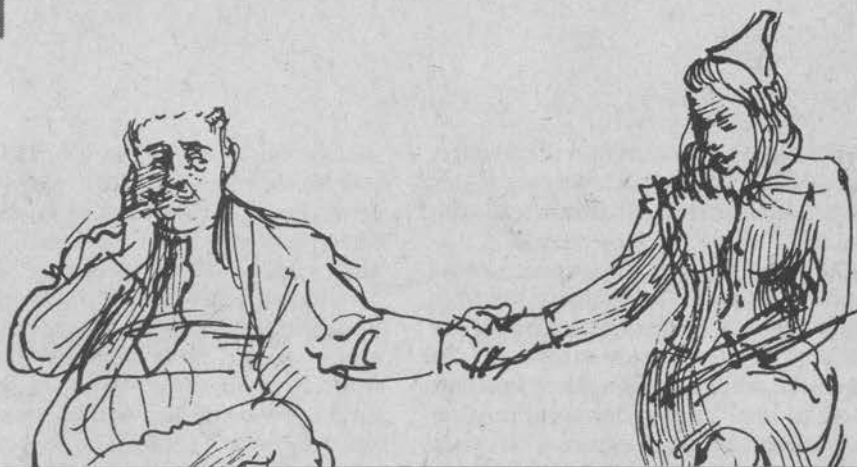
Street \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

**Moving On**, 3244 N. Clark St., Chicago, IL 60657



# The American Novels of Christina Stead



Reginald Marsh

By Judy Gardiner

**B**ORN IN 1902, CHRISTINA STEAD is one of our greatest living writers. Her first four novels, published between 1934 and 1938, are set in her native Australia and in Europe, as are the four volumes of her last twenty years. In the period 1940-1952 she published five novels, four of them set in the United States, where she lived from 1937 to 1946 with her American husband, William Black, a Marxist journalist and banker. When he received the Nobel prize in 1976, Saul Bellow said that Stead deserved the award. Despite high praise from a few other writers and the current republication of her novels, however, Stead's books are still little known. Her work does not fit easily into the standards of the elite male canon of English and American literature. It is not modernist or postmodernist. She is a woman, but she does not believe in a female sensibility. She is an Australian who says she sometimes thought in French. Her books are long and difficult. They arouse uncomfortable recognitions and self-recognitions. They have an explicitly anti-capitalist perspective. Yet they have not been championed by the left, either. Her novels often seem surrealistic rather than being in the mode of socialist realism. She was never a

*Judy Gardiner, a NAM member-at-large, teaches English and Women's Studies at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle and is a long-time feminist activist and author.*

member of the Communist Party, and she bitterly attacks false radicals. That which does not fit into the categories of the textbooks, the anthologies, tends to be omitted, then forgotten.

This essay analyzes Stead's view of women and men, war, and class, in the United States at this time. Like her more famous colonial sister-in-exile, Doris Lessing, Stead disavows the feminism that advocates find in her work, and, again like Lessing, her works show an intimate, equivocal response to the organized Left. The writings of such "fellow travelling" women raise many questions for us. What are the sexual and class politics implicit in the novels? What discrepancies exist between the fiction and the writers' explicit ideologies? Stead's four American novels, including her masterpiece, *The Man who Loved Children*, are esthetically uneven and politically complex. I think many of their strengths derive from Stead's radical vision of society, yet they are also inhibited by the way in which her often static Marxist ideology undercuts her own more profound and less clearly articulated perceptions about women under capitalism.

In the 1930s, before coming to the United States, Stead's views were enthusiastically close to those of the Communist party. In 1935 she spoke in behalf of the progressive young writers who had left "soft self-probings" to take "lessons from workmen." Since World War I had "smashed the bourgeois machine," progressive writers had only to dissect "the morbid tissues of the [capitalist] social anatomy" to be assured they were "cohabiting with the

future." Despite the imminent demise of capitalism, bourgeois mystifications were still vicious and deserved exposure. Because the rich want to retain their monopoly over "knowledge, money, real love, power," they "debase learning, coinage, sex, democratic control to fool the people. . .," according to one of Stead's characters in her novel about banking, *The House of All Nations*. He claims he will write "the waste, the insane freaks of these money men, the cynicism and egotism of their life. . .I'll show that they are not brilliant, not romantic, not delightful, not intelligent" (HN, p. 80).

## The Man who Loved Children

Stead applies the same impulse to debunk the hypocrisy of their power when she shifts from public finance to the private family with her first American novel, *The Man who Loved Children*, (1940). The patriarch Sam Pollitt is the "household czar by divine right" while his wife "Henny was the czar's everlasting adversary, household anarchist by divine right" (36). Henrietta's household nickname is "Pet." A spoiled domestic animal, useless and resentful, she becomes a fierce "hyena" in whom "hate of woman the house-jailed and child-chained" accumulates against her husband, "the key-carrier, child-namer, and riot-haver" (38). Like many of Stead's weaker women, Henny simultaneously finds it degrading to be a woman and believes in sisterhood. She "was one of those women who secretly sympathize with all women against men; life was a rotten deal, with men holding all the aces" (38).

In contrast, her husband mouths liberal and socialist values, but only to oppress others. Having control of the family's income, he tells them it is vulgar to discuss money; the children know "this was one of the pious precepts handed down by people in power to smaller people in subjection" (105). Similarly, while espousing the "brotherhood of man" on a zoological mission in Malaya, he thinks himself a great white father-god. His imperialism abroad thus duplicates his paternalism in the family where he preaches love for everybody, tortures his sons for not being manly enough, and orders the family "shemales" to please and serve him. His Chinese subordinate in Malaya, indebted to moneylenders, saves himself by fleeing to the revolutionary mainland. When Sam's economically dependent wife Henny similarly traps herself in debt, she has no revolutionary society to turn to—and commits suicide.

After her death, Sam achieves a lifelong goal by getting a radio show. Preacher, controller and distorter of knowledge and language to an entire nation of children, he becomes a perfect embodiment of the hypocritical voice of America as softsoaping "Uncle Sam."

### Other American Novels

After continuing her fictionalized autobiography with *For Love Alone*, 1944, Stead analyzes the America of World War II in her next three novels. Each of these books describes the United States through the political, economic, and sexual adventures of a different New Yorker.

Stead claims that *Letty Fox, Her Luck*, 1946, describes a typical "middle-class New York office worker." Through her, Stead satirizes the fads and trends of the American scene. For example, though Stead believes that sexuality is a fundamental human force, she makes fun of Freudians who warp children at home and in ridiculous progressive schools. She is similarly acerbic about radical chic. Another institution she parodies as typically American and hypocritical is

the alimony business. In *The House of All Nations* her metaphor for exploitative financial relationships is prostitution: men sell themselves, each other, and women. Perhaps because of an ideology that stressed the importance of paid productive labor, Stead sees alimony as an inverse prostitution in which women force men to buy their suspended sexual services. In contrast to the alimony racketeers, the chaste teases, and the compulsive philanderers—all of whom use sex to exert power over others—young secretary Letty Fox believes in the sexual equality of women, although "men don't like to think we are just as they are" (11). Plucky, hardworking, generous with heart, body, and money, and in love with humanity, Letty deserves her entirely unlikely luck in marrying a disowned leftist millionaire.

Meanwhile, she is an independent actor politically as well as sexually. "At school I found the political circle to my liking. . . Action, thought, youth, where there is generosity too—mean only one thing—radicalism" (175). She trusts "the massed forward pressure of the vanguard" (463), yet she knows "you have to keep on fighting for liberty, even in a revolution when you're on the right side" (395). Her political clarity enables her to see through the rhetoric of "the people's war," which enraptured men with patriotic fervor and left women at home "dull, smug, neurotic" and pregnant (468). "The radicals I knew had fallen into line with an ungraceful bump" (467), she reports, though they finally realized that capitalism "was pulling some awfully funny stunts" like refundable corporate taxes and that "wars are pretty grim things and the people fight them, even when it's for someone else's glory and profit" (468). As in the passage just quoted, Letty is a reliable political analyst, yet too often Stead uses her as a vehicle through whom to satirize disparate aspects of American culture. Her character never jells; the connections between sex and politics remain unclear; and the rambling sprawl of the whole

novel overgrows its patches of insight.

In contrast, Stead's next novel, *A Little Tea, A Little Chat*, 1948, is thematically and structurally concentrated on the parallels between its main character's political and sexual attitudes. Robert Owens Grant is an obsessive, boring, greedy, lecherous cotton trader. Deeply misogynistic, he tells every woman he meets that he is looking for an "oasis," a dream woman. Like other of Stead's Don Juans, he neither gives nor receives sexual pleasure, and he considers a man who likes to "please women in bed a "pervert" (280). He wastes a fortune on a golddigger, but he chisels his secretary and his poor cleaning lady. He claims he is a socialist so that progressive women will sleep with him for free. He has an affair with a black woman and ruins her marriage. Women commit suicide over him. The culminating example of his evil is a campaign of anonymous redbaiting letters to Southern sheriffs that result in the arrest of his son's Marxist girlfriend, a civil rights activist. As the book underlines, the exploiter of women is simultaneously a fascist, a racist, a macho Tartuffe. Yet Stead's exploration of the psychological parallels between sexism and capitalism collapses into a single economic metaphor. "Every man is in the market—but is he a seller or a buyer?" (349) Robbie philosophizes. "Property is a woman. . . Think of property every morning when you get up, otherwise she'll run around in the daytime and talk to the butcher boy. . . Now I don't say woman to mean woman. A woman with property acts like a man. In property there are no sexes" (344).

The odious Robbie epitomizes American capitalism. His set includes "all Wall Street men, stock-exchange and insurance brokers, bankers" and "government agents. . . all men of considerable active wealth. . . industrious, successful, crafty men with networks of control" (4). They regard themselves as superior to "the workers, as you call the steel gorillas" who "never think of a damn thing but going to the movies and

# “ LIFE WAS A ROTTEN DEAL

# WITH MEN HOLDING ALL THE ACES ”

satiric *Letty Fox*. Perhaps because her hatred and revulsion for American capitalist patriarchy had increased—perhaps because she felt the deluded postwar American public wouldn't listen to her truths, she drives home the novel's one point through hundreds of pages like a migraine headache.

Stead's last American novel, *The People with the Dogs*, published six years after she had left the cold war U.S., is one of her least known and most amiable. In it she retreats from both the energetic socialist optimism of *Letty Fox* and the bitter anticapitalism of *A Little Tea* to resigned nostalgia for lost ideals. The novel examines various forms of community. One is that made by an aggregation of people living together by class and chance. One example is a poor boarding house run by two old anarchists who grew up at a time when “the hope and belief in American destiny felt by all people and especially immigrants... had resulted... in the establishment of these idealists' communities where, it was hoped, purity of principle, absolute equality, freedom and free land, would abolish, reduce or sterilize human weakness and state iniquity.” Clearly, by the time of this novel, Stead herself has lost confidence in the possibility of sterilizing “human weakness and state iniquity.” Instead of validating the politics of the left as leading to revolutionary social change, here she uses political allegiance as a test of moral character, and her anarchists are sweet idealists at the margins of a society that is not seriously threatened by them.

## Conclusions

Thus Stead ends her American experience pessimistic about political progress and distrustful of all power and leadership. The good people in her novels avoid power and give away money. They support union and left activity, but the working class is weak, its members divided and often deluded. Stead's politics thus seem ironically anarchist and utopian. Even if capitalism is ultimately doomed, for now the

exploiters know what they want and can get it by manipulating the greedy and gullible majority of human nature.

It is not for us to berate Stead for not having developed the full socialist-feminist perspective we want. Rather we can take her as an example of an original artist who didn't fit people's expectations and was therefore forgotten by both the elite mainstream of literature and by the left. Her perceptions are still witty and fresh; her novels deserve our reading now. Her sympathies are always with the world's exploited but her fascination is with the exploiters. Many of her most brilliant insights concern the parallels between sexual and economic exploitation. Alimony and prostitution are alternate ways of trading sex for money, while philandering and chastity are ways of getting from others without giving of self. Her novels demonstrate the effects on women of repressive sexual ideology, the double standard, and the sole burden of reproduction. None the less, she subscribes to the orthodox Marxist belief that the oppression of women springs solely from economic dependence, and she sometimes undercuts her own perceptions by collapsing her sexual politics into mere metaphors for economic exploitation. She retains some of the old left's prejudice against liberal feminism, and even her descriptions of female solidarity still portray women as weak, compliant victims of male power. The autobiographical Teresa Hawkins in *For Love Alone* dedicates herself to writing about the “sorrows of women” (365). Although unevenly, in her four American novels Stead indeed writes of women's sorrows and strengths and of the interactions between American capitalism and patriarchy. She came to the United States of World War II as a smart, critical daughter-in-law who rejected the gold pots of Wall Street for the old-fashioned communal silver of Oneida. At her best, she discarded the hypocritical graces said while dividing the American pie, and she substituted some spicy, satirical stews on which we're still chewing. □

kissing their girls” (131). Naturally, these men are rabidly anticommunist patriots who “loved the United States intensely, ferociously, with terror and greed” (4). World War II delights them. “I'm just waiting for the War to be over,” says one of Grant's friends. “Democracy is right because it's American, and it's going to give us all security forever... When Europe's ruined after the war and the kids are starving and the old people dropping dead like flies, everybody sick, and without any hats or shoes, you'll see, we'll make a fortune” (115-116).

*A Little Tea* suffers from the opposite esthetic flaw to the rambling,

By Laura Berg

**L**AST NOVEMBER THE RATEPAYERS of Oregon's privately owned utilities had a chance to switch to public power. Voters in 12 Oregon counties were offered ballot measures on forming people's utility districts (PUDs). And the reasons for making the switch were compelling: in the past five years Oregon's private utility rates rose 100 percent, while rates of publicly owned systems remained half as much or less than the investor-owned utilities (IOUs).

Despite Oregon's abundant renewable energy sources (hydroelectric power is only one of them), the two IOUs—Portland General Electric (PGE) and Pacific Power and Light (PP&L)—have opted for building nuclear and coal-fired power plants. Increased consumer utility rates paid for these costly enterprises, even before a kilowatt of electricity was generated, until a 1978 initiative banned private utilities from including construction works in progress in their rate base. The prime movers of this statewide initiative campaign, Eugene-based Oregonians for Utility Reform (OUR), also won a local initiative to establish Emerald PUD in the rural area around Eugene. Ballot measure No. 4, which had it passed would have simplified the procedures for enacting PUDs, was also before the public in 1978. The victories and the publicity for ballot measure No. 4 spearheaded interest in people's utility districts around the state. These new efforts drew in not only old PUD war-horses such as the Oregon State Grange, but also many younger activists whose previous work had targeted anti-nuclear causes. Members of Portland NAM's Energy Task Force were among the anti-nuclear activists who turned their attention to questions of ownership and control.

*Laura Berg is a member of NAM's National Interim Committee.*



George Poratz

In the spring and summer of 1978, along with campaigning for ballot measure No. 4 and the construction works in progress initiative, the Task Force founded the Ratepayers Union. By the end of 1979, when signatures needed to be collected for the PUD petition, the Ratepayers Union had 400 members.

Under Oregon law the establishment of PUDs is a two-stage process. Voters must first approve an engineering feasibility study, and then vote again on whether to acquire the IOUs' property and begin operating PUDs. In 14 coun-

*Coalition members pose for TV commercial.*

ties PUD advocates gathered enough signatures to put the first question of funding feasibility studies on November 4th ballots. (Two of the 14 counties had their elections postponed until February, 1981, after local authorities' procedural roadblocks delayed their elections but failed to keep the initiative off the ballot.)

Once PUD measures are firmly secured on the ballot, Oregon law requires not only boundary hearings for the pro-



# The Fight For Public Power In Oregon

posed districts, but also directs the Oregon Department of Energy (ODOE) to conduct hearings in each county to assess the cost and availability of power and the tax consequences of forming people's utility districts. Organizers from the 14 counties, who together represented 95 percent of PGE and PP&L's Oregon customers, devised the Oregon Campaign for Public Power to consolidate election strategy and to coordinate activities such as literature production, testimony preparation, and tours of local experts as well as bonding specialists and representatives from the American Public Power Association. The leadership for this statewide effort fell to OUR and Multnomah County PUD Coalition (affectionally known as McPUD). Multnomah County, with the city of Portland, is the district with the most ratepayers, and its PUD coalition was the largest in the state.

During the months of gathering the 14,000 required signatures in Multnomah County, Ratepayers Union and task force members became the core of the broad-based coalition. McPUD was a splendid collection of organizations including energy activist groups, senior citizen and neighborhood groups, Multnomah County Democratic Party, Citizens Party, DSOC, the Granges, Farmers Union, Consumer Power League, and 17 labor unions, among them AFSCME, Western Pulp & Paper Workers, Machinists, International Woodworkers, Food and Commercial Workers, Communications Workers, Construction and General Laborers, and Steelworkers.

Later in the campaign, the alliance between the leadership of the Oregon

State Grange and the newer public power activists broke down over the issue of coalition control and differences in style and organizing approaches. Although disagreement about nuclear power versus renewables didn't come to the surface, it lurked in the background and contributed to a climate of distrust. Fortunately, this dissension didn't split the larger coalition that had been so carefully cultivated over the winter and spring of '79-'80.

While McPUD wrestled with organizational matters, the legal team (formed early in the PUD drive, the team was composed of National Lawyers Guild members, and had representatives in nearly all 14 counties) continued its research and preparation for county and ODOE hearings scheduled for April and May. Preparing for the two sets of hearings was an arduous task that spread out over months, but it armed proponents for the upcoming public power publicity battle.

The press, excited by the pending skirmishes at ODOE proceedings and not being adverse to fueling the fire, provided good coverage for interviews and press conferences organized by PUD partisans. The wire services gave statewide publicity to each county's hearings. In these county forums, PUD proponents fared well against apparitions conjured up by PGE and PP&L. Even the companies' benchmark opinion polls showed a two-to-one majority of Oregonians in favor of PUDs.

## A Vigorous Campaign

As the election neared, the Multnomah coalition hadn't yet decided whether to

have a campaign headquarters. However, the Ratepayers Union concluded that a central location for the campaign to win votes couldn't wait any longer. In June the Ratepayers rented a two-story building and brought in secondhand furnishings to accompany the more sophisticated accoutrements of a modern political campaign: enough telephones for serious phone-banking, a photocopy machine, a workshop for lawn sign production, literature layout and design facilities, precinct maps, files, and so on.

By the time McPUD decided to appoint an election coordinator, a Democratic legislator from Portland, the Ratepayers' Public Power Information Center had established itself as the pre-eminent election headquarters. The coordinator and task force members led the traditional campaign activities with a contagious enthusiasm that attracted even the over-committed. (By the height of the campaign, 400 volunteers were participating.) Speeches were made, televised debates held, precincts canvassed. Two thousand red-white-and-blue lawn signs were put up. Half a million pieces of literature were produced. A four-page tabloid was distributed in all 12 counties. The Ratepayers designed and oversaw literature production. Union printers donated their labor.

Task force strategists also hatched a number of innovative projects. The People's Power Players (a venture of the Ratepayers Union) performed comic skits, including "The Big Lie" and "Free Enterprise Government," and sang songs such as "Oh, Lord Won't You Buy Me a PUD?" and "Power" (a

la Peggy Lee's "Fever"). "Coffee, Tea, and PUDs"—house meetings accompanied by a slide show—were added to the campaign's repertoire. A women's energy conference sponsored by the Ratepayers, Portland State University's Women Studies, and Portland SUN introduced public power to the feminist community. A "Summer Camp" for NAM activists from around the country brought in six seasoned organizers for full-time work during the final months of the campaign.

The legal team developed a media strategy based on the Fairness Doctrine. Because PUD partisans didn't have the money to buy their own radio and TV ads, the legal team instead made sure broadcasters complied with FCC regulations requiring stations to provide free advertising time to balance paid commercials. Legal team pressure forced broadcasters to adopt uniform policies that proponents of other controversial ballot measures were able to use.

The County Democratic Central Committee was successfully wooed—it gave the single, largest campaign contribution. Its precinct leaders took PUD literature to supplement its material in sample ballots. With last minute insight, PUD workers approached Republican precinct captains and gingerly asked them to include the pro-PUD tabloid with their sample ballots. Many agreed.

But when the votes were in after the November 4th election, public power was almost totally defeated. The tally in Multnomah County was 44 to 56 percent against. Only in one county did voters favor public power—Columbia River PUD, after nearly 20 years as a paper PUD, was authorized to float general obligation bonds to buy out the private utility and begin operations.

### Why PUD Lost

The 1980 PUD defeat is an old tale in Oregon. The people of Oregon won their first public power victory 50 years ago, but since then, the winnings have been slim while the stakes only multiply. In 1930 Oregonians won an initiative measure that provided a mechanism for creating PUDs. Dozens of elections were held in Oregon during the '30s and '40s, but relatively few publicly owned systems were established, while the neighbor state of Washington initiated many public systems. A principal difference lies in Oregon's enabling legislation, which, as noted earlier, requires



Louise Weisler

*Beverley Stein.*

voter approval at two separate elections. The other reason is the consistent success of PGE and PP&L tactics.

When government investigators began their scrutiny of U.S. electric power production in the 1920s (by that time the numerous, small competitive companies who had provided power were replaced by 16 companies controlling 80 percent of the nation's production and distribution), they did not overlook Oregon's private utilities. These investigations, which continued sporadically over some 20 years, described not only PGE and PP&L overcharges, but a web of other abuses. In 1941 an investigator for the Federal Power Commission wrote:

The record discloses that by subterfuge these companies sought to pollute the political processes of free choice at public elections. Funds obtained from the consuming public have been lavishly expended to prevent the people from obtaining electric energy through publicly or cooperatively controlled organizations.

In this 1980 version of the David and Goliath story, before David's rocket reached the giants, the monster utilities fired off a dense curtain of green bills. A barrage of lies and distortions cost the utilities \$1.5 million; they outspent the PUD forces 60-1.

The private utilities had only to add a few new ingredients to poison these most recent elections. This time around the corporate campaign was disguised

as a grassroots effort. The companies cooperated to organize Oregonians Against the Government Takeovers(!), who at the suggestion of company brass hired the consulting firm of Winner-Wagner. The Los Angeles firm had finished a fatal job on public power for Consolidated Edison in New York's Westchester County and had more recently helped to defeat an anti-nuclear measure in Maine. PGE and PP&L made 90 percent of the campaign contributions to Oregonians Against, who in turn paid Winner-Wagner for an advertising and direct mail campaign.

During the final months before the elections, Winner-Wagner conceived many full-page newspaper ads for Oregonians Against. One typical ad featured a facsimile check written in the amount of \$1.3 billion for purchase of the private utilities. Signed by "Multnomah (or whichever) county residents," the check implied that taxes would be levied to buy out the energy systems, when in fact revenue bonds would be sold to acquire the IOU's property. The initiative proposed a feasibility study which would cost taxpayers \$250,000. The Multnomah coalition filed an official complaint with the Secretary of State under Oregon's campaign laws, charging that the statements in the ad were false and misleading. (The Secretary's office replied that it had no jurisdiction in the matter.)

The advertising of Oregonians Against and their four direct mail pieces that reached every registered voter continued to panic the public about encroaching government and taxation without representation. Their television ads featured prominent citizens and folksy types warning that PUDs create new and costly bureaucracies that have the power to tax and condemn land without having to answer to state regulatory authority: "No wonder it's called a people's utility district, it's the people who have to pay."

Winner-Wagner's theme for the corporate campaign concentrated on the potent issues of government and taxation. Nationwide, Reagan and the right droned on and on with "get government out and cut taxes." It was persuasive rhetoric during the 1980 elections.

As the corporate campaign demonstrated, there is still much to be said for simplicity, catchy phrases, and slogans. Not that this cliched political wisdom escaped PUD organizers, who invented slogans and cleverly turned many a

phrase, but the simple message they wanted to convey—PUDs cost less—became complex largely because of political machinations far from Oregon.

In the U.S. Congress, the showdown was nearing in a seven-year debate on Northwest energy legislation. Senate bill 885 proposed to end the practice of making public utilities the exclusive preference customers of the Bonneville Power Administration, the federal agency that generates and distributes low-cost hydropower from dams on the Columbia River. Along with underwriting the cost of nuclear power plants and guaranteeing power to a new aluminum company, the bill was designed to make cheaper public power available to IOUs and to spread the burden of paying for more electricity from nuclear and coal-fired plants to ratepayers throughout the region. Together, these aspects of the bill would reduce the disparity between the rates that private and public utilities charge their residential customers. To bolster the need for the bill, its backers claimed that the Northwest would face power shortages in the '80s unless electric generating capacity was vastly increased—an expensive proposition even for public utilities, whose financing costs are less because they're tax-free.

If the power bill passed and the public was persuaded that huge increases in energy production were necessary, in-

itiative proponents could not claim with credibility that PUDs would offer cheaper rates than the privates. That PUDs cost less became, then, an argument dependent not only on the outcome of pending legislation, but on additionally complex questions of future sources of energy and how to finance them.

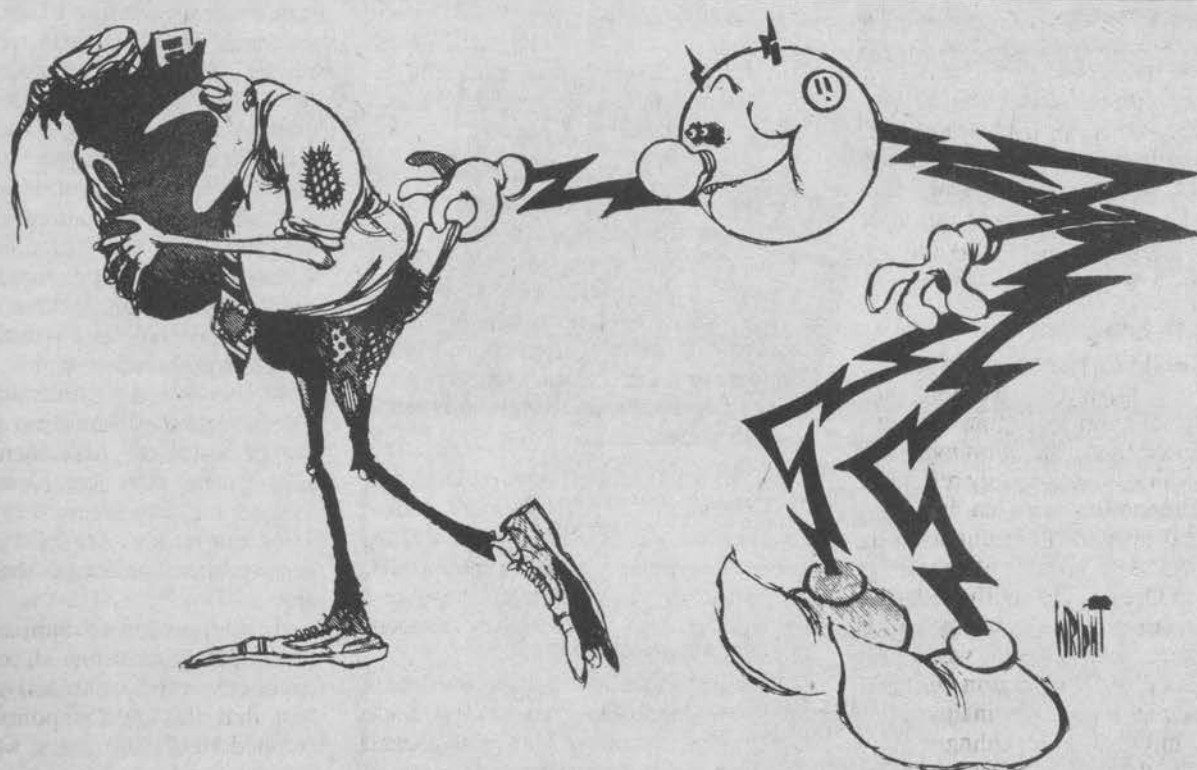
The media concentrated on power cost and power availability—issues raised by the ODOE hearings as well as by debate on the power bill. Not only did these issues obfuscate the proponents' main contention, but the threatening legislation also required PUD advocates to organize to defeat the bill (which was delayed until after November 4th elections but passed during the lameduck session) and to offer the public a real alternative for future energy supplies. They did both. They fought the power bill and helped Oregonians for Utility Reform (OUR) with a ballot initiative that would have implemented Article XI-D of the Oregon Constitution, making the state's bonding capacity available for locally owned renewable energy and conservation projects. When petitions fell short of the number of required signatures to place it on the November ballot, local control and renewables were lost as campaign themes, leaving only the now-defused "PUDs cost Less."

Public power advocates were seduced

by the power bill and the renewable energy petition. While PUD partisans organized around their commitment to lower rates, the real question disappeared from public view: the ballot measure asked whether voters wanted to authorize a PUD feasibility study. Oregonians Against did not raise the issue of a feasibility study. After all, the private utilities had a lot to lose from such a study. It would expose the extra costs of privately owned utilities, which have to generate profit to pay dividends to stockholders; our utility bills pay for advertising costs, for lobbying and campaign expenses, and so on.

Meanwhile, PUD opponents stuck to government and taxes in their appeal to voters, and counted on the media to jumble the other issues. Many editorial writers and reporters obligingly fell into the abyss of company propaganda, as one Portland newsman did when he explained in his six-part series on public versus private utilities that taxes, not revenue bonds, would buy out private energy systems.

But it wasn't only that the opponents had a more effective message, it was how they were able to put it across. They could create PUD phobia by buying their way into the living room of every voter in 12 counties. Through media and mail, they dominated the last months of the campaign. Proponents couldn't compete: without the numbers,





NAM member Sara Spence has produced an original set of feminist graphics and poetry for a 1981 Appointment Calendar. Titled "Circles of Energy, Spirals of Hope," the set consists of six 17x22 posters and are priced at \$7 per set. To order call: (414) 933-9742 or write to 4025 W. Vliet St., Milwaukee, WI 53208. Please add \$2 to cover mailing tube, postage, and handling.

finances, or facilities to rebut corporate lies, they were only able, during the final month, to change their emphasis from "PUDs cost less" to whether the voters wanted a feasibility study. And by then, those who voted were so confused that 15-20 percent of them didn't even register their choice on the PUD measure.

### Lessons for the Future

Looking back on the campaign, Ratepayers Union and NAM's task force organizing efforts were substantial. From a field of eight candidates, NAM member and legal team coordinator Beverly Stein received the most votes for what could have been the PUD board of directors. Until the 1980 campaign, Oregon politicians and opinion makers wanted to dismiss PUDs as the concern of outdated cranks. Even though, for most of the Ratepayers and task force members, the PUD campaign

was their first foray into electoral politics, their sustained and imaginative work restored the reputation of PUDs as legitimate political proposals.

Portland NAM continues to review its campaign experience. The analysis presented here suggests that proponents' diffuse campaign strategy was a miscalculation, and part of the mistake stemmed from failure to frame the campaign in the context of current political debate, in this case, the role of government, and particularly, the economic consequences of tax policy and government spending. Task force members concede that they were never able to consolidate a campaign approach and theme; they vacillated between the time-honored appeal to lower rates and their own inclination toward local control and renewable energy. This failure to jell an overall approach blunted their effective use of media and other communications tools.

In general, however, anti-corporate forces won't be able to match corporations on a one-to-one basis with processed and home-delivered information. With the grotesquely unequal financial backing, progressives will have to enhance tactics that depend on people's participation—meetings, rallies, and bodies to launch the message. Coalitions are the logical vehicles for involving more people and expanding total resources, but as the task force evaluation underscored, the most important accomplishment of the PUD campaign, the coalition, was also its greatest weakness. McPUD's member organizations weren't able to turn out their troops; and just as significantly, McPUD couldn't decide on how to decide: campaign decisions were largely made ad hoc and outside the coalition. The energy task force recognized decision-making and organizational control as particularly thorny problems when a coalition has a working core of groups with supportive, but mostly inactive, peripheral organizations.

With their first coalition apprenticeship behind them, task force members have joined with the Citizens/Labor Energy Coalition where they and other McPUD members are trying to assemble a program and constituency around jobs and energy. Having functioned together in some fashion for over a year, the Multnomah County PUD Coalition persists as an activist network that Portland NAM and the Ratepayers Union will nurture for a future PUD assault. □

## We don't boycott the issues

Not since the '30s have Americans experienced such severe social and economic problems. Yet our major newspapers and periodicals have made it their business to avoid serious discussion of corporate responsibility for this situation.

IF you're tired of this boycott of the causes of inflation, the energy crisis and unemployment.

IF you aren't satisfied merely knowing what's wrong and want to know what people are doing about it.

IF you want to choose from a variety of views; and care enough to take sides—then subscribe to *In These Times*.

We're the independent socialist newsweekly with a commitment to innovative, reliable journalism, to diversity of opinion, and to democratic social change.



YES, I want to try **IN THESE TIMES**, the alternative newsweekly! I don't even have to enclose payment now—you'll bill me later. **MY GUARANTEE:** If at any time I decide to cancel, you will refund my money on all unmailed copies, with no questions asked.

Send me 6 months of **IN THESE TIMES** for only \$10.95.

Send me one year of **IN THESE TIMES** for only \$19.50.

Payment enclosed.  Bill me later.  
 Charge my:  VISA  Master Charge

Acct. No. \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

**IN THESE TIMES**  
 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave.  
 Chicago, IL 60622



*1978 Chicago  
pro-choice  
demonstration.*



Haine Wessel

**AN EDITORIAL BY LIZ WESTON, CO-CHAIR OF  
NAM'S SOCIALIST FEMINIST COMMISSION**

**D**URING THE LAST SESSION OF CONGRESS MUCH LEGISLATION whose impact can only be described as negative for women was introduced by right-wingers. At the same time, the right wing managed to stall or subvert legislation of benefit to women and children, such as the Child Health Assurance Program (CHAP) which would have provided Medicaid for an additional two million children and pregnant women and which was dragged down by anti-abortion amendments. This trend began before the Reagan election, and key conservative gains in the Senate will surely amplify it. In fact, the worst of these measures, the "Family Protection Act" and the "Human Life Amendment" will undoubtedly appear on the floor of the Senate shortly. Both pieces of legislation had been bottled up in committees which now have conservative Republican majorities and chairs.

While the ultimate fate of these pieces of legislation is still uncertain, their content is certainly alarming. The Family Protection Act is a comprehensive bill about funding for education, health and legal agencies, and it presents a terrifying social vision. In the area of

**THE FAMILY  
PROTECTION  
ACT  
AND THE HUMAN  
LIFE  
AMENDMENT**

education, the act would restrict funding to schools that prohibit prayer, it would require parents to examine and approve textbooks, and it would restrict funding to schools that use textbooks that deny differences in sex roles. It would outlaw the check off of union dues from teachers' paychecks thereby preventing union shops. The potentially devastating effects of these anti-feminist, anti-union, anti-teacher and anti-separation-of-church-and-state measures hardly need explanation.

But wait. There is even more to this act. Health agencies would lose funding if they did not inform the parents of minors about their children's abortions, venereal disease, or use of contraceptives. So much for any rights or privacy for teenagers. And perhaps most horrifyingly, the bill would also cut off funds to agencies that portray homosexuality as an acceptable lifestyle. It would deny the protection of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to lesbians and gay men, and it would undermine anti-discrimination suits by gays. The right wing has already scored a victory in cutting off legal services support for gay anti-discrimination efforts.

Finally, tax laws would be reformed to favor married couples. And if this is not enough incentive for marriage, legal services would no longer be able to provide divorces nor would shelters for battered women be allowed funding. The so-called Moral Majority has already opposed funding shelters and fought the Domestic Violence Act of 1980; although they lost on the floor, their obstructiveness determined that the act eventually died in a Conference Committee.

The vision presented by the Family Protection Act is one of beaten wives forced to remain in their marriages. Of gays forced back into the closet. Of teachers terrified to teach or to be union members. Of young people afraid to seek treatment for V.D., unable to obtain birth control, forced to carry unwanted and potentially dangerous pregnancies to term as the price of their sexuality.

Of course, compulsory pregnancy as the price of women's sexuality is a cornerstone of the right-wing program. Through the anti-abortion movement, old and new conservatives have built the "new right." Key to their efforts is the push for a so-called Human Life Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Previously, when their efforts were blocked in Congress, they attempted a state-by-state call for a Constitutional Convention, and they succeeded in 17 of the necessary 34 states. Now they are much closer to having enough votes in the Senate and House to go the easier route of congressional approval of the amendment with states' ratification.

The Human Life Amendment would give "human rights" from the time of conception. A fertilized egg would have the same rights as a person. This amendment would create an unprecedented situation in this country,

far worse than that of the illegal status of abortion prior to the 1973 Supreme Court decision. Rhonda Copelon, the staff lawyer for the Center for Constitutional Rights who argued the case for Medicaid funding for abortion before the Supreme Court last year, has written in *Ms.* magazine of some of the possible effects of the amendment:

- The principle of equality (of the fetus) might well require Congress and the states to treat abortion as first degree (premeditated) murder, or at least as manslaughter.
- The illegal abortion death rate would be unprecedented. Because of fear of prosecution, few skilled medical people would do abortions or even treat complications.
- Even willingly pregnant women would be suspect. An amendment could hasten women's exclusion from work, strenuous activity (outside the home), and crowded places because of imagined risks of miscarriage and liability for "wrongful death." A pregnant woman's eating, drinking, smoking, and sleeping habits might become subject to the criminal threat to the fetus.
- All women of childbearing age would be suspect, even when seeking routine gynecological care. Most experts believe that at least 15 to 25% of all pregnancies end in miscarriage or stillbirth. Women will be afraid to seek needed emergency care because of the possibility of criminal investigation. Doctors would perform D&Cs, one of the commonest operations, at their peril because the operation might inadvertently remove a fertilized egg.
- Friends and others who assist an abortion or simply fail to report an intended abortion could be prosecuted.
- Prosecution of women who self-abort or seek illegal abortions, rather than the rare exception, could become constitutionally required. While many proponents refuse to discuss the level of punishment, franker advocates for fetal "human life" call for the death penalty against women who abort.

For several years now NAM has placed a heavy emphasis on work around reproductive rights. Given the current right-wing agenda, this emphasis certainly must be continued and deepened. Feminists and progressives are faced with the need to form broad coalitions to block these measures, to mount legislative and judicial campaigns to stop the right wing at all levels. And the very direct and all-encompassing nature of the right-wing attack not only will enable us, but will require us, to engage in extremely fundamental discussions about feminism, about gay and lesbian liberation, and about a non-repressive view of sexuality with large numbers of people. □

# All the News

## NAM NEWS AND UPDATE

Austin NAM participated with Ad Hoc Coalition members who staged a candlelight demonstration to welcome Rep. Henry Hyde to a meeting of the "Texas Right to Life Committee" in their city.

NAM and DSOC members are working together in the University Employees Union joined by the Communication Workers of America (CWA) in a campaign to win across the board pay increases for employees.

The El Salvador Committee is receiving help from NAM members for local events planned to protest U.S. intervention.

Several Austin NAM members are helping the Texas Tenant Union's upcoming Statewide Conference. Glenn Scott is a staff member of T.T.U., Cindy Stewart is helping with the conference, and Richard Croxdale is doing a presentation on the economics of housing.

Austin NAM held an Inaugural Ball to help prepare their friends for the first day of the Reagan administration.

Portland NAM is starting off the New Year with a branch structure designed to improve efficiency by 33%. Their chapter is joining with the Plant Closure Organizing Committee to sponsor a labor film series. The Energy and Labor Task Forces continue to work in the local Citizen's Labor Energy Coalition.

Seattle NAM will play host to long-time activist and NAM member Harry Boyte who will speak in the chapter's series of workshops and discussions on "organizing for the '80s."

Corvallis NAM is gearing up for the final weeks of a campaign to win public control over local utilities. Industry and financial interests are expected to wage a high-budget media campaign against this community-based effort.

Irvine NAM has launched a study group based on the Basic Marxism course

which has attracted 16 participants.

A showing of the film "Working for Your Life" was co-sponsored by Irvine NAM, Science for the People, and the Orange County Reproductive Rights Alliance (in which many NAM members work).

Chapter member Joe Chaikin is helping to produce a local radio show, and Doris Englund is working with the Santa Ana Neighborhood Organization to help provide research and organizing assistance for a fight over redevelopment plans in Santa Ana.

San Francisco NAM had a successful meeting to discuss the "Prospects for the Women's Movement" featuring NAM member Judy MacLean. A meeting was scheduled later that month to discuss: "Power and Politics in San Francisco Since World War II."

The Socialist Community School will

soon begin the next term with a full compliment of classes, workshops, and forums.

NAM members are active in the San Francisco Budget Task Force, a coalition of labor and community groups pushing the downtown financial and corporate interests to carry a larger share of Municipal Transit system costs. The group recently met with five County Supervisors to gain support for their proposal.

A permanent ordinance to restrict the conversion of low-income residential units into luxury tourist hotels was recently passed by the Supervisors with the help of NAM members who were involved in mobilizing 150 people for Board hearings.

Los Angeles NAM has organized an exciting set of community forums for the coming months. They'll begin with a

### STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1. Title of Publication: Moving On

2. Date of filing: Oct. 1, 1980

3. Frequency of issue: Bi-monthly

3.(a) No. of issues published annually: 6

3.(b) Annual subscription price: \$5.00

4. Location of known office of publication: 3244 N. Clark St., Chicago (Cook), Illinois 60657

5. Location of the headquarters or general business offices of the publishers: 3244 N. Clark St., Chicago (Cook), Illinois 60657

6. Names and addresses of publisher, editor and managing editor: Publisher—New American Movement, Editor and Managing Editor—Richard Kunnes, Address of all—3244 N. Clark St., Chicago, IL 60657.

7. Owner: New American Movement, 3244 N. Clark St., Chicago, IL 60657

8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: None

9. The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes have changed during preceding 12 months: Not applicable.

### 10. Extent and nature of circulation:

	Average No. copies each issue	No. copies issue before filing date
A. Total no. copies printed	5,000	5,000
B. Paid circulation		
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	3,500	3,583
2. Mail subscriptions	1,100	1,177
C. Total paid circulation	4,600	4,760
D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means: samples, complimentary & other free copies	25	18
E. Total distribution	4,625	4,778
F. Copies not distributed		
F.1. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	350	180
2. Returns from news agents	25	42
G. Total	5,000	5,000

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(signed) Richard Kunnes  
Editor

discussion of the complex politics of the Caribbean region featuring the former premier of Guyana, Cheddi Jagan.

A panel discussion on "New Directions in the Jewish Community" will revolve around an assessment of two recent conferences on the Jewish Left.

L.A. NAM has produced a slide show titled "People and Energy" which examines the effects of uranium and coal mining in the Southwest.

Westside Branch member Kathy Sheldon spoke at a rally and demonstration called in "honor" of Ronald Reagan's inauguration.

**Santa Cruz NAM** members have their occasional disputes like everyone else, but only in Santa Cruz could such disputes rock the foundations of local government. City Council members Mike Rotkin and Bruce Van Allen had their first public political dispute of principle last week; Van Allen favoring a 35% low income housing guideline, while Rotkin was willing to settle for 25%. The specter of left disunity was quickly averted by the actions of the conservative Council majority who settled the question by pushing through a 15% figure. Van Allen and Rotkin returned to their former alliance by opposing the majority with a hearty chorus of NO!

The Local Politics Project is developing a new effort around housing issues, and strengthening the neighborhood organizing which is seen as a crucial base for further electoral work. An agreement for joint work with local DSOC members was reached with the formation of a "Socialist Drinking Club," which begins a rigorous schedule of weekly meetings.

**Pittsburgh NAM** members didn't miss a chance to ham it up at their Inaugural Ball. They produced a skit based on the story of a young couple agonizing whether to accept positions in the new Reagan administration.

Contacts are being made with representatives of the local Citizen/Consumer Party and Democratic Party to

help determine the chapter's future electoral strategy. City Council elections will be held this spring.

NAM members are helping provide the research on local economic conditions, particularly the steel industry. The information will help the efforts of the Tri-State Conference on Plant Closings.

The NAM Reproductive Rights Committee is planning to join other groups for activities that include public events and leafletting.

**Baltimore NAM** is making plans to host the Urban School, March 21-22. They want to attract local and regional activists for a series of workshops on coalition building, power structure research, and organizing techniques.

Several members of the chapter attended the El Salvador demonstration in Washington, D.C. last week. Other members took part in C.A.R.D. actions protesting registration for the draft.

NAM member Dean Pappas will be teaching a class on U.S. Foreign Policy and Current Events at the local Community Senior Center and Jan Houbolt is working on a cable TV project.

Baltimore NAM co-sponsored a very interesting evening with Margaret Papandrea who is active in the Greek Panhellenic Socialist Movement and is a co-founder of the Greek Women's Union. Before coming to an evening forum, she addressed 100 residents in a Greek working class neighborhood in Baltimore.

**New York NAM** is involved with members of the local Citizens Party in a petition campaign for abortion rights. Other NAM members are taking a course taught by Paul De Brul, aid to Councilwoman Ruth Messinger, on municipal politics. They hope to prepare for involvement in the fall City Council races.

**New Haven NAM** showed two appropriate films for the local Inauguration Day celebration, including that classic and favorite of Ronald Reagan: "Red

Nightmare."

The Reproductive Freedom Task Force, a local NAM project, is joining with the local N.O.W. chapter to work on an event recognizing the U.S. Supreme Court decision to allow freedom of choice.

**Washington, D.C.** NAM members, along with members of several other NAM chapters, sold a record amount of literature at the recent Eurosocialism Conference sponsored by the Institute for Democratic Socialism.

NAM members Bernie Demczuk, Joy Ann Grune, Tim Wilson, and Lloyd Raines are active in a coalition effort to develop a referendum around social service cutbacks and new revenue sources.

NAM member Stephanie Foster is active organizing a women's study group. Richard Kinane got a new job as organizer and lobbyist for Environmental Action. Several D.C. NAM members will give presentations at the Regional Urban School in Baltimore.

**Somerville NAM** members are tightening their belts for the chapter discussions planned on "Austerity Politics."

*The Somerville Community News* got a new surge of energy when 30 local activists showed up to support the paper at a meeting called to discuss the newspaper's future.

### *If you don't see it, ask for it!*

If you don't see your chapter activities reported here, no one else will either. Send all your non-fiction contributions to Craig Merrilees, c/o NAM National Office, 3244 N. Clark St., Chicago, IL 60657.

### **CORRECTION**

In our Nov/Dec issue we suggested the book *Through the Wall: Prison Correspondence* was simply written by one prisoner. In fact it was based on the correspondence of 300 prisoners, initiated by Ethel S. Bertolini. We apologize for this error.

---

---

# Aronowitz

*Continued from page 8.*

emergence as genuine leaders of the working class movement.

In those countries having defined the questions as national questions, their orientation is to try to break their own national bourgeoisie away from American capital, and to do this they are willing to make concessions on the shop floor. That's a complication. And it is not something completely determined by party leaders. The trade unions get involved in many kinds of interesting national planning operations: training, European-wide labor markets, economic cooperation between European countries, and so forth.

## The U.S. Left

We're Americans, but this is more than of academic interest to us. The ques-

tions we are asking in relation to NAM must be in the context of a real international approach, as well as an approach to our own socialist movement in the U.S. Our approach has to be in the context of not what we have learned from the experience of the Bolshevik Revolution, but what we have learned from the experiences of the 1970s.

Who are these people, the Eurosoci- alists? What are their strengths and weaknesses? What is it that character- izes the anti-imperialist movement in the world today? How does Eurosoci- alism connect to anti-imperialism? Does anti-imperialism primarily mean oppo- sition to U.S. capital? How do we relate to and build the world anti-imperialist movement?

Now I want to return to the ex- perience I had at that conference on world socialism that Richard Healey and I attended in Yugoslavia. On cul- tural, political, and ideological ques- tions we lined up with people like the PLO representative I mentioned earlier, with people from the Eurosoci- alist par-

ties, and with people from some of the Eurocommunist parties. We found common ground because there is a cer- tain political, ideological and spiritual if you will coming together of people from the non-aligned national movement—a movement that includes both those from the industrialized countries and those from the Third World. In fact, after our talks, several of these people came up to us and said, "My God, we didn't expect this from Americans."

We have to decide. One position is really to say nothing has changed since 1917, since the German social democ- rats betrayed the revolution, since Guy Mollet of the French Socialist Party in the late 1950s was one of the most vir- ulent anti-communists. Now I do not think that is reasonable politics; I think it is the politics of the sectarian left. It is not sufficient for us. We can no longer ignore these questions about na- tionalism, religion, and the nature of contemporary world politics, and we must start thinking in more complex terms. □

---

---

## The New American Movement...

The New American Movement combines a Marxist analysis with careful at- tention 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 ap- propriate to our times with 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 con- trolled 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 plan- ning, ownership, and decision-making with a high regard for individual rights and freedom.

- The development of a movement for socialism in America will require

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

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

- Democracy is central to the process of building a movement for socialism. Only as working people become active, organized and begin to take control over their own 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 coun- tries. However, we are also critical of various aspects of their policies, and see no one of them as a model for our own efforts.

## NAM chapters

Austin NAM, c/o Stewart, 900 W. 30th St., Austin, TX 78705  
Baltimore NAM, P.O. Box 7213, Baltimore, MD 21218  
Bellingham NAM, 1001 Key St., Bellingham WA 98225  
Blazing Star NAM, 3244 N. Clark St., Chicago, IL 60657  
Boston Area NAM, P.O. Box 443, Somerville, MA 02144  
Boulder NAM, c/o Left Hand Books, 1908 Pearl St., Boulder, CO 80302  
Buffalo NAM, P.O. Box 404, Buffalo, NY 14205  
Champaign-Urbana NAM, Rm. 284 Illini Union, 1301 W. Green St., Urbana, IL 61801  
Cleveland NAM, c/o Miller, 2061 E. 115th St., Cleveland, OH 44106  
Chicago Northside NAM, c/o NAM National Office, 3244 N. Clark, Chicago, IL 60657  
Colorado Springs NAM, c/o Monroy-Friedrichs, 129 Cave Ave.,  
Manitou Springs, CO 80829  
Corvallis NAM, P.O. Box 278, Corvallis, OR 97330  
Danville NAM, c/o Mitchell, 1002 Glenwood, Danville, IL 61832  
Dayton NAM, c/o Mericle, 215 Superior Ave., Dayton, OH 45405  
Denver-Bread & Roses NAM, c/o Roseman, 50 S. Steele St.  
#580, Denver CO 80209  
Detroit NAM, P.O. Box 32376, Detroit, MI 48232  
East Bay NAM, 6025 Shattuck Ave., Oakland, CA 94609  
Eugene-Springfield NAM, P.O. Box 3120, Eugene, OR 97403  
Fargo-Moorehead NAM, c/o Lubke, 1706 11th Ave. N. Fargo, ND 58102  
Indiana-Johnstown NAM, c/o Peterson, 1121 Boyd Ave., Johnstown, PA 15905  
Irvine NAM, c/o Doris England, 4114 Verano Pl., Irvine, CA 92715  
Lexington-Blue Grass NAM, c/o Parsons, 135 1/2 Constitution St., Lexington, KY 40508  
Long Island NAM, c/o Stevenson, 74 Sherman Ave., Williston Pk., NY 11596  
L.A. NAM, 2936 W. 8th St., Los Angeles, CA 90005  
Lucy Parsons NAM, c/o Barclay/Strobel, 150 N. Lombard,  
Oak Park IL 60302  
Madison NAM, Box 401, 800 Langdon St., Madison, WI 53706  
Marin County NAM, c/o Baylin, 180 Marguerite Ave., Mill Valley, CA 94941  
Milwaukee NAM, P.O. Box 1315, Milwaukee, WI 53201  
Missoula NAM, c/o Wheeler, 1661 S. 8th West, Missoula, MT 59801  
Mobile-Rosa Parks NAM, c/o Trant, 139 Oklahoma St., Mobile, AL 36608  
Morgantown NAM, c/o Kovnat, 455 Dallas, Morgantown, W.Va. 26505  
New Haven NAM, c/o Apfelbaum, 880 Elm St., #3, New Haven, CT 06511  
New York NAM, P.O. Box 325 Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013  
Oakland-Berkeley NAM, c/o 2906 Telegraph Ave. #4, Berkeley CA 94705  
Olympia NAM, c/o Hartman, 5135 Sunrise Beach Rd., N.W., Olympia, WA 98502  
Pittsburgh NAM, P.O. Box 5122, Pittsburgh, PA 15206  
Portland NAM, P.O. Box 57, Portland, OR 97207  
St. Louis NAM, c/o Howes, 721 Interdrive, University City, MO 63130  
San Diego NAM, Box 15635, San Diego, CA 92115  
San Francisco NAM, c/o Shoch, 2566 Bryant St., San Francisco, CA 94110  
Santa Cruz NAM, c/o Rotkin, 123 Liberty Ave., Santa Cruz, CA 95060  
Seattle-Rainier NAM, c/o Thornton, 949 NW 63rd St., Seattle, WA 98107  
Somerville NAM, c/o Healey, 156 School St., Somerville, MA 02143  
Washington, D.C. NAM, c/o Grune, 1830 R Street, N.W., #4, Washington, D.C. 20009  
Wyoming NAM, P.O. Box 238, Laramie, WY 82070

## NAM pre-chapters

Arkansas, c/o Sandler, Rt. 2 Box 120, Conway, AR 72032  
Cape Cod, c/o Pearl, Box 478, Truro, MA 02666  
Richmond, c/o Knox, P.O. Box 5701, Richmond, VA 23220

AUSTIN NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

Tenants Rights \* Workplace Organizing \*  
Safe Energy \* Women Organizing Against  
Violence \* Socialist-Feminist Culture

For more information contact:  
Scott Van Osdol, 458-3962

