

Moving On

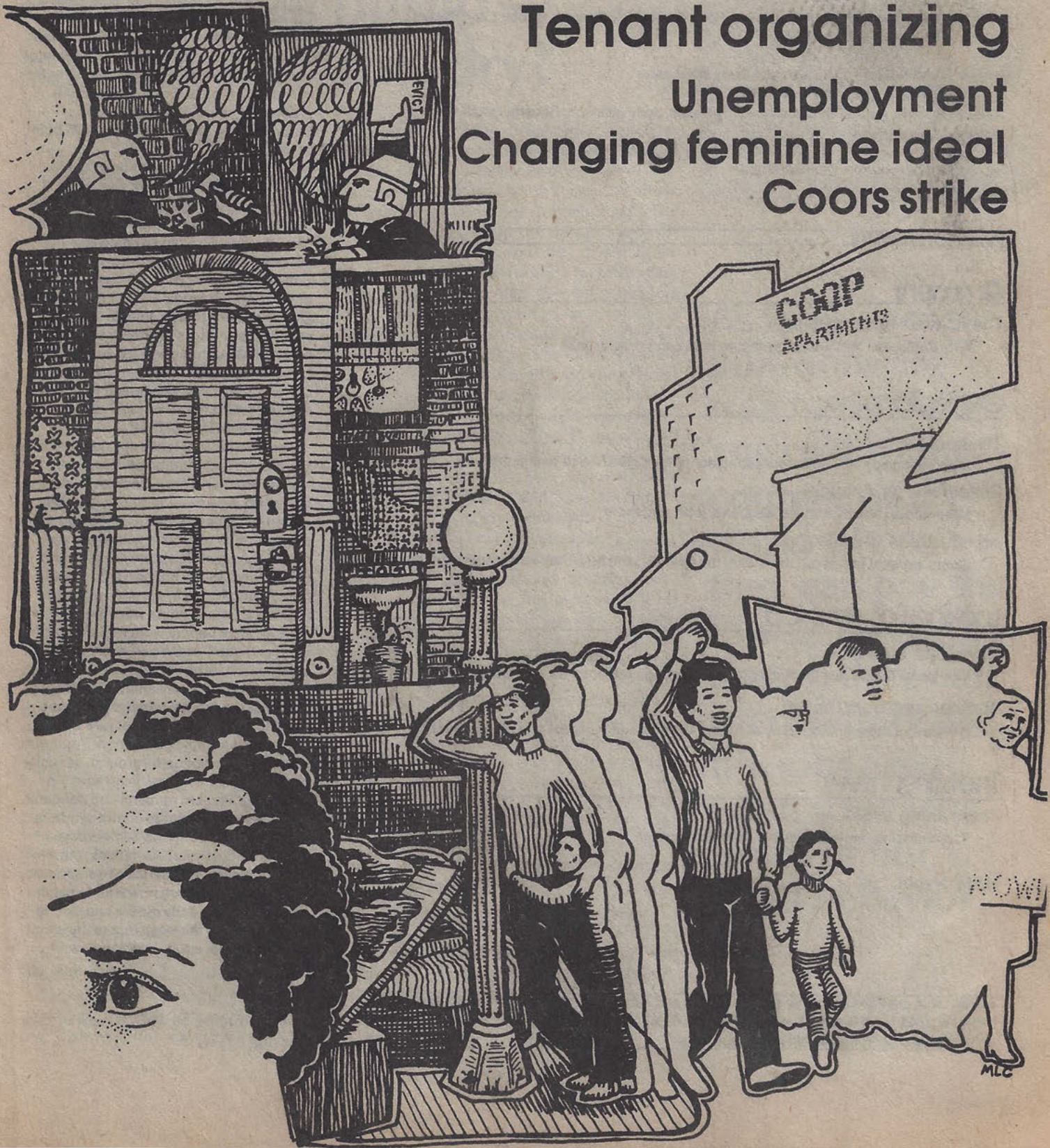
MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

Tenant organizing

Unemployment

Changing feminine ideal

Coors strike



Moving On

MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

EDITORIAL BOARD: Ben Dobbs, Paul Garver, Holly Graff, Rick Kunes, Bobby Lilly, Roberta Lynch, Carolyn Magid, Eric Nee

EDITORS: Richard Healey, Marilyn Katz, Judy MacLean

STAFF: Phil Davis, Andrea Gundersen, Kathy Isabell, Judy Johnson, Roberta Lynch, Jane Melnick, Dolores Wilber

PRODUCTION COORDINATOR: Dolores Wilber

VOLUME 1, NUMBER 9

DECEMBER, 1977

Comment

- The leaking tire economy. 3
Why traditional methods of pumping it up can't provide jobs

Getting Together

- The housing forecast 7
A shrinking supply and deteriorating conditions give rise to tenant protest
- Resources for change. 11
Materials on health, nuclear weapons, jobs, and more
- An education of sorts. 12
Coors workers talk about the strike, the boycott, and how they've changed

Looking For America

- More than statistics. 14
Interviews that reveal the reality of being young, unemployed, and broke
- Another view from the left. 16
A review of the autobiography of former Communist Party activist, Peggy Dennis

The Long View

- Improvising lives. 17
The changing feminine ideal in American culture
- NAM News. 22

MOVING ON is published monthly except August and January by the New American Research Institute, 1643 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. Subscription price: \$4 yearly. Controlled Circulation Postage Paid at Chicago, Illinois.

Letters

Dear MO:

Dorothy Healey's letter on "Thermidor" (MOVING ON, Nov., 1977) raises a number of important questions about the character of the Civil Rights Movement and the process of social transformation. Unfortunately, she misses the basic point of the article.

The Thermidor concept does not assume "that a revolution was made" during the desegregation campaigns of the last decade. Instead, the Movement was what Antonio Gramsci termed a successful "war of position" within Southern civil society and certain forms of the state. Obviously, overt repression is not "greater today" than in 1965; no civil rights workers are being tortured or lynched. What has occurred instead is a basic reversal of certain progressive tendencies within the Movement itself, not a broad return to the ways of Lester Maddox and Ross Barnett.

There remains a tendency on the left to confuse segregation with racism. Healey and numerous black and white socialists who participated in desegregation struggles tended to underestimate the centrality of racism within the economic forces of Southern society, and overestimated the impact of bourgeois democratic forms in uprooting racism.

Granted, many gains were made—two million black people were registered to vote, and many black politicians were elected from urban areas. But these electoral gains were achieved at the expense of the radical transformation of the South's economic structure within the span of a single generation. Southern segregation went underground, as racial relations became more "Northern" in character. Racism remains and deepens.

Healey concentrates on the symbols and forms of bourgeois democracy—voting, elected representatives, etc.—rather than the substance of democratic life. Black people are now free to eat in formerly whites-only diners and attend theaters, yet in the ways that really count—real income, education, land owner-

turn to p. 20

Cover drawing by Mary Clark of East Lansing NAM.



Priming the pump — has the well run dry?

by Steve Max

The problem of persistent unemployment puts a major strain on the efforts of all those involved in organizing today. Many times in the last few years we have seen situations where jobs were held hostage against the just demands raised by progressive organizations. I still have not recovered from walking into a recent public hearing on the Interstate Highway in New York and being confronted by 300 angry construction workers demanding to know why the community wanted to take away their jobs.

Over and over we hear, "Lifeline will cost jobs, tax reform will cost jobs, occupational safety will cost jobs. Don't oppose red-lining because it gives the banks more money to invest in new housing which creates more jobs. Affirmative action will cost jobs, union organization will cost jobs, ending pollution will cost jobs, welfare spending will raise taxes and cost jobs. Nuclear reactors are good for us—more jobs."

Not only do we hear arguments like these more and more frequently, but we find that many times our constituents believe them, and what's worse, in some cases they are true. As long as corporations are free to move to any part of the country or the world where they can pay the lowest taxes and wages, they can successfully use the jobs argument to set the terms of our good behavior. Worse yet, during periods of high unemployment, the competition for jobs increases racism and sexism which leads to further disunity among people who should be allies.

The effect of unemployment on the urban situation is profound. Increasing demands for services have to be

supported on a diminishing tax base which means higher taxes for the middle class. On the community level, unemployed teenagers are causing more vandalism and drug problems, not only in the cities but in the suburbs as well. Young people locked out of the labor market, perhaps forever, are the raw materials on which the drug pushers feed. Increasingly the issue of crime is being pressed on community organizations, but there is seldom much that we can do about it directly. By the official figures, unemployment among youths 16 to 19 years old is 15% for whites and 39% for minorities. If the official figures are as far off for teenagers as they are for adults, you can read 22% for white teenagers and 52% unemployment for minority teenagers. Probably the real situation is even worse.

High unemployment rates set off a wave of neighborhood deterioration. When people who fall behind in their mortgage payments lose their homes, the property can stand vacant or be sold below its value, thereby depressing other property values.

Sometimes the property falls into the now famous pattern of Federal Housing Administration abuse in which an insured mortgage is given to a succession of low income owners who can't meet the payments. The quick turnover makes a profit for the banks and real estate agents, and the property often ends up as a pawn in a real estate block-busting scheme.

Human Terms

In human terms, unemployment also makes the organizer's job more difficult. As debt and worry grind down the unemployed, they drop out of community life, often believing falsely that they are



drawing by Emory

As long as corporations are free to move to any part of the country or the world where they can pay the lowest taxes and wages, they can successfully use the jobs argument to set the terms of our good behavior.



out of work because there is something wrong with them personally for which they have to be ashamed.

This only begins to list the organizing problems which are rooted in high unemployment. It is clear that every aspect of social change organization is affected in some way by the employment situation. This is true of community groups, women's organization, unions, environmental organizations, energy and utility organizations, and organizations of minorities and the poor.

What are the prospects for lowering unemployment? A good estimate comes from *U.S. News*, which says the U.S. needs to generate 3.7 million new jobs a year. In working out this figure, they took into account those people who are now out of the work force but want to work, part-timers who want full-time jobs, jobs lost through automation, and young people coming into the work force. What is happening is that young people born in the peak years of American birth rates in the late 50's and early 60's are now reaching the job market. While this population bulge also increases demand, it drives up unemployment. Women are also entering the job market in larger numbers. The number of jobs needed is twice what the economy is capable of producing; and even if the economy did generate 72,000 new jobs a week every week for ten years (which it won't), at the end of that time the

unemployment rate would still be 4%.

The business community is making the same suggestions to Carter that it made to Nixon and Ford to solve the unemployment problem. CitiBank suggests that the "natural" unemployment rate may really be as high as 6%, in which case they have just about solved the unemployment problem by defining it away. It's natural, it's healthy, so don't worry.

U.S. Steel has another approach which is echoed by the business community. Its vice president, Bracey D. Smith, has called for investment tax credits. Lower taxes for companies which invest in new plants or equipment. This kind of investment is supposed to produce jobs, and credits were reintroduced in 1976. What Bracey Smith forgot to say was that in American industry, new plants and equipment often mean new automation as well. In the steel industry, for example, production rose by 71% in the last decade, but the number of production workers went down by 11%.

Carl Madden, Chief of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, has suggested that the federal government offer a special subsidy to employers who hire the unskilled, a neat trick, since production workers are often hired unskilled and can be trained for assembly line work within two weeks.

David P. Eastburn, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia,

proposes that teenagers be exempted from the minimum wage laws, a measure which has been partially adopted in the service sector. How unemployment is to be lowered by reintroducing child labor is a bit unclear, since older workers will be fired and replaced by teenagers who will themselves be replaced by other teenagers as soon as they reach minimum wage age.

Corporate Answer

Whatever they call it, there is only one method of reducing unemployment which is acceptable to business and to government, and that is to try to stimulate business to produce more and thus hire more people. Whether it is investment credits, tax credits, special loans, or government contracts, it all amounts to the same thing. Let the corporations take care of the employment problem. There are only two things wrong with this approach. It doesn't work, and while it isn't working it causes even more inflation.

The main limitation which prevents the current administration in Washington from dealing with unemployment is this: since the New Deal, every administration, Republican or Democratic, liberal or conservative, has understood its relationship to the economy in the same way. The primary function of government, they think, is to assist business in making profits. Pump money into the economy when necessary, protect American foreign investments, and rely on the private sector to produce jobs. The truth is that any administration which understands its role in this way, and they all have, is powerless to fight unemployment and inflation. Since both parties understand unemployment and the role of government in the same way, and since that way doesn't work, we are not likely to see any real improvement unless people like ourselves try to bring it about; and we can, if we understand the fundamental problem with the present policy.

Over a century ago, some economists realized that there was a basic weak-

ness built into our type of economy. It is no secret that the policy of business has always been to keep wages as low as possible and keep production as high as possible. Because this is the one thing which business is really good at, a situation exists in which working people never get paid enough to buy everything they produce.

Consider this: Let's say you work for me and you wire TV sets. You finish one an hour and I sell it for \$50. Out of the \$50 comes my expenses, my profit, and your pay. You get about \$6.00 for the hour. That means that you have to work at least nine hours to buy one TV set, but in that time you have produced nine sets. What becomes of the other eight? Well, we can sell one to the auto worker, and one to the clothing worker, and one to the furniture worker. The trouble is that each of them is also making more goods every day than they can buy. In fact, all working people are producing more than they can buy all the time. Some of it gets sold to students, psychiatrists, rich people, and fire fighters who don't themselves produce anything, but after a while over-production catches up with the system.

Lagging Consumption

Although we are called a consumer society, in fact the ability of the population to consume always lags behind the ability of the economy to produce. But to make profits, the system must produce and here lies the root causes of over-production, stagnation, and unemployment. The answer is not more cars and Wheaties consumed by us. It's not our problem to consume more; it's theirs to slow it down. Back in the bad old days the problem was taken care of by regular depressions. Every ten years or so, so much of the work force was put out of work that after a while the surplus of unsold goods was used up and the cycle started all over again. The only trouble with that solution was that it was unpleasant and tended to turn working people into socialists.

A new method had to be found. To-

day, in order to keep consumption from going flat, vast amounts of money are pumped into the economy at all times. This extends the amount that individuals, corporations, and the government can buy. Priming the pump or stimulating business means pumping in money so that more can be consumed. One observer has said that our economy is like a leaky tire which must constantly be pumped up, but that the size of the tire and the size of the hole are con-

The federal government not only pumps money into the economy by buying more than it can afford and going into debt, but it also prints money... and all this money is just paper.

stantly getting bigger so the pump must get larger and larger. The pumping takes place through loans, credit, and by printing money. The amounts involved get bigger each year but the results don't get any better.

Here are some examples: between 1956 and 1976 all commercial bank

loans increased by 163% to a total of \$521 billion a year. Now that \$521 billion has value only if the economy is expanding, and the banks believe they will get paid back. Usually they get paid back by lending more money to refinance the old loans. Consequently they are really paying themselves back and the mountain of debt gets higher and higher. Another example, in the same years, 1956-76, consumer credit jumped from \$89 billion a year to \$196 billion a year, a rise of 120%. Mortgage debt underwent a comparable rise. The growth in corporate and consumer debt is rivaled only by the growth of the federal government's debt.

The cumulative national debt for the first four years of the 1970's was 80% higher than the cumulative debt for the first four years of the 1960's. By 1978 the debt will be \$784 billion. Double the 1968 figure. The national debt for government spending represents more paper value pumped into the economy. The federal government not only pumps money into the economy by buying more than it can afford and going into debt, but it also prints money. In 1965 the total money supply was \$463 billion. Today it is over a trillion dollars, a jump of 139%. Remember that we are off the gold standard and off the silver standard and that all this money is just paper. It is this vast pumping of credit and paper into the economy which, combined with price manipulation by large corporations, accounts for much of our inflation.

In theory, all this cash and credit is supposed to stimulate the economy and increase purchasing power. If



consumers can use credit to buy more and companies can borrow to expand or to manufacture bombs, which the government goes into debt to buy, then people are supposed to be put to work all along the way. Manipulation of the money supply, credit, and deficit spending are supposed to be the very tools which the government uses to even out the business cycle and prevent unemployment. How well does it work? Of the six post-war recovery periods, four fell back into recessions and two ended in wars. Today, we find that in spite of all the massive pump-priming, we are still unable to reach pre-recession employment levels. And the amount of our industrial capacity actually in use is no more than what it was back in 1960, 80%. To put it another way, each year more and more economic stimulation is needed just to stand still.

What goes unsaid is that the conditions which have made the post-war prosperity possible are gone. The destruction of rival economies in Europe, the rapid growth of American armament and militarism, the expansion of new industries, and the stabilization of the colonial world under American hegemony brought with them economic benefits which kept the economy moving up until the 1960s, but now these

conditions have changed and the old situation will not return.

Possible Program

Nonetheless, a full employment program is possible if the fundamental mission of government is seen in a different way. Here is what a real full employment program would have to look

1. Reduce the work week to 30 hours with 40 hours pay. American workers used to work 14 hours a day and, over the years, won reductions. The 40-hour week didn't come until 1938 and we should view it as one more step in the shorter day, not the last word in working hours. Economist Victor Perlo says that the 30-hour week would produce 12 million new jobs.

2. A government public works program which had as its goal two million housing starts a year would create several million new jobs.

3. Reduce the military budget. A study done by the Michigan PIRG shows that military spending creates less jobs than any other kind of government spending. They calculate that the nation loses a net 840,000 jobs a year which we could gain back if the military budget were spent on anything else. Of course this would require a foreign policy of detente and world disarmament.

4. End tax advantages for multinational corporations and end sanctions against foreign governments which nationalize American property. This would bring home about two million jobs, work which the multinationals have sent abroad where wages are lower.

5. End pay differentials due to race and sex. Equalize regional pay differentials between north and south. This can start to be done with a \$5.00 an hour minimum wage. End right-to-work and anti-labor laws. These measures would allow pay scales in the low pay regions of the country and low pay sectors of the economy to rise to national levels. They would also prevent runaway industry. The increased purchasing power of working people would result in an estimated five million new jobs.

A program of this type would create about 20 million new jobs with still more jobs created because people would have more spending money. It almost comes close to the 37 million new jobs that *U.S. News* says we need for full employment. A massive number of jobs can also be created by an energy policy geared to industrial conservation and solar energy.

No other program comes remotely close to ending unemployment. Even this program is only a temporary reprieve. Eventually the forces of overproduction and stagnation would set in again, but if we could amass the strength to win this kind of program we could also win a rational economic system as a next step. Passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill is a very small but important start.

Right now decisions are being made according to the criteria of maximizing profits. We must take on this fight. The alternative is to watch the quality of our lives deteriorate while the real causes are lost in a shroud of myth and false information. The failure to provide workable solutions to the employment situation is just another indication that our economic system has outlived its usefulness. Day by day the way is opening for new alternatives, new solutions and new popular struggles. We have the skills to meet this challenge. We find support wherever we go. Through experience the people are gaining new strength today for the greater victories which are coming tomorrow.



'How little we really own, Tom, when you consider all there is to own.'

Steve Max is on the staff of the Midwest Academy, an organizer-training institute. This article is excerpted from a speech he gave at the Academy's Annual Alumni Retreat. The full version, "The Economy and the Energy Crisis," along with other speeches from the Retreat, is available to all those who become Associates of the Academy through a donation of \$25 or more. Write: Midwest Academy, 600 W. Fullerton Ave., Chicago, IL 60614.

Getting Together

Getting a foot in the door — tenant organizing in the '70s

by John Atlas

In unprecedented numbers people are organizing to solve their housing problems through collective action against landlords, whether private or public housing authorities. Within their buildings, neighborhoods, cities, and states, tenants are engaging in rent strikes, court suits, mass rallies, picketing, and sit-ins to force landlords to act on grievances. The issues involved include: rent increases, inadequate building maintenance and security, one-sided leases that favor landlords, and the lack of tenant voice in management policies.

Tenant militancy, which began in the early '60s in the slums of Harlem, has spread across the country and is no longer confined to the ranks of the poor. Tenant organizations cut across racial, ethnic, sexual, and class lines. In the 1970's nearly every city is witnessing struggles against unscrupulous landlords, greedy banks, and the uncaring machinery of government.

Nearly 60,000 people in Coop City, New York, withheld \$27 million in rents for over a year despite service cutbacks, court injunctions, threatened fines and failings of leaders. After 13 months the rent strikers succeeded in stabilizing rents, stopping all evictions, and replacing the corrupt housing management with strike leaders.

In Massachusetts, the Tenants First Coalition, a statewide group of tenant unions numbering over 4,000 people, has been fighting a large corporate landlord for over six years using rent strikes and eviction blocking.

In Michigan, the Ann Arbor Tenants Union, after six years of tenant militancy, won an unprecedented collective bargaining agreement with one of the city's largest landlords. And in New Jer-

sey a four-year public housing rent strike led to tenant management.

Citywide tenant organizations exist in nearly every large city and hundreds of smaller ones. While some tenant efforts continue to emerge and quickly die, many of these groups are beginning to take on more permanent forms.

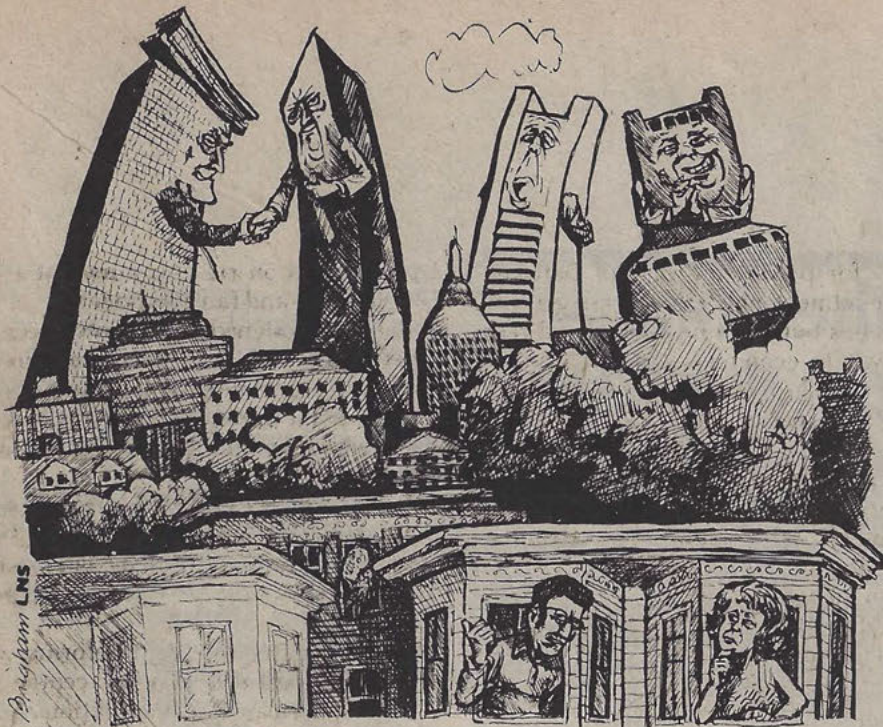
Varying Objectives

The objectives of the housing groups vary. In many cases, especially among middle and upper income tenant groups,

the objectives of organized tenant action are confined to seeking lower rent increases, better maintenance and security, and fairer leases. More radical demands include collective bargaining agreements and a control over management

In a few cases that range from low income and working class (Tenants First in Massachusetts and Met Council in New York) to some campus area tenant groups (Berkeley, Cambridge and Ann Arbor), the ultimate aim is abolition of the landlord and the transfer of housing control to tenants. Some radicals and socialists see housing organizing as a way of building coalitions and contributing to the growth of a socialist movement.





The primary legal weapon available to tenants for fighting rent increases are the rent control laws, which set limits on the size of increases allowed each year. Rent control exists in over 110 communities in New Jersey, New York, Boston, District of Columbia, Baltimore and several suburban counties in Maryland, seven Connecticut and three Alaskan cities.

Tenant rent control initiatives have been defeated at the polls in several student communities in recent years: Ann Arbor, East Lansing, Palo Alto, and Berkeley. Rent control advocates have also failed in trying to persuade local governments to adopt rent control in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Seattle, and Chicago.

As rents spiral, the upsurge of tenant demands continues. In most of the cities just mentioned the tenant groups are getting stronger and more sophisticated. With continued inflation, the struggle over rent control will heat up.

To counter tenant organizing for rent control, landlord and real estate organizations have launched a counter-attack to abolish or at least weaken rent control. The real estate industry recently formed a national organization to help coordinate this fight.

Difficult Questions

Some groups focus on housing development—building new housing or rehabilitating older units. Their efforts

have promoted a political debate that has a long history in the left: Shall wealth and property be divided or shared? Should the housing activists emphasize private ownership through cooperatives, community development corporations, sweat equity and home-steading? Or should they focus on public ownership and the municipalization of rental housing?

The issue arises from three different vantage points: low income tenants faced with rising rents, intolerable conditions and probable displacement from their neighborhoods; landlords wanting to bail out of an unprofitable investment; and government policy—trying to develop housing and maintain peace in the ghettos without spending much money.

For many tenants some form of private ownership may be the only short-term option, even though they run the risk of incurring a greater financial burden. In addition, it can provide valuable political lessons. When cooperative housing is won through a political struggle—such as a squatters' action or a rent strike that drives the landlord out of business—those involved begin to realize there is a class enemy that is responsible for their problems and that ordinary people, when united, can effect changes. And the process of cooperative ownership and self-management itself helps people overcome their feelings of cynicism and powerlessness,

weakening the most authoritarian aspects of private landlord control.

But while such a democratic form of decision-making should be encouraged, it should not be seen as an alternative to public ownership. There are limitations that belie its radical potential. Perhaps the greatest danger lies in gaining ownership without gaining control.

Beyond Control

Most major expense items of existing apartment buildings are not subject to much control by the owners. In many projects mortgage payments take about 40% or more of the rents. Property taxes take about 15% to 20%; utility bills, 10% to 15%; insurance, 2% to 3%; and a management staff, 5%. At least 75% of the rent goes for costs that are beyond the control of tenants/owners. The remaining 20% to 25% that they can control has to cover maintenance and repairs. Such buildings usually have higher repair and maintenance costs since previous landlords have frequently milked the buildings without spending for needed upkeep.

Eventually the resident board in "control" reaches the point where it must choose between raising rents to cover increased costs or letting the building go into default and possible foreclosure.

The problem was most recently felt by the courageous leaders of the Bronx Co-Op City rent strike. The rent strike leaders who took over are faced with rising costs over which they have no control. Like an impoverished, underdeveloped country, the tenant managers have to look to "foreign investment" as a solution to their economic problems. Management has been trying to persuade Con Edison to buy or lease a \$27 million power transfer station that has never been used; it has been negotiating with the federal government regarding a large energy research project at Co-Op City; and has considered approaching contractors about building bowling alleys and health clubs on the roofs of the project's large parking garages.

In short, changing ownership patterns in housing will not put all decision-making power in the hands of tenants. Tenants may own the building but they still don't control the sources of capital needed to repair and build. It may be possible to go out into the market and borrow the capital to buy or build, but tenants must pay the market price for capital, land, and construction (or pay the taxes to subsidize these prices). And once new housing is built or cooperatives bought, it's not only necessary to repay the borrowed capital, but there is no way to prevent increases in the cost of utilities, property taxes, insurance, maintenance and so on.

Purposes Sacrificed

Furthermore, when tenant managers are forced to act as midwives of austerity, the exalted purposes of tenant participation are sacrificed for the sake of cost-cutting and efficiency. Decision-making is centralized and carried out by a few. Tenants relate to their new managers in the same way they relate to typical uncaring, bureaucratic private landlords or government agencies.

Moreover, the demands for ownership so far have been made by just a few groups. These demands are not only easily incorporated into the present system but tend to coopt those making the demand from engaging in larger political activity. For it is not the content of the demands for tenant control, but the circumstances in which they are made which must be questioned.

Earlier attempts at workers' control and workers' self-management at the factory are instructive. Germany is an example of workers' control without public ownership (nationalization). In the coal and steel industries, management and labor have equal representation on the bodies that manage the industries. In other German industries, workers elect a smaller percentage of the board of directors.

Workers limit the power of management by joining in assuming responsi-

bility for production quotas, patterns of investment and other management decisions but have no power to direct the whole economy in any essential way. Ultimate economic power remains with those persons who provide capital for industry: large shareholders, the banks. The role of the workers is really advisory since the right to select among a number of options is determined from above.

Tenant ownership or "control" in the U.S. is similar to "workers' control" in Germany since there is no public ownership of the housing industry and the capital that finances it.

As housing expert Michael Stone states: "Effective housing strategies can only be based upon an understanding of the relationship of the housing problem to the distribution of income, the structure of the capital markets, the role of the state, the significance of private ownership of land and housing production, and not be limited to a focus on owners and ownership of dwellings."

Fair Treatment

Many local and statewide struggles

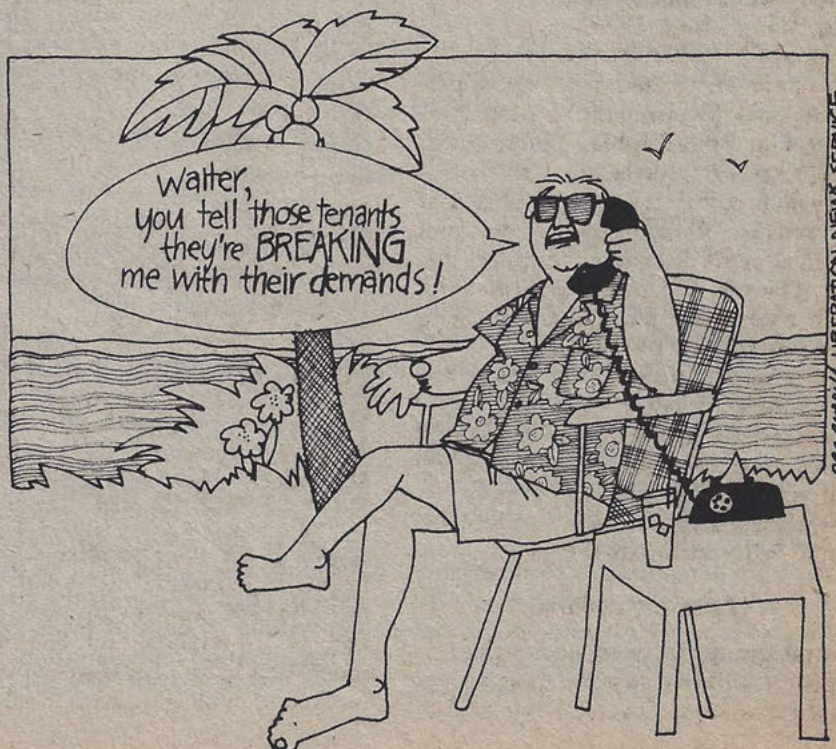
have focused on reforms aimed at decent housing and fair treatment.

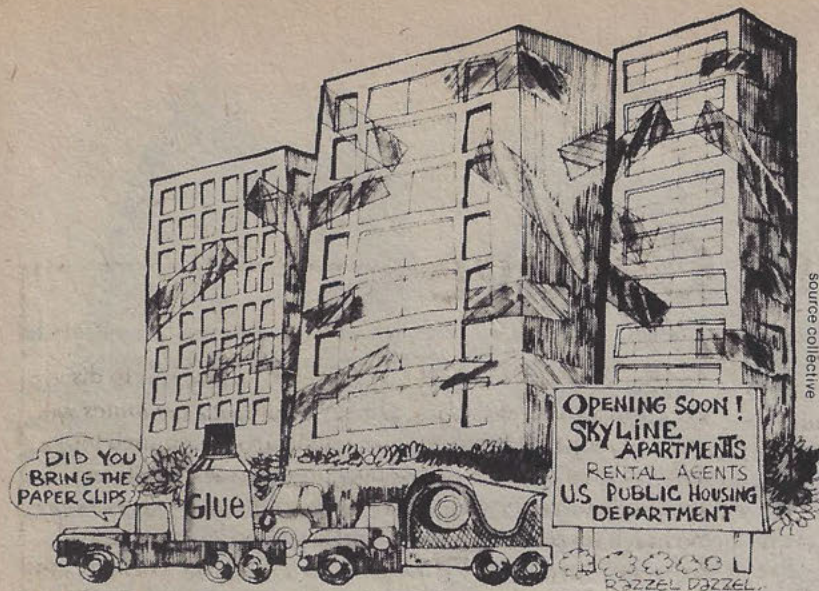
Reforms designed to promote decent housing include rent receiverships, stronger enforcement of housing codes, and the right to rent strike or make repairs when the landlord fails to maintain the apartment.

Reforms that focus on insuring fairer treatment for tenants include prohibiting retaliatory evictions by landlords and the protection of tenants' security deposits.

The struggles for legal reforms of landlord-tenant relations has centered on the American Bar Association-supported Uniform Residential Landlord-Tenant Act (URLTA), a piece of legislation that includes many of the basic tenants' rights recently adopted around the country.

The URLTA includes: unconscionability in leases, terms of rental agreements, security deposits, warranty of habitability, reasonableness of landlord rules and regulations, repair and deduct, rent abatement, abolition of distress and distraint and other forms of self-help eviction (such as utility shut-





off), and retaliatory protections. It also includes certain landlord protections: the tenant's obligation to properly use and maintain (day-to-day housekeeping) the premises, the right to evict for the tenant's failure to pay rent or otherwise comply with the rental agreement, and remedies for the tenant's abandonment of the premises.

Fourteen states around the country have enacted the URLTA into law. These are Alaska, Arizona, Delaware, Florida, Hawaii, Kansas, Kentucky, Nebraska, New Mexico, Ohio, Oregon, Tennessee, Virginia, and Washington. In almost all cases, these states have altered the model act in response to real estate lobby efforts.

Unique Reforms

New Jersey has two unique and valuable landlord-tenant reforms. One requires the landlord to inform each tenant in writing who their owner, superintendent and mortgage holder are. This helps tenants who are organizing to find their enemies.

The second is the Truth in Renting Act. This law requires landlords to inform their tenants of all tenant rights existing under state law. It also prohibits landlords from using leases which contain provisions violating state law. The concept of truth in renting has been borrowed from the consumer movement which has made full disclosure in consumer transactions a right which the public has come to expect.

The truth in renting law requires landlords to distribute a "statement" of tenant rights to every existing tenant and to all prospective tenants. A copy of the "statement" must also be posted in

at least one prominent location which is "accessible to all...tenants." The law mandates that a state government agency actually write and publish the statement of tenants' rights. The statement is then made available to landlords and the public at a nominal fee and updated every year.

This kind of law is only really valuable in a state with a strong tenants' movement and progressive landlord-tenant laws.

Berkeley Defeat

Perhaps the most far-reaching tenant reform is the Tenant Union Enabling Act which was defeated last April by the voters of Berkeley, California. The law would encourage collective bargaining between tenant unions and landlords, prohibit unfair practices by landlords and tenants, and establish a Tenant Union-Landlord Relations Board similar to the National Labor Relations Board.

The proposed law was designed to give tenants protection to organize. Tenant leaders in Berkeley said the law "will take away the big scare that people have about organizing."

Under the act, when a tenant union presents documentation to a landlord that it represents a majority of either the tenants or the rental units, the landlord must recognize the tenant union for collective bargaining.

Unless a representative election is ordered by the Tenant Union-Landlord Relations Board, the landlord must bargain in good faith with the tenant union within 15 days of receiving proof of tenant union representation.

The unfair practices section prohib-

its landlords from refusing to engage in good faith collective bargaining with a tenant union, interfering with or taking reprisals against a tenant union, and refusing to make a meeting place available for tenant union activities. Tenant unions are prohibited from refusing to bargain in good faith and from harassing or intimidating non-member tenants.

The ordinance also provided for both civil and criminal penalties for violation of the ordinance of up to \$500.00 or, in the case of criminal penalties, 90 days in jail for the first offense.

Left Involvement

Without question, strong laws protecting organizing and rent strikes are the most important reforms for the continued growth of the housing movement.

But the movement's future also depends on the extent to which it can move beyond its strictly local orientation and develop a deeper analysis. Because they involve precisely defined constituencies, issues, targets, and locations, tenant organizations, like labor unions, tend to be fairly stable institutions. This stability can be a force for political growth or an impetus toward bureaucracy. The direction the housing movement will take remains an open question. But it is one that socialists can help to answer.

Tenant organizing provides a way to form broad-based and diverse coalitions that can help to build class solidarity. It also offers an opportunity to demonstrate clearly that the free enterprise system cannot provide decent housing for all (or even for most) at a reasonable cost. And it brings people together in direct action for one of their own most basic needs. The left should be part of this important process.

John Atlas is a lawyer and tenant organizer. He was one of the founders of Shelterforce (380 Main St., E. Orange, NJ 07018), a national housing publication that is attempting to draw local housing activists together to form a stronger national movement.

Tools for Change

FUNDRAISING Nearly every movement or political organization finds itself face to face with the problem of limited finances. Great ideas, creative programs, or challenging campaigns can only go so far unless they are accompanied by productive fundraising. Now *The Grass Roots Fundraising Book* has come along to offer some help on this crucial task. Written by Joan Flanagan, a former Chicago Citizens Action Program staffperson, *Grass Roots Fundraising* contains a wealth of information on raising money through membership involvement. It includes information on publicity, making income estimates, and rebounding from a "fundloser." It covers a range of methods from book sales to bingo, from pot luck suppers to cocktail parties, from theater parties to carnivals. One of the best available resources. To order send \$4.75 plus 50¢ handling to The Youth Project, 1000 Wisconsin Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20007.

SURVIVAL The Mobilization for Survival has published an excellent packet of materials on the issues of disarmament and peace conversion. The Mobilization's four goals are: zero nuclear weapons; ban nuclear power; stop the arms race; fund human needs. Its materials stress the potential threat of nuclear holocaust, as well as the current damage done by distorted national priorities that emphasize military spending over human needs. And they offer concrete plans for economic conversion that will not involve job loss. The packet includes *WIN Magazine's* fine issue on conversion as well as an extensive bibliography on this topic from the Friends Peace Committee. To order send \$4 plus \$1 for shipping to: Mobilization for Survival, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107.

ECONOMICS *Just Economics* is a monthly newsletter that began publication in 1973 as part of the Movement for Economic Justice to try to foster a national network of community organizations. The newsletter has primarily consisted of reports on the activities of one group or another—with little acknowledgement of failures or analyses of successes. Now, however, *Just Economics* has announced a change in its approach. Madeline Adamson, the newsletter's editor, notes

that there are few forums for community organizers to discuss their problems or questions. She says that *Just Economics* will begin to play that function by carrying articles on such topics as: Why aren't there more women organizers? Are citizen action organizations becoming too institutionalized? Is there too much emphasis on the legislative arena? To subscribe to the newsletter write to: Movement for Economic Justice, 1735 T St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20009. Subscription cost is based on income and ranges from \$6 to \$25.

RUNAWAYS One of the few groups to actively tackle the problem of runaway shops is the Ohio Public Interest Campaign. OPIC has been working for over two years now to build a statewide coalition that can bring about changes in the law to foster greater corporate accountability to workers and the community. A new booklet from the Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies reports on the OPIC program and outlines realistic proposals for the federal, state, and local levels. To order, send \$2.00 to National Conference, Box 70, 1901 Q St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

NAM PUBLICATIONS There are several new NAM publications that can be very valuable to political activists. The *Health Activist Digest* is published three times a year and includes summaries of important developments in the world of medicine, health-related legislation, and health organizing reports. To order sample copy, send 75¢ to NAM Health Commission, 19920 Lichfield St., Detroit, MI 48221. NAM's Cultural Network is also publishing an occasional newsletter—*The Culture Gazette*. The first issue includes reports on a Dayton cultural organizing effort, poetry, and film information. Send 25¢ (10¢ postage) to NAM, 1643 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60647. NAM also now has available a pamphlet on the politics of immigration. Cost is 25¢ (plus 10¢ postage). Order from National Office. Blazing Star NAM has published a new pamphlet on current strategy for gay rights movement. Entitled "After Dade County: Turning Defeat Into Victory," it costs 25¢ (plus 10¢ postage) and can be ordered from Blazing Star NAM, P.O. Box 7892, Chicago, IL 60680.

Resources

The Coors strike — something new is brewing

by Dave Anderson, Mary Sell,
and Judy MacLean

"This was my first experience in a union. I wanted union protection, but I really didn't know which way I was going to go. But when I went out that first day to the picket line, I knew. There was no way I could go through that picket line," says Bernie Pingle, an energetic woman in her forties who is one of hundreds of workers on strike at the Coors Brewery in Golden, Colorado. "I've learned about politics. Before, I had my head in the sand. As I've gone out and met people, it's become more

clear. We all have to stand together. It's the working people who've made these millions," she says.

When people join together to change things where they work or live, much more gets transformed. In the course of the struggle, the people change, too. The Coors strike was called after 92.4% of the workers voted in favor of Brewery Workers Local #366 in December, 1976. Colorado requires only a 75% vote for a union shop. Still, Coors made an open shop a condition of negotiations, and in April 1977 the workers walked out. Although Coors has hired hundreds of scabs and armed guards to

protect them, and some workers have drifted back, a solid core remains on strike. A consumer boycott of the beer is keeping the strike effective.

Coors admits its sales are down 10% from last year's, down 20% from what they projected. But inside sources have told the Coors strikers that the real figure is closer to 50%, and that part of the scab labor force is being kept on for public relations, not because there is work to do.

"When we started, we knew nothing about boycotts," says Sam Littles. A boycott is a kind of crash course in management, though. The workers have quickly learned all sorts of new skills, skills the set-up at Coors would have left forever undeveloped.

"A week after the strike began, two of us went out of California, and we learned fast, mostly by trial and error. We made mistakes, but not too many. The biggest thing was learning to organize ourselves. Then we learned to set up picket lines, how to set up and speak at meetings," says Littles.

New Challenges

The boycott has brought new challenges for everyone. Bernie Pingle was nervous when she first spoke to groups asking them not to buy Coors beer. "I thought, if I go out there, I'm going to have to know what I'm doing." A fellow striker gave her materials to study. She soon discovered the people she was speaking to were just like herself, and eager to help. "Travelling, meeting with people, the things I'd been studying all came back. For example, I'd never thought much about the ERA. All of a sudden I became interested in it," she says.

Reed Anderson had been in a long strike before, but never a boycott. "I was very excited when I was selected to take care of Texas," he says. "There were three of us—each with an area of responsibility. I'm proud of those people. Austin, Texas, is the only city in the United States where the boycott has Coors beer down 50%.

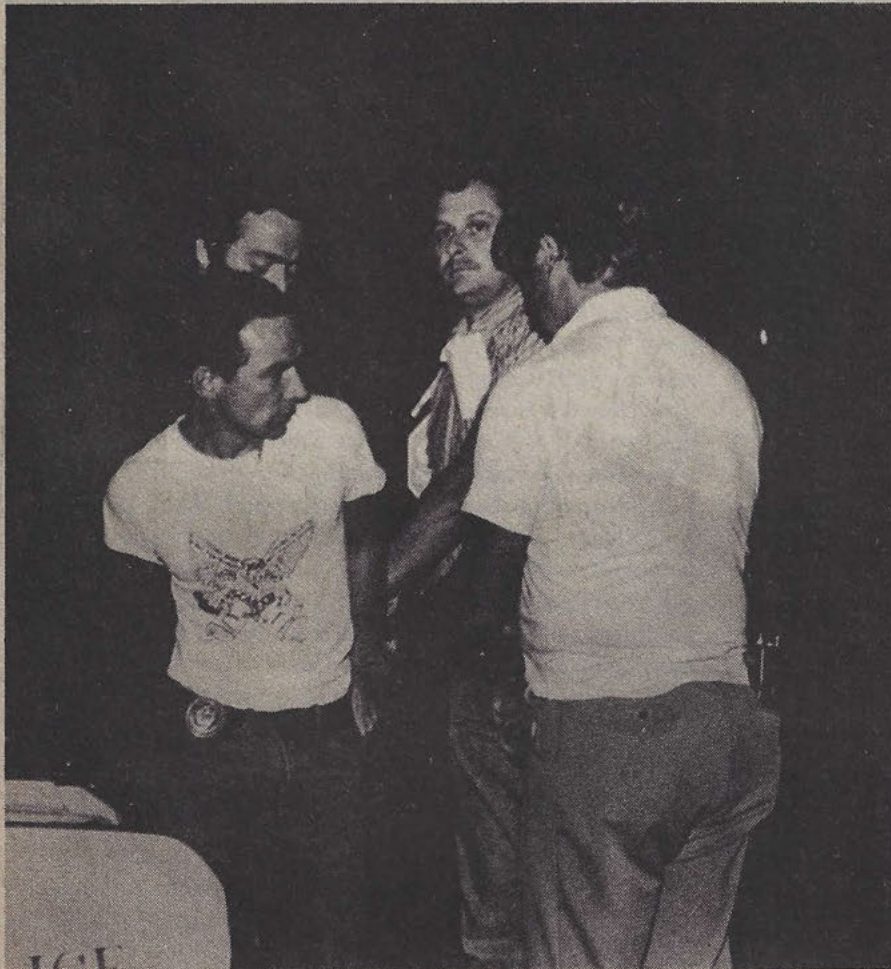


photo by Dave Anderson

Two Coors employees help a city policeman arrest striking brewery worker Red Anderson, after dragging him from the picket line onto Coors property.

Most of the strike issues have to do not with wages, but with human rights. "The things we are demanding won't cost Coors one cent," says George Erb, a long-time Coors worker, and veteran of more than one union struggle. "All it's costing is to give us a little dignity. If he'd concede to our rights, he'd have a better brewery. I think his main aim goes further than breaking the union. He wants to break people, go back to slave days."

Prospective Coors workers take lie detector tests, which include questions about homosexuality, drug use and past political activity, all of which are bars to employment. A supervisor may order a new polygraph test at any time; workers who refuse can be fired. "They just use it as a lever to keep us in line," says Pingle.

Coors serves free beer in the cafeteria, but to the workers it's a trap. A supervisor can order any worker to undergo a physical examination at any time; if they are judged intoxicated, they can be fired.

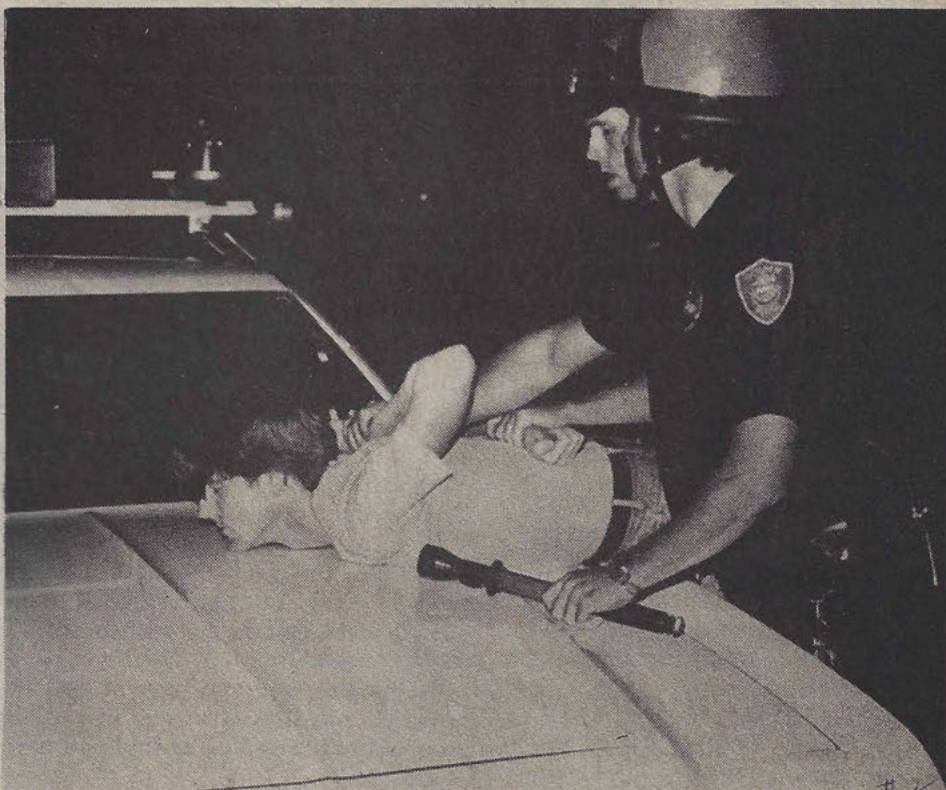
Searches have been another problem. "Five hundred dollars came up missing," says Pringle. "Everyone in the department was searched, including two women. They were made to strip in front of male guards."

Discrimination

Coors had hired only a handful of blacks, Latinos and women prior to the strike. "Coors hasn't had much success playing black and white off against each other," says Sam Littles, "but that's because he keeps minorities out as much as he can to begin with."

"Coors was ordered to bring in women and minorities. He's on probation with the EEOC because he was discriminating. They first let women in in 1971, but they didn't get women's restrooms until 1973. They couldn't be bothered to get work gloves to fit women's hands. As a result, one girl broke her arm. A woman was five months pregnant, still lifting heavy barrels. She was afraid not to, afraid she'd be laid

photo by Dave Anderson



Coors boycott and strike supporter Philip Allen is roughed up by Golden, Colorado, police after being dragged onto the brewery lot so the arrest could legally be made.

off," says Bernie Pingle.

At the beginning the men, who were 97% of the strikers, led everything. "They tried to carry the strike, run all the meetings, run the boycott. Then we women decided, this is enough. We got the women together, including the strikers' wives. We do fundraising functions, leafletting for the boycott. We even stipulated we would only ask for a man under those circumstances where we want them. Not that they don't do a good job; but we women wanted to have a voice also. And when you get the women going, and you get them mad enough, they can really pull off anything," says Pingle.

Littles, who is black, says the common bond of the strike work has brought minorities and whites together. "You have to see it to understand it. It's like a war atmosphere here," he says. "We're all depending on each other to solve this problem. It's hard to tell if whites have really changed their attitudes deep down inside, but as far as their actions go, there's been a tremendous change."

The Coors beer fortune is the basis of a multi-million dollar empire that includes such diverse ventures as food processing, container manufacture and nuclear weapons assembly. Coors also bankrolls a variety of right-wing causes. Coors money has financed Ronald Reagan's campaigns, Stop ERA forces, the John Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan. Closer to home, Coors has consistently lobbied for "right to work" and other legislation that restricts union organizing in Colorado.

High Stakes

Some observers feel Colorado capital has more riding on the strike than just the brewery workers. Jim Zarichny, one of Boulder NAM's boycott activists, says that energy companies have big plans for development in the Colorado area. "Light industry is moving out here, away from the unionized East. They want to keep the Colorado labor movement weak. That's why the Coors workers are facing such opposition right now," he says.

turn to p. 21

More files than the FBI — the jobless in America

by Marilyn Katz

The dirty stairs, the faded red brick, the institutional green-painted walls provided an ironic contrast to the gleaming sign proclaiming this the Urban Progress Center. Amidst the bright posters advertising the virtues of CETA, the Job Corp, Army Training, WIN and other schemes meant to cover the hole in the city's workforce sat dozens of unemployed men and women—mostly young, mostly black and Latino....waiting for some urban progress.

"Six months I've been looking, every day. I go to different factories. No jobs, but they tell me to fill out an application. So I fill out an application. I go to different public places, the state, the city, the county. I fill out more applications. They tell me they'll be calling me at home, but they don't ever call." Jimmy C., a twenty-one year old black man sat down to fill out yet another application.

The social worker at the desk, busily handing out applications, had no time to be interviewed. "Half the staff is out today and someone has to take care of the traffic."

Traffic...statistics...the underemployed...the unemployed...the unemployable—the terms to describe them grow almost as quickly as the unemployment lines—yet the problem remains unsolved.

"It's getting worse here all the time. And they say if you can't find a job in Chicago, you can't find one anywhere," complained Ron D., a young Latino, as he stood on a streetcorner crowded with young, unemployed men.

Having viewed similar streetcorners from the South Bronx to Watts, seen the unemployment lines in Chicago, New York and L.A., heard the speeches on full employment from politicians of all stripes, we decided to talk to the people with whom a movement for full employment must be built.

How do the terms and familiar statistics translate into life? How do people see their own past, present and, most important, their future? What do they

see as necessary and possible? For what are they willing to fight? Here's what we found.

Jimmy C., twenty-one years old, born in Jamaica.

I came here to go to school to get training as a musician. I went to school for two years but you can't go to school without money. How you going to live? It's hard. They should give you money to go to school so you can learn what you need to know.

For six months now I've been out of work, no money, no clothes, no school. I've got skills, but not enough. I think that business and the government should help more. It's not fair. There's work to do...but they say you haven't got the skills. Seems like when you lose a job they should train you or find you new jobs.

It's real crazy. I got to go back to school so I can get a job but I got to get a job to go back to school. It's a bad experience, really. Sure, I got friends who'll feed me now. But that's not enough...I need more to keep going as a man.

Melody W., twenty years old.

I've been working for five years but I've never had a steady job. I left school at about fifteen. Sure I can do a lot of things but no one seems to want to hire me for them. I've done the rounds, you know, the county, the city, the state. Not much help. They sent me on one job. Rotten neighborhood, dirty place and they wanted me to work for \$2.10 an hour—less than the minimum wage. They call it the WIN program. Jeez I can make more than that working for daily pay. I don't know anyone who can live on that...and that was the government's program.

Lots of people I know has the same experience. Everybody's got a hard time. You go to a plant...they say you don't have experience. So you work daily pay to get it. Then they say to you, "Why you always working daily pay, can't you hold a steady job?"

I don't know what I'll do. Guess I'll

stay on daily pay. Sure can't work for \$2.10 an hour. That's no job for me.

Ramon W., twenty-three, father of five.

Now I work temporary...two jobs every day for \$2.30 an hour. Can't hardly make it on that. I go to work at three in the afternoon till one in the morning. Go home. Come back here at six, work till about two. Go home. Sleep a little and come back. Never get to see my kids but they'd rather have food on the table and have the rent.

These temporary places screw everybody. They got it easy cause there's more people like me each day...you know, just got to have work. They take a union job which usually pays \$9.82 an hour. The company pays the temporary place \$8.00 and we get \$2.30. No benefits either. Company pays them to transport us out there. And get this, they charge us carfare too. Union gets screwed, we get screwed, but the company and temporaries clean up.

Had a permanent job for four years. My father helped me get it. Then all of a sudden they closed the place down. Just shut it down. They went to Mexico for cheaper taxes. Hell, that wasn't fair. My father worked there sixteen years and they just shut the damn thing down. Should be illegal for plants to do that.

When they laid us off they should have retrained us. Can't get any jobs now. I don't have the skills. Sure I went to school and learned my trade. But now it seems if you want a job you got to know computers, electronics. I was never taught that stuff. No one's offered to train me. I tell you we came from Puerto Rico to find work 'cause there wasn't any work there. And I may not know all my ABC's but you show me the job and I can do it. I'd learn real quickly if someone would give me a chance, but now no one will hire you...no chance to show what you can do.

Jane H., twenty-two, mother of two children.

I got married my last year of high school, had two kids and was doing



photos by Jane Malnick

Looking For America

okay. Not now though. We split up about a year ago. I tried to find work but it's hard. I can type, file, but it seems like I can't find permanent work. I tried to work as a waitress but the hours are real bad for people with kids. . . you just can't stay away from your kids all night. The state offered me some job training program which they said would train me for some good job. . . you know, teach me a real skill. Turns out it was pushing a broom in some factory. Doesn't seem to me like that's a skill. Pay was rotten too. Better to stay on welfare and work a couple of days when I can.

They ought to set up some real training programs with good skills so you can support your family. Women need that just as much as men. Can't support kids on \$2.30 an hour. Won't even pay for. . .

turn to p. 20





Peggy and Eugene Dennis, New York City, 1950.

The delicate balance — politics & personal life

The Autobiography of an American Communist: a Personal View of a Political Life, 1925-1975

by Peggy Dennis

Lawrence Hill, New York

\$5.95, paper

This is Peggy Dennis' account of her fifty years in the Communist Party, as the wife of Party leader Gene Dennis, and as an activist in her own right. It is a moving love story, and a compelling account of Dennis' struggle to combine the political and the personal in her own life. She fought to maintain her political work in spite of the demands placed upon her by motherhood and the frequent uprootings made necessary by Gene's role in Party leadership. And while she and Gene devoted their lives to building a revolutionary movement, Peggy also fought to protect their family life, to achieve a balance between personal needs and the demands of political activity.

This is also an account of the history of American Communism. Peggy Dennis joined the Party in the mid-twenties, only a few years before it began to turn toward popular organizing,

in the expectation (well-founded, as it turned out) of a coming capitalist crisis. Peggy describes Gene's involvement in organizing California farm workers, and her own work in Communist education.

In the early thirties Gene was asked to work for the Communist International, first in Moscow, and then with liberation movements in Asia. Peggy joined him abroad and forged a political role for herself, in educational work in Moscow and as a courier for the Comintern in Europe.

In the mid-thirties Peggy and Gene returned to the United States, and Peggy writes of their work in Wisconsin, building the Party, the CIO, and a left political alliance. Through these years Gene rose in Party leadership, and in the mid-forties Peggy and Gene moved to New York, where Gene became General Secretary of the Party.

The fifties were years of both private and political crisis for Peggy and Gene, and Peggy's account of this period is both politically perceptive and personally moving. Soon after his election as General Secretary Gene was arrested and then imprisoned under the Smith Act which made membership in the Communist Party a crime. Peggy writes of the anguish of the McCarthy years, particularly for Smith Act victims and their families, but also for those who sought to continue political work in the face of government attacks.

She tells of the fight to preserve the Party, of its increasing isolation, and of the growing paranoia that often distorted political judgement. And she describes Gene's efforts, upon emerging from prison in 1956, to counter the deterioration of the Party by urging an examination of the Party's mistakes, especially its reliance on the Soviet Union for political direction, and its failure to develop a program suited to American conditions.

Losing Battles

Gene's efforts to open up discussion in the Party were reinforced by the Soviet Twentieth Congress' revelations of Stalin's crimes, made public later the same year. Surely if the Soviet party could embark upon self-criticism, the American party could do the same. But this openness lasted only a short time. By 1959 the attempt to initiate debate and criticism had been squelched in leading Party circles. And Gene Dennis had been replaced as General Secretary by Gus Hall, who stood for the old unquestioning reliance on the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile Gene was also fighting a more personal battle against cancer. In 1961 he lost this battle as well. Peggy writes of their last months together, of the wrenching experience of his death. And she writes of the isolation that she faced afterwards, political as well as personal. The Party's increasingly rigid adherence to the Soviet Union and its growing distance from the popular struggles of the sixties left her a marginal voice of dissent. Peggy concludes with an account of her resignation from the Party, writing of her confidence that a new and more vital movement for socialism will yet emerge.

turn to p. 21

The Long View

Changing feminine ideal — the ethics of the lifeboat

by Barbara Ehrenreich

I see a lot of turmoil going on in the lives of women I know these days. At times I get a sense that every woman is improvising her life in an almost day-to-day way. And they are putting together patterns which would have been unthinkable even ten years ago.

One woman I know hasn't figured out how to do it yet. She's a housewife; she has five kids and a two-bedroom apartment. Every day she wakes up and turns on the vacuum cleaner and goes back to bed. The vacuum cleaner is so that everybody in the neighborhood thinks she's vacuuming. The story would end that way, as it did for so many women about 15 years ago, in that kind of quiet misery, except that she says she's going to walk out. Someday, she promises, she's just going to get up and walk out and leave that husband she can't stand and those five kids. She says, "I'm no liber, you understand," but she told me that when she goes she's going to go out singing "I Am Woman."

Or take another woman whom I've been close to for many years. She's younger, married since she was 17, completely into that suburban ideal: matching furniture, aluminum siding, shrubbery and all. A few months ago, she did walk out from all that, got a job as a truck driver and began to live with another woman as a lesbian. Just like that, in less than a month.

Or when I think of so many women who are my close friends, women in their late twenties, early thirties, who have worked all their lives, supported themselves and been activists of one type or another. Now, at this point in their lives, they'd like to have children. There's a real problem of how you go

about doing that. And I don't mean in a mechanical sense. But a real sense of crisis or panic, about how you do it when you can't really look ahead to any kind of secure and lasting relationship and there is no community that you can depend on to support you.

All these situations would have been unthinkable a generation ago, because there used to be one script for women, one life plan. If you didn't get to live it out for some reason, if you didn't land that man and get him to support you

All the old guidelines have been smashed; there isn't any Life Plan for women, there's just lifestyle. You can pick one out for yourself, supposedly, just like you might pick out a pantsuit.

and have those kids, that was a misfortune. Or if you chose otherwise, you were some sort of freak. Because there was one path, and that was it.

Lifestyle

But now, all those old guidelines have been smashed. There isn't any Life Plan for women, there's just Lifestyle. That word is only about ten years old—lifestyle. And you can go and pick one out for yourself, supposedly, just like you

might go pick out a pantsuit or something. Whatever you'd like, whatever turns you on, that's how you should live. And this sense of confusion, the way the rug has been pulled out, has a lot to do with why issues that have to do with the family and sexuality, what Marxists used to call the "Woman Question," have suddenly been pushed into center stage as serious political issues. They become the kind of thing candidates have to take stands on and that can potentially change the course of governments, as the abortion issue did in Italy recently.

Carter promised a lot of things that he didn't do, such as energy, welfare reform, national health insurance. Remember what else he promised? He was going to bring back the family. He hasn't done that. Of course, there's abortion, ERA, and now, sexual preference which have become serious issues to which candidates have to respond. I've noticed in Long Island that the most popular bumper stickers are not ones that have to do with local candidates or nuclear power. They are about abortion or some other stand on the so-called "woman question." I even saw one that said "We Believe in Marriage."

The big objective change that has occurred is the extremely rapid, massive influx of women into the labor market in the last 15 years. It really accelerated between the late sixties and early seventies. So that between 1950 and today, the percentage of women in the labor force went from somewhere around 30% to somewhere close to 50%. I don't think we should think of that change in some kind of dry, Bureau of Labor Statistics way. What goes along with it is a really profound cultural change, a revolution in the sense of things being turned upside down very quickly for women.

Look, for example, at the feminine ideal that is held out to us in the media and women's magazines. There is always such an ideal. Not very many of us ever achieve it at any point, but it is always something that is held out for all women, rich and poor. And right



CHAS. A. STEVENS
SELF IMAGE SELF IMAGE SELF

The ad copy for this advertisement for Chas. A. Stevens reads, "Are you. . . dramatic, competitive, determined to succeed? Or sophisticated, creative, with a feminine flair?"

up to the early sixties we knew what that ideal was. It was the white, middle class suburban mother of three with a station wagon.

Today, as you look at the magazines and watch TV and go to the movies, you see a new ideal. The single girl. The single working woman. She's in the ads, she's all over the place. She carries an attache case sometimes. She has affairs. She fights for promotions. She even drinks liquor in ads, something that women never did a few years ago.

We've gone from Doris Day to Faye Dunaway, from Lucille Ball to Mary Tyler Moore, from *Ladies' Home Journal* to *Cosmopolitan*. In about one decade, there has been an inversion of the idea about what is the most glamorous thing for women to achieve. The day of the housewife is over.

If you don't believe me, next time you're in the supermarket, look at the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Try to find the words "Ladies' Home" on the cover. You'll need a magnifying glass, because it's now "Journal" and there's a little "L.H." up in the corner. Even *they* don't want to be associated with the housewife. The ads they put in the *New York Times* to sell ad space in their magazine don't talk about happy, contented housewives anymore. They show a woman

striding along with a tennis racket under one arm and a briefcase under the other. She's going places. About the tenth line down, you read that she has a family, too.

This cultural change really began before a conscious feminist movement arose and has to do with changes in capitalism. I would date the change, in fact, from 1962, because that was the year Helen Gurley Brown published *Sex and the Single Girl*.

That book came out one year before *The Feminine Mystique*. It had a very strong message that I would not think for one minute of calling feminist. But it made the most powerful indictment it could make of housewives. It said they weren't sexy. It said they weren't interesting. It said their day was over. And in some ways, it foreshadowed some of the things that Betty Friedan would bring out a year later in her book.

Sexual Marketplace

Going along with this, there has been a tremendous change in the official psycho-medical ideology about women and women's nature. Before, the official ideology was neo-Freudian. Women are basically masochists; that's

what it said in all the textbooks. We're masochists who get off on a life of perpetual service to husbands and children, with an occasional vaginal orgasm thrown in as a payoff. Women were to live through the family and for the family. That was it.

Now, the dominant ideology about women and women's nature is unfortunately not even coming from mainstream feminism. It is instead what you find in the self-help sections of drugstores and bookstores. It's those books like *How to Be Your Own Best Friend*; *I Ain't Much, Babe, But I'm All I've Got*; *Winning Through Intimidation*; *Looking Out for Number One*; and *Assertiveness Training* books. These books have a certain kind of sexual egalitarianism in them. They present a world in which men and women are supposedly equal. If women don't feel they are equal, they should just do something about it, the authors say.

They present a world which corresponds increasingly to the real world of a lot of people in this country. A world in which there are no families. There's just one, big, sexual free marketplace where we can all go in and get stuff. A world in which there are no commitments, there are only relationships. It's a world in which there's no guilt, no dependencies, no responsibilities, in which there is no priority higher than your own self-gratification.

And this new philosophical outlook is supposed to be for both women and men. Men are encouraged to get together in C-R groups or to study these books and overcome their old guilt and hang-ups about that provider role that's been burdening them for so long. And, of course, women are encouraged to get into assertiveness training, or something like that, and become more like men.

On one side, the world that we now inhabit is in many ways exhilarating, because it offers many more choices. But, on the other side, these changes are terrifying. That's the side that mainstream feminism too often leaves out.

Independence does not look all that

great if all it's going to mean is getting \$2.60 an hour in a typing pool. And even a crummy marriage is often better than the only alternative that this society provides, which is welfare. This is particularly true given the fact that men, with this new pop psychology vision of themselves, are less and less responsible today for things like child support and alimony. There's a sense in a lot of women's lives of real anxiety. The old rules aren't there, the old things to depend on are gone. You can't count on men, and there are no other social institutions you can count on either.

Now, this anxiety, especially concentrated among housewives who are not wealthy or educated and who are without many alternatives, is real terror. This is part of the social ground from which anti-feminism comes. I'm not denying that there is right-wing manipulation of the anti-abortion and anti-ERA forces; that's perfectly clear. But another aspect is the response of a lot of women who are really nervous and do not see anything, any longer, to hold on to.

For example, think about abortion. What do we say as feminists? We say, let us control our own bodies. Let it be a woman's right to choose. Let it be our decision. Turn that around, the flip side is that it's not a man's responsibility any more. There used to be a day when if you got pregnant, there was such a thing as a shotgun marriage. Today, you're lucky if you can get the guy to help pay part of the cost of the abortion. Making reproduction completely women's responsibility is a terrifying thing if that has been one of the ways women have been able to hold onto men and the fragile economic security that they represent.

It is very important that we wake up to the real situation of women in the late seventies and eighties, which is not the same as the situation of women in 1966, when a conscious feminist movement began. It is much more atomized. It has a lot more promising things about it, but it also has these very scary aspects to it. It's not the world Betty Friedan

wrote about. It is clear that we're backed into a position where we have to press harder and harder on women's rights issues like abortion. That has to be a real priority. But in this new situation, it is also clear that the "woman question" is much more than a question of civil rights for a particular constituency in our society. More than a question of a special interest group. It's something much larger than that—a crisis in the social fabric.

Socialist Feminism

Just from a woman's point of view, the kind of feminism that makes sense for these times is socialist-feminism. Mainstream feminism just isn't addressing these questions and probably won't do it. We have to address the problem of economic security for housewives who have children and no other options. We have to raise that as a central issue. Otherwise, I don't think we can overcome those fears that feed into the anti-feminist movement. It also means that we have to talk not only about work, but about the meaning and purpose of work that women are doing.

The anti-feminists say things like, what could be better than what I do now—staying home and raising kids? What could be more purposeful? What could be more meaningful? In a sense, they're right. How meaningful are the rest of the jobs that are available in capitalist society? For so long, mainstream feminism held out entering the labor market as the key to liberation, as if somehow it was more useful or more meaningful to sit behind a keypunch machine than to stay home and relate to some human beings.

We have to have socialist-feminist politics that get beyond defining liberation as getting a job, especially when that job is degrading, low paid, and ultimately useless. We need a politics that presents a moral vision of how we, women, men and children, are going to live together. A kind of politics that addresses that personal crisis that people

are feeling. We've had the ethics of the feminine mystique days. For women, it meant total self-sacrifice to other people. Now we have the non-ethics of *Cosmopolitan* and *Viva*, essentially the ethics of the lifeboat. Get ahead, make it, and fuck everybody else.

Those are the two kinds of philosophical outlooks on the world that capitalist society has presented to women in the last 10 or 15 years. Masochism, or massive egotism. Suffocation, or free-fall. What's our answer? How do we project how women ought to live and how people ought to be putting their lives together today?

People's lives are in turmoil. There is a sense of crisis, for men, as well as women, and for children too. Do we have a line or even a glimmering about how people can and should live, not as victims, as in the past for women, not as atoms just whirling around on their own trajectories, but as members of a human community, and as moral agents in that community.

Barbara Ehrenreich is an author, an activist in the health and women's movements and a member of Long Island NAM. This article is the transcript of a talk she gave at the 1977 NAM Convention.



Letters

from p. 2

ship, the existence of crime—Southern black life is becoming more impoverished.

It does not detract from the tremendous achievement of the Civil Rights Movement to admit that the fullest potential of the desegregation campaigns was never achieved, and that the current political climate in the region is a cruel reminder of what could have been had a creative and broad-based black and left leadership led these struggles.

Manning Marable
Tuskegee, AL

Dear MO:

The November issue is excellent. As a student, I found Richard Flacks' article interesting and helpful in thinking about campus organizing.

Judy MacLean's article again shows the distinctive and valuable perspective that has developed in NAM on feminism. I'm looking forward to more articles by Barbara Ehrenreich on her recent research on feminine ideals in American culture.

MOVING ON has become increasingly valuable as an outreach tool. I really want people to see it and that makes selling it pleasant, not a chore.

Keep up the good work.

Bob Van Meter
Chicago, IL

Dear MO:

It is absolutely essential that the information disseminated through your publication regarding the Cockrel campaign be accurate.

As Mr. Cockrel's campaign manager, I must point out to you a major inaccuracy

Donald Shaffer Associates, Inc.

ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE

Specialists in Pension &
Employee Benefit Planning

11 Grace Avenue
Great Neck, NY 11021
212-895-7005
516-466-4642

in Tony Rothschild's article on the Primary victory (MOVING ON, Nov., '77) Rothschild speaks of the rich possibilities for building a multi-racial coalition that are evidenced in the Cockrel campaign organization. Within the organization, that may be true. However, within the electorate, the historic racism of the white community and its disinclination to vote for black candidates was shown once again in the September primary.

Ken received approximately 5% to 10% of the white vote. He did not receive substantial white votes, as was indicated in the Rothschild article on page 8.

Sheila A. Murphy
Detroit, MI

Dear MO:

Thomas Hecht's article on immigration (MOVING ON, Nov., 1977) raises most of the important objections to the Carter plan. However, I disagree with his major thrust on the economy of Mexico and development projects there. While the left should demand that aid to Mexico be as humane and pro-labor as possible, I don't think that should be the primary focus of our program. Simply put, it is not a focus that can involve large numbers of people in this country.

I see the thrust of an offensive against Carter's plan being based in a challenge to the corporate practices of paying less and avoiding or breaking union organizing efforts by exploiting undocumented workers. This could mean:

1. Union work: in our locals or in labor support work, call for organizing people regardless of immigration status; support union efforts to organize the unorganized; support collective bargaining rights for farmworkers; establish committees in locals to protest union-busting INS raids.

2. Community or campus work: establish committees to defend human rights of undocumented workers, protest INS harassment, and exert legislative pressure against the Carter plan.

Carter's immigration proposal represents a threat to all workers, not just those without papers. In working against it we should talk to people about the real issues involved—the manipulation of surplus labor for the benefit of U.S. corporations. That is our main task.

Glenn Scott
Austin, TX

The unemployed

from p. 15

carfare and babysitting. Next time you hear someone tell you about welfare being for lazy people, you tell them to try living on that...it takes a lot of work. If people don't like welfare then we better figure a way to find jobs for all of us... that make it worth it to work.

Ron D., twenty-two, out of work for five months.

Right after high school I tried to get a job but they said I didn't have enough skills. So I joined the army. When I went into the service I thought I'd get a skill. They were supposed to send me to school. But when I got in they said they wouldn't. When I got out, I didn't have nothing. So I started looking again.

Finally I got a CETA job training program. Wasn't too bad. Paid me a little money every week and promised to find me a welding job when I got out. The assistant instructor knew what he was doing and I learned welding. Good skill—worth about \$6.00 an hour. But when I got finished they didn't find me a job. I had to start looking all over again.

Finally did get a job in the city, good pay too. But the plant shut down. Now I'm back on the street again looking. Seems like you can't even find a good welding job in the city, you gotta go to Indiana or someplace. And, it's getting tougher all the time.

I don't know what can be done about it. Seems like the more plants close down the bigger the troubles we got. Seems like everybody here on the northside is looking for jobs. I'd swear that half the people on the northside are unemployed. I guess that the factories all got stacks of applications just waiting.

Only way you can get a job today if you're young, especially if you're not white, is through your brother or your father or something. They always are putting you on file. My name must be on file in so many places...I gotta have more files than the FBI has. Maybe someone gets called back...but that someone ain't ever me.

Marilyn Katz is Political Secretary of the New American Movement.

Delicate balance

from p. 16

The Autobiography of an American Communist is the first book to combine an account of day-to-day Communist activity over the greatest part of the Party's history with a detailed and persuasive account of the political struggles in the top leadership of the Party. It is her account of the years from 1957 to 1959 that I found particularly enlightening. As a young member of the Communist Party in the sixties, I was taught a different history of this period. In classes on the Party's history, we were told that there had been a struggle in the fifties between the "correct" tendency, represented by the current leadership, and an anti-Marxist group that wished to disavow socialism by repudiating the Soviet Union, embracing American liberalism, and disbanding the Communist Party. There seemed to be no third alternative of establishing independence from the

Soviet party while continuing to uphold the goal of socialism in the United States.

Brief Moment

What Peggy Dennis' book shows is that for a brief moment there was a third alternative. In the mid-fifties some Communists called for a re-examination of the Party's relationship to the Soviet Union not out of a desire to destroy the American Party or to renounce socialism, but as the first step toward constructing an American program for socialism. Dennis shows that it was blocked not only because of opposition from powerful groups in the leadership, but also because of the deep emotional attachment of many rank and file Party members to the Soviet Union, and the embattled atmosphere of the McCarthy era.

But this book is about successes as well as failures. It helps to restore a history

that was almost entirely erased from the American memory in the fifties, a history of which even the New Left has been ignorant.

Peggy Dennis describes decades of patient organizing, and an organization that at its best moments was both openly socialist and deeply involved in working class struggles. She describes a party in which socialist activity was a lifetime commitment rather than a youthful phase, a movement within which it was possible to grow up. And while her book is bitter testimony to the horrors of bureaucracy and factionalism, it also points to the potential strength of an organized party, which, more than a diffuse movement, may have the resources to criticize itself and build on its own history.

Barbara Easton is a NAM member who teaches history at the University of California at Santa Cruz.

Coors strike

from p. 13

"When you go without work for seven months, it's a struggle to keep things going," says Micky Erb. She and her husband, George, formerly lived on his Coors salary; they have both been forced to get other jobs. "But we have no choice, and we'll make it through," she says.

"Through this whole thing, quite a few of us have found we're a lot closer to each other than we've ever been. If somebody's short of a little bit of groceries, and we have a little bit extra, we share what we have. It's like going back to barnraising. In a way, it's great," says Anderson.

"That's what I've felt is the one beautiful thing that's happened," says Ping. "I didn't know Micky or George or any of the NAM people before. Now we have come together and developed friendships, not just here but in Texas, New Mexico, California, wherever we've gone."

"I've had disillusionment, I've had disappointment, I've had anger. I've had frustration," says Anderson. "There are three reasons why I hang in here. One, to keep Local 366 a union of people that says, 'we care.' But I want to see it go beyond 'we care about each other.' We need to care about others, to unify, get off the individual trip that seems to be prevalent in this nation, and get back to brotherhood and sisterhood again. The second thing is a contract where 580 plus people can go back to their jobs. And number three, that everyone that's worked in organizing can go to the shops that are unorganized and bring about more of a unification for all of us working people. I'll go through with whatever it takes, for however long it goes. We can win, as people united, in this country."

The Coors Boycott Committee is calling a special boycott day December 10. They are planning activities nation-wide to publicize and support the boycott. NAM urges Moving On readers to participate. For more information, contact Coors Boycott Committee, 4510 Indiana, Golden, CO 80401

Dave Anderson and Mary Sell are members of Boulder NAM and active in the Coors Boycott work. Judy MacLean is Organizational Secretary of NAM.

Jewish Currents

edited by Morris U. Schappes

is an independent, pro-Israel, non-Zionist monthly magazine reflecting a secular, progressive approach to Jewish problems here, in Israel, and all over the world.

Supplement your knowledge of Jewish affairs and get our distinctive point of view by subscribing:

\$7.50 for one year (\$6 for students)
or send for sample copy: ~

Jewish Currents, Dept. M
22 E. 17 St., Suite 601
New York, NY 10003
(212) 924-5740

just published:
Zionist Movement Revisited
by Louis Harap
32 pages • 60 cents per copy

NAM News

QUESTIONABLE FIRING Paul Scrade, a long-time activist in the United Auto Workers, was fired from his job at North American Rockwell after appearing on a radio show where he announced he was joining New American Movement. He was allegedly fired for parking in a space reserved for executives at Rockwell.

"It seems like a big coincidence, coming just four days after he appeared on the show," says Dorothy Healey, who interviewed Scrade on her weekly program.

Scrade was western regional director of the UAW from 1962-72. He was active against the Vietnam War and in support of the Civil Rights Movement. Within the union he advocated organizing the membership to demand more control on the job. In the early '70's, he pushed for due process for UAW members—no discipline or firing without a trial.

His maverick politics both within and outside the union led to his being squeezed out of his post. He returned to work in the North American Rockwell plant he'd worked in before becoming regional director. He continued his activism, opposing the B-1 bomber which Rockwell was building.

On the air, he said he was joining NAM "because we need political action both outside and inside the factory. Without some forward socialist movement, I don't think people in unions are going to win much."

Scrade is fighting his firing. Ironically, the method he must use is the grievance procedure. He was trying to replace this very method with rights to due process on the job five years ago when he was eased out of the directorship.

MICHIGAN VICTORIES Ken Cockrel won a seat on Detroit's Common Council on November 8, finishing seventh in a field of 18 candidates. Cockrel, consistently described by the media as a "Marxist attorney," said his election "represents a significant development in independent politics locally and nationally." Detroit NAM members were active in the campaign (*Moving On*, Nov. '77).

And Francine Hughes, accused of murdering a husband who had repeatedly abused her, was found not guilty by reason of temporary insanity in a Lansing, Michigan court. (See *Moving On*, Sept. '77.) Although her supporters had hoped for an acquittal on the grounds of self defense, they still hailed the outcome as a victory for the movement against violence against women. NAM members in Lansing were active in the defense committee for Hughes.

NETWORKS NAM has several networks developing for both NAM and non-NAM activists. Contacts include: Anti-racism Commission Glenn Scott, 3213 Cherry Lane, Austin, TX 78756; Labor Commission, Bobby Lilly, 647 W. Forest St.,

Detroit, MI 48201; Cultural Network, Dayton Media House, 215 Superior Ave., Dayton, OH 45406; Lesbian Network, Chris Riddiough, 3105 W. Palmer Sq., Chicago, IL 60647.

SOCIALIST SCHOOL Los Angeles NAM's chapters have a bright new remodeled church basement for their Socialist Community School at 2936 W. 8th St., Los Angeles, CA 90005. The school is open to the public and courses this fall include Spanish for Activists; Marxist Analysis of Current Events; Personal Life, Therapy and Political Struggle; and The Warp and Woof of the Women's Movement. The school, one of several run by NAM chapters across the country, also holds forums, films and parties.

INTEGRATION COALITION During summer 1976 the Los Angeles Socialist Community School of NAM held a class on the integration of the school system in L.A.. A group continued to meet and has grown to become the Los Angeles Integration Project, made up of Blacks, Latinos and whites. Many of the members are public school teachers. The Project has put forward a plan for complete integration of Los Angeles schools at all grade levels. Present Board of Education plans call for partial integration of grades 4-8. The Project has received wide media coverage and is currently pushing its plan both through Board of Education channels and through the courts.

PRISON DEMONSTRATION Members of St. Louis NAM helped to organize a demonstration calling for freedom for the four remaining Puerto Rican political prisoners in U.S. prisons on October 30. The action, which drew 350 people to Marion, Illinois, where Rafael Cancel Miranda is in prison, also stressed support for liberation struggles in Africa and support for struggles of Native Americans here. The prisoners, jailed since the early fifties for bombings that dramatized the cause of Puerto Rican independence, are still important symbols of the independence movement.

COLORADO VISIT Judy MacLean, NAM's Organizational Secretary, made a short tour of Colorado in late October. She spoke on "Energy and Socialism" in Fort Collins and on "Socialist-Feminism" in Boulder. She met with activists in the women's and the anti-nuclear movements, as well as striking Coors brewery workers. She also spoke to people interested in NAM in Colorado Springs, Greeley, and Denver. MacLean had particular praise for the fine work done by Boulder NAM members in setting up the trip.

Dear Friends,

As we finish out this year of 1977, **Moving On** is still less than a year old. It remains a small publication, with a limited budget and a large vision. The vision has, we think, helped to shape **Moving On** as a unique and exciting magazine.

Its pages have reflected NAM's commitment to understanding both cultural factors and traditional politics, both daily life and the major institutions of our time. It has offered analyses of social movements as well as eloquent descriptions from the people who are involved in them. And it has consistently maintained a focus on the conditions and expressions of women and racial minorities.

But a magazine does not live by vision alone. In order to grow both in size and scope, we need to have a larger budget as well. Although our subscribers have more than doubled since we began publication with the list from the former NAM newspaper, we are still a long way from the kind of subscription base that could provide any kind of financial solvency. We've gotten this far with almost no promotion funds—mostly through the word-of-mouth "promotion" of our readers.

Now we'd like to ask for a little more help from our friends. A magazine with our limited financial resources won't grow without active support. Please think about what you can do. Take a bundle of magazines each month to distribute to friends or co-workers. Talk to your local bookstore about stocking **MO**. Sell subscriptions.

(It's still not too late to give a sub for the holidays.) Become a contributing or sustaining subscriber (\$10 or \$25).

Beginning with our February issue we will be raising our subscription price to \$5. (**MO** doesn't publish in January). The cover price for newsstand or individual sales will remain the same. We think that this increase is small enough not to burden our subscribers, while still providing some additional income.

We have appreciated all the support that **Moving On** has received over the last nine months. The many writers who contributed articles without pay. The photographers and artists who have provided such fine graphic work—also free of charge. The design and layout people who have given the magazine its distinctive and attractive style. And the volunteers who have labored for long hours over proofreading, mailings, and more.

We are also grateful for all the letters of support and encouragement from our readers. We hope that you'll continue to send us your feedback—both compliments and criticisms. In the short space of its existence, **Moving On** has established itself as an important voice on the left. We are confident that 1978 will be a year of further growth and development. We hope that you'll share in that process.

In solidarity,
the Editorial Board

Get involved

NAM chapters are working in the here and now to build toward the future. Chapters help to organize on issues like fighting the energy companies, gaining better and fair housing, winning new rights for office workers. They sponsor schools, forums, and cultural events to present NAM's democratic socialist perspective. They work with a variety of progressive forces to help forge a united opposition in their cities. They act as a meeting ground for people involved in organizing on the job, in communities, or schools.

If this work is to thrive we need more chapters. We need you to help. Please let us know if you'd like to help in forming a chapter in your city.

What is NAM?

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

Give a sub to Moving On for the holidays!

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

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

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

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

Enclosed is \$4 for a Moving On
subscription to:

name _____

address _____

_____ zip _____

name _____

address _____

_____ zip _____

name of gift-giver: _____

NAM
New American Movement
1643 N. Milwaukee Ave.
Chicago, IL 60647
312-252-7151