

# Moving On

MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

## Women



—labor  
—rape  
—poetry

photo by Jane Melnick

# Moving On

MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

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

EDITORS: Richard Healey, Marilyn Katz, Judy MacLean

MANAGING EDITOR: Roberta Lynch

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Dolores Wilber

STAFF: Andrea Gundersen, Judy Johnson, William Johnson, Jane Melnick

VOLUME 2, NUMBER 1

MARCH, 1978

## Comment

- Rape and gun laws—a second look..... 3  
Jane Curtin and Don B. Kates, Jr.

## Getting Together

- Women in the labor movement—a voice to be heard..... 5  
Marty Amaranth

## Looking For America

- Magnolia Phipps—mill mother's lament..... 8  
Len Stanley

- Poem: There is a woman in this town..... 12  
Pat Parker

## The Long View

- Colorado—the energy boom..... 14  
Timothy Lange

- Ohio—the industrial exodus..... 15  
Mark Cohen

- NAM Perspective..... 21

- NAM News..... 22

MOVING ON is published monthly except August and January by the New American Research Institute, 3244 N. Clark St., Chicago, IL 60657. Subscription price: \$5 yearly. Controlled Circulation Postage Paid at Chicago, Illinois.

## Letters

Dear MO:

Thanks for sending me the copy of MOVING ON with the article which mentions me, (February, 1978, "Out of the Closets—And into the Legislature"). The article was fair and insightful. Riddiough did an excellent job.

I consider myself to be a socialist. I am not now, nor have I ever been, a member of the Democratic Party. (All city elections here are non-partisan.)

Jim Yeadon  
Madison, WI

Dear MO:

One night last week, while a snowstorm buried the city, grinding all non-essential activities to a halt, we rejoiced at the opportunity to spend the evening at home watching television. Imagine our joy and surprise when a reporter on the L.A. Trib, the bailiwick of the reknowned city editor Lou Grant, visited a Halfway House for Female Offenders. And there, on the wall of Magnum House, hung NAM's beautiful International Women's Day poster!

Of course we did a double-take, but several more times the camera flashed on that same section of the set—and it was no mistake! Some sympathetic set-designer in L.A. had used our poster. So, thanks to you, our unknown friend in L.A. And thanks to our chapters in L.A. for distributing our poster so widely. And now that International Women's Day is again nearing, we'd like to encourage all our friends and chapters to order this beautiful poster from the National Office.

Joni Rabinowitz and John Haer  
Pittsburgh, PA

Dear MO:

One of the things that happened while I was in the Soviet Union during the last months of 1977 is that my subscription to MOVING ON ran out. Largely on the strength of the two issues that I found waiting when I returned, and because the journal has enormously improved, here's \$4.00 for another year.

On the basis of my observations in the USSR (I was there four months and speak tolerable, if obviously non-native-speaker Russian), I wanted to compliment Richard

turn to p. 13



## Comment

# Rape and gun laws— a second look

by Jane Curtin and Don B. Kates, Jr.

Against the background of skyrocketing rape statistics, the Joan Little and Inez Garcia cases raised the controversial question whether (and by what means) a woman ought to resist a rapist? Obviously in most situations resistance by an *unarmed* woman is futile and perhaps dangerous. But, it is argued, armed defense is even more dangerous since a rapist will invariably get a gun away from a woman and use it on her. Innumerable movie and television scripts affirm this perspective. It seems that a woman who doesn't have a male around to protect her had better just "lie back and enjoy it"—hoping her attacker doesn't have it in mind to murder or mutilate her afterwards.

But those who warn women against keeping pistols for their own defense grow strangely reticent when pressed for concrete examples of dire results. In

fact our research has not turned up a single case in which an armed woman lost her gun to an attacker. It is interesting that the same big city departments which scoff at women's armed self defense take a very different tack in training their own personnel. Police manuals advise that taking a gun away from even an untrained person is extraordinarily hazardous and should not be attempted unless the alternative appears to be an immediate and certain death.

Just as armed resistance does not guarantee the woman's death, neither does passive acceptance of rape assure that she will escape with her life. Authorities generally agree that the rapist who murders does so not because of anything his victim has done, but because he has made up his mind in advance to kill. Statistically speaking, although her chances of success are slight, the unarmed woman who resists does not appear more likely to suffer serious injury

or death than those who acquiesce.

But a very different story emerges in the case of armed resistance. In our study of upwards of 150 cases of armed resistance by women against criminal attackers in the past few years, the attacker was wounded or killed in forty three percent and captured or driven off without a shot being fired in another fifty percent. Some typical examples:

—Los Angeles, 1969: A woman shot and seriously wounded an attempted rapist who broke into her house. Police charged him with two other rapes.

—Baltimore, 1970: When a woman was punched in the face and stomach by a mugger who yelled "you know what I want," she drew her pistol and shot him in the neck.

—Tulsa, 1971: A woman who shot to death a man who forced his way into her home was cleared of manslaughter charges.

—Cincinnati, 1971: A nurse who was attacked by two men who followed her on the street while walking home from work late at night. When she shot one, the other fled.

—Chatanooga, 1972: When a woman drew a pistol the man who was preparing to rape her left in too great a



etching by Kathe Kollwitz

Raped, 1907.

**Until we can create a society which does not foster male dominance, women—both collectively and individually—must have the right and the means to defend themselves.**

hurry to put his clothes on. He was later traced and caught through I.D. found in the clothing.

—Dallas, 1973: A woman pulled a pistol on two men who attacked her while she was fixing a flat tire in a deserted area. They ran.

—Detroit, 1974: A woman shot and captured a mugger who had knocked her down on a dark street.

—Chicago, 1974: A woman pretends to faint when a would-be rapist breaks into her apartment. As he attempts to undress her after having carried her to the bed, she kills him with a pistol kept under her pillow.

—West Virginia, 1975: A retired school teacher awakened to find a man with a rifle in her bedroom. Knocking the rifle away, she seized her pistol from the nightstand and shot him to death.

### Few Alternatives

The martial arts are frequently touted as a woman's best defense against an assault. But karate, judo and other martial arts require years of training to master, and rigorous practice and physical conditioning to keep up. Even then, it is doubtful that they would protect a woman against a determined and physically stronger attacker, much less two or three of them.

Recent developments in non-lethal weaponry (tear gas, stun guns, electric hooks, etc.) show more potential as deterrents. The development of such non-lethal weapons is one alternative to private possession of firearms. Unfortunately, the same legislators who oppose handguns have proved equally hostile to non-lethal weapon systems. Ironically, since the banning of non-lethal weapons is not opposed by the highly effective gun lobby, they are often forbidden in the very states in which private citizens are still allowed firearms. As a result of legislative prohibition, the market for non-lethal weapons is so limited that manufacturers are discouraged from attempting to develop and refine them to a point at which they might replace firearms.

Supporters of restrictions on weapons often argue that private possession of firearms is unnecessary because the police can provide protection. Many women who have gone to the police after having been raped or mugged—or because of threats from an ex-husband or boy-friend—would question this contention. Given budgetary restrictions, it is virtually impossible for the police to supply real personal protection to citizens. The police can only rely upon the hope that the citizen's fears are



Rachel Burger/1975

unfounded—and upon the universal doctrine that a police department is not civilly liable for damage resulting from denial of a gun permit or failure to provide police protection.

### Legal Aspects

Handguns are preferable to all other firearms for self-defense because they are the most maneuverable and portable, and the least lethal. (Handguns were involved in eighty percent of the published women's self-defense incidents we have compiled.) Most states allow citizens to keep handguns in their homes but forbid carrying them outside without a police permit. In most jurisdictions such permits are available only to the very rich and those who have political influence. Despite the laws against carrying wea-

pons, almost 10 percent of the incidents we studied involved women who were carrying handguns outside their own homes.

A person is legally entitled to shoot a potential murderer, rapist, or robber. Thus while a woman could be prosecuted for illegal possession of a handgun if she shot someone on the street, she would not be prosecuted for homicide. The prosecution of Joan Little represents the proverbial exception which proves this general rule. Ms. Little is, after all, a black woman prisoner who killed a white prison guard to prevent his raping her. Had she been neither black nor a prisoner, it is virtually inconceivable that she would have been tried.

The law divides force used in self-defense into two kinds: force likely to produce death or serious injury ("deadly force"); and force not likely to produce such injury. In general, deadly force can be used to defend only against an attack involving deadly force. Thus, a person may reply to an ordinary punch, blow or kick only with similar force, and not with a deadly weapon. This is true even where the attack is unlawful and completely unprovoked and even though the attacker is physically stronger. A California court has held that a wife may not kill her husband to prevent his slapping her around, even though California law makes ordinary misdemeanor assault a felony when committed by a husband upon a wife.

Whether in her residence, on the street or elsewhere, a woman is clearly entitled to use deadly force against a rapist who threatens death or serious injury to obtain her acquiescence.

But what rights does she have where he merely uses physical strength to overpower her, or attempts to obtain acquiescence by threat of non-serious injury? The question will be meaningless in most situations. A woman threatened with rape by a total or comparative stranger is entitled to use deadly force because she is entitled to assume that her attacker is armed, and/or that,

turn to p. 20

# Getting Together

## Women in the labor movement—a voice to be heard

by Marty Amaranth

When it comes to labor unions, most working women are still on the outside.

Today, there are more than 36 million working women, comprising approximately 40 percent of the workforce. Yet, while more than 25 percent of the total workforce belongs to unions, only one in six women belongs to a union or employee association. And while the proportion of women in the workforce has risen steadily, the proportion of unionized women has remained roughly the same.

Even these figures reflect substantial gains over the last decade. In 1962, there were 3.3 million trade union women, representing 18.6 percent of all trade unionists. Ten years later, there were 4.5 million trade union women—a gain of 38 percent—representing 21.7 percent of union membership.

In addition, there were, as of 1972, more than 1.2 million women belonging to professional and state employee associations, bringing the total of organized women to 5.7 million.

These 5.7 million women have some definite advantages over their non-union counterparts. Their salaries are more than a third higher, they have better benefits, and they are protected by contract grievance procedures.

However, when it comes to their own unions, many of these women still find themselves on the outside when judged by those litmus tests of equality—power and influence.

In large measure, the struggle of the last ten years has involved the efforts of women trade unionists to become vis-

ible within their own unions. This in itself bespeaks no small irony, considering that women constitute at least half the membership of 25 unions and 55 percent of all association members.

Yet this force of numbers is nowhere reflected in national union leadership. The responses to a 1973 Labor Depart-



photo by Sidney Harris



photo by Bronwen Zwilner



photo by Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union

ment survey question on the number of women serving on national union governing bodies confirmed a dismal under-representation. Of 4,800 reported positions on union and association governing boards, only 350—less than seven percent—were known to be held by women.

Certain individual cases make the point even more emphatically. For example, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, with women comprising more than 80 percent of its total membership, has not one woman on its national board.

The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, with a female membership of 75 percent, fares somewhat better, with five women among the leadership. One of those women, Vice President Joyce Miller, currently serves as president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

Three unions, the Association of Flight Attendants, Screen Actors Guild and the American Guild of Variety Artists, are headed by women. Ten other AFL-CIO unions have at least one woman international vice president, and several more claim women executive board members.

Fewer specifics on women in leadership are available for associations, but they seem likely to provide fertile ground for women to attain leadership positions. One reason for optimism is sheer concentration of numbers. The National Education Association (NEA) has 1.5 million members—60 percent female.

The American Nursing Association (ANA) currently represents more than 196,000 nurses—and nursing is among

the professions experiencing the most rapid growth in organizing.

Both in associations and AFL-CIO unions, increased organization in the public sector also bodes well for women's leadership. This trend can already be seen, if not on national policy boards, on the local level, where a growing number of women in public employee unions are making the jump from rank-and-file or shop steward to elected office.

In addition to concentration of numbers, there are a number of possible reasons for the activism of women in the public sector. These include a history of participation in professional associations (often the precursors of unions) and an influx of younger workers with more experience in groups. In addition, one might conjecture that a larger number of women in public employment come from middle class backgrounds, with greater access to labor-saving devices in the home and baby-sitting services. These provide the luxury of time, making activism more possible within our existing societal constraints.

#### Union Staffs

Another measure of participation by women in unions can be found by looking at union staffs. To assess progress here is largely a matter of conjecture, since no statistics are readily available. However, the Labor Department Directory lists few women heading international union departments of any kind, although there appears to be an influx of women in professional staff positions at many international union offices.

Perhaps the most recent noteworthy

phenomenon is the appearance of women in positions with titles like "women's activities director," or "human rights coordinator." A number of women have also recently been named "assistant to the president"—with "for women's affairs" implicitly or explicitly trailing behind.

That such positions exist at all is a sign of change, and they play a major role in making women "visible" within the union hierarchy.

At least some credit for this development goes to the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), an organization formed in 1973 to advance the cause of women trade unionists. Its stated goals are: to organize the unorganized; to strengthen the participation and enhance the role of women within their own unions and the trade union movement; to seek affirmative action in the work place; and to foster increased political and legislative action on issues concerning working women.

While the existence of CLUW has itself strengthened the hand of union women within their own unions, the organization has, at best, received mixed reviews.

At its most effective, the creation of CLUW put the AFL-CIO on notice that even women who had gained some measure of visibility and respect within the existing union structures, had serious problems with the status of women and the low priority given their issues within union hierarchies.

The founding of CLUW drew heated objections from organized labor that women might forsake allegiance to their trade unions for allegiance to CLUW, a union of women. Building on this fear, CLUW managed to parley AFL-CIO support for several issues of major concern to women, most notably ERA.

The resolution on ERA passed by the recent AFL-CIO Convention is a strong one. A measure of its seriousness is that it establishes legislator positions on ERA as a criterion for allocating COPE (Committee on Political Education—organized labor's political arm)



contributions. Such decisive support would have been impossible several years ago.

On the other hand, the CLUW trade-off for support from organized labor appears to be a reluctance to take positions counter to those taken by the AFL-CIO. Thus, while CLUW spokespersons may tacitly acknowledge the inadequate representation of women on union—or AFL-CIO—boards and staffs, CLUW has been disappointingly silent on calling for action to rectify the situation.

Likewise, AFL-CIO opposition to flex-time appears to have blunted open CLUW advocacy for alternative work schedules, which would clearly benefit large numbers of working women.

Another by-product of the CLUW/AFL-CIO relationship has been power struggles between AFL-CIO loyalists and less party-line members for CLUW chapter control. In Washington, D.C., what amounted to red-baiting of CLUW members resulted in several women being fired from their union staffs. Widespread distaste for the incident seriously hindered the D.C. organization in functioning effectively thereafter.

### Power Relations

The relationship between CLUW and the AFL-CIO is best defined by George Meany's address to the Third CLUW Convention last September.

"If supporting a living wage makes me a feminist, move over sisters," he told the gathering.

"ERA, full employment, minimum wage, labor law reform, pregnancy benefits, national health insurance—these are not women's issues. They are labor issues, trade union issues. They are fights all of us must win and win together.

"You've proven that CLUW is an organization to benefit all working people."

This statement clearly defines the community of interest between the women's movement and labor, as seen by the AFL-CIO. And, by and large, CLUW has not ventured beyond that scope, re-

maining content to pressure labor into allocating higher legislative priorities to women's concerns (the next issue to be forwarded by CLUW is child care).

But an equally telling part of the Meany quote is that concerning "proof," for it defines the power relationship between the two bodies.

And certainly, when it comes down to the individual woman in unions, that matter of proof is still of paramount concern. On the production line or on the union staff, union women still have to work twice as hard to receive less than equal.

"The hardest thing about moving up on the job was to bow down to the sex thing, I think," a 27-year veteran of IBEW at Westinghouse told me, "to see a job I knew I could do be filled by some man, some yo-yo, and then I had to train him to do it, to keep the shop going."

Likewise, women on union staffs relate countless anecdotes about being under-titled and underpaid for their work in relation to male staff members.

The major development in the struggle against such inequities and inappropriate demands for proof is the growth of a network of union women, seeking each other out and offering each other support.

"I was out at the Labor Studies Center for part of their women's seminar," a union staffer related.

"There was one woman in our small group who said she had no women

friends, who still looked on other women as a threat, and who let the men in her office call her 'bitch' to her face. We were all so appalled and sorry for her. Imagine having no women friends.

"But what was really beautiful was to talk to all those other union women, to share our problems and experiences. It makes all the difference."

Another thing that makes a difference is to maintain perspective, to remember it's a 'long-haul' fight. Recently, grieving to a moderately sympathetic established unionist about the slow progress of women in the hierarchy, I was told, "Yes, women have been wronged, but you're also not exempt from the rules. You've got to pay your dues and put in your time. You've got to have staying power, be willing to put in years, because in this business, that's what really counts. And if you're willing to stick with it, your generation will make it."

Yes, there is such a thing as over-paying dues, and women in unions are more than paid up. But it is also true that, as individuals, our job is to "stick with it," and make sure the rules are honored.

The struggles of the last ten years may have been for women to be visible in their unions—to be really seen. If so, the struggle for the next ten years is to become powerful—to really be heard.

*Marty Amaranth is a NAM member who is active in the labor movement.*



Magnolia Phipps

---

# Magnolia Phipps

## — mill mother's lament

---

by Len Stanley

---

*Magnolia Phipps has spent over 40 of her 70 years as a spinner in cotton textile mills in southeastern North Carolina. When her husband died of heart and kidney disease at age 39, she raised her six young children by herself on cotton mill wages.*

*For 40 years of her labor, the mill has given her no pension and a case of brown lung disease.*

*In 1925, only four years before Ella Mae Wiggins was shot in the back during the Gastonia, N.C. textile mill strike, Magnolia Phipps moved her mother and seven sisters and brothers off their South Carolina tenant farm to Lumberton, North Carolina to take her first "public work" at National Cotton Mill.*

*Hundreds of textile mills had sprung up in North and South Carolina, lured south by trade journals' promises of "one-hundred percent loyal, Anglo-Saxon, contented laborers." Mill agents crisscrossed the mountains and farm lands signing up whole families to work in the mills.*

"I didn't know a soul there in Lumberton, but we'd had it so hard on the farm for so long and I'd heard people talk about the mills so much.... There was one in Dillon (S.C.), about 12 miles from us and two of my neighbors, young girls, had got them a job at the mill in Dillon. They would come home on the weekends but they'd stay there during the week. And they talked about it being so good—making so much easy money—'til I just thought, well, we could live better there than we could live on a farm. And us older girls could work so we could stop Momma from work. So I just decided to get Momma where life could be easier for her."

"...See, our Daddy had give us so much trouble...he didn't bother us kids too much, but he did her, and I just decided to get us all as far away as I could." (Lumberton is 30 miles from Dillon.)"



# Looking For America

"I was 19 then. Me and my oldest sister went to the mill and the man hired us—was glad to get us. Then he told me that I could sign for a worker's permit for my fourth sister, since she wasn't old enough....so she started work when she was 14. So that was three of us working, and we were able to send the younger ones to school. So Momma didn't have to work no more after that; we worked and took care of her."

"When I first went to work, we made about \$5.00 each a week. They didn't have checks back then, they would just give us cash in a little envelope, and we'd take it to the house and give it to Momma."

*In 1926, some more of Magnolia's farming neighbors moved to the North Carolina mill town, and she was reunited with her childhood boyfriend, Finney Oscar Phipps. They were married in 1927.*

"I'd work until whenever I got pregnant and had to stay out to have the baby....'til that one was old enough for me to look after it one shift and him to look after it the next. They let us work different shifts so we could do that. Then in 1935 we moved to Fayetteville."

*Magnolia has always worked the exhaustingly fast-paced and dusty job of a spinner—one of the 'women's jobs' in textile plants. After the Faytex plant shut down, her husband, whose health was already declining, left the cotton mills for less strenuous work. Magnolia moved on to yet another spinning job at another cotton mill in the area, working 6 days a week for 10, then 8 hours a day. There were no food breaks because of production quotas, and textile workers today still say they have "eat many a mouthful of that dust; you were lucky if you could eat a sandwich running your job, and all the time that dust just a-fogging in your face."*

"Then they started them stretch-outs. There would be maybe 30 to 35 sides

*Ella Mae Wiggins, mother of nine children, was murdered by mill agents during the Gastonia, N.C., textile mill strike of 1929. While she was alive, she helped organize her fellow millworkers—including blacks—into the National Textile Workers Union. She often wrote songs which simply and vividly portrayed millworkers' conditions.*

*Four of Ella Mae's children died with croup when her bossman refused to let her stay home with them. This song she wrote seems a tribute to Magnolia Phipps and to the hundreds of other mill mothers whose children went without.*

## Mill Mother's Lament

We leave our homes in the morning  
We kiss our children goodbye  
While we slave for the bosses  
Our children scream and cry

And we draw our money  
Our grocery bills to pay  
Not a cent to spend for clothing  
Not a cent to lay away

And on that very evening  
Our little son will say  
"I need some shoes, mother,  
And so does sister May"

How it grieves the heart of a mother  
You everyone must know  
But we can't buy for our children  
Our wages are too low

It is for our little children  
That seem to us so dear  
But for us nor them dear workers  
The bosses do not care

*By Ella Mae Wiggins*

of the spinning frame each spinner had to run. Then they would add up on you and give you more frames and pretty soon another hand would be gone and you'd be running yours and hers too.... No, you didn't get more pay, you just got more work."

"Our work was on a percentage basis. The way they done, they had somebody in the I.E. office, they called it. They would check each spinner, each winder—everybody in the mill was checked two hours each week. What they figured in them two hours was how they figured what we could do in 8 hours.

"I was always in the red, I never did make production. You had to make production to make standard pay—what they claimed they paid you an hour. A lot of us never did make it, and we never did make as much as they claimed they paid us.... I couldn't hold out to work that fast all day, and not even a

lunch break.... And some of that yarn was so bad, it would break all the time and you couldn't run it to save your life."

"When they give you your time figured, you didn't have no minutes to eat. They'd tell you you had so many minutes to eat, but you knew you couldn't keep your job running and do it...but I did anyway. They had a dope wagon, they called it, with sandwiches to come around and I'd get me one and go to the bathroom and sit down and eat it for the 5 or 10 minutes it took. My sister wouldn't eat, but I said, "They ain't never going to give us no lunch time, and this is all the privilege I have around here and I'm going to take it...." They never got on me."

*By 1940, Magnolia knew her husband's health was failing. He had dangerously high blood pressure and was troubled by ulcers. In 1945, he suf-*



Mike Shuster/LNS

ferred a stroke which left him partially paralyzed and unable to continue "public" work—which meant further hardship for their family which now numbered six children.

"...He couldn't hold anything in his left hand for nearly a year. But he had to get his mind off it.... He bought him a second-hand truck and—see, back then people didn't have refrigerators like they do now, they had iceboxes and they bought ice by the block. He would take that truck and take them boys, and he would cut the ice up and they would take it off the truck and put it in the boxes for him. They were small then, but either one of them could carry a 5-pound piece of ice. They weren't old enough to do other things, but they could help him do that. ...He didn't make a lot at it, but it kept his mind occupied.

*For two more years Oscar Phipps hobbled along delivering coal and ice until*

*he was suddenly hospitalized with severe stomach pains. Kidney blockage developed as a complication, and within 24 hours he died.*

"He was 39 years old. ...I turned 40 the day he was buried in December 1947." There was a long time after he was buried—almost a week, that I couldn't get myself together enough to even think about my job.... I couldn't get nobody to keep those children... the youngest wasn't 3 years old yet, and I didn't see how in the world I could pay anybody to keep them, but I knowed I *had* to work.... I knowed I had to do it some way or other...."

"I was working the second shift, from 3 o'clock in the afternoon to 11:00 at night. So I'd just get one of the older ones out of school at 1:00 of a day to look after the younger ones so I could get them some food made and go to work.... And that's just the way I had to manage, I just had to leave them here

and pray to the Lord that nothing wouldn't happen."

"I tried to get on first shift, but they said there was so many ahead of me. They said if it'd help, they'd give me the third. But I knowed I couldn't leave then all night.... I never was able to get first shift while my kids was home. When they all got grown and all married but one, they said there had come an opening on first shift...."

*In the annals of southern textile history, one of the curious facts about the control-by-gratitude system of paternalism is the role played by the floor supervisors, the bossmen. They are the company mouthpiece and police to the rank and file, yet they are of the rank and file. Part of the bossman's job is to police worker-to-worker contact and to keep a direct link with each worker—and by doing so he becomes at once the source of oppression and the only source of help.*

*The story of Magnolia's bossman which she tells as an integral part of the last 25 years she worked, is one of quiet horror that paternalism perpetuates.*

"I never got off on a Saturday to be with my children, never once in all those years.... It was many years later my bossman called me in and he said, 'Magnolia, maybe I done you wrong all those years never letting you off on weekends, but I knew the others wouldn't come in and I knew you would, so I had to work you.'"

"My bossman's told me many a time, 'Whenever your children really need you, you have to work every day, but then when they all get grown, then you get some time off—but not when they really need you.' He said 'Have you ever thought about that?' I said, 'Yes, many times.'"

*She sat for a moment to absorb the impact of his patronage, then her voice rose back to its natural stridency. "And he's the one who wouldn't never let me off—he's the very one that wouldn't let*

me off!”

“That same supervisor, now, he called me in once and he said, ‘Magnolia, why don’t you put them younguns’ of yours in an orphanage; they’d be taken good care of there, they’d have a warm roof over their head, plenty of food on the table, and you wouldn’t have to worry with all this. Then you could work regular right on and send ‘em little nice things.’”

*Magnolia drew herself up with all the dignity of her 70 years. Each of the hundreds of tiny lines etched in her face was quivering.*

“I told him, ‘no, no, I couldn’t do that to my kids.’ Maybe they didn’t ever have much, and maybe they woulda had better than I could give them, but they were all I had to live for. I couldn’t a’ put my kids in a orphanage, no sir. ....I’d look at ‘em sometimes, and I knew I couldn’t give them much, and then I’d think, ‘and you don’t even have a daddy’ ....and you’d cry, you couldn’t help it....”

*Even then, Magnolia was beginning to get the tightness in her chest, the shortness of breath and the dry, wracking cough that characterize brown lung disease.*

“I would work a lot of times when I was sick—I had to. Seemed like I would get a cold and couldn’t get shut of it all winter. I would get that bad cough, and sometimes I’d think I was gonna die from coughing so much... The doctors always said it was bronchitis.”

“It worried me so bad, I didn’t know what it was, and I never smoked a cigarette in my life. After I’d quit the mill that pain in my chest got so bad ‘til I got an appointment with a chest specialist; I just knew it was my heart. And after he examined me he said, ‘It’s not your heart, it’s your lungs. You have collected so much dust in your lungs from working in these mills that they are ruined... There’s very little we can do for you now.’”

*Now, in the twilight of her life, Mag-*

*nolia Phipps has finally found an outlet for over 40 years of pent-up anger and humiliation. Last year, when Magnolia saw an article in the Fayetteville paper describing a woman with brown lung disease, she wrote a letter addressed simply, “Eva Bradshaw with brown lung, Erwin, North Carolina.” Despite the fact that she has never before spoken publicly, and she has never belonged to any organization except the Church of God, Magnolia Phipps is becoming a leader in the Erwin chapter of the Carolina Brown Lung Association. Recently, she traveled with two other chapter members to a town just a few miles from her first cotton mill in Lumberton. In her strong, rasping voice she spoke to a group of brown lung victims just starting a chapter in their area.*

“You can see me and you can hear me and you can tell from the way I talk that I’m just like you—I can’t breathe. ...And I think we all got to get in behind this thing and fight it all the way. You know the mills aren’t going to give you nothing. They don’t care as much about the hands as they do the machinery. But we got to stick together and get a little back for all we give them all those years.”

“...I may never get a dime out of this, but if I can help them that’s still in the mills to not have to go through what I have been through, it’s worth it.”

*Len Stanley grew up in a textile mill neighborhood in Greensboro, North Carolina. She is now an organizer for the Carolina Brown Lung Association.*



Lewis H. Hines, George Eastman House Collection

# —there is a woman in this town—

by Pat Parker

there is a woman in this town

she goes to different bars  
sits in the remotest place  
watches the other people  
drinks til 2 & goes home—alone

some say she is lonely  
some say she is an agent  
none of us speak to her

Is she our sister?

there is a woman in this town

she lives with her husband  
she raises her children  
she says she is happy  
& is not a women's libber

some say she is misguided  
some say she is an enemy  
none of us know her

is she our sister?

there is a woman in this town

she carries a lot of weight  
her flesh triples on her frame  
she comes to all the dances  
dances a lot; goes home—alone

some say she's a lot of fun  
some say she is too fat  
none of us have loved her

Is she our sister?

there is a woman in this town

she owns her own business  
she goes to work in the day  
she goes home at night  
she does not come to the dances

some say she is a capitalist  
some say she has no consciousness  
none of us trust her

Is she our sister?

there is a woman in this town

she comes to all the parties  
wears the latest men's fashions  
calls the women mama  
& invites them to her home

some say she's into roles  
some say she hates herself  
none of us go out with her

Is she our sister?

there is a woman in this town  
she was locked up  
she comes to many meetings

she volunteers for everything  
she cries when she gets upset

some say she makes them nervous  
some say she's too pushy  
none of us invite her home

Is she our sister?

there is a woman in this town

she fills her veins with dope  
goes from house to house to sleep  
borrows money whenever she can  
she pays it back if she must

some say she is a thief  
some say she drains their energy  
none of us have trusted her

Is she our sister?

once upon a time, there was a dream  
a dream of women. a dream of women  
coming together and turning the world  
around. turning the world around and making it over.  
a dream of women, all women being sisters.  
a dream of caring; a dream of protection, a dream  
of peace.

once upon a time there was a dream  
a dream of women. for the women who rejected the  
dream, there had only been a reassurance. for the  
women who believed the dream—there is dying, women,  
sisters dying

once upon a time there was a dream, a dream of women  
turning the world all over and it still lives—  
it lives for those who would be sisters

it lives for those who need a sister  
it lives for those who once upon a time had a dream.

*Reprinted with permission of the author  
from **Movement in Black**, to be published  
in late Spring, 1978, by Diana Press,  
4400 Market St., Oakland, CA, 94608.*

# Letters

from p. 2

Healey on his generally balanced and, I think, correct assessment (See MOVING ON, September, 1977). In any event, he has asked precisely the right question: to what extent do the people control their government and Party? I fear that, like him, my provisional answer is "not very much". I suspect that the loss of popular control has something to do with the codification of dogma known as "the science of Marxism-Leninism", but while saying this it is necessary both to point to social changes which may lead to revitalization of socialist impulses and to some real gains made since the Revolution.

I want to take issue with Healey on one point. He asserts that "In the Soviet Union women's right to control their own bodies is supported by free and easy access to birth control and abortion". This is, I grant, generally true, although after Stalin's 1930's "reforms" of family law hardly completely. Consider the following examples:

In the USSR, all citizens are required to pay a tax for "childlessness"; men from the age of 18 until they marry, women from the time they marry to the time that they have a child.

I was told by several of the people who were officially cleared to associate with us, all good members of the CP youth group, the Komsomol, that they actively resisted being hospitalized because of poor sanitary precautions and a widely experienced problem with secondary infections contracted in the hospital. Between that, the government's considerable pressure to raise the falling birth rate, and conditions of overcrowding and humiliation that accompany all mass health care in the USSR, I'm not sure how true it really is that abortion is "free and easy". (This is not, incidentally, to deny that the system of universal health care in the Soviet Union is progressive. But by the standards to which most Americans are accustomed, Soviet medical care is still primitive.)

Finally, I'm not sure to what extent birth control really is available. At least I can say that I saw no evidence of the availability of effective birth control methods (Soviet condoms are renowned because they don't work!) and that there seemed

to be very little information available.

One additional comment. It is well known that homosexuality is actively discouraged in the USSR (it is, in fact, a criminal offense, severely punished. My American roommate in the USSR, who is openly gay, had some contact with the gay subculture in the Soviet Union, and mentioned to me that most conversation consisted of stories about how to successfully stay in the closet.

In short, I think that Healey's comments about women's rights to control their own bodies in the Soviet Union are severely overstated. I would suggest that the reverse obtains, and that the Soviet Union is still an exceedingly sexist society in which traditional attitudes are encouraged. I have even seen some evidence that the current policy is to encourage women to drop out of the labor force and "find fulfillment" as wives and mothers! A Soviet women's movement is stirring, though, after the model of the American and European movements, and it seems to me that we should wish it all (sorely-needed) success.

Enough polemic. Keep improving and keep up the good work.

Don Van Atta  
Berkeley, CA

Dear MO:

We just received a bundle of recent issues and neither of us put them down until we had read them through. Even after such a delay and from this far distance, they seem to be getting better every month. We are both particularly encouraged by the increasing use of native NAM talent to illustrate the stories, especially the cover art on the November and December issues.

Often when we are talking to members of the British left we feel a bit embarrassed about NAM, as we are so small compared to the Left here and we have so little history. But with MOVING ON to represent us that won't hold us back any longer. Hope we can help build your international circulation and NAM's reputation.

Jan and John Cameron  
Edinburgh, Scotland

# Colorado — the energy boom

by Timothy Lange

When energy companies began showing interest in digging more Wyoming coal in the early 1970s, the state did all it could do to encourage them. In neighboring Montana, on the other hand, resistance was fierce. Neither approach seemed to matter much. Both states wound up with massive energy development that produced some jobs and a measure of wealth for a few local entrepreneurs, and introduced boomtown economics and new social and environmental problems into the lives of tens of thousands of longtime residents.

Although the attitude of Colorado officials has been more accommodating than Montana's and less obsequious than Wyoming's, the state is headed down the same road as the others, unable to determine the amount, type or location of energy-associated growth that may occur here in the next two decades.

The mildly liberal governor, Richard Lamm, recently said, "We must insist that the social and economic impacts of coal activities be identified prior to development and that systems be in place for fully dealing with such impacts to our rural communities." The governor is late. Energy development is well along in Colorado, and neither the companies nor the federal government seems to have any intention of "fully dealing" with the impacts already occurring or anticipated for the future.

By the turn of the century, it is predicted that 40 new power plants will export 45,000 megawatts of electricity, 30 new uranium mines will supply distant reactors, scores of new mines will produce four times the 9.4 million tons of coal dug here in 1976, and unknown amounts of "oil" will be extracted from western shale beds. Together with its spin-offs, this energy development is expected to double Colorado's current 2.6 million population by 1998.

A Denver city planner says, "If the political process can be counted on to have an effect, this [energy development] could be good; or if not, it could be a disaster."

Because state government has been even slower than the feds to respond to the demands of energy development, a disaster seems a distinct possibility. Colorado has no plant-siting law, an anemic industry-written mining severance tax, low corporate income taxes, feeble anti-corruption laws, a usually

## **A film produced by the Denver Chamber of Commerce to lure business to Colorado specially notes that only one area electronics firm is unionized.**

business-oriented legislature, a vulnerable labor movement and no experience in dealing with the mega-corporations that have just arrived or are on their way.

Colorado caught the eye of the energy companies somewhat later than the rest of the Rocky Mountain West. Although the state sits atop the world's largest shale oil deposits, it has less coal than either Wyoming or Montana (not to mention the Dakotas), less uranium than New Mexico, less oil and gas than Utah. Unlike the others, however, it has the full range of energy minerals.

In the past two years, hundreds of energy companies have opened offices in Denver, spawning a forest of downtown office towers. A report by the First National Bancorporation of Colorado stated nine months ago that 2,600 en-

turn to p. 18

## The Long View

### Introduction

The patterns of industrial (and commercial) development are changing rapidly and radically across the face of America. In some areas, primarily the Northeast and the Midwest, plant shut-downs and threatened closings are altering the character of major metropolitan areas. In the South and West, where there are at least some signs of growth, the kind of urbanization that has long been taken for granted in the North is just beginning to hit its stride.

Although many plants that close down leave the country altogether, there is little doubt that there is also considerable movement within the U.S. itself. This movement is producing (or intensifying) regional competition and antagonisms. There is also little doubt that the primary distinguishing factor between the areas that are declining and those that are experiencing some growth is the extent of unionization.

Whether or not it is explicit, the current shifting of resources is an attack on the labor movement, both in terms of its present and potential membership. It undermines labor's bargaining position and rank and file militancy in areas where the threat of a shutdown

# Ohio — the industrial exodus

by Mark Cohen

hangs over every negotiating session. And it acts as a barrier to new unionization in areas where there is a traditional fear of unions that is played upon by business interests.

The following two articles look at both sides of this coin. Mark Cohen focuses on Ohio—the site of a drastic drop in jobs and an accompanying population loss. Timothy Lange describes the change taking place in Colorado as energy companies—and other corporations—respond to its “favorable climate.”

They reveal the complexity of the issues involved and suggest that any progressive program for dealing with this development must include several key aspects: greater national and regional planning, implying greater public control of investment decisions; a commitment to full employment; support for unionization efforts throughout the country, particularly in the South; unity of progressive forces within each region and among regions; and a program to limit the ability of corporations to move on whim.

Industry may be running away, but the problems it creates will not simply go away. The life of our cities, the future of the labor movement, and the basic need for jobs are all intimately linked to our ability to confront this phenomenon.

The United States is experiencing a new wave of population migration. And like the shifts in population of the past, people are moving to where the “opportunities” are; that is, where the job market is expanding. Consequently, regions and states experiencing relative economic decline face the continuing prospect of significant population loss.

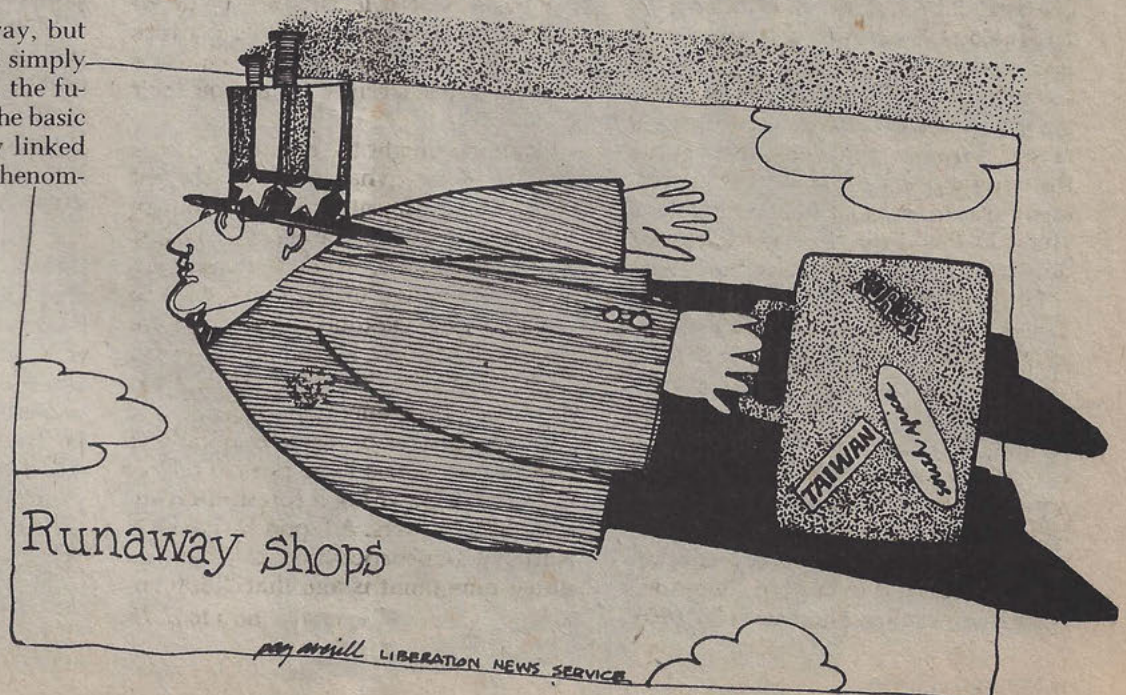
Ohio is a case in point. Between 1965 and 1970, Buckeyes saw more people move into the state than out. Statistically, Ohio recorded a net influx of 5,800 social-security covered workers. But during the short five years spanning 1970 to 1975, Ohio registered a net out-migration of 57,400 workers. A lot more people are now leaving than coming, with those departing heading disproportionately for the South, Colorado and California.

This rather dramatic population loss corresponds to shrinking industrial employment, particularly jobs lost in manufacturing. Between 1969 and 1977,

Ohio lost about 120,000 jobs in manufacturing. The job losses fall into four categories: companies that go out of business; companies that shift their entire manufacturing elsewhere; companies that re-locate branches or divisions; and the export of investments out of the state and region.

Since 1969, 17,000 jobs alone have been lost to the Dayton area by the nearly complete curtailment of production by National Cash Register. NCR simply found other production locations more profitable. Skeleton operations continued in the Dayton area with NCR employing less than 1,000 workers. But NCR exacted a price for maintaining even such limited production in the home city of its world headquarters. Members of the United Auto Workers union were forced to swallow wage and benefit cuts equivalent to nearly half their previous contract.

These shifts in jobs and population have conversely affected the Sun Belt states. Between 1970 and 1975, manufacturing jobs increased by 67.3 percent in the Southwest, while the Mid-



west and New England combined *lost* 22.7 percent of their manufacturing jobs. Of the manufacturing jobs that left Ohio between 1969 and 1974, 43.4 percent found their way to just two of the eight census areas comprising the lower 48 states (the South Atlantic and East South Central).

Despite the large-scale exodus of job seekers, unemployment in Ohio and the region still outruns the national average. In 1975 the average official rate of unemployment nationally was 8.5 percent, but joblessness in the East North Central region ran at 9.5 percent.

Economists point to a "multiplier effect" when manufacturing jobs are gained or lost. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce estimates that every 100 new manufacturing jobs mean 68 more non-

manufacturing jobs for a community as well. So when manufacturing jobs are lost, a ripple effect sets in, disrupting the economic life of the entire community.

This spiral of job and population migration likewise subverts the ability of government to effectively provide needed services to a community. Tax revenues are under-cut as companies and investments move out of the state and region. And as people follow the jobs elsewhere, taxes are further diminished by a reduced pool from which to collect income, property and sales taxes. For those who remain, it becomes increasingly burdensome to simply maintain the quality of services; doing so requires frequent tax hikes.

Thus, Ohio has witnessed increasing popular resistance to property tax levies

to fund the public schools. All of the state's major urban school systems have been forced to close for periods of time in the past two years—or face that prospect during the coming school year—due to revenue shortages.

Manufacturing and investments are going South and overseas for one simple reason. There's more money to be made in non-union states and countries where wage levels are often decisively lower. Manufacturing wages average fifty dollars a person less per week in the "right to work (for less)" South than in the North. Overseas the wage differentials are even more dramatic with pay seldom exceeding three dollars a day in Third World countries.

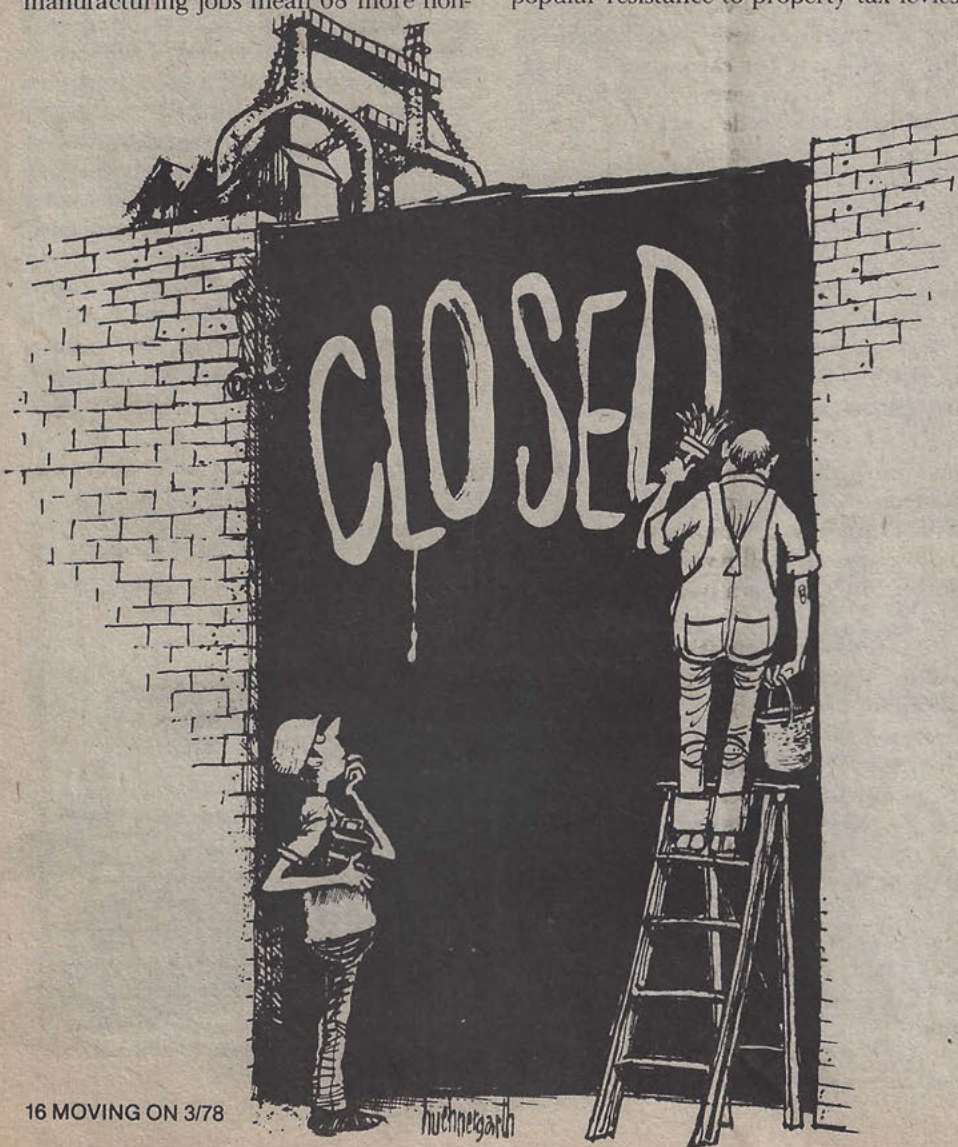
So it's not difficult to see why a poll taken of its members by the Ohio Manufacturers Association indicates that 7 out of 10 firms responding projected sending most of their capital investments *out of state* in 1977.

One might expect that the faltering "business climate" in the industrial states would place Big Business in a defensive position. Unfortunately, it's quite the opposite. Corporations are seizing on this condition to force new "pro-business" programs on state and local governments. And they have been quite successful at making patsies of government officials while milking the public through endless tax breaks.

*Mother Jones* magazine recently featured an article on how the state of Pennsylvania granted Volkswagen 70 million dollars in tax incentives to build an assembly plant in New Stanton as opposed to a competing location in Ohio. Here's how that can happen.

A company, say Ford Motors, indicates interest in locating or expanding operations in a state. It's quite easy for Ford to play one state off against another. Ford says: If you really want us, you'll demonstrate it by not charging property taxes (on land and machinery) for twenty years. If you don't give us that deal, Michigan, Illinois or Pennsylvania will. Remember, we can take our capital and jobs elsewhere.

It's a similar story at the municipal level. Time and again, politicians cave





in to business logic. Property tax abatements for downtown businesses, we're told, will re-vitalize the cities. But it's the cities that are robbed of the much needed revenues by the tax abatements.

There is, however, some basis for hope. A new challenge to the business strategy is developing from the labor movement. Labor recognizes that its strength in the industrial states will never be secure as long as the Sun-Belt offers such an attractive "business climate." Thus, the emphasis on the J.P. Stevens boycott in support of the unionization of the textile industry and a renewed effort to organize the South. If labor can begin to force at least approximate parity between the pay scales in the Sun-Belt and the North it may be possible to force more balanced economic development.

#### New Strategies

Few expect organizing the South to be an overnight job. And many run-aways leave the country altogether. So Northern labor and urban activists are searching to find ways of blocking the out-flow of investment capital from the industrial states.

Not surprisingly, state law doesn't permit such meddling in the affairs of private enterprise. And while Congress could, it as yet doesn't feel the pressure to do so. However, certain intermediate steps do seem possible. One reform is legislation proposed by the Ohio Public Interest Campaign and introduced into the state legislature by Columbus Democrat Sen. Michael Schwarzwald. Senate Bill 337—or the Community Readjustment Act—is gaining broad based support from labor, minority organizations and socially minded church groups. On the other side of the tracks, the bill is facing stiff opposition from the Ohio Manufacturers Association.

The proposed legislation would require employers of 100 or more workers to give two years' notice (under most conditions) prior to closing down their operations. With two years' forewarning, communities have the opportunity to seek other economic arrangements—perhaps even attempt to purchase the

manufacturing facility themselves as is being considered at Youngstown Sheet and Tube Steel Company. In any case, such notice might allow a community to avoid complete economic disaster when its major employers leave behind a jobless work-force and a tapped out government treasury.

Another feature of Senate Bill 337 would require a runaway company to pay ten percent of the gross annual wages of affected employees into a state fund. Such a fund could offer community assistance and development revenues as well as job retraining to help offset the damage wrought by the plant closings.


The Bill also provides for direct relief to the displaced workers, guaranteeing a minimum severance benefit of one week's pay for each year worked. Naturally, such a severance agreement would not supercede a union contract in cases that provide for better benefits.

Even if it becomes law no one contends that Senate Bill 337 will stop runaway shops. It's a defensive measure offering workers and communities a cushion and minimal protection in a volatile and insecure economic setting.

But SB-337 places the question of private control over investment into the arena of public policy by legislating public rights in relation to private investments. It's the battle for public control over investment decisions that will ultimately determine whether the industrial states will revive—or be abandoned to the imperatives of corporate profits.

Certainly no legislation that would place corporate investment policies in the hands of the public is under serious considerations presently in the Halls of Congress. Still, the recent experience of the industrial states can't help but force the question of private versus public control over capital on the political agenda in the years to come.

*Mark Cohen is a NAM member in Dayton, Ohio, and the News Director of WYEP, a listener-sponsored radio station.*



... a quarterly journal for housing activists and community organizers. The pages of SHELTERFORCE contain information, news and analysis that can't be found in any other housing publication.

**ANALYSIS:** Community Development Act, Fast Foreclosures, Section 8, Housing Allowances

**HOW TO:** Negotiate with Landlords, Build a Tenant Union, Conduct Rent Strikes

**REPORTING:** News and Analysis of housing struggles around the country and abroad

**PLUS:** Book Reviews, From the Grass-roots, Facts and Figures, Legal Developments, and much more

---

SUBSCRIPTION: \$5 for 6 issues SAMPLE COPY: \$1

name \_\_\_\_\_

address \_\_\_\_\_

city \_\_\_\_\_ state \_\_\_\_\_ zip \_\_\_\_\_

SHELTERFORCE, 380 Main St., East Orange, N.J. 07018

## Donald Shaffer Associates, Inc.

ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE

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

**Issues in  
Radical Therapy**

- Demystifying Psychiatric Oppression
- Proposing Solutions
- Healing Ourselves



SUBSCRIBE: \$5/year individual \$10 or more sustaining  
\$6/year overseas  
\$12/year institutions  
Free to inmates and prisoners

Please begin my subscription with the current issue of *IRT*. I am enclosing \$ \_\_\_\_\_. I also enclose \$ \_\_\_\_\_ as a contribution.

TOTAL ENCLOSED: \$ \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_ Please send *IRT* flyer listing full contents of back issues, and listing available reprints.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

STREET ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

P.O. Box 5039      Berkeley, Cal. 94705

# Colorado

from p. 14

ergy companies are located in the state. Most are fledgling alternative energy firms or small and medium-sized oil and gas exploration companies. But giants like Gulf, Mobil and the coal-mining division of W.R. Grace have established major branches here, and ARCO's metal-mining subsidiary, Anaconda, is moving its national headquarters to Denver in late 1978.

## Business Climate

The area's vaunted 300-plus days of annual sunshine have drawn in many solar-power firms as well as the Department of Energy's Solar Energy Research Institute.

Numerous energy-related businesses—specialist attorneys, computer firms, consultants, designers—have flooded the city. Each job in energy creates four in other fields. Between 30 and 50 percent of the current job expansion is directly or indirectly related to energy development, according to various sources.

Accompanying this growth has been an acceleration in the rate of arrival of light industries, which first discovered Colorado about 15 years ago. Most of these companies are branches or wholly new operations, not runaway plants. A notable exception is Eastman-Kodak, located on the plains near Windsor. Kodak, which employs about 3,500 workers in its non-union plant, moved here seven years ago from Rochester, N.Y. A Fort Collins, Colo. labor leader says he has heard the company plans to close up shop completely in New York and come west "to avoid problems with minorities." A company spokesman denied any move is contemplated or that Kodak has any trouble with minorities.

Anaconda's board chairman, J.B.M. Place explains his company move this way: "Houston is oil-oriented, but Denver has uranium, coal and oil. That's one of the reasons we moved here. Denver is the ideal spot due to climate location and good transportation. Without question, this is one of the most exciting areas in the United States." He

and other top executives also say they took note of the state's beauty and recreational amenities, especially skiing, before moving to Denver.

Geography, geology and scenery are not the only reasons energy and other businesses have picked Colorado, however.

In a film produced by the Denver Chamber of Commerce to lure businesses to Colorado, Rich Leech of the chamber's Economic Development Department specially notes that only one Denver-area electronics firm is unionized. Says Leech, "Instead of looking over his shoulder for a shop steward to tell him

---

**"When plans indicate — as they inevitably do — that growth must be restricted in some areas, they are rejected as demands for no growth."**

---

what to complain about, the worker is tending to his job—increasing his productivity."

Lack of union consciousness can be traced to several factors, not the least of which is the Labor Peace Act of 1943. Under the act, which is often called Colorado's answer to Right-to-Work laws, a union shop can be established only when organizers obtain approval of 51 percent of the eligible workers or 75 percent of those voting.

Not content with the stifling effects of the peace act, the National Right to Work Committee, a darling of beer-maker Joe Coors, whose own workers have been on strike for 10 months, has specifically targeted Colorado for right-to-work lobbying activity.

The workforce's composition also holds back organizing efforts. Workers

here average 12.5 years of education, second only to the Washington, D.C. region, and of the 1.1 million in the Colorado workforce, well over half are white-collar workers, with more than 50,000 holding jobs in the Denver-area's extensive federal enclave. With exceptions in a few municipalities, most public employees are unrepresented, although unions like AFSCME are making some progress. Among the least organized workers are Chicanos, who make up 15 percent of the state's population and its lowest paid sector.

Finally, there is the less-than-militant labor leadership. Asked if he felt the burgeoning energy development would swell the state's union ranks, Colorado Labor Federation President Norm Pledger, a former International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers shop steward, said he hoped so, but expected to mount no extraordinary campaign to bring in new union members. Pledger puts the number of unionized workers in Colorado at about 25 percent of the workforce, but other sources estimate it closer to 15 percent.

The United Mine Workers are stronger in Colorado than any other Western state, but they are finding the going tough these days. There were 2,000 coal miners in the state in 1975, about 60 percent organized by the UMW; in 1985, there are expected to be 8,200 coal miners.

Half the existing Colorado coal miners work underground, and all but a few are in UMW mines. But newer mines are mostly strip operations, and the conservative International Union of Operating Engineers, originally road-builders, has won many certification elections. Other elections have come up "no union," at least partly because mine owners have hired farmboys eager to draw the comparatively high pay.

Despite his lack of enthusiasm for organizing the unorganized, Pledger is pleased with the growth the energy companies are bringing to Colorado. He sees it in terms of tens of thousands of jobs. Many workers see things similarly.

Phil A., a member of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen who repairs and rebuilds rolling stock, is delighted with the anticipated coal boom. At present there are four 100-car "unit" coal trains traveling in Colorado each week. By 1985, there may be 334 such trains each week. For Phil, who is laid off regularly, "This means I get more work."

Sandra is the chief secretary for a small petroleum geology firm. She's a New Jersey native who "just can't believe" how lucky she is to have fulfilled her teen-age dream: to be within easy driving distance of Colorado's ski resorts. "I know a lot of people think the energy companies are going to screw Colorado. I don't think so; times have changed. If it weren't for them, I wouldn't be here."

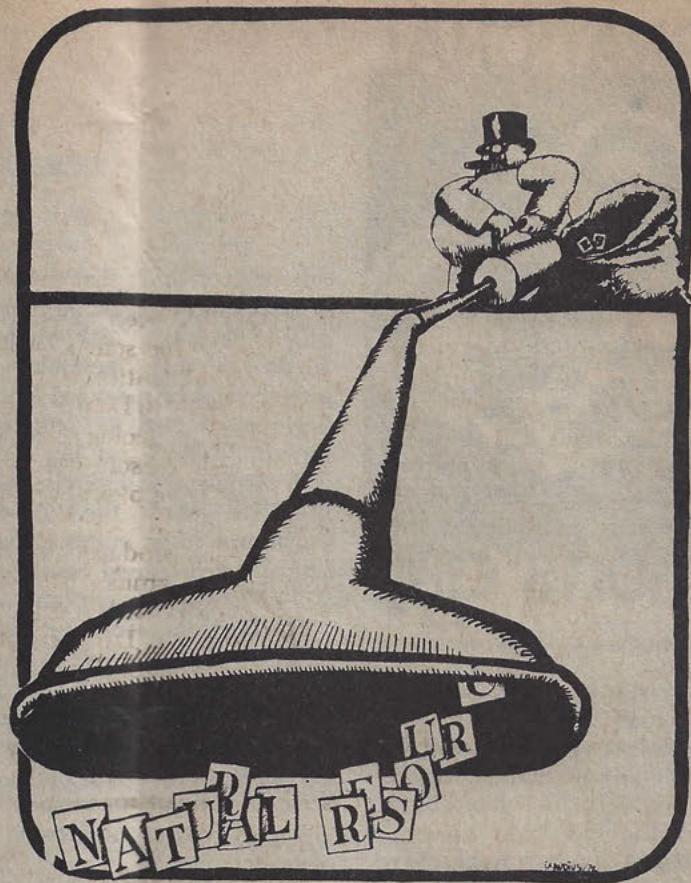
Ben Teiney is an oil roughneck. Every drilling rig in the Rocky Mountain West is putting down pipe, and he's got steady work. "I can't remember when I've had such an easy time finding jobs," the 25-year-old says. On the tailgate of Teiney's pickup is a bumper sticker which reads: "Hungry and out of a job? Eat an environmentalist!"

Colorado's environmentalists are the main counterpose to the state's rapid growth, especially that brought by energy.

For some, like those affluent immigrants who have discovered the joys of scenic hideaways in Telluride or Silverton, stopping growth is mostly a matter of slamming the door to preserve their own privilege. For others, such as Boulder City Councilman Paul Danish, a native Coloradan, it's a practical matter; uncontrolled growth (he says) produces more crime, higher taxes, pollution and a generally lower quality of life.

Danish is the author of a voter-passed controversial 1976 law which restricts the number of new building permits in Boulder. "The greedheads," he insists, "are the only ones who profit from uncontrolled growth, and I've never liked greedheads."

In fighting the Danish law, the Boulder Chamber of Commerce found it



self on strange turf, arguing that the plan would make the city an elite center where poor people couldn't afford to live. Danish's detractors now point out that a tighter housing market has arisen, boosting the price of a new Boulder home 20 percent and forcing large rent hikes as well. But they fail to mention that in Denver, with no growth control, the price of new housing went up even more last year, 26 percent.

The "controlled growth" faction fears that the rapidly spreading development along a 160-mile strip from Fort Collins to Pueblo will not only increase the already dangerous levels of automobile pollution, but will require the taking of irrigation water that farmers must have to grow anything in this dry climate.

On that score, the environmentalists have allies among farmers, who for decades have fought water diversion to Eastern Slope suburbs. Last year the farmers opposed coal slurry pipelines (for carrying powdered coal suspended in water) and asked embarrassing questions about what will happen to the state's agricultural base if energy companies and 2.5 million more people use all the state's water to produce electricity, shale oil and coal for export—and watering lawns.

Farmers and ranchers, perhaps in

league with urban environmentalists, may prove to be tough foes for energy developers. But they all lost one major battle last year when the legislature agreed to permit companies to reduce the time they are required to reclaim mined land from 10 years to two.

### New Coalition

Another possible counter-force to uncontrolled energy development and related growth is the nascent Colorado Coalition for Full Employment. Headed by longtime civil rights activist Roger Kahn, the coalition hopes to develop an alliance of farmers, urban poor, labor and environmentalists to mitigate the effects of growth while providing jobs.

Kahn says when he told one mayor that such an alliance was possible, "...he just laughed." But the coalition is having some success, and recently convinced the Colorado Labor Federation to establish a task force on environmental issues.

Proponents argue that "growth is inevitable," that it should be planned for, accommodated, welcomed. They point to the lower unemployment rate here—5.1 percent at last count—and they promise even greater prosperity to come.

Lucien Wulsin of the investment consulting firm of D.H. Baldwin says,

# INTERNATIONAL



## womens day

Beautiful four color International Women's Day poster, 17 x 22 inches. \$1.50 each; \$1.00 for 10 or more. Order from NAM, 3244 N. Clark, Chicago, IL 60657, 312-871-7700.

"Growth is a very positive thing. Everyone feels more comfortable when a community is growing."

Everyone doesn't include Robert McPhee, chairman of the state's Land Use Commission, and probably the highest placed official opposed to uncontrolled growth. "One of the most hypocritical statements, often repeated by propon-

ents of growth, is that growth cannot be stopped, but must be planned for," he said recently. "But when plans indicate—as they inevitably do—that growth must be restricted in some areas, they are rejected as demands for no growth." The Land Use Commission was weakened and barely escaped abolition last year by the GOP-dominated legislature after commissioners challenged the proposed construction of a 500-megawatt power plant.

The business community is ready for the growth, according to Bruce Rockwell, chairman of the board of Colorado National Bank. Government, he says, is too slow to respond, but the business community "can make decisions. We can make things happen," he adds. "No planning is going on at any level of government."

Kevin Markey, who heads the Colorado branch of Friends of the Earth, agrees with Rockwell on that point. "In terms of energy development," he complains, "there's no planning going on."

emotional consequences for all, with many suffering feelings of extreme helplessness, anxiety, depression, shame, guilt and fear of contact with others.

Rape is one of the most complicated of crimes. Given the extent to which its causes are linked to larger social trends, there is no simple curative. Until we can create a society which does not foster male dominance, women—both collectively and individually—must have the right and the means to defend themselves against rape. One factor in the appallingly high and ever increasing incidence of rape is the feeling that women are helpless victims and that this is one crime that can be committed with relative impunity. In part this is due to the low number of convictions of rape. But it is also due to the widespread belief that women can't (or won't) defend themselves. Changing both these aspects can help to change the threat of violence under which all women live.

*Jane Curtin is an anthropologist currently studying monkeys in Nepal. Don B. Kates is a civil rights lawyer who teaches at St. Louis University Law School.*

He thinks the state will suffer for it.

Many within state government admit their planning efforts are inadequate, but they blame the legislature for not giving them enough money and the corporations which often refuse to explain what they plan to do even a few months in the future.

Tripled and quadrupled populations have forced some towns to raise taxes to pay for new streets, schools, sewers, cops, mental health centers and recreational facilities. The companies have offered lots of words and a little money to help solve the problems they've caused, but the main financial burden has fallen on each town's residents and the state treasury.

Many boomtown residents have moved away from their old homes, unable to cope with the changes. But not everyone. Eighty-eight-year-old Ernest Kline still raises cattle and wheat on land he homesteaded in 1910 six miles from Craig, in northwestern Colorado. "I'm not hidebound about the old days," he says. "I don't object to this growth too much, but a lot of people say it's ruined Craig. Many of them are mighty upset."

Interestingly, before W.R. Grace began coal operations near Craig five years ago, it commissioned a private study which stated candidly, "Although economic growth is seen as beneficial to the area, there is the fear that mineral-related development is temporary and that after a limited period of expansion the economy will once more experience a decline."

The study showed that those who favored growth had something to gain: attorneys, businessmen, professionals and land owners. Those opposed were in lower income groups "which seem to sense instinctively that the benefits of growth do not trickle down to them, that they do not share significantly in the community's increased wealth, and that, in many cases, they may be hurt by growth."

*Timothy Lange is a NAM at-large member who works in Denver as a printer and free-lance writer.*

## Rape —

from p. 4

whether or not she submits, he may pose a threat to her life. But a woman who kills an ex-husband, ex-boyfriend or other acquaintance may have acted purely to prevent the rape itself rather than out of any fear that he would kill or badly injure her if she resisted.

Nevertheless, the privilege to use deadly force in such a situation is so well established (and consequently prosecutions so rare) that it is difficult to find a modern appellate decision on the point. The older cases we have found justify the use of deadly force simply by reference to the severe physical and emotional consequences of rape and the woman's loss of both public and self-esteem. Most often these considerations are cloaked in flowery rhetoric.

But certainly the psychological injuries with which the old rape cases (stripped of their Victorian language and concepts) were concerned are still present when a woman is raped. Studies of rape victims have shown long-term

# NAM Perspective

It is March of 1978, only a decade since the contemporary women's movement began to achieve visibility and impact, and there is hardly a corner of the country (and increasingly of the earth) that hasn't felt the reverberations. It is March of 1978: soon enough to know that women's lives will never be the same, but too soon to tell how fundamental and far-reaching the changes will be.

The women's movement has been built in part on private pain and it has disappointed some of its participants because it has not produced greater personal happiness. It has been based largely among middle income women and it has disappointed some lower income and minority women because it has not reached out sufficiently to them. It has de-emphasized ideology and it has disappointed some on the left because it has little theoretical basis for its strategy or tactics.

The weaknesses of the women's movement are not simply its own weaknesses. They are among the paradoxes of its existence within a capitalist society that lacks a visible or authentic socialist movement. Feminism confronts male dominance and female inequality. It cannot be expected by itself to confront the social and economic arrangements that oppress men as well as women—and that cause some women to bear multiple exploitation.

Yet the movement is persistently pushed—simply by its emphasis on becoming a "majority" movement—to support goals that are anti-corporate and pro-working class. Even though the official platform at the Houston International Women's Year Conference featured Republican women and some more conservative leaders, the floor was peopled by scores of progressive women. And the conference endorsed such goals as full employment and a national health insurance program, as well as a broad range of feminist concerns.

Although the women's movement's stance of representing all women may prevent it from identifying itself as part of the left, this practical leftward tendency could be an important force for the development of a radical politics in America. But in order for this potential to be fully achieved, we need a strong socialist movement and an equally viable movement against racial oppression.

For it is only in the interaction—and indeed in some instances, the integration—of these different movements that it will be possible to elaborate a new social vision that really is committed to and capable of achieving a new order based on equality and freedom for all. And it is only through such interaction that it will be possible to work through the many conflicts of interest that will arise as long as these movements have to co-exist within a capitalist society.

Some feminists argue that the experiences of other socialist countries and the examples of other socialist movements

indicate that socialism is not in the interests of women and that there should not be a socialist movement.

We agree with many of the criticisms that they make but we disagree with the one-sidedness of their perceptions and with their conclusions.

A democratic socialist movement is required to challenge the profit system that shapes our economic life and our patterns of social development. History has shown that such a movement—or elements of it in the form of labor militancy or economic reforms—will continually grow up out of the concrete oppressive conditions that people face. The question is not whether there "should" be a socialist movement. Capitalists conditions suggest that there will be and human freedom demands that there must be.

The real question is whether that movement can be feminist as well—whether it can expand its consciousness and its activity to include a commitment to end the particular oppression of women—both by capitalist institutions and by men in general.

NAM believes that it can and must be. It can be because the changing realities in America require that any socialist movement that emerges be vitally concerned with women if it wants to be effective. Women are entering the workforce in record numbers and are beginning to develop a power base in the labor movement. Most basically the women's move-

ment and its issues have been established as central elements in any program that seriously addresses the personal alienation that so many people feel.

It must be feminist because the growth of a socialist movement requires a broad representation of the American people—rooted in the labor movement, but also including the many women and minorities (and other workers) who are outside those ranks. And it must be because the kind of socialism that we envision has to recognize the integration of problems on the job, social problems such as crime and delinquency, and personal problems in a complex web that requires a new kind of comprehensive political vision.

The socialist movement does not really exist as a working class movement in America today. Its lack is the most dramatic and crippling factor in our country's political life. We are a nation disillusioned with our own path, but without a sense of alternatives.

The women's movement has cracked the wall of silence that prevents discussion of some of the basic aspects of our social and economic arrangements. In this sense—and in many others—it has made a powerful contribution to the development of a left in America. It remains that any socialist movement that does become a political force must have a commitment to women's liberation at the heart of its politics.

—The Political Committee

---

*It is March of 1978: soon enough to know that women's lives will never be the same, but too soon to tell how fundamental and far-reaching the changes will be.*

---

# NAM News

**NO SHUTOFFS** There will be no gas or electricity shutoffs in the entire state of Maryland for a while, as a result of a successful campaign by the Public Power Coalition. **Port City NAM** (Baltimore) members are part of the coalition. The group, made up mostly of community organizations, began demonstrating at the Public Service Commission in January of this year, demanding an end to shutoffs. "It got so we were there every time they met," says Halli Lehrer, NAM member who works in the coalition.

On January 23 the commission issued a weak order requiring the utilities to file affidavits explaining why they cut off people's service. Public Power Coalition said that was not enough, and kept up pressure on the Commission and in the media. It sponsored press conferences with families who had their utilities shut off.

A few days later the State of Maryland released an audit saying the commission was inefficient at regulating utilities and took the utilities' word on too many questions.

On February 6, in the midst of a blizzard, the coalition received word that the Commission had "decided to give them the goddamn moratorium," until they could study other proposals and come up with a permanent policy. Coalition members believe the moratorium will last at least until the end of winter.

**INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY** Many NAM chapters are holding actions and celebrations on International Women's Day. **Los Angeles NAM**, in coalition with the Women's Building, Lesbian Feminists and several other groups, will have a candlelight vigil March 8 for women who have been victims of violence. The vigil will be followed by an indoor rally focusing on the history of International Women's Day and the movement to end violence against women. **Detroit NAM** is part of a coalition that will hold an afternoon fair on March 12. It will feature a history of Detroit women in struggle, entertainment by Detroit blues singers, and a children's guerilla theater troupe.

**Blazing Star NAM** (Chicago) is holding a concert on March 3 with feminist singers Holly Near and Bernice Reagon (of Sweet Honey in the Rock). **Chicago Southside NAM** is part of a coalition sponsoring a day of celebration at the University of Chicago March 8 which will include workshops, singing, movies, an exhibit of art by women, and a speaker from a union drive of clerical workers on campus. **Mad River NAM** (Dayton, Ohio) will hold a celebration for women with the films *Blow for Blow* and *Salt of the Earth* and working women's songs by a local women's chorus.

**NUCLEAR PROTEST** On January 23 a small explosion at a nuclear generating plant in Fort St. Vrain, Colorado released

hazardous nuclear material into the atmosphere. Fifteen workers at the plant who were contaminated were simply washed down with soap and water and sent back to work. Twenty-four hours later a picket line, called by **Boulder NAM**, was up around the Public Service Company's office in Boulder, 25 miles west of the plant. The 50-person line demanded that the plant be closed until the company can guarantee that there will be no more accidents. Other picketers included Cactus Alliance, Boulder Mobilization for Survival and University of Colorado World Citizens. The utility insisted the material had not contaminated the area and referred to the leak as an "unplanned release."

**OTHER CHOICES** "Other Voices, Other Choices: Commitments to Change" is the theme of a film/forum series sponsored by **Detroit NAM**. The six-month series includes the Detroit premiere of the film *Children of Labor*, a 1977 Academy Award nominee for best documentary, and *The Battle of Chile*. Speakers include Barbara Ehrenreich on "Feminism in the Age of the Cosmo Girl," Barry Commoner on energy, Stanley Aronowitz on work and leisure in the '70s, and Carol Collins on Southern Africa.

**WEEKEND SCHOOLS** NAM is holding weekend schools in seven cities in the next few months with the theme of Socialist Strategy. The schools are primarily for political education of members but a limited number of other activists may attend as space permits. Members of the Political Committee will be leading the schools and traveling in the areas where the schools are held. On February 24-25, the schools began, with Richard Healey and Marilyn Katz leading a session in Chicago and Judy MacLean, in Austin. MacLean traveled in Texas, meeting with people interested in joining NAM, for the following week. Healey will lead a school in Dayton, Ohio April 1-2. Katz will lead schools in Los Angeles (April 1-2) and Oakland, Cal. (April 8-9) and will travel for the weeks following the schools in the California area. MacLean will be traveling in Oregon and Washington May 8-19 and Colorado May 20-26, with schools in Seattle May 13-14 and Boulder May 20-21. In other recent travel by NAM leaders, Richard Healey met with chapters and interested groups on the East Coast in mid-February. And Dorothy Healey, former member of NAM's National Interim Committee, spoke at a forum in New York City on "Paths for the American Left."

**SLIDE SHOW** **Mad River NAM** (Dayton, Ohio) has produced a slideshow "South Africa: Freedom Rising." The show, which describes the situation in South Africa today and in the past, focussing on the liberation movements that struggle to change it, is available for rental from Mad River NAM.

# What is NAM?

The **New American Movement** is a nationwide 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.

**New American Movement**

**CONFERENCE** Willamette Valley NAM held a one-day conference on "Leftists in Labor Unions" in Eugene, Oregon February 26. The conference, which attracted many local workplace activists, focussed on exchanging ideas for organizing. A workshop on how to respond to union-busting and a preview of films for possible use by workplace organizers were also included.

## NAM chapter list

### Austin NAM

c/o McBryde  
2204 San Gabriel  
Austin, TX 78705

### Blazing Star NAM

P.O. Box 7892  
Chicago, IL 60680

### Boulder NAM

c/o Zarichney  
3305 E. Euclid Ave.  
Boulder, CO 80303

### Buffalo NAM

P.O. Box 404  
Buffalo, NY 14205

### Chicago Northside NAM

c/o NAM National Office  
3244 N. Clark  
Chicago, IL 60657

### Chico NAM

c/o Bob Potter  
104-A West 15th St.  
Chico, CA 95926

### Committee for Socialist Alternative NAM

c/o Rick & Sue Momeyer  
210 N. Bishop St.  
Oxford, OH 45056

### Detroit NAM

Box 32376  
Detroit, MI 48232

### East Bay NAM

6025 Shattuck Ave.  
Oakland, CA 94609

### Harriet Tubman NAM

c/o Briedenbach  
1317 Lucille Ave. #8  
Los Angeles, CA 90026

### Long Island NAM

P.O. Box 608  
Huntington, NY 11743

### LA. NAM #4

c/o John Hare  
655 S. Euclid Ave.  
Pasadena, CA 91106

### Madison NAM

P.O. Box 688  
Madison, WI 53701

### Mad River NAM

c/o Mericle  
321 Neal Ave.  
Dayton, OH 45405

### Middlesex NAM

P.O. Box 443  
Somerville, MA 02144

### Milwaukee NAM

c/o Robert Keim  
2649 N. Hackett #4  
Milwaukee, WI 53211

### Mother Jones NAM

P.O. Box 4182  
Springfield, IL 62703

### New York NAM

c/o Marv Gettleman  
110 W. 94th St.  
New York, NY 10025

### Philadelphia NAM

c/o Hamilton  
1501 Cherry St., #287  
Philadelphia, PA 19102

### Pittsburgh NAM

5420 Penn. Ave.  
Pittsburgh, PA 15206

### Port City NAM

P.O. Box 7213  
Baltimore, MD 21218

### Portland NAM

c/o Rhys Scholes  
1118 SE 20th St.  
Portland, OR 97214

### Red Cedar River NAM

c/o Jaquie Brown  
725 Westmoreland Ave.  
Lansing, MI 48915

### Riverside NAM

P.O. Box 55448  
Riverside, CA 92517

### St. Louis NAM

c/o Fox/Howes  
721 Interdrive  
University City, MO 63130

### San Diego NAM

P.O. Box 15635  
San Diego, CA 92115

### Santa Barbara NAM

c/o Davis  
2757 Foothill Rd.  
Santa Barbara, CA 93105

### Santa Cruz NAM

c/o Rotkin  
123 Liberty Ave.  
Santa Cruz, CA 95060

### Seattle NAM

c/o Frank Krasnowsky  
3117 E. Thomas  
Seattle, WA 98112

### Southern Oregon NAM

c/o Gaboury  
2080 Siskiyou #14  
Ashland, OR 97520

### Southside Chicago NAM

c/o Johnson  
5100 S. Ellis #2  
Chicago, IL 60615

### Willamette Valley NAM

c/o Dudman  
209 E. 30th St.  
Eugene, OR 97405

### Yellow Springs NAM

c/o Aaron Ezekiel  
115 Glen St.  
Yellow Springs, OH 45387

# Join!

## ... an activist organization for socialists

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

We're working for racial and sexual equality, better housing, decent health care. But what about **our** future? We too need a long range vision. As the corporate elite makes plans to preserve capitalism, we need to make plans to end it.

The **New American Movement** is a socialist organization that works for a better life in the present and a better world in the future. We're still young and small, with a long way to grow. But we believe that we can make a difference. And that you can, too. Join us.

- Here's \$15.00 for my first year's associate membership dues.
- Please send me more information on chapter and at-large membership.
- Enclosed is a contribution of


---

# Subscribe!

## ... to a socialist magazine for activists

**Moving On** is a magazine unique in its scope and perspective. Each month **Moving On** cover 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.

And it's 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. Subscribe today.

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

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