

Moving On

MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT



Teamster
reform:
long haul

sitcom women

Cambodia/
Vietnam

Small could
be beautiful

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MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

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Letters

Straight facts

I just finished looking over your November issue, and was quite impressed by it, especially the cover story—"Immigration Politics." Thanks for the straight facts! I'd been misled by the media previously.

I am using the information to show interested persons at a university, and I think the style of your articles would catch their eyes. Keep up the good reporting.

—Sally Westcott
Boulder, CO

Wrong approach

Your article advocating that women pack guns to combat rape ("Rape and gun laws—a second look," MOVING ON, March, 1978) takes the wrong approach. The widespread possession of private handguns in this country leads to more violence, not less. Rapists can carry guns, too. Stricter gun control can reduce the incidence of all violent crimes, rape included. That's the direction we should go in; not towards everyone, male and female, learning to be quick on the draw.

Rape is a complicated problem. Many things will be necessary to stop it, primarily ending our cultural equation of male sexuality with power over another. But please, no more guns.

—Bill Weston
—Kelly Rykeser
New York, NY

Lifetime big brotherism

The article by J.F. Bere ("Work humanization: the greening of capitalism," MOVING ON, February, 1978) was scary. Thanks for keeping us up on the more progressive capitalists' new strategies for control. I wonder, though. Can lifetime big brotherism by corporations really work for the entire workforce? Can you see Joseph Coors giving his employees a sabbatical or J.P. Stevens giving mill workers a seat on the board of directors? We also have years of old-fashioned capitalism ahead of us.

—Jody Kine
Lawrence, KS

Correction: In the March issue we incorrectly identified Mark Cohen as news director of radio station WYEP. He is news director of WYSO in Yellow Springs, Ohio.

A way out of the health care quagmire

by John Haer

Joanne Miller, a welfare recipient from Portland, Oregon, has to beg neighbors and passersby for rides to the hospital—ambulance services refuse to help. She and her severely asthmatic grandson are often turned away from crowded emergency rooms.

Kathy Gaiter and Yolanda Johansen, who work side by side in a Washington, D.C., office building, have more in common than their jobs: Ms. Gaiter accumulated a \$44,000 hospital bill for care of her premature baby; Ms. Johansen owes \$16,000 in hospital and nursing home charges for care of her elderly father.

Hannah Belson had to borrow \$100 from her cousin as downpayment to the hospital in Prestonburg, Kentucky, before they would operate on her 4-year-old son's appendicitis. She had to sign over her only income, a \$57 monthly Veteran's check, until the bill was paid.

These stories, excerpted from Washington testimony, bear witness that seeking help for sickness or injury in America today can often be deadly serious business. Many people by now are not surprised to hear such stories. They have had their own medical horrors to relate.

Abstracted from the very real lives of the victims, the statistics which sum up health care in the U.S. are an astonishing paradox. No other country spends as much on health, either per capita or in gross expenditures. In fiscal 1976, the total health bill was \$139.3 billion—8.6% of the Gross National Product. Total expenditures for fiscal 1977 are close to 181 billion. By 1979, the tab

may well reach a whopping 10% of the GNP. For all this money, our country ranks far behind other industrialized countries in such important health care indices as infant mortality, maternal mortality, and life expectancy. And it's getting worse—by these measurements, we're further behind than we were fifteen years ago.

Just about every reputable study of U.S. health care conducted under either private or governmental auspices concludes that we are underserved and over-billed. But that's not the whole story. The problems of accessibility, cost and quality of health services affect every citizen, but not equally.

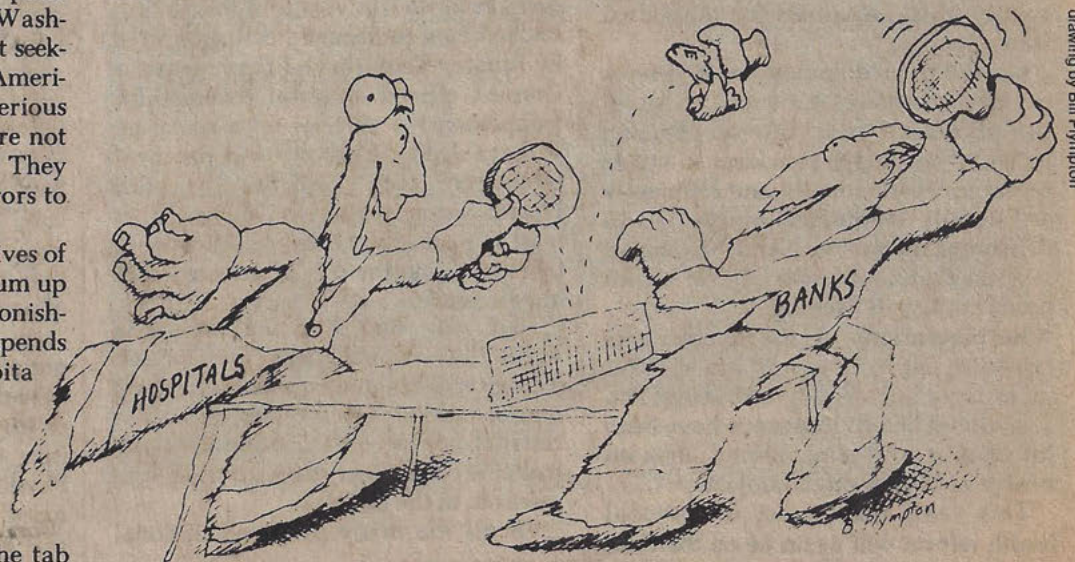
If you're a woman, you'll make more doctor visits than will a man, and your insurance premiums will be 150% higher. If you have a part-time or seasonal job, you may be one of the 17 million "working poor" people in America with no health insurance coverage at all, or

one of the 40 million persons with no coverage for either hospital or surgical expenses. If your income is low enough to qualify for medical assistance, you'll still have to search far and wide to find a doctor who will accept it for payment. Only half the doctors do.

Our health delivery and payment mechanisms are fraught with class bias and glaring inequities. Statistically speaking, a person's health status can be pretty directly correlated with their income. If you've got the money, you may be able to buy decent health care. If not, you take your chances in crowded clinics, "medicaid mills," emergency rooms, or suffer with no care at all.

Barbara and John Ehrenreich, in their book, *The American Health Empire*, convincingly argue that the maze of fragmented health services in America cannot adequately be described as a health care system, because there is little rationale to its overall organization. Resources and personnel are vastly maldistributed. We don't have a health care system, we have a sickness system.

Most health insurance policies will routinely pay for treatment of diseases, but reject bills for preventive health examinations. The health programs that would directly attack the causes of many sicknesses and diseases, such as de-leading of dwellings, rat eradication,



drawing by Bill Plympton

cleaning air and water, preventing tooth decay, lung cancer, and industrial accidents, are generally back-burner services, ranking in importance far below the health care administered in the doctor's office.

The only truly systematic aspect of health care services in the U.S. are the mechanisms to assure that payment for services will occur. This system has worked so well for the final recipients of the health care dollar—the drug industries, the equipment and supply companies, the surgeons—that their profit rates are among the highest in the country.

Rising Costs

America's health care crisis is more than ever assuming a mass character, chiefly because of its spiralling costs. Inflation in health costs has averaged 14% per year over the last decade. Higher costs mean higher insurance rates, more federal and state expenditures for Medicare and medical assistance, and more direct costs for health care consumers. Negotiations between employers and unions are increasingly stalemated over the problem of comprehensive health benefits. Governments are hard-put to come up with the tax revenues to pay for their health programs for the poor and the elderly. New health consumers face higher deductibles and increasing co-insurance provisions for purchased insurance.

Under the predominate fee-for-service payment mechanisms, there is no incentive to conserve costs. Overall planning bodies to encourage providers to utilize resources economically and efficiently are usually dominated by the health deliverers themselves. And preventive services that could help control health needs are simply lacking.

Reverberations of the health care crisis are felt in Congress. Since 1971, more major bills dealing with some form of national health insurance have been introduced, and reintroduced, than on nearly any other single subject.

This year, the subject of national health reform will again be on the Con-

gressional agenda. Senator Edward Kennedy has promised legislative hearings on national health insurance in July, and the President is committed to releasing the specifics of his plan in August.

Historically, the various bills for national health insurance proposed in Congress have by and large reflected the concerns of the organized special interest groups in the health care industry—the American Medical Association, the American Hospital Association, the Health Insurance Association of Amer-

If you've got the money, you may be able to buy decent health care. If not, you take your chances.

ica, etc.. Each has supported schemes to have some people more adequately insured to cover certain kinds of health needs, usually by means of extension of existing public and private mechanisms. Prior to last year, only the labor-backed Health Security Bill sponsored by Senator Kennedy and Representative Corman offered universal coverage for comprehensive services with no co-insurance deductibles, or direct payment by the consumer. Unlike the other bills, Health Security also would change, at least in part, the existing health system by eliminating the role of private insurance agencies.

Last year, Rep. Ron Dellums introduced the National Health Service Act, a proposal which also offers universal and comprehensive services, as well as restructures the organization and control of all health services, training, and research in the country.

Of all the many proposed national

health legislations, the Kennedy-Corman and the Dellums Bills hold the greatest promise of significant change. They provide a wide range of services to all U.S. residents, and both would, to different degrees, perform radical surgery on the current health care industry.

The Bills

In a nutshell, Kennedy-Corman nationalizes the health care budget and attempts to control the costs paid to health providers through the administration of all reimbursement. The Dellums Bill, in contrast, nationalizes health care services themselves, creating an entirely new publically owned and controlled socialized medical complex with guaranteed access for all people. Clearly, the Dellums Bill calls for a significant break from current health business as usual.

Under Kennedy-Corman, a Health Security Trust Fund, similar to the Social Security Trust Fund, would be established to pay for nearly all the health care costs of the nation's residents. There would be initial limitations on some services such as adult dental, psychiatric, skilled nursing home, and some drugs, but proponents contend that after the program is in place, savings over time will enable these services to be covered. Fifty percent of money for the Health Security Fund would come from taxes on personal wages and non-earned income (1% on the first \$25,000 per year), taxes employers must pay (3.5% of their gross payroll), and a 2.5% tax on self employment income. The other 50% for the Fund would be allocated from federal general revenues. The Health Security Program would supplant Medicare; Medicaid would remain to supplement the program, and most other public medical programs would not be affected.

In itself, Kennedy-Corman would not alter the current structure of health care providers. Ownership and control of the hospitals and other health facilities would remain in private hands. Physicians would not necessarily be salaried, although their fees would be a matter of negotiation. The bill's propon-

ents claim that through federal control of the health care dollar, considerable cost controls can be exerted.

These controls are embodied in the mandated nation-wide system of cost accounting and budgeting. Hospitals and other institutional providers would operate on an annual, predetermined, negotiated budget. Since providers are prohibited from charging the patient, this predetermined budget is the final word, summing up the payment in full for all delivered services.

Final approval for the negotiated budgets and determination of the reasonableness of proposed provider fees rests with a five-member national health insurance board, appointed by the President. The Board would make overall policy, and administer it through the HEW structure. The legislation also has provisions for a 21-member national advisory board, and local advisory boards are encouraged.

In contrast, under the Dellums Health Service Act, a new National Community Health Service (NCHS) would essentially control and operate existing and new health facilities. The NCHS would function on four levels: community, district, regional, and national. Each area of 20,000-50,000 population would elect a health council composed of two-thirds health consumers and one-third health workers. Community health councils would choose the membership of district councils and in the same way they would choose regional councils. The latter would select a 200-member national health council. Nationally, a cabinet-level department of health would implement its decisions, and various specialized agencies would set standards, conduct studies, control drugs, etc.. At the local level, the councils would run community health services, hire workers, determine health needs and develop budgets. District and regional councils would operate larger facilities—medical and other health schools—and would review budgets submitted from the level below. All workers would be salaried—no fee-for-service, no profit-

making.

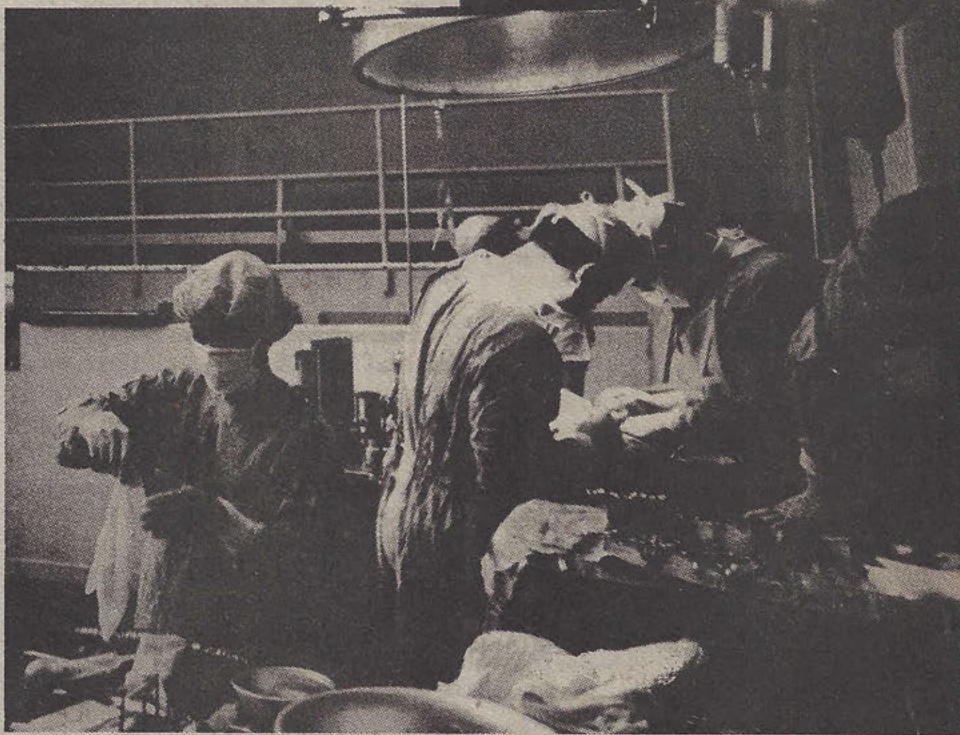
The NCHS would be financed by a steeply progressive tax on personal income, an employer wage tax of 4.5%, and allocation of all the state and federal funds currently spent for health. Advocates contend that the total system could be run at considerably less than the nation's current health bill because profits and excess fees would be eliminated. Money would flow to the various NCHS levels for the provision of health services on the basis of an annual, predetermined "allowance," determined by pre-established national per capita, geographical, and service-type criteria.

The Dellums Health Service Act is an impressive model that carefully articulates the vision of a popularly controlled socialized health system. The rights of patients and health workers are clearly enumerated. The special needs of women, the elderly, and racial minorities are taken into account. Preventive health measures and occupational safety and health are incorporated as essential health services.

In comparing the two pieces of legislation, it is clear that the Dellums Bill goes much further in actually confronting the problems in the current health

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**We don't have a
health care system,
we have a sickness
system.**



Chicago's Cook County Hospital, May 1971.

Cambodia-Vietnam border: a question of how to rebuild

1978 began with a border war between two socialist nations, Vietnam and Cambodia, a war that has the potential to further divide the communist nations of the world. The issue is a confusing one, with both sides charging the other with acts of aggression and torture. The following is excerpted from a recent interview with Lowell Finley, Co-director of the Southeast Asia Resource Center, over KPFA-FM in Berkeley, California. The interviewer was Peggy Stein.

Is the conflict a simple border dispute?

It's not a "simple" border dispute. There's a definite element in it of disagreement over which map to use and exactly where border markers should be. But behind it lies a long history of hostility between the two countries that goes back centuries—and of relations between the two communist movements in Cambodia and Vietnam.

There's also an element of conflict in the background between the Soviet Union and China. And there are some important ideological disagreements between the two Indochinese governments over the proper course of development in the region, involving some big economic issues.

But as far as the differences between Cambodia and Vietnam in their view of the proposed Indochina Federation, is this the main ideological difference, or is there more to it?

They have very different approaches to revolution. The Vietnamese are attempting something new in the history of communist movements: that is, an approach to development which plays off a lot of different forces in an effort to maintain independence for the country. They're willing to trade with Western transnational corporations; they want relations with the United States; and they also want to maintain relations with both China and the Soviet Union. Their approach, I think, is to balance off all these different forces so that they

won't become dependent on any one of them. By doing that, they can also develop their economy more rapidly with aid and investment from other countries.

The Cambodian Communist leadership has a different approach. They describe themselves as a "Great Leap Forward" communist movement. If anything, they identify themselves with that period of the Chinese revolution. They believe in a form of very extreme self-sufficiency, and in an absolute refusal to deal with the capitalist West. They insist that they not be forced into any sort of regional alliance which would compromise the purity of their development model. They favor a much more labor intensive form of development.

It is not a "simple" border dispute. Behind it lies a long history of hostilities...and of relations between the two communist movements...

The Cambodians have become convinced that the Vietnamese, the Lao, and the Thais are attempting to force them into regional economic ventures which would put them into debt with the World Bank and similar institutions.

Can you say more about these regional development plans and the economic disputes?

There have been charges that one side is trying to take rice from the other, but I think that's insignificant. The real issue is the future development of the Mekong River Delta and the entire Mekong basin—which comprises all of Cambodia, a large part of Thailand, Laos and the delta region of Vietnam. There's been

a plan put together by the United Nations over the last ten or fifteen years for a huge water control system, the hydroelectric generating plants, and flood control up and down the river; something like the Tennessee Valley Authority here in the U.S.. With the TVA there were a lot of fights between the different states over the impact the project would have on region and over who would benefit, who would suffer, and who would bear the cost. In this case, the conflict isn't between states but between different countries. One of them is a right-wing military government; two of them are very close socialist allies; and another one is a socialist state but very hostile to the other countries.

The Cambodians don't want to go for the highly capital intensive development of the river because they feel this would suck them into international debt in their dealings with the West. The Thais, the Lao, and the Vietnamese all seem ready to go ahead with the project. Part of the complication is that Thailand and Vietnam would be the major beneficiaries, while a lot of the actual hardship of the development—like the displacement of people as reservoirs are formed—would fall on the Cambodians. In an ideal situation, there would be a way to work this out and all would benefit from it. But given the very tense relations between the different countries, the Cambodians are refusing to even talk about it. And they may fear now that the Thais, the Lao and the Vietnamese may gang up on them and force them to participate. Because without Cambodian participation, the whole thing falls apart.

Another aspect which may be even more important is the control of the seabed and of offshore islands. The agreement which the Vietnamese and Cambodians have both accepted on the boundary going out into the ocean between the two countries is not a formal agreement on exploitation rights. The Law of the Sea Conference which has been going on for the past year is a whole new



Vietnamese women workers.

development in that the technology is only now reaching the point where they can exploit the seabed. There's never been such an agreement before. So the old boundary needs to be renegotiated. The Cambodians want to decide that unilaterally. They want to take this line that was established in 1939 by the French and say "That's the line." The Vietnamese want to talk about that. What's at stake are offshore oil, fishing rights, and all other aspects of economic control of the sea and sea floor.

What is the extent of the involvement of the Chinese and Soviets in the border dispute? How much aid are they actually giving?

I think that the image of this being a "proxy war"—Brezhnev said this at the beginning of January—is a false image.

There's no real evidence that either the Chinese or the Soviets are trying to back one side or the other to the hilt. In fact, the Chinese during the last few months of 1977 were trying to get the Vietnamese and the Cambodians to talk

and it appears that they were unable to convince the Cambodians. In that sense, this was a real diplomatic failure. Now I think both sides are trying to cool out the situation.

The Vietnamese claim that, since May, 1975, Cambodian forces have committed thousands of violations of Vietnamese territory—that they've killed and wounded thousands of civilians, "burned and plundered," etc.. What evidence is there for this?

The Vietnamese have released some very detailed accounts of Cambodian attacks. They released photos that were taken in the spring of 1977 in border areas which show villages destroyed and people dismembered and disemboweled, allegedly by Cambodian forces.

It's very difficult to really judge the charges that have come out. But we do know that some of the charges are blatantly false. The Cambodians have asserted that they've killed or put out of action 29,000 Vietnamese troops in the fighting of the last couple months, while losing only a few hundred of their own

troops. This is absolutely impossible. The Vietnamese have such complete military superiority, that if they had wanted to take over Cambodia—which is what the Cambodians charge are their intentions—they could have done it in 24 hours. The fact that they haven't shows that they have very limited military objectives: they either want to bring about negotiations to finally resolve the border conflicts and other longstanding problems between the two countries, or they want to keep the pressure on the current leadership in Cambodia, which they feel has gone too far in fomenting trouble between the two countries.

Cambodia charged that the Vietnamese armed forces have "fired machine guns at young and old people; it has burnt the houses of the population; it has robbed the cattle, poultry and estates of the population; it has ill-treated, raped and killed women."

There really is no way of judging this, although there are historical precedents. The North Vietnamese troops and the

National Liberation Front troops, when they achieved the final liberation of Saigon and the rest of Vietnam, were extremely disciplined and there were no reports of atrocities being committed against the civilian population: that includes areas of the South that were populated by ethnic Khmers (Cambodians). So there's not much historical reason to think that they would approach the conflict in that way.

On the other hand, there are such long-standing ethnic hostilities along the border between the two countries, and locally recruited troops could well have been taking out grudges from the past.



Mural in the main square on An Loc.

All through the war with the U.S., mercenary troops from both sides were used to slaughter people on the other side, which just made this whole ethnic hostility much worse.

The grievances between the two countries seem to be continuing.

The longer history of the whole conflict is extremely complex. There are long-standing hostilities between Cambodia and Vietnam, and also between Cambodia and Thailand. Over the centuries, a huge Cambodian empire was eaten away by the Vietnamese and the Thais, so that today Cambodia is a shadow of what it once was. Although the current leaders are Marxists, they still identify with that past and feel that there is a national glory that they want to recapture.

In the 'fifties and 'sixties when Cambodia first achieved its independence from France, Prince Sihanouk, the leader of the country at that time, established a policy of non-alignment and neutrality. The principal idea was to play off the U.S., China, the Soviet Union, North Vietnam and South Vietnam in such a way that Cambodia would be able to maintain its integrity and not be swallowed up. And in many ways the policy which is being followed now—this extreme fear of any encroachment on their borders—is a direct follow-up from Sihanouk's policy.

There's also a level of disagreement and feelings of treachery between the Cambodian and Vietnamese Communist parties which goes back quite a long time. In 1954, when the Geneva Peace Agreement dividing up north and south Vietnam was signed, the Cambodian Communists were asked by the Vietnamese and by the Soviet Union and China to agree to dissolve their organization and allow Prince Sihanouk to rule Cambodia. This was seen to be in the larger interests of the revolutionary struggle in all of Indochina. A lot of the leadership accepted this as the strategy. Some of them went underground; others went into exile in North Vietnam. But

some of the younger people—who are now in the leadership of Cambodia—felt that they had been abandoned.

Similar things happened through the 'sixties. They felt that Sihanouk was being backed by the Vietnamese while at the same time he was trying to root them out and destroy every socialist and communist in the country. Finally, the Cambodian leadership now feels that they were abandoned again in the Paris Peace Agreement; that the Vietnamese gave way to pressure from Kissinger to try to stop the war in Cambodia. The Vietnamese slowed down supplies to Cambodia with the result that the Cambodians were left open to massive attack by the U.S. Air Force with its B-52 bombing. So they have a lot of grievances with the Vietnamese and don't feel any reason to trust them.

The combination of all these forces comes together in a picture in their minds that they're being surrounded; that it's a "last ditch" fight and that they have to assert their complete autonomy from the Vietnamese.

It is important to recognize that the conflict is a result of colonialism and imperialism in the region. The borders that they are fighting over now were established by the French when they controlled Indochina as a colony. They were fairly arbitrary. They were for French interests and did not reflect where Vietnamese lived or Cambodians lived. In that case, too, the Cambodians have some grievances because the Vietnamese were favored in most of those border decisions by the French.

When the French and United States left, all of these rivalries came out again. They've been held back until now because there was no way to resolve them. So even if the situation isn't the same anymore, even if the Vietnamese aren't trying to take over Cambodia (which I think they're not), and even if they aren't trying to nibble away at the borders (which I think is unlikely), the Cambodians may very well still see it that way. And that's a real legacy of what the French and the U.S. did in the region.

Getting Together

UNO: using anger to gain neighborhood power

by Charles Belknap

Tuesday, February 28, 1978: the United Neighborhoods Organization (UNO) declares itself a powerful political entity which the Mayor and city council of Los Angeles can no longer ignore.

10:30 A.M.: The Preparations

The dry-runs for the day's meeting with Mayor Thomas Bradley really began the night before. Now fifteen community leaders, mostly Catholic priests, attend to the final details of the event. Several people are working on a poster entitled "Mayor Bradley's Ballot." The mayor will be asked six questions to which he can answer yes, no or maybe. "We were going to label the answers, 'yes, no, wishy-washy,'" says Fr. Roger Wood, the Episcopal rector of the Church of the Epiphany, "but last night we decided that that was going too far."

An almost giddy atmosphere charged by the sense of new-found power fills the large dingy parish hall. Only two

people refuse to be caught up in the spirit. Ed Chambers, president of the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) and Ernie Cortez, UNO's senior organizer who has worked hard to keep the leaders attentive to the task: forcing the mayor into a nonsense relationship for the betterment of the East Los Angeles community.

The issue is housing, and Mrs. Lydia Lopez, the chairwoman, practices her speech: "Mayor Bradley, this community has suffered disinvestment by the major institutions of the city. Mayor Bradley, did you know..."

Chambers interrupts. "Mayor Bradley." Do you know how that sounds? Much too friendly. He will start calling you Lydia. Call him 'Mr. Mayor.' He has to know that this is a formal business relationship."

In another room the panel is rehearsing the questions they will be asking the mayor. In the jargon of IAF the panelists are called "pinners"—they are to pin down the mayor by asking him questions in a yes or no fashion, so that the mayor can be asked, "Are you for us or

are you against us?" The panel has two priests. One, Fr. Pedro Villaroya of Our Lady of Talpa, is the chairman of the sponsoring committee which raised the money for the organizers. He practices his question dilligently. UNO is built on creative use of anger, and Cortez and Chambers are masters at it. The months of interviews with potential leaders which preceded the organizing effort were used to identify people who were committed to themselves, their families, their church, their neighborhood, and who are angry—angry at the conditions and blight and governmental neglect which they see about them. "Mr. Mayor, you are not answering my question," Fr. Villaroya is prompted angrily. "Say it!"

In the main hall several Catholic fathers and sisters are setting up. Children in school uniforms are washing the floor and correcting mistakes on mimeographed sheets. Outside, a five-inch rain storm is beginning. An old woman with a walker makes her way into the building and finds a seat.

By noon, 1,000 people are seated and more are coming in. The 1,000 are instructed in Spanish; the rest of the proceedings will be conducted in English.

1:02 P.M.: The Meeting

The mayor, caught on the freeway in the storm, calls to say he will be about 20 minutes late. On the stage, the panelists, chairwoman, and priest are in place. In the back of the room Ed Chambers, Ernie Cortez and Fr. Al Lopez huddle. Fr. Lopez and Sister Maribeth Larken bring messages from the strategists in the back of the room. The people up front do not know how late the mayor will be and they begin the meeting. A message is sent up front: "Stall."

With the invocation 1,200 people stand, cross themselves and respond, "Amen." The 20 parishes that make up UNO respond as the role is called. Each unit has a quota; for smaller parishes 50 people; large ones, 100 or more. People from each parish sit together as they might at a convention with an identifying sign. This is a very disciplined organization; not one leaflet was used to bring this crowd together. After ten minutes of stalling talk from the priests on the

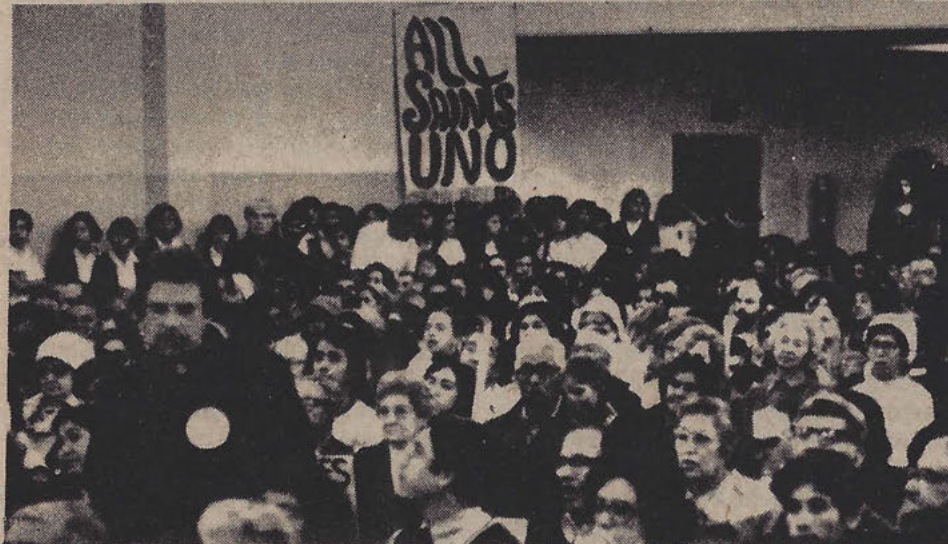


Photo by Charles Belknap

UNO crowd: the creative use of anger



Lydia Lopez quizzing Mayor Bradley

panel, Mrs. Lopez calls for the testimony.

As one of the testifiers steps up to the microphone and begins her report, the tall black mayor strides up the center aisle. Neatly dressed, he stands out from this group of mostly elderly Chicanos. Only a few clap for him and they are quickly hushed by the crowd. Mrs. Lopez instructs the testifier to continue her speech as Bradley climbs the stairs, walks over to the podium with his right hand outstretched. The chair, attentive to the testimony, keeps her right hand on the podium and gestures with the left to the seat the mayor is supposed to take. It is clear: the community business is not stopped for the mayor, and this meeting is not his political rally. The mayor is seated so that to confer with his aides he has to turn his back to the audience. A charge of electricity fills the room as a testifier angrily declares, "Mr. Mayor, I am speaking to you." The mayor spins around. "I hear you." No longer is there any sense of giddiness. Clearly, everyone is aware that the power drama is real. The mayor is informed that the meeting is open, democratic and like "Meet the Press," except it is called "Meet the Community." He will be given three minutes to respond to each question, and has the printed questions in the ballot form in front of him. He will be able to make a ten minute speech at the end. The third and fourth questions are the most significant: "Will you create a Housing Revitalization Program District for Boyle Heights where the leadership of the parishes and congregations will make up the majority of the policy-making members of the Board of Directors?" And "Will Mayor of Los Angeles agree to meet with

the leadership of UNO every 60 days to review the priority agenda items for the area of East/Northeast L.A.?"

The mayor, intimidated and argumentative at first, soon discovers that the UNO membership is eager to applaud him if he answers "yes." After some changing of language the mayor not only says yes to all six questions but bounds to his feet, pen in hand, to sign the ballot. Mrs. Lopez tells the mayor that she considers his signature on that sheet a contractual agreement with UNO. The mayor in his ten minutes apologizes for being late, speaks about his pleasure at seeing such active citizen involvement, and says that he wants to be the sort of mayor who deals with community problems before there is confrontation. The meeting is ended with several UNO cheers.

2:20 P.M.: The Venting Session

Several of the UNO leaders meet for a quick venting session after the crowd has left. One small elderly woman states, "The Mayor is a very tall man. Today is the first day that I have stood as tall as the Mayor."

6:00 P.M.: Evening News

The news shows the mayor winning a shouting match with the chairwoman.

7:30 P.M.: Debriefing

Ed Chambers runs the meeting. He flew in today from New York where he had orchestrated a similar community-mayor confrontation. Currently there are fifteen active IAF organizations with five more in the works, all over the country, except the deep South. All organizations are church-based.

Chambers says churches are committed to the neighborhoods and are not going away; churches form communities with the right values, and they already have established networks of leadership that can be used for a base of organization.

The de-briefing begins with a very critical evaluation of the day's event. Chambers seems little concerned that UNO has "won" and he cares little about feelings. Each mistake is magnified, each person is rated on a scale from one to ten. At one point the members seem reluctant to vote because they do not want to hurt a friend's feelings. "You can't abstain from voting," shouts Chambers. "Either you are for us or against us." Again, he uses anger. In a few minutes his rage subsides. The vote is taken again. The woman receives a seven, down from the original ten. Chambers believes he often takes the members and organizations more seriously than they take themselves. This was a show of respect, carried out without regard for conventional rules of politeness. According to IAF theory, it will be felt so strongly that it will raise UNO members' self-respect.

The television coverage is discussed. Chambers calls it a failure because the chair was not the primary focus of the news story. The question is asked, "Why did the TV stations show the mayor at his strongest point?" The group decides Bradley is allowed to be mayor by the "committee of twenty" (the major corporate heads of the city) because he is the one who keeps the natives in their places for the business community. They cite the mayor's comment that he wanted to deal with community problems before they became confrontations.

After deciding that the next step is to make the hierarchy of the church denominations take UNO seriously, Cortez dismisses the group with the comment that Bradley may think he handled the day's affairs well, but when he gets home tonight he will get a call from one of the big boys telling him he gave away too much.

Charles Belknap is curate of St. John's Episcopal church and Southern California NAM regional coordinator.

UNO: an activist is born

Ralph Munguia, 29, an Air Force veteran, has lived in Boyle Heights since he was two. He graduated from a local high school and married his "sweet heart." In 1972 Ralph bought a house and continued his active membership in Our Lady of Talpa Church. He had little respect for previous community organizing efforts in Boyle Heights, including those of La Raza Unida Party. The activity seemed pointless to him.

In October of 1976 Ernie Cortez, of the Industrial Areas Foundation, was told Ralph was a potential leader by his parish priest. Ralph, who works delivering CO² gas for his uncle's business, was discouraged about any possibility of political change. He was willing to meet with Cortez only because the priest recommended it. Munguia remained skeptical until the first UNO action, when several thousand people confronted the Commissioner of Insurance and formed a state-wide movement to stop the in-

surance companies from redlining the poor neighborhoods of Los Angeles. When asked what he has gotten out of UNO the first thing Ralph mentions is the fact that he saved \$100 this year on auto insurance.

Ralph's political education began with a training program for core leaders. The program began with the question, "What do you want out of life?" and "What do you want to do for yourself?" It is clear from Ralph's enthusiastic endorsement of UNO that he is discovering his own potential through the movement. He states that he never use to read but "Now I am really excited about reading." He began by reading *Rules for Radicals* and *Reveille for Radicals*, both guides to organizing by Saul Alinsky. He then read *All the President's Men* and is currently excited by Rollo May and a book entitled *When I Say No I Feel Guilty*.

Ralph, now more self-confident, do-



Photo by Charles Belknap

Ralph Munguia: reluctant leader

ing better at his job, and pleased that his children will see him being politically active, is also pleased that his parish is flourishing under the new wave of activity. When asked about the larger implications of the movement or the larger contradictions of the society that are unveiled by effective community organizing, Ralph quickly points out that UNO only gets involved in issues that are concrete and are "winable." "We recognize our limitations," he says.

—Charles Belknap

UNO: but where's it all going?

Twelve hundred people confront Mayor Tom Bradley on a rainy afternoon, in a time when few causes can draw a tenth that many to a meeting. The considerable resources of the Catholic church are used, not for some reactionary cause like fighting against abortion, but to hammer home the lesson that a group of twenty business leaders are calling the shots for the city. A man who lives in a neighborhood that has been not so benignly neglected speaks of new dignity as a human being through his activism. People in the neighborhood win something real, in this case, cheaper insurance coverage. This is the reality of United Neighborhoods Organization (UNO).

Those who disagree with the lead organizer are intimidated into silence. Turf wars with already established community groups rage; IAF sabotages their funding, raids their membership. Leaders are encouraged to blossom to the fullest—as long as they toe the IAF

line. A ruthless determination to draw certain political lessons, such as the one about Mayor Bradley's control by the group of twenty businessmen, is matched by refusal to ask the larger questions of who controls society as a whole. This, too, is the reality of UNO, and other such groups around the country sponsored by IAF.

Only in America could such a movement flower, committed to empowering the powerless, yet fiercely proud that it is non-ideological, and so never asks the big questions about power. IAF insists that the question of power exists beyond those of capitalism and socialism or even liberalism and conservatism.

Ask UNO for its views on the practice of insurance charging higher rates or cutting off coverage altogether in some neighborhoods they have deemed bad risks. You will get a trenchant political analysis. Ask about undocumented workers, many of whom live in the Chicano community UNO organizes. That is not

an "inductive" issue, they will explain, meaning that the issue is not in the self-interest of the entire community as UNO has defined it. For although many of the people who live in UNO's area are undocumented workers, many others are homeowners and citizens. And so UNO will not consider it. Issues that are not inductive require people to be bleeding hearts, instead of hard-nosed power seekers in their own self-interest. Part of IAF training is learning to detest bleeding hearts.

UNO and other like it show people that united action can work, and in the late seventies, this should not be lightly dismissed. The development of a socialist movement hinges on just this awareness, among millions of people. The hard-nosed, pragmatic, stick-to-the-issue cast of such groups means they will not take the lead in building a socialist movement. Yet for now they are some of the only institutions defending powerless people against the ravages our system doles out.

—The Editors

Long haul for Teamster reformers

by George Shaw



“There’s a real rank-and-file militancy on. If labor leaders don’t serve the members properly on grievances and other matters, they’ll soon feel their resentment.”

That’s what Teamster Business Agent John Morris from Philadelphia recently told the *Philadelphia Bulletin*. And Teamster officials around the country are beginning to feel that resentment.

In local union elections held in the last few months of 1977, incumbent officers were defeated in unusually large numbers, Teamster insiders report.

The election results were viewed with surprise and concern by top officials of the International. But dissident groups—Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) and the Professional Drivers Council (PROD)—are hailing the elections as one more sign of widespread rank-and-file discontent within the union.

Other signs include the dramatic growth of membership in PROD and TDU. Both groups are actively organizing local chapters in many states, holding large public meetings, and coordinating grass-roots campaigns for local union by-laws reform, better working conditions, and more aggressive representation by Teamster officials.

The reform movement in the Teamsters—as presently constituted—is only a few years old. But already it seems to have learned much from the experience of insurgent groups in other unions such as the Mine Workers and Steelworkers.

The obstacles it faces are considerable. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) is the largest and most powerful union in the country—and also the most undemocratic and corrupt.

Traditionally, both fear and apathy have kept the Teamster rank-and-file in check.

But now, fears of physical and economic reprisals against dissidents are gradually being overcome. And more and more Teamsters—particularly in the freight industry—are finding they

can no longer afford to be apathetic about the state of their union.

Teamsters in freight are essentially the victims of a big trade-off. In return for relatively high wage settlements and a free hand to mismanage Teamster pension and welfare funds, top IBT officials have given trucking companies almost unlimited control over the working conditions of 450,000 drivers, dock workers, and other employees covered by the union's National Master Freight Agreement (NMFA).

First negotiated by former IBT president Jimmy Hoffa in 1964, the NMFA is—ironically enough—the collective bargaining agreement Teamster officials are proudest of. Under this contract, over-the-road drivers employed by the nation's largest common carriers earn up to \$25,000-\$30,000 per year.

When the union organizes non-freight workers—who compose over 75% of its membership—it points to the NMFA. And when the IBT leadership negotiates a new freight contract every three years, the NMFA establishes a pattern for agreements in other major Teamster industries, such as warehousing.

Why is it that truck drivers with incomes higher than most other industrial workers are the main source of recruits for current Teamster reform efforts?

This question is answered every time a road driver climbs into the cab of a big eighteen-wheeler. Once behind the wheel, the trucker is treated like any other blue collar worker—and must work far longer hours than most to earn the pay.

Grueling Job

Long-haul trucking is and always has been a grueling job.

Interstate drivers are exempt from the mandatory overtime provisions of federal law and can be forced, under archaic safety regulations, to work up to 70 hours a week. And there are a host of other hazards—noise, fumes, constant jouncing, fatigue and highway accidents that kill hundreds of drivers every year.

Job safety and health problems like



Local 299 members show their support for TDU members Pete Camarata and Al Ferdnace when local officials attempted to expel them.

these—long ignored by industry, government, and the union—led some Teamster drivers in the early 1970's to seek help from Ralph Nader. A Nader-sponsored conference on truck safety was attended by several hundred Teamsters in 1971. It created Professional Drivers Council for Health and Safety (PROD).

PROD was slow to become a real membership organization, with grassroots participation and leadership. But in the Washington, D.C. world of lobbying and litigation, it accomplished a lot.

It helped force the creation of the IBT's own safety and health department in 1973 and constantly pushed for stronger enforcement of truck safety regulations administered by the Department of Transportation's Bureau of Motor Carrier Safety.

Between 1972 and 1975, PROD's membership increased from several hundred to almost 2,000. As it grew, it began to deal with other Teamster issues like the looting of the union's Central States Pension Fund and the erosion of the NMFA as a national contract providing uniform wages and conditions throughout the country.

PROD's successful legal defense of two Teamsters fired in safety disputes helped focus attention on the workings of the union's joint committee grievance procedure—a unique form of contractual grievance machinery opposed by many rank-and-filers because of its frequent rubber-stamping of company contract violations.

Concern about all these issues—safety, sweethearts, pension fund abuse, and joint committee sell-outs—fueled a major rank-and-file campaign conducted in 1975-76 under the name Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC).

TDC was launched in August, 1975, to win improvements in the 1976 NMFA. Initial TDC meetings, press conferences, and petition drives were organized primarily by members of the International Socialists (IS) who belonged to PROD and who had been working in Teamster jobs for several years.

They had grown increasingly impatient with PROD's almost exclusive focus on lobbying, lawsuits, and worker education. PROD was, at that time, still directed by its three-person professional staff in Washington and showed little movement in the direction of grassroots organizing or more democratic internal structures.

The TDC campaign utilized some PROD proposals for contract reform and, in addition, stressed the need for a "fighting grievance procedure" that would guarantee freight workers the right to strike. TDC activity culminated in a series of demonstrations around the country in March 1976, as the contract deadline approached and it helped force the IBT into a brief trucking shut-down.

TDC activists met later in 1976 to form an on-going national rank-and-file reform group—Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU).

By this time, however, IBT officials began to counter-attack. PROD had pub-



Fortune Magazine

James Hoffa

lished a much-publicized book on Teamster corruption and pension fund mismanagement shortly before the union's June, 1976, convention in Las Vegas.

IBT President Frank Fitzsimmons and other convention speakers launched into lengthy harangues against the reformers, who were represented by a single rank-and-file delegate from Detroit, TDU member Pete Camarata. Camarata's attempts to raise reform issues were overwhelmingly defeated on the convention floor and he was later beaten up at a party for delegates.

Red-baiting quickly became another major weapon the International used against PROD, TDU, and individual dissidents (only a few of whom were actually socialists).

To make matters worse, several PROD Washington staff members engaged in a brief anti-communist crusade of their own—claiming in various letters, press interviews, and a PROD newspaper article that TDU was dominated by the IS.

Hundreds of Teamster rank-and-filers, including some PROD members disagreed apparently—TDU's membership grew to 2,000 within a year of its founding convention. During the same period, PROD membership more than doubled and now stands at about 6,000.

Building on its organizing success in the TDC campaign, TDU began to develop more permanent local chapters—especially in Flint, Michigan, Detroit, the Bay Area, Los Angeles, and Western Pennsylvania. In the summer of 1977, PROD hired additional staff as

field organizers and soon followed suit. Its members and newly-formed local groups tend to be concentrated in smaller cities and rural areas of the South and Midwest, but also include a sizeable following of drivers in Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Atlanta.

Both TDU and PROD have recruited heavily among freight workers covered by contracts other than the NMFA—such as car-haulers and UPS employees. TDU has also made gains among warehouse workers and drivers in the grocery industry. And both groups have some members who are Teamster construction and factory workers.

Candidates belonging to PROD or TDU won election to local union office last year in several widely scattered locals in Washington, D.C., Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, and upstate New York. Other local union reformers in certain Michigan and Ohio locals ran a very close second.

In some cases, either the candidates or their rank-and-file supporters were members of both national reform groups. But the overlap in membership has not yet led to a marked improvement in official relations between the PROD and TDU (other than a cessation of red-baiting when new national staff members joined PROD last year).

A TDU proposal for joint activity involving the 1979 freight contract was recently rejected by PROD's elected national leadership body. The main objection within PROD was the presence of open socialists and communists within the ranks and leadership of the other group.

While IS members active in TDU have apparently won fairly widespread acceptance of their right to participate in Teamster reform activity—regardless of their views or affiliations—many PROD members, particularly in the South, are not yet as politically tolerant. Expressing themselves in strongly anti-communist terms, a significant number of PROD activists have threatened to quit the organization if there is any merger or other formal ties between the

two groups.

To some on the Left who are not involved in rank-and-file trade union work, this position may seem inexplicable in light of the very similar reform goals of PROD and TDU and the complete absence of any radical politics in TDU programs or publications.

But, the red-baiting and fear of "subversives" that persists among some segments of the PROD membership is a very real and troubling influence within the reform movement—just as it was in the Miners for Democracy (MFD) and the post-Boyle United Mine Workers under the "reform" administration of Arnold Miller.

Different Basis

Anti-Communism aside, the Teamster reform groups have developed on a very different organizational basis than the MFD and Ed Sadlowski's "Steelworkers Fight Back" (SFB) in the USWA.

Both the MFD and SFB were little more than loose networks of activists, campaign organizations with the overriding goal of electing reform slates to national union office. Win or lose, the Mineworker and Steelworker reform efforts didn't involve any on-going rank-and-file organization within the union with local chapters, formal membership, and regular dues income providing some degree of financial self-sufficiency.

National or regional electoral challenges are ruled out in the Teamsters by the very structure of the union. There is no referendum vote on International officers, as in the UMWA and USWA. And IBT vice-presidents who compose the union's General Executive Board are also elected at large at convention rather than by a particular segment of the membership in district or area conferences.

Teamster International conventions, in addition, are little more than meetings of full-time local union officials: Incumbent officers of Teamster locals get to go to conventions automatically and only a few, very large locals are able to send enough delegates to include a few

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Looking For America

Who's funny now?

by Jane Melnick

In the fifties and sixties many situation-comedy heroines were magical creatures: benign witches, subservient "genies," or flying nuns. One of the few ostensibly real life characters was Lucy of the "I Love Lucy" show, one of the most popular shows of all time.

The character of Lucy was not long on intelligence or competence, even though Lucille Ball may rank among the best comedienne ever on the stage or screen. I recently watched an "I Love Lucy" re-run to see the extent to which the humor turned on making fun of the character as a supposedly archetypically stupid woman.

The night I picked was a classic. Lucy

had just driven a car for one of the first times ever, and she reported to her sidekick and neighbor, played by Vivian Vance, that it all went just great "until I tried to do a U-turn in the Holland tunnel." With perfectly timed deadpan, Lucy says, "Well, no one told me anything was wrong with it." (Instant eruption of canned laughter.)

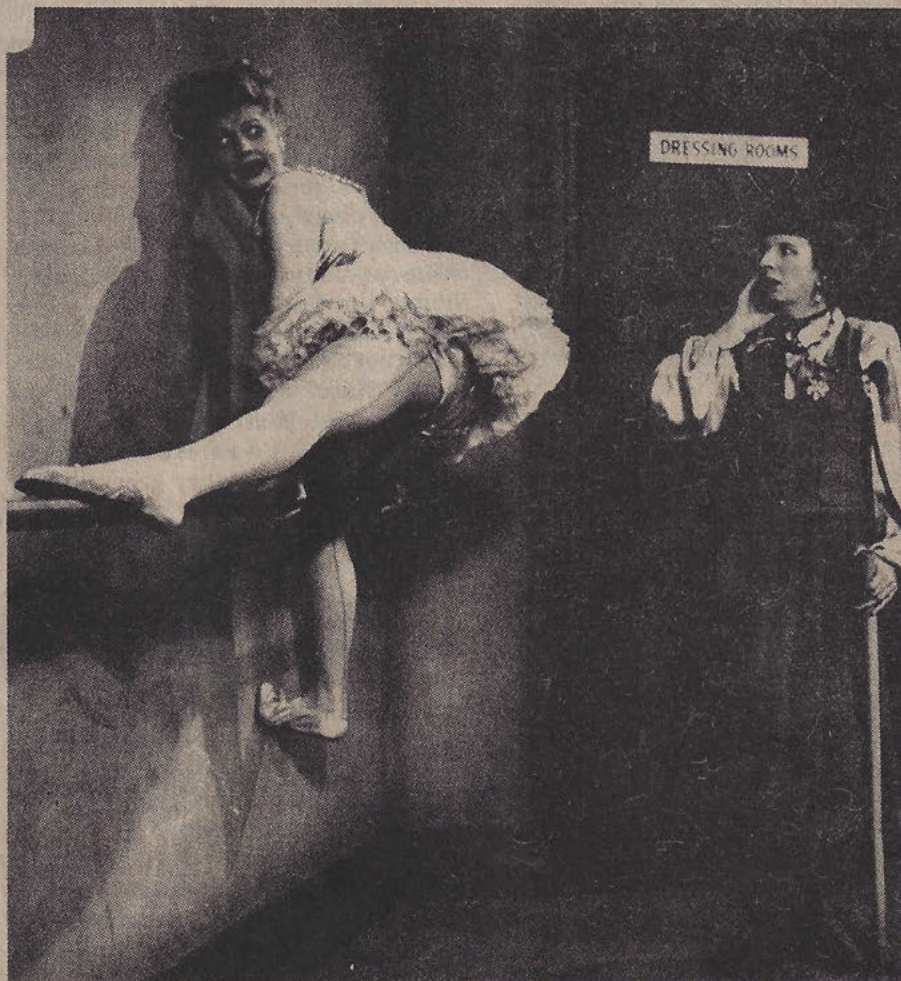
But the writers don't just leave it at that. They have Lucy try to teach Vivian how to drive. Lucy can't remem-

ber which is the brake and which is the clutch and their Pontiac hooks bumpers with an ancient Cadillac convertible; coincidentally owned by Lucy's husband, Ricky Ricardo.

After many similar calamities, Ricky finally appears. Lucy is in dread, but Ricky takes it more calmly than she had feared: he says he has insurance. Then Lucy remembers she was supposed to call the insurance company that day. Everyone freezes. Don't worry, says



Lucille Ball





Laverne and Shirley: spectre of class

Ricky. "You think I would trust Lucy to remember to call the insurance?"

Everything is basically going to be all right, the way it always is for Lucy, but of course only by miracles of husbandly protectiveness, or something similar, never her own doing.

There are still feelings that apparently have to get expressed. Ricky begins an infuriated tirade in Spanish, a clever way to allow the audience to imagine an even worse string of woman-hating abuse than would have been allowed over the air back then. He concludes, "All that could only happen to you."

She replies, in what struck me as strangely deliberate tones, "Yeah, stupid old me." I wondered if something was hard to say about that line, even for such a veteran of the dumb blond dialectic. When the credits come whizzing by, the audience is reminded that the actress Lucille is no so dumb, and is joint owner of Desilu productions.

New Trends

I suspect that everyone knows to some extent that TV sitcoms are neither great art, nor precise measures of the psychosocio-pulse of the nation. Woman-centered shows that do well in the ratings wars on TV, such as "Lucy" in the fifties and sixties, and now "Alice," "Laverne and Shirley," "One Day at a Time," "On Our Own," and "Rhoda," may capitalize on the lowest common denominator of "trends" such as extreme woman-hating (60s and, especially, the 50s) and moderate woman-refurbishing (70s). But

the trends have got to be real or the capitalizing would not work. The shows have to be speaking to something that is real: something people need to hear, for good or bad reasons.

I know of no show on the air now that turns so totally on making fun of the supposed stupidity of women as the "Lucy" show did. Edith Bunker is a "dingbat," of course, but she has many moments of impressive honesty (e.g., the time she wouldn't lie about which soap was better for a laundry commercial), common sense, and moral strength. A lot of the humor turns on how Archie is a much more ludicrous character, lovable perhaps, but not too bright.

The "Alice" show has a man, Mel, the harried small diner owner, who is always calling his waitresses things like "dingy chicks," but they generally get back at him by making clear what a clod he is and what a "crummy joint" his restaurant is. Their problems, many of which stem from single-womanhood and the difficulties of juggling trays, motherhood, and the odds against women in the sexual sweepstakes, are treated with realism and sympathy.

What is interesting about comparing contemporary women's sitcoms with "Lucy" and other sitcoms of the 50s and 60s is to note the ways the women are more real now and the extent to which their struggles for survival turn around a world of often predatory and/or stupid men. All the women are either widowed, divorced or single; all hope eventually to land Mr. Right, but, for

now, they are, indeed, on their own.

They all also work.

"The Mary Tyler Moore Show" was, of course, an original ice breaker in the new women shows. Mary Richards, its leading character, was not married, and even though she had an apartment that would be the envy of most any single working woman that ever lived, she did have real problems, and a real life. She even had a real role in her workplace, though it was mostly to exude sweetness and sympathy to the hardworking men, and pepper it with mild doses of integrity and career aspiration. The big butt of that show was Ted Baxter, who was an embodiment of the self-important calamitous jerk of which there is usually at least one in every office.

This year, five years after the Mary Tyler Moore trend took hold (and critics praised its greater "realism"), there are many single women shows. None of the women are as sweet as Mary was.

Less Saccharine

"Rhoda," Mary's spin-off, had enough tough New Yorker in her that the writers moved her back to New York. And though she is always anxious to meet men, Rhoda has certain standards. On a blind date, she ends up with a guy who tries to "sell" her on why she should go around with him. "I could buy you and sell you four times over. I'm rich, Rhoda, I'm rich; they fall all over me," he says gleefully, as he tried to get her to follow his stiff attempts at some new disco step. He bounces like a car with no springs. Rhoda walks out on him.

In "On Our Own," a new and very popular show, there is a woman named April, who talks in a weird, theatrical accent. Although her weirdness is a source of comedy, it usually comes out in her one-upping someone else, often as not, a man. Recently, a man in the advertising agency where April and the two leading single women characters work, asked April, "What would you do if my life depended on you 'relating to me sexually?'" (This and other sorts of sexual explicitness being what television is trying to substitute these days for violence.) April stares briefly at him through

her huge glasses, and says in a wan, throaty voice, "I'd look awfully good in black at the funeral."

More and more sit-coms are beginning to garner their laughs from this kind of female refusal to submit to male expectations.

The women in "On Our Own" joked one day about the kind of man who does things like "take you out on a date and want you to watch him drill holes in his bowling ball." I doubt if such a joke as this would ever have been made before we knew that we didn't have to spend our time that way. How many woman hours in twentieth century America have been spent on watching men change spark plugs, watching them shop around for the cheapest 6-pack, watching them pick up a suit at the dry cleaners, watching them sit around with other men and make sexist jokes, watching them practice newer, fancier basketball lay-ups, or other pressing matters?

"Laverne and Shirley" is one of this year's top ten shows in the ratings. The two main male characters are such creeps that they seem surreal, which of course has to do with their appeal, if appeal is the right word.

Nerds

The show comes to us through the oft-exploited time-warp of the fifties; Lenny and Squiggy (they are so named) are a cross between innocuous greasers and small boys who are about eight steps behind the girls. The actors who play them said in an interview in People magazine that they modeled them on men who were "nerds," whom they could not stand.

Lenny and Squiggy do useful things like trying to pull Laverne's broken tooth by connecting it by a string out the door to the back of their truck. (Laverne, used to such brilliance on their part, takes the string off her tooth and ties it to the garbage pail.)

As the only "steady" men in Laverne and Shirley's lives, they serve to dramatize all the more the young women's plight.

The spectre of class lurks within Shirley and Laverne's tolerant disdain for these characters, and their ever-ready interest in smoother men. Lenny and Squiggy are "going nowhere" in the race through the shark-infested cross-currents of upward mobility. Either they don't want to or don't know how to. So although they might have the frailest beginnings of non-competitive values, they cannot offer Laverne and Shirley the prospect of any kind of safe, seaworthy vessels at all—much less joint piloting—to stay afloat on those troubled waters.

On a recent show, Laverne and Shirley get blind dates with medical students. They get dressed up in their best, shoulderless, tight dresses, and ride the bus up from Milwaukee to Oshkosh. Shirley is especially thrilled because she is always dreaming of marrying someone like a doctor. The students take the girls' sexual blood pressure immediately, check out skin and proportions with clinical eyes, and seem to decide that Laverne and Shirley will do. They ask them up to "our place" for "one little drinkie."

Shirley says, "We can't; we're nice girls."

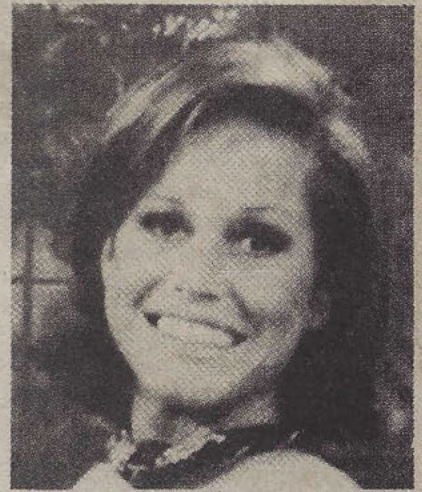
With the same medical efficiency, the students decide they have to go to the men's room, and then sneak off. So for the "nice girls," it was no date and, as it turned out, no bus back until the next morning.

Two hours later, as they try to sleep on the benches, Shirley says, "Well, goodbye, two story house and a dog..." "What kind a dog?" asks Laverne. "A collie," replies Shirley. "They always look good in station wagons... Laverne, I've got to stop dreaming."

The show has a giddy hysteria which the authors seems to think has to go with young women or the fifties, or both, which is sometimes hard to take. But, even so, it demonstrates more insight into the difficulty of being young, un-gifted, unmoneyed and female than we ever would have dreamed possible in the days of Lucy.

Women-centered sit-coms have run full cycle. The fulcrum of laughter has

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Mary Tyler Moore

The Long View

Small could be beautiful

by Jim Kendall and Robert Scott

In 1973 E.F. Schumacher, economist and long-time member of the British National Coal Board, published *Small Is Beautiful*, a text that has become the Little Red Book of a new movement for the development of "Appropriate Technology." The movement includes in its ranks the governor of California and a host of experts on energy development and the transfer of industrial technology to the developing world. And it recently invaded the White House, when the President and Secretary of Energy James Schlesinger referred to the development of "soft energy technologies," the latest incarnation of the appropriate technology movement. To analyse this new political phenomena it seems appropriate to return to its philosophical principles, as expressed in *Small Is Beautiful*.

Schumacher begins his book with a description of several problems that have evolved with large-scale industrial technology. Work has become something to avoid. Only 3.5% of all human time in modern society is spent on actual productive activity (the other 96.5% is spent in other ways, including sleeping, eating, watching television, doing jobs that are not directly productive). Most jobs have become dehumanized, eliminating the potential for most people to enjoy creative, productive labor. Modern technology harms the environment. Growing pollution will cause wide-scale, irreversible damage to the earth and will limit human ability to survive. Precious "natural capital" in the form of fossil energy is being rapidly consumed. Running out of these non-renewable resources will bring the modern productive machine to a

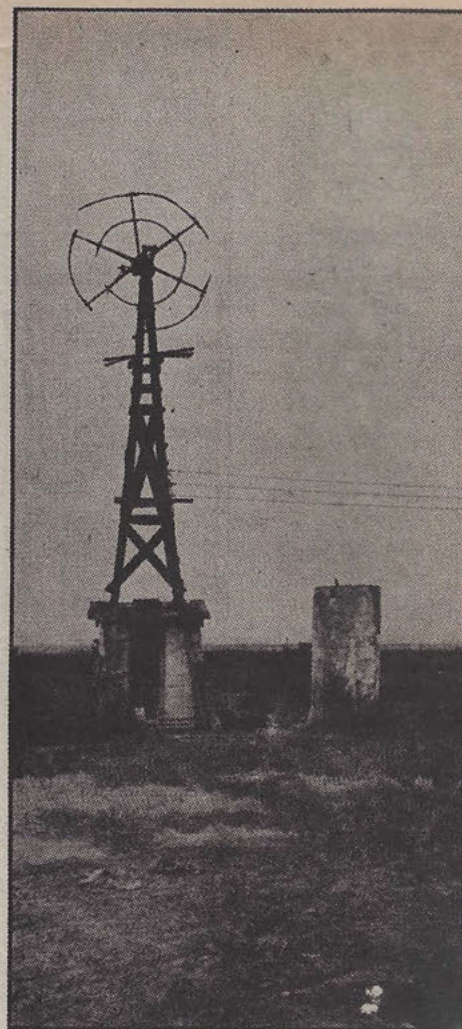
screeching halt. The use of nuclear energy to replace these energy sources will result in the release of vast amounts of radioactive waste, with terrible, unknown consequences for future generations.

Schumacher traces all these problems to a failure to appreciate the importance of metaphysics in economic decision-making processes. Metaphysics encompasses "our fundamental convictions" or values which guide the application of technology. Modern "man's" failure to nurture and appreciate humane values is the fundamental theme of *Small Is Beautiful*. Thus, the epilogue is an attack on the philosophy of materialism, which Schumacher sees as the prevailing "metaphysic" of modern technology. He closes with an appeal for a return to the four Christian virtues of Prudence, Justice, Fortitude and Temperance.

Schumacher is primarily concerned with developing a critique of the scale of modern technology. He feels that it is impossible for humane values to be expressed within the large corporate structures which dominate western economies. Schumacher tends to personify technology, as a metaphysic with its own internal dynamic force and direction. Yet to say that technology is responsible for the demise of satisfying work options is to ignore the real human decisions within a capitalist framework that have resulted in the design and use of that technology. This type of error, repeated elsewhere in *Small Is Beautiful*, is common in Schumacher's thinking.

Intermediate Technology

Schumacher makes a series of specific technological proposals, which he feels



will result in more humane technologies and uplifted moral development. These proposals involve the use of what he calls "intermediate technology." This concept is most clearly demonstrated in his attempts to apply it to problems of Third World development. Improving productivity in these countries is one of Schumacher's primary concerns. In 1965 he helped start the Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG) in London to implement some of his ideas. David Dickson, who writes for the *Radical Science Journal* in London, analysed the work of the ITDG in his book, *The Politics of Alternative Technology*. His description sheds much light on Appropriate (or Intermediate) Technology and its problems.

Intermediate technology is designed to both provide jobs and increase labor productivity in developing countries. This strategy is seen as an alternative to importation of high-technology, capital-intensive western industry such as petrochemical production. The four principles of intermediate technology are: Development should be in rural

areas to avoid urban crowding. Capital investment per job should be well below that for Western industry, but should allow for improved labor productivity over indigenous processes. Production techniques should be simple. Finally, production should emphasize finished goods for local consumption, using indigenous resources to avoid dependence on large export and import markets.

In practice, ITDG is active in agriculture, building, co-operatives, food, health, industry, power and water, and education and training. One case study provided by Dickson described a project in the Northern State of Nigeria. ITDG conducted an assessment of the education needs of building contractors there and organized seminars to provide the needed material. According to ITDG these meetings demonstrated that "the greatest need was for advice on management and business methods." Information kits were then developed in response to the assessment.

Clearly, this type of intermediate technology is directed more toward development of an indigenous class of capitalists than toward developing a humane technology. An ITDG brochure explains: "The group's special emphasis is on the commercial viability of all projects... the experience and know-how of established firms in industry and commerce is being mobilized to this end." Thus a fifth requirement for an intermediate technology has been added to Schumacher's list. The technology must be commercially successful in a capitalist economy.

This requirement strictly limits the number of approved technologies. More important, however, it clearly indicates that the Intermediate Technology Model is based on a decision making hierarchy that is controlled in the developed world. This would appear to contradict Schumacher's avowed interest in decentralized technologies. Schumacher's lofty ideals have been watered down in practice to become a new mask for con-

ventional policies of the Western development establishment.

What emerges from this outline is the gap between the theory and application of appropriate technology. The size of the gulf is clearly illustrated by Schumacher's only real-life example of application of his ideas in a developed country. He describes the history of the Scott Bader Corp. in the final chapter of his book. The 160 employees of this small firm have been gradually made owners of the business over the past 20 years. The plant continues to prosper and is designed to test certain elements of the Schumacher strategy. The size of the firm is strictly limited by its charter and it is required to give away a certain portion of its profits each year to charity. One of the most important principles of Schumacher's plan for business organization is that "the 'private' managers of existing business should... remain fully in charge." This principle was applied to the Scott Bader Corp.

Democratic Control

The problem with this approach is that it does not permit democratic control or social governance of the means of production. This lack of social control means that the metaphysical values Schumacher advocates, such as concern for future generations and reduction of pollution, will not be considered in the making of corporate policy. Scott Bader Corp. is a case in point. The firm produces plastic resins and plasticizers. This was the capital given to the workers. They have very few options for going into other kinds of work. Yet production of synthetic plastics is a technology which is fraught with environmental problems. It is energy and capital intensive. Relatively few jobs are produced per unit of output. It is now well established that many synthetic chemicals are significant toxic hazards. Certain plasticizers are known to cause cancer.

Schumacher cites the absence of strikes at Scott Bader as proof of the

success of his approach. This success is only a fleeting notion, since rapid technical changes, rising energy prices and the inherent tendency of the petrochemical industry to consolidate will very likely bring the experiment to an end. Unfortunately, it may not be the end of the effect of the experiment for the workers at the plant, who may suffer from the toxic effect of exposure to synthetic substances for years to come.

A more current version of Schumacher's philosophy has emerged in the person of Mr. Amory Lovins, the British representative of Friends of the Earth and author of a widely acclaimed article in *Foreign Affairs* on "Energy Strategy: the Road Not Taken." In this paper

Schumacher's solutions to the problems of the modern world ultimately lead nowhere if the logic of capitalism is not confronted.

Lovins divides U.S. energy options into "hard" and "soft" paths, which seem to be corollaries of inappropriate and appropriate technologies. Hard technologies are conventional fossil fuels and nuclear energy. The soft path is a transition to solar energy. The two are allegedly mutually exclusive.

On the surface, the soft path, and Lovins approach to the whole energy transition appears quite attractive. It is similar in many ways to Schumacher's description of a small society. Solar technology is allegedly inherently democratizing. It need not involve great changes in the structure of the economy. The transition can be gradual.

Once again, we find a significant difference between the principles and their

application as espoused by Lovins. He would implement the solar transition by raising the price of all energy forms to their true replacement cost, which means the world price of oil. In this way solar technology would be immediately cost competitive and everyone would rush to buy solar collectors for their homes and factories.

Or almost everyone, that is. Unfortunately the purchase of a solar collector is a capital expense and not everyone has access to capital. The poor will not be able to participate in the great solar rush. Poor families already spend almost one-fourth of their income on energy. Doubling the price of energy would force the poor to give up either food or housing.

Clearly the Lovins strategy does not get to the heart of America's energy problem, which can be traced once again to the need for some form of social control of production decisions. The transition to solar energy will require a well thought out strategy of staggered introduction of solar technologies, when and where they will save money. This will greatly reduce the burden on the poor. It is not, however, a market-oriented plan of development. Lovins claims that his strategy can proceed to successful completion under present U.S. capitalism. However, it's clear that it can't proceed without hurting some more than others.

Confronting Capitalism

The specific cases that we have described lead to an analysis of Schumacher and the appropriate technology movement which goes beyond the size and level of complexity of various industrial technologies. His analysis overlooks the political/economic aspects of modern technological development. Schumacher's proposals for social change ignore the fundamental power, if not the logic, of the profit system.

In industry Schumacher would make "production by the masses, rather than mass production" the ideal. He would limit the amount of capital invested per workplace to the annual earnings of an

able industrial worker. He hopes that these changes would raise production time from the current 3.5% of total social time to 20%. In rural areas, "instead of searching for means to accelerate the drift out of agriculture, we should be searching for policies to reconstruct rural culture, to open the land for the gainful occupation to larger numbers of people."



Raincoast

It is surprising to find that Schumacher, an economist, ignores the fundamental logic of the capitalist system, which constantly seeks to displace human labor with faster, larger, more efficient—and hence more profitable—machinery. The trend toward large-scale industrialized farming is part of the same drive for increased accumulation of capital and profits.

What Schumacher ignores are the economic and social changes that would be required to implement his proposals. He does not give fair recognition to the enormous resistance the capitalist sys-

tem would mount against such trends. From his thoroughly non-violent perspective, Schumacher assures us that, "The transition from the present system to the one proposed would present no serious difficulties." The capitalists would merely give the government stock, instead of taxes. Eventually the power of the corporations would pass into public hands, according to Schumacher.

To believe that this transition can occur without "serious difficulties" is to ignore history. Social welfare programs and high corporate taxes were won only after years of social struggle. Such reforms are, of course, far from social ownership.

Schumacher's solutions to the problems of the modern world—a dramatic increase in small-scale production and increased dispersion of population—ultimately lead nowhere, if the logic of capitalism is confronted. By failing to recognize that "bigness" is inherent in capitalist development and that capital will defend itself, Schumacher ignores the thousands of cooperatives and communitarian experiments that have failed in the past 130 years.

It is no doubt true that a socialist society in the United States or in other Western countries would favor use of decentralized technologies, as one element of a program of economic democracy. However, without certain fundamental changes in the basic form of our economic system, it will be impossible to develop a humane or appropriate technology. In the absence of such changes, appropriate technology will be shaped, as we have already seen, to meet the needs of those who now control the economies of the Western World. Thus, the danger of the appropriate technology movement is that it will lure well-meaning activists into supporting a system which, in practice, is the antithesis of those ideals.

Jim Kendall is a NAM member in St. Louis. He and Robert Scott are research associates at the Center for the Biology of Natural Systems.

Teamster reformers

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directly elected working members (such as Camarata from Detroit Local 299).

In the past few years, the IBT has come down very hard—with varying degrees of success—on reformers elected to office in several locals. It remains to be seen whether the reformers elected last year will survive in office and be able to function much differently than other local union officials.

Certainly, Teamster insurgencies in the past—most notably that led by a group called TURF—have foundered on the rocks of personal ambition and sell-outs by rank-and-file militants who became full-time union officers. There is also the possibility that the reform movement may grow in numbers and influence to the point where corrupt and mob-dominated elements of the IBT leadership will resort to the anti-dissident tactics of the late 1950's—bombings, beatings, and actual murder.

The physical elimination of Jimmy Hoffa, just as he was about to re-enter Teamster politics in a major way in 1976, indicates the seriousness of the stakes and the ruthlessness of Teamster-organized crime figures when confront-

ed with a real political challenge to their control over key union positions.

Contrary to the illusions of thousands of rank-and-filers, Hoffa's come-back would not have stemmed the tide of Teamster corruption or ended the union's servility to management in the freight industry. Nor will the federal government—as many members hope—"clean up" the union, either.

That job can only be done by the rank-and-file, step-by-step, from the bottom up, over the long haul. And it will be a long haul because the wealth and power that can be marshalled against the IBT's "miserable dissidents," as Fitzsimmons calls them, is staggering indeed.

Nothing short of a major social and economic upheaval involving the working class as a whole is likely to topple the Teamster bureaucrats who currently rule the union. Hopefully, the rank-and-file struggle against them and the employers they have allied themselves with will contribute to the radicalization necessary for such a development.

George Shaw is a NAM member and labor union activist.

NAM literature

Women Organizing: A socialist-feminist bulletin is now available. It is a resource for women engaged in feminist organizing and attempting to develop a socialist feminist strategy. Published by NAM's Socialist Feminist Commission. 75 cents single copy; \$3.00 per year for four issues.

Reproductive Rights Newsletter A new bulletin from NAM on abortion, sterilization abuse and other aspects of reproductive rights. 30 cents single copies.

Undocumented Workers: Are they the problem? A new NAM pamphlet analyses the history of migrant workers in this country, criticises Carter's policies, and proposes solutions. 60 cents single copies; 55 cents each for 10 or more.

After Dade County: Turning Defeat into Victory A new pamphlet on recent gay rights struggles from Blazing Star NAM. 25 cents each; 20 cents each for 10 or more.

Basic Marxism: What It Is and How To Use It. A 13 session course in Marxist theory and contemporary socialism. \$1.00; \$.85 for 10 or more.

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Who's funny?

from page 17

gone from the inept or completely unreal woman to the inept or insensitive man. The viewer in the Lucy days, even if female, was supposed to laugh at Lucy, or at least take comfort that she could never be quite as dumb as Lucy. Now, the viewer, even if male, is forced to enter the point of view of a woman trapped in the frantic mating rituals of a world full of nerds and wolves.

This may be an unfair and unrealistic way to portray men. Yet, one wonders, why are the shows so popular? In the *top ten*? Probably the nerds and wolves are extremes, just as Lucy was. Yet just as the Lucy show said something about what the country was thinking then about women, the nerds and wolves on the new sit-coms say something about what the country has given its men as role options. Furthermore, they say how wrong men are in many women's eyes to think that to "make it"—in any sense of the word—they have to be wolves, and that if they don't, they are nerds.

The television sit-coms have a long way to go before they could be considered accurate reflections of the lives of American women. But the growing trend toward greater respect for the intelligence of women and identification with their problems means that these shows can at least sometimes be watched without humiliation or anger. Even with all their flaws, they still provide a kind of mass consciousness raising whose impact can be felt in the typing pools, laundromats, and kitchens of our country.

Jane Melnick is a member of NAM in Chicago and a free-lancer in the graphic arts.

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NAM News

UMW SUPPORT NAM chapters, in the coalfields and outside of them, have actively supported striking coal miners. Members of **Middlesex NAM** (Boston area, Mass.) played a significant role in a rally organized there by the Mineworkers Support Committee March 12. Endorsed by dozens of union locals, the rally drew a crowd of 2,000. Several thousand dollars were raised at the rally, and several union locals pledged donations of up to \$1,000 each. Highlighting the rally were speeches by United Mine Workers Mason Caudill, president of a Kentucky local and Lou Antal, head of Western Pennsylvania's District 5, who explained the miner's opposition to the contract. The event was the biggest showing of labor solidarity in the Boston area in recent years, according to NAM members who helped organize it. Meanwhile, in the heart of the coal country, **Pittsburgh NAM** is part of a coalition, Pennsylvania Alliance for Jobs and Energy (PAJE) that linked labor and community groups in support of the strike. When Duquesne Light, the local electric company, mine operator, and longtime target of Pittsburgh NAM's organizing, asked for a surcharge to pay for scab coal, PAJE went into action. The coalition and other groups brought over 400 angry people to Public Utilities Commission hearings in February including miners, unionists, senior citizens, and members of neighborhood and consumer groups. Their testimony was unanimous: consumers should not pay extra for scab coal, and jobs should not be endangered by power cutbacks. PAJE stated that if Duquesne Light could just pass on higher coal prices, they would have no incentive to make a reasonable offer to the UMW. NAM members and miners gave testimony which included demands for public ownership and democratic control of the mines.



Photo by Ed Meek

ACADEMY AWARD *Union Maids*, a film about the experiences of three women who were rank and file organizers in the 1930's, has been nominated for an Academy Award for the Best Documentary Film of 1977. Two of its three creators, Julia Reichert and Jim Klein, are members of **Mad River NAM** in Dayton, Ohio. The chapter used the renewed interest in the filmmakers' hometown to support another labor struggle today. A special benefit showing for the UMW was held in Dayton March 25.

SOUTHERN AFRICA Several NAM chapters have been active in demonstrations and protests against the racist regimes in southern Africa. In February **Chicago Southside NAM** co-sponsored a rally at the University of Chicago and a picket at a Trustees meeting, demanding that the university divest itself of any stocks to companies with holdings in South Africa. True to form, the Trustees refused to meet with representatives from the groups demanding divestiture. The Southside chapter is also doing educational work, on campus and the nearby community, to explain the connection between the University's tolerance to racism in southern Africa, and its own forms of institutionalized racism in its domination and destruction of housing in the local community. In Oxford, OH, students at Miami University voted over 3-1 for divestiture. **Committee for Socialist Alternatives NAM** (the local chapter) played an active role in the campaign. Against those who argued that the function of U.S. businesses in S. Africa is largely beneficial, NAM member Richard Momeyer wrote in the campus paper that this notion was "grievously paternalistic, and that paternalism is but the ideological gloss on a system of control and domination that perpetuates the power of a few at the expense of the democratic rights of the many." The fight against the racist regime in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) is continuing. **Long Island NAM** (P.O. Box 608, Huntington, NY 11743), is collecting clothing and medicine to send to the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe.

PRO CHOICE FIGHT **Mad River NAM** members in Dayton, Ohio, have joined a statewide coalition opposing the latest action by Ohio abortion foes. The compulsory pregnancy forces recently forced the passage of an ordinance in Akron, Ohio, which prohibits women from having abortions unless they 1) have permission from husband/parents, 2) have been shown photos of and understand the developmental process of fetuses; 3) have been warned of physical dangers that may result from an abortion. Anti-abortion groups plan to lobby for similar legislation in other Ohio cities, as well as in other states. The coalition which includes NAM, NOW, Ohio Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, Planned Parenthood and others, is planning a statewide demonstration for April, along with lobbying and public education.

ROCKY FLATS Boulder NAM is helping coordinate a major anti-nuclear action at Rocky Flats, Colorado (20 miles outside Denver), April 29-30. The demonstration calls for stopping the manufacture of nuclear warheads, which are produced there. The action is expected to draw people from throughout the country and is being endorsed by American Friends Service Committee, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Mobilization for Survival, and many other groups. Nationally, NAM has endorsed the demonstration and sees it as an important action to challenge the growth of nuclear power and the monopolization of energy resources.

Health bills

from page 5

care "non-system" than does Kennedy-Corman. Because the Health Security program finances a human service rather than providing it directly, it cannot assure public control, predictability, or accountability.

On the other hand, the Dellums bill has little or no chance of passing, and very little chance of playing a significant role in Congressional debates. The real legislative fight will probably shape up between Kennedy-Corman and other bills which socialize high fees for providers, not quality medical care. The Kennedy-Corman legislation, as it is now written, does offer some significant advances from our current health quagmire. It would have considerable effect on the most blatant inequalities. Although it would not eliminate fee-for-service mechanisms, it would bring them under federal control, an arena more susceptible to popular pressure.

The two bills present socialists with a dilemma. One would establish a truly socialized health system, democratically controlled, that could benefit us all. But its real chances in Congressional wheeling and dealing are slight. The other, if amendments don't completely gut it, could be a real focus for struggle by labor, community, women's and other groups—a struggle that has a chance to win. Supporters of the Dellums bill say the left has underestimated the potential for a popular groundswell for socialized medicine, and that organizing that groundswell can have an impact on what Congress does. Kennedy-Corman supporters, on the other hand, say that socialists who push health service will isolate themselves from the real action, which will be around health insurance. Socialists should be among those fighting for change, not apart from them, they say. One thing, though, is clear. The health care crisis in our country will continue as long as the motivation for profit takes precedence over human needs.

Special thanks to Rick Kunnes, Chair of NAM's Health Commission, whose research and strategy, published in NAM Discussion Bulletin #21, were the foundation for this article.

John Haer is a member of Pittsburgh NAM and a staff member of the Service Employees International Union.

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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.

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