

Moving On

MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

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Letters

Nonviolence

Thanks for the good article on the power line struggle in Western Minnesota (MOVING ON, Feb., 1978).

My only complaint is that you failed to point out the significant role that non-violent strategic and tactical training has played in energizing the farmers into creative conflict within the past several months. All the local papers there have noted the importance of this phenomenon. It represents a significant coalition of former anti-war activists and local grassroots sentiment.

—David Albert

Movement for a New Society
Philadelphia, PA

Socialist Conference

This letter is to inform you that the Sixth Annual Western Socialist Social Sciences Conference will take place at Camp Min-aluta (near Nevada City), California, over Memorial Day weekend. The conference is not affiliated with any particular political group or tendency and all interested persons are invited to attend. This year's theme will be "Culture, New Social Movements, and Marxism."

Anyone who would like more information on the agenda or logistics can write: Union of Marxist Social Scientists, Box 5358, Berkeley, CA 94705.

—Jeremy Shapiro
Hollywood, CA

Health Care

I was glad to see John Haer's article on the issue of national health insurance vs. national health service in the April issue of MOVING ON. He provided a good description of the contents of the two major pieces of legislation that the left needs to analyze. But, as the conclusion of his article indicated, we put ourselves in a difficult position if we insist on choosing one and writing off the other.

The only "synthesis" really possible, given the factors that Haer outlines, is to work for both the NHS (Dellums Bill) and Kennedy-Corman, depending on local conditions. Maybe this is a kind of cop-out position. But we can't really turn

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Comment

The skilled trades — Privileged sector or oppressed minority?

It has long been the common wisdom on the American left that the skilled worker is the "aristocrat" of the labor movement, bought off by high wages and jealously guarding the white male club of the trade. We are printing the following article, not because it represents NAM's views on this issue, but because it questions certain assumptions that need to be re-examined and may therefore serve to further dialogue on this important issue.

by Charles Dewey

In 1967 my family and I visited Disneyland. We were attracted to a booth where an artist drew caricatures. My wife is a musician. She was represented with a large head and a tiny body, seated at a piano. The artist asked me what I did for a living. I told him that I was a tool and die maker. I received a drawing of myself with a big bag of money clutched in one hand, presumably hastening to the bank.

This popular image of tool and die makers was false in 1967. It is even less true today.

The situation of the skilled trades within the United Auto Workers is a case in point. It is extremely difficult to assess the situation of the skilled trades in the UAW. UAW contracts reflect a bewildering array of wage rates, and restrictive clauses that borders on chaos and defies description. This anarchy is not only tolerated, it is the product of a deliberate joint policy which helps to guarantee maximum profits for management and tight control of the membership by the union.

In Europe a worker's rates and benefits are union-wide. Some benefits, such as vacations and pensions, are universal and may even be guaranteed by law. In this country, however, the conditions of labor, even within the same

union, are often the outcome of shop by shop negotiations supposedly based on such considerations as shop size, type of work, the local economic environment and the aggressiveness of management and labor.

There are some exceptions. "Captive" shops in the UAW (Big 3 and large suppliers) share many similar provisions in their national contracts. At the same time, the local contracts of "captive" shops may vary widely and are supposed to reflect conditions peculiar to a particular plant.

UAW contracts in large corporations also vary according to industry. The agricultural implement companies, for instance, (John Deere, International Harvester, Caterpillar, etc.) generally have higher wages in both skilled and production categories than the auto plants. Ag-Imp's pension plans are far superior, with credits based on approximately \$18 per year of service compared with \$10.25 for auto. On the other hand, literally thousands of UAW shops, including tool and die shops and small parts suppliers, have either insignificant pension plans or none at all.

Other important contract features such as cost-of-living allowances (COL) are often absent in UAW contracts. In many small UAW shops where there is no minimum wage guaranteed by the contract, a new employee is in the position of having to negotiate his/her own rate at time of hire. The consequences of such contract provisions in periods of unemployment are easy to imagine!

We can see that the recent Essex Wire settlement, forced on workers in Indiana, is not as notorious as it appears. This contract, which increases wages of production workers to \$3.75 and skilled to \$5.02 per hour by 1980 and provides no pensions and no COL, is only one of the many UAW contracts

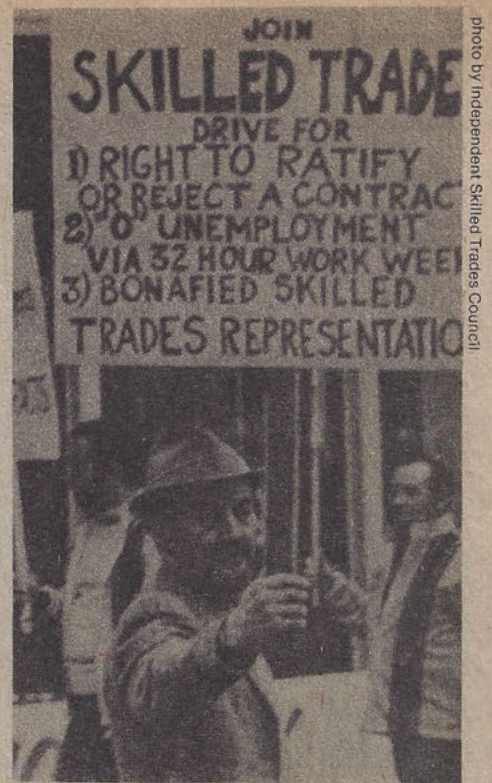


photo by Independent Skilled Trades Council

that puts the union label on scab wages and conditions.

Most of the automation, tools, dies, fixtures, and gauges required by auto, Ag-Imp, and Aerospace are built in job shops. Job shops are relatively small. A 25-person job shop is a medium sized shop. A shop employing 300 people is considered large. Job shops have been the traditional domain of highly skilled workers who received the highest compensation in the industry. No longer! A mass exodus to the "captive" or big shops has taken place. The attraction has been comparable wages coupled with vastly superior fringe benefits.

It's true that the top wages of some skilled tradespeople in Detroit job shops with the best contracts are around \$10 per hour, more or less. Wages of skilled tradespeople in the "Big 3" will be \$9.75 by September, 1978. However, wages of production employees in the auto shops will approach \$8 per hour at that time, and in addition they share substantial fringe benefits provided in Big 3 contracts.

Many UAW tool and die makers outside of the big auto shops would be happy just with the wage rates of unskilled auto workers. Because of their comparatively high pay and infinitely better benefits, the total compensation of unskilled workers in the "captive shops" is greater than that of the mass of UAW skilled tradespeople employed elsewhere. Unorganized skilled workers, except during boom periods, are

simply behind the economic 8-ball.

Those who subscribe to the "aristocrat of labor" theory should compare the skilled "aristocrats" and the unskilled "aristocrats" where they exist side by side, by wages, privileges, or prestige. These critics may even conclude that such an "aristocracy" doesn't even exist. In any case, they might refrain from making blanket condemnations of the skilled trades. Plucking a feather from a duck and scrutinizing it, however closely, tells you little about the duck. It's also a disservice to the duck!

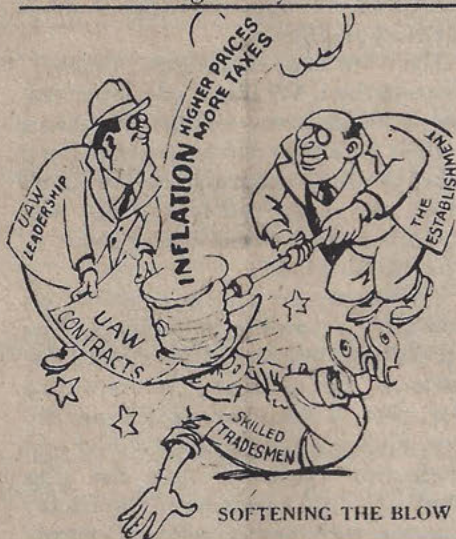
In the November 8, 1976, issue of *Baron's Business Weekly* an article appeared which discussed labor's "oppressed minority" and stated the case for the UAW skilled trades. The *Baron's* article mentioned the shrinking wage differentials between skilled and production as a major cause of dissatisfaction among skilled workers. One of the factors in the reduction of this differential is, as *Barron's* correctly states, "cost of living" money, which, distributed not as percentage increases but as flat across the board raises to skilled and production alike, has an equalizing effect.

Actually, skilled trades people have no quarrel with the wage gains of production workers which they regard as inadequate and a result of either inability or unwillingness to press their demands in strike actions. The bitterness of UAW skilled workers arises from the knowledge that their own struggles are being contained and smothered by an alliance of management and a UAW leadership that seeks to retard the advance of skilled tradespeople to the pace set by production workers. The shrinking wage differential is tangible evidence of the success of this policy.

Skilled tradespeople will agree that they are an "oppressed minority". It would be more correct to call this rather large minority (20% of the UAW) "exploited" rather than "oppressed". Skilled workers are well aware that the value which their labor adds to the products they make is greater than that added

by unskilled workers. Although they do not think of the intensity of exploitation as the magnitude which exists between the value they produce and the price they receive for their labor power, they nevertheless understand that they are being cheated.

While willing to concede that both skilled and unskilled are victims of the same conspiracy, they see themselves as the underdogs. They cite as confir-



Cartoon depicting their view of the plight of the skilled tradesman in *The Skilled Tradesman Newsletter*.

mation of this view the years of training at apprentice or trainees' pay, the feast or famine nature of the trade, the responsibilities and pressures for the exacting work, and the expensive tools they must buy. And they see the denial of the right to veto the contract as nothing more than a strike-breaking measure used against the skilled trades.

Unity between skilled and unskilled is an absolute necessity, just as is the unity of black and white, in order to bring about radical change and to achieve mutual goals.

However, division between skilled and production workers is deliberately encouraged and maintained by both union and management. Production workers often view their fellow union members as those "greedy skilled tradesmen". Official UAW documents obliquely refer

to skilled workers as a "selfish minority" and speak of this "very small minority" as seeking advantages at the expense of the great masses of members.

On the other hand, skilled tradespeople are convinced that production workers, because of their numbers, have more representation and therefore their demands receive more consideration, particularly at contract time, to the exclusion of skilled workers. Efforts at unity by rank and file organizations of both groups are blunted by UAW administration forces who use references such as "that black production caucus" or that "white skilled trades bunch", depending on their audience.

The divisive expressions "radicals", "dissidents", and "outsiders" have become epithets in the mouths of the top UAW leadership who conveniently forget that they themselves were once described in the same way by labor's enemies—and for the same purpose.

Taking Action

A skilled trades revolt in 1976, organized and led by the Independent Skilled Trades Council, a national organization of 10,000 UAW tradespeople, defeated the national Ford agreement for the first time in history. Although the skilled trades rejection was later circumvented by an arbitrary decision of the IEB, it caused a great deal of consternation and prompted the International to issue an edict claiming the right to reverse contract rejections and to limit strikes.

This declaration, issued as the "Joint Constitution and Resolution Committee Statement on Separate Ratification" at the '76 Convention, cites article 19, section 3 of the UAW Constitution as its authority. Its provisions apply to production and skilled alike.

During the token Ford strike of 1976 Company officials, who anticipated the trouble with skilled trades workers and doubted UAW's ability to handle it, offered more money for the skilled. This offer was rejected by Leonard Woodcock who was afraid that he would be forced to deal with a revolt among the

production workers.

The Ford offer is a testament to the organization and militancy of the skilled trades. The offer was reported by the *Wall Street Journal* and *Barron's*. Skilled tradespeople were first made aware of it by Ford foremen. These foremen encouraged them to hold out for more, since the salaries of supervision reflect the wage gains of skilled workers.

The advanced struggles of the skilled trades exposed and defeated some of the most cherished strike breaking tactics of the UAW's top bureaucrats. Ford Engineering, Local 245 was picketed and closed down with skilled trades leadership in defiance of orders by the International which claimed that the operations of the plant were "essential". Official UAW authorizations to cross Local 600 picket lines at the Rouge for "necessary maintenance" floated like confetti throughout the the Local and were available for the asking. Skilled trades pickets refused to recognize the authorizations, and several of their committeemen were threatened with suspension.

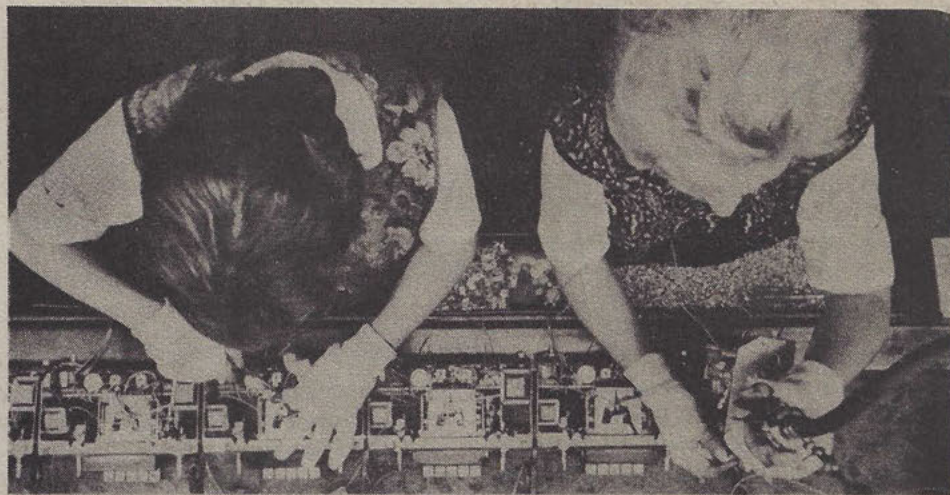
A skilled worker usually comes into industry with working class or at least trade union consciousness and is committed to a lifetime as an industrial worker on entering an apprenticeship or training program. Because he or she has no plans for escaping the shop, he or she is interested in improving conditions on the job. Therefore, he or she is likely to be a strong, loyal trade unionist.

Divisive, unprincipled attacks on skilled workers by the American left shows that it not only remains confused about the composition of the working class but that it even has difficulty in identifying the "main enemy."

The epithets, "labor aristocrats" and "white, racist skilled tradesmen" unfortunately have their origins on the left. Ideas that the skilled have been "bought off" and that any higher wages they might enjoy have been won at the expense of production workers are also inventions of the left. Wage differentials



This workers has one minute in which to insert the back seat of a car.



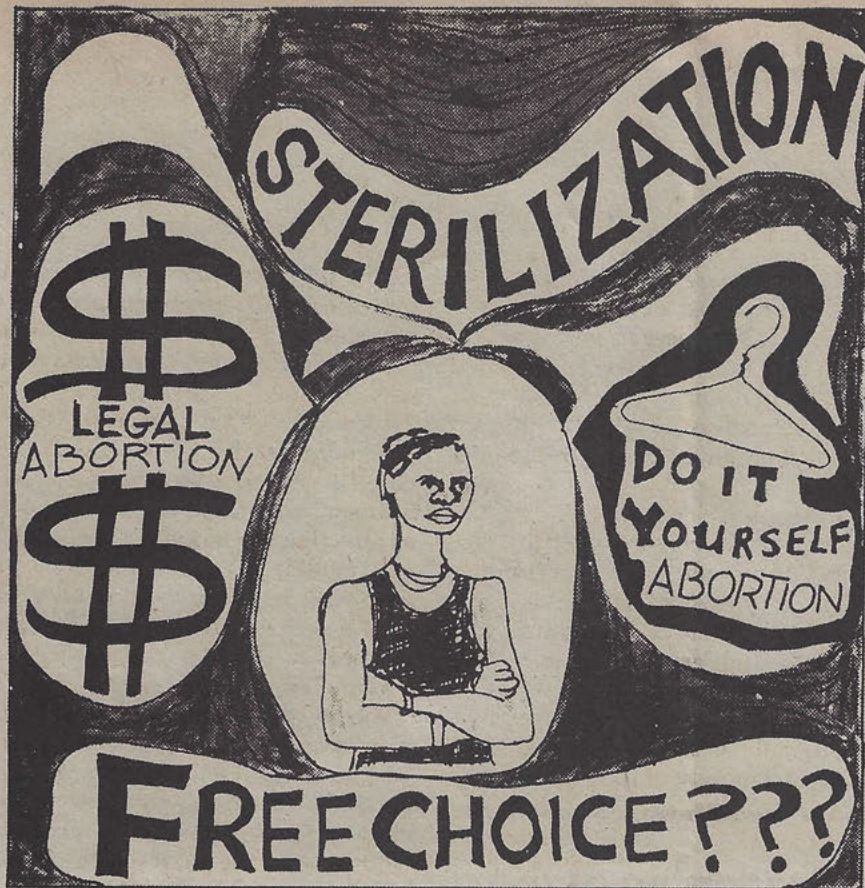
Workers assemble radios at the Motorola plant in Quincy, Illinois.

have been adequately explained by the labor theory of value and really require no further elaboration. The subject of racism among skilled workers would require another article, which would certainly revolve around apprenticeship programs. But, contrary to popular belief, skilled workers do not feel challenged by the black job competition that intensifies race hatred.

Working class unity is dependent on

a more thorough understanding of the actual conditions and role of the skilled trades in the American labor movement.

Charles Dewey is a skilled worker who, with time off for World War II, has spent 37 years in tool and die, beginning in the tool room at Packard Motor Car Co. in 1941. At 56 he is still working at his trade.



Anne Gibbons/L.S.

The small city with the big law

Akron's repressive anti-abortion ordinance is spurring similar efforts around the country

by Elayne Rapping

The anti-abortion movement in this country is unfortunately very much alive and far too well for our comfort. The passage, in Akron, Ohio, on Feb. 28th, of the most restrictive anti-abortion ordinance anywhere in the country, is only one dramatic example of what is in fact a well coordinated and funded national movement to deny the right to choose. The ultimate goals of this movement go beyond the question of women's rights to encompass a long range, historically unprecedented plan to undermine the democratic rights of all Americans through a Constitutional Convention which could result in a re-writing of the entire Constitution and

the Bill of Rights.

The Akron ordinance is, according to one Ohio Pro-Choice activist, so "punitive and sadistic toward women" that its enforcement will "create more mental health problems than you can shake a stick at."

It provides, among other things, that the recipient of an abortion have her husband or parents' consent and "have been orally informed by her attending physician of the following facts" and sign a consent form so indicating. The "facts" include these:

"That the unborn child is a human life at the moment of conception and that there has been described in detail the anatomical and physiological characteristics of the particular unborn child at the gestation point of develop-

ment...including but not limited to, appearance, mobility, tactile sensitivity, perception of response and pain, brain and heart functions, presence of internal organs and external members...

"That abortion is a major surgical procedure which can result in serious complications including hemorrhage, perforated uterus, infection, menstrual disturbance, sterility and miscarriage, and prematurity in subsequent pregnancies; and that abortion may leave essentially unaffected or may worsen existing psychological problems she may have and can result in severe emotional disturbances."

The ordinance also requires a 24-hour waiting period for abortion after the consent form is signed; and that the recipient be informed of existing agencies which provide aid in "alternative solutions to abortion." An original proposal to include pictures of unborn fetuses did not appear in the final version, through some stroke of luck for the many women undergoing what will already amount to psychological harassment of the most severe kind.

How did this reactionary bill find its way into law? The story is interesting and important for us to understand if we are to appreciate the ideological and organizational strength of the New Right in this country, and the importance of a serious and effective left response.

In 1976 a similar bill was introduced in the City Council by Akron anti-abortion forces, but failed to pass. However, by 1978, with the growing strength of the Right to Life movement, Councilman Ray Kapper, believed by many to have his eye on the mayor's office, sensed the political possibilities of pushing the issue again. Kapper contacted attorney Alan Segedi, who drafted the original bill, and asked him to draft another. Segedi, with the help of Marvin Weinberger and much aid from the powerful National Right to Life Committee (NRLC) in Washington, did that and more.

Weinberger, the driving force behind the local campaign, formed an organi-

zation called Citizens for Informed Consent (CIC), a splinter group of the Greater Akron Right to Life Society (GARLS) and began traveling through Ohio, and later elsewhere, publicizing the bill and trying to get it introduced in as many cities as possible. In fact, similar bills had already been passed in several small Ohio communities, with little public attention, before the Akron bill came up.

Weinberger is himself an intriguing figure whose name came up over and over again in researching this article. A 23-year-old freshman law school dropout, Weinberger is also widely believed to have political ambitions. In fact, this is not his first foray into national politics. In 1976, at the age of 21, he managed to organize and become co-director of the National Energy Forum which involved such prominent environmentalists as Barry Commoner. Weinberger is quick to identify himself as an orthodox Jew and claims that his anti-abortion sentiments grow directly from his family's experience in the Warsaw Ghetto during World War II.

But while the orthodox Jewish clergy, like most Akron clergy, proselytized for the bill from the pulpit and in parochial schools, it was the Catholic and Fundamentalist communities, which make up most of Akron's population, who gave it the most support.

Seven Council members are themselves Catholic and the Catholic Council of Bishops provided much financial support. According to research done by the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), the Catholic Church has contributed some \$500,000 to the national anti-abortion movement, and in Ohio alone local dioceses contributed nearly \$30,000 to local campaigns.

The police have also been extremely cooperative with the anti-choice forces. As Jane Hubbard, President of GARLS, proudly told me, "The police never once investigated anyone in the Right to Life movement concerning the recent firebombings of many Ohio abortion clinics. No one seems to know who performed these bombings, although Pro-Choice people believe the inflammatory

rhetoric of the clergy in supporting the Akron bill produced a climate of incipient violence. Weinberger, on the other hand, claims to believe the fire bombings were performed by the 'clinics' owners themselves in an attempt to discredit the Right to Life movement."

Motivations

Talking to women involved in the Right to Life movement was a disturbing but thought-provoking experience. GARLS has 600 members, mostly married couples. By and large, the women are housewives and mothers who see pro-abortion groups and the women's movement generally as an attack on the very meaning and purpose of their lives.

The leadership of the anti-choice movement is in the hands of men whose eyes are not so much on the local maternity ward as national politics.

Typical is Kay McLandrich, who asked to be identified as a "wife, mother and nurse," and is a member of Cleveland Right to Life, which brought 80 people to help in Akron. She had been a delegate to the International Women's Year Conference in Houston last November and was fearful and misunderstanding of what feminists wanted. She saw women's liberation as "an attack on the American family and the American way of life," which is, of course, her own way of life.

It is a serious problem that the women's movement has created fear in so many such women's minds and offered so few organizing forms to which they can relate. All the more so because the anti-abortion movement has not pre-

sented the same barriers. When asked how she got so actively involved in the movement, Jane Hubbard answered, "It was the first time we realized we *can* do something" to change society.

In other words, women in Right to Life organizations have developed a political consciousness and activist commitment around issues which they see as affecting them in their jobs as wives and mother. The ideology they have adopted is reactionary and anti-woman in the extreme; but the personal and political sentiments they express are real and important.

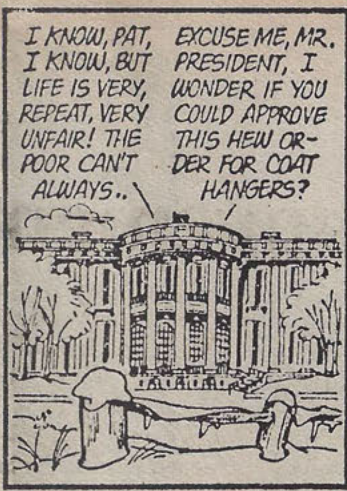
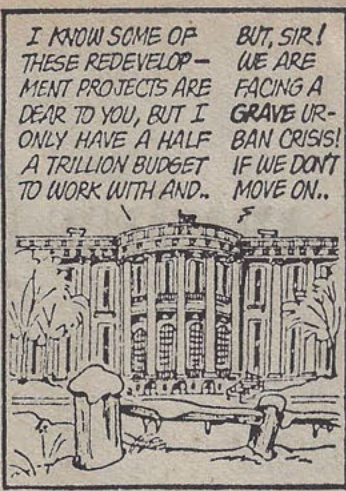
Akron itself is a primarily working class town whose largest industry is rubber. It is the home of both Goodyear and Firestone. But, while there is much working class support, from men and women, for the Akron anti-abortion bill, it is clear that the leadership of the movement is primarily in the hands of the bourgeois, politically ambitious men, whose eyes are not so much on the cute little babies in the local maternity ward, as on Washington and national power.

These men have a complex strategy involving vast local and national organizing, the end result of which may well be a Constitutional Convention to pass a "Human Life Amendment" which would effectively ban all abortions in the United States. Already 11 states have called for such a convention—previously unheard of in American history—and over \$900,000 has been raised to this end in a 15-month period. If two-thirds of the states make such calls, we will be faced with the possibility of re-writing the entire Constitution and even the Bill of Rights—the repressive implications of which go beyond any single issue.

There is also a related national campaign, which Ohio anti-choice forces are helping to coordinate, to support an even more extreme anti-abortion bill placed before Congress by Sen. Helms of North Carolina. The Helms bill, S.2614, would take existing, hard-won funds from Title 10 of the Public Health Services Bill, which now provides for conditions of long-term unemployment,

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DOONESBURY



family planning projects and information, and use them to establish agencies which would "counsel" women on "alternatives to abortion". It includes a provision for consent signatures to the same kind of religious and health statements as the Akron Bill, and increase the waiting time from one to two days after signature.

Big Plans

Meanwhile, CIC has already contracted councilmen in "Chicago, Louisville, Boston, Portland, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Newcastle, Pa., and South Euclid, Ohio; and state legislators in Oregon, Tennessee, Massachusetts, Missouri, Kentucky, and Minnesota", who are planning to, or have already introduced Akron-type ordinances in their cities and states.

According to a CIC press release by Weinberger, "We are witnessing the beginnings of a major national movement to reform abortion law...and we of CIC intend to ensure that [it] be successful. Therefore, we are now developing plans, in cooperation with the National Right to Life Committee, for the establishment of a national clearinghouse for legislative reform to be headquartered here in Akron."

According to Helen Mulholland, spokeswoman for the newly formed Freedom of Choice-Ohio, the Right to Lifers hope to convince the American people "that the anti-abortion position is so popular that national legislation will be passed."

Cheryl Swain, spokeswoman for the Akron Pro-Choice Coalition, feels that another aspect of the Right to Life strategy is to "keep pro-choice forces fighting until they give up." By going to local communities and forcing them to put energy into a million small strug-

gles, Right to Lifers believe they can destroy the already overworked and underfinanced pro-choice advocates.

This is not by any means what seems to be happening, though. Instead, feminists, civil libertarians and leftists have begun to get together to fight fire with fire. The newly formed Freedom of Choice-Ohio coalition, whose members include the American Civil Liberties Union, NARAL, NAM, NOW, Planned Parenthood, and the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, is the first such group to be formed. Based on what participants have learned from the Akron struggle, the coalition has two goals: 1) to develop a plan of action to help other communities fight such ordinances; and 2) to form a bank of resource people for similar purposes.

Some members of the coalition are critical of themselves as well as national pro-abortion organizations, and hope to correct previous errors. According to Janice Kohl, President of Akron NOW, the Akron movement erred in failing to "make contact with the Black community, with the working class or with welfare recipients." Swain also noted that national organizations from NOW to NARAL were ill-prepared to offer any help when contacted by Akron people. Only the ACLU, which has filed for an injunction to stop the ordinance, has been helpful.

Clearly, there is much to do and much to learn from what is happening in Ohio and spreading like wildfire across the rest of the country. First, we can not afford to dismiss the strength and seriousness of the New Right forces in this country. They have, not surprisingly, acquired much financial and professional help from right wing and church groups.

What is more surprising and disturbing, however, is the ideological and emotional issues they have seized on and claimed as their own—questions of human life, personal and family happiness, and even love.

"I am a person who believes in love," one Right to Life woman told me, and I believed her. These are the kinds of quality-of-life issues that socialists generally, and socialist-feminists in particular, claim for ourselves. Instead, all this concern for "human life" is being manipulated to focus on unborn fetuses, while the economic and emotional misery of most people in the world (including, of course, all women who want abortions) is never mentioned.

The male-dominated Right to Life movement has also, of course, managed to divide women against each other, and therefore, sap some of the potential strength of the women's movement. Many Ohio observers I spoke to believe that the women's movement has been seen as an increasing threat to men since Houston, and this is why so many men have become active in what is, after all, a women's issue.

On the positive side, it is the visible strength of the women's movement that brought this issue to center stage. And the decision in Akron has certainly mobilized progressive forces to unite and work together to combat reaction and anti-feminism generally. The battle has just begun and we will certainly be watching, thinking, and acting more seriously now. The New Right may not know it yet, but they are going to be getting a run for all their money.

Elayne Rapping is a member of NAM in Pittsburgh. She is active in a local anti-rape campaign and teaches in an area college.

NAM editorial

No nuke movement pushes for jobs

A series of actions dramatizing the link between nuclear weapons, nuclear power and the deteriorating quality of life for most Americans is taking place this month. Demonstrations that include civil disobedience are being held at three nuclear weapons facilities. In Rocky Flats, Colorado, where plutonium triggers for hydrogen bombs are made, NAM members have helped organize the action, which calls for ending the manufacture of weapons at the plant.

Similar actions take place at the Barnwell Nuclear Reprocessing Plant in South Carolina and at the Trident Nuclear Submarine Facility at Bangor, Washington. On May 27-29, demonstrations calling for disarmament will be held in San Francisco and New York, coinciding with the United Nations Session on Disarmament.

Later this summer, occupations of nuclear power plant sites are planned, including a reoccupation at Seabrook, New Hampshire, an action that drew 3,000 protesters last year.

Sponsored by the Mobilization for Survival and dozens of other groups, the actions represent a new poten-

tial for creative alliances. Defense spending currently accounts for 30 percent of the federal budget—money that could much better be spent on hospitals, schools, childcare, affirmative action programs—a whole variety of sorely needed services for human needs.

Nuclear power increasingly absorbs private capital; some economists predict it will consume 50 percent of all private U.S. capital by the mid-eighties if present trends continue. That's another large portion of our resources that's not going to meet human needs. And both nuclear weapons and nuclear power provide

fewer jobs per thousand dollars invested than almost another other use of the same money.

Opponents of nuclear weapons and power have often stressed the horrors of potential destruction from war or accident. Terrible as this possibility remains, it is time to face the fact that nuclear weapons and power are destroying our lives right now, too.

Those who've demanded funding for human needs have often been asked by cynical conservatives where they expect the money to come from. The anti-nuclear movement gives a clear answer:

transfer the funds from weapons/power to human needs and there will be more funds and more jobs, too. The Transfer Amendment, introduced into Congress, offers a first step in this direction.

We support the actions this month and their underlying political perspective. The drive for profits leads to more resources being used for destroying countries and smashing atoms than for rebuilding our cities. If the actions let more Americans know its possible to choose a future not threatened with nuclear overkill, they will do the job.



May Day, 1977, a local resident supports nuclear power protesters at Seabrook nuke site.

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Letters

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our backs on the opportunity for educational work presented by NHS. Nor can we afford to miss crucial links with the center-left political forces and the mainstream they represent by failing to work for Kennedy-Corman in the appropriate circumstances.

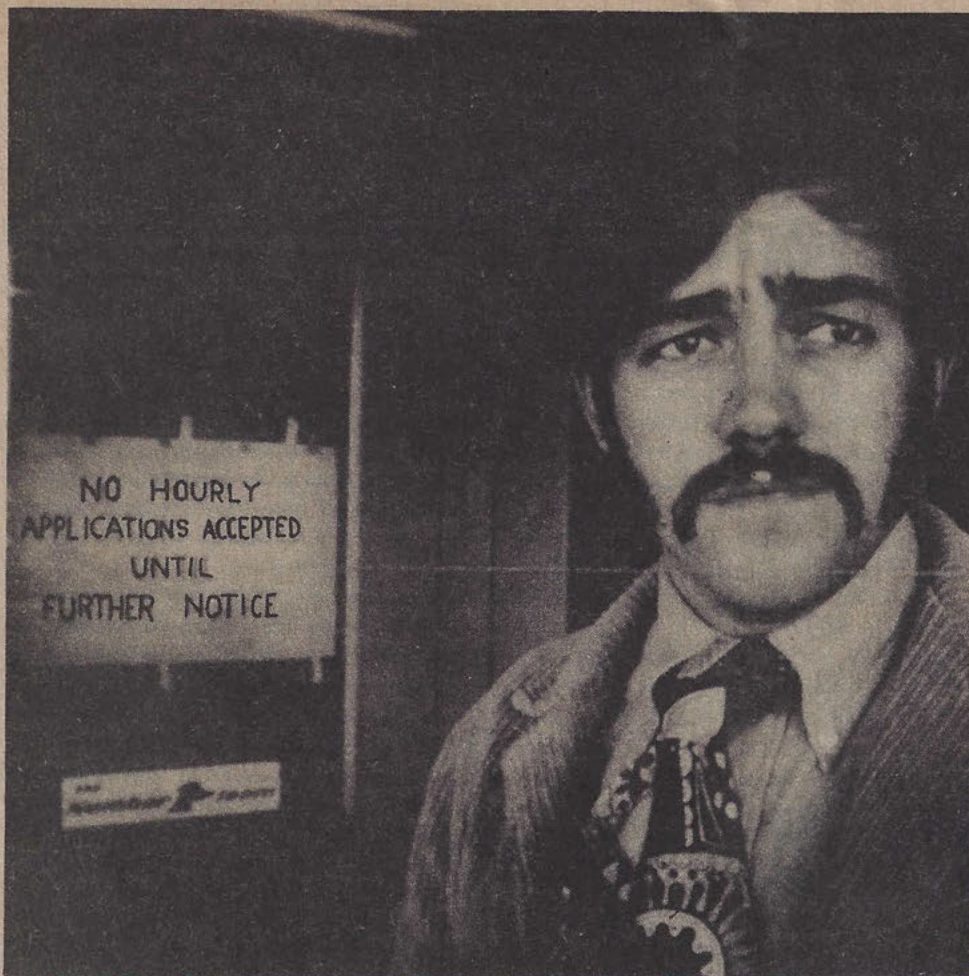
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Philadelphia — a jobs coalition that works

by Dennis Brunn

Since 1974 most American cities have had Depression level unemployment in the black community, and severe joblessness among white working people. Yet even in the hardest hit industrial centers of the Northeast mass joblessness has not produced a significant protest movement of the unemployed themselves.

Philadelphia's unemployed, who have sustained a protest organization which has won a number of victories over the past two years, may be an exception.

As unemployment rates escalated in Philadelphia during 1974 and 1975, two organizing efforts emerged among the unemployed. The Committee for Full Employment (CFE), initiated by activists from the Young Workers Liberation League, began a series of protests at the

unemployment offices. The CFE concentrated on direct organizing of the unemployed around demands for fair and rapid treatment by unemployment compensation staff, and around demands for extending and increasing benefits. The Philadelphia Unemployment Project (PUP), appealed to the same constituency and used a similar approach stressing treatment and economic benefits. In addition, PUP placed a strong emphasis on building ties with the Philadelphia labor movement. And it focused on strengthening the service aspect of the movement, primarily by researching and publicizing the rights of the unemployed within the unemployment compensation and welfare programs.

To underscore this service function as well as to attract small foundation, church, and labor support, PUP estab-

lished the United Labor Center for Unemployment Information as a separate entity. The distinction between the service center and the rest of the movement's activities allowed PUP to recruit a base of people and funding through its service arm, while still maintaining freedom to lobby, protest, and organize.

The success of both the CFE and PUP during 1974-1976 was due in some measure to the extensive technical assistance provided by the local Community Legal Services, a poverty law agency with a strong record of support for welfare recipients, low-income tenants, and minority issues. PUP also received significant support and legitimation from a number of local labor unions.

The labor support was by the emergence of a cluster of veteran trade unionists who were beginning to rally around the issue of full employment. The Delaware Valley United Labor Committee for Full Employment had developed from formal meetings of some 10-20 local labor leaders who were united in a commitment to a more active, socially-conscious movement.

With the help of the Delaware Valley Labor group, PUP established strong links with many unions, including the Retail Clerks, Graphic Arts, IUE, UE, SEIU, UAW, ACTWU, Federation of Telephone Workers, and the Hospital Workers. PUP's director, John Dodds, was himself an unemployed member of the Pennsylvania Social Services Union (PSSU) and he successfully appealed to that union for substantial help from the origins of the project.

A further factor aiding the organization of the unemployed in Philadelphia was support from a number of church and church-related groups. Although originally centered in the Protestant denominations, this support has become broader as the movement has developed.

By 1976, largely due to funding and staff problems, the Committee for Full Employment ceased operations. PUP took over CFE's "hotline to Harrisburg," a direct phone to the central office of the state's unemployment insurance system. The hotline, which had

been won through earlier pressure tactics of the unemployed, gave the movement added leverage when dealing with their grievances. Since 1976, PUP has continued to function *both* as a service and action agency of the jobless in the Philadelphia area.

Direct Action

While PUP has succeeded so far in developing a base of the unemployed, its growth as a movement has been slow. Actual membership had fluctuated between 50-100 people, and membership meetings have often drawn half those numbers. Nevertheless, repeated confrontations and lobbying actions of the unemployed have been successfully carried out, ongoing committees have produced a monthly newsletter, while others have researched legislative issues, and still others have regularly leafleted unemployment centers.

PUP's key strength has been its ability to periodically gather dozens of its members for "mass lobbying" before state and congressional legislators. Under PUP's leadership, many unemployed have learned how collective action can change legislators' votes and even, in some cases, make previously silent lawmakers become active on issues of benefit to the unemployed.

Last year PUP carried its "mass lobby" of the unemployed to Washington. With busloads of over 200 unemployed accompanied by supporters from labor and community groups, PUP opposed the cut in benefit weeks in unemployment insurance. PUP members were successful in swinging a number of votes—even though the final vote was insufficient to prevent the cutback.

Another organizational strength has been PUP's ability to sustain a strong, united membership of blacks and whites. The organization has built this unity during a time when a number of city-wide issues in Philadelphia have been dominated by racial conflict, tension, and white backlash.

A strong desire to have an impact on jobs-producing legislation (such as CETA programs), led PUP to call for

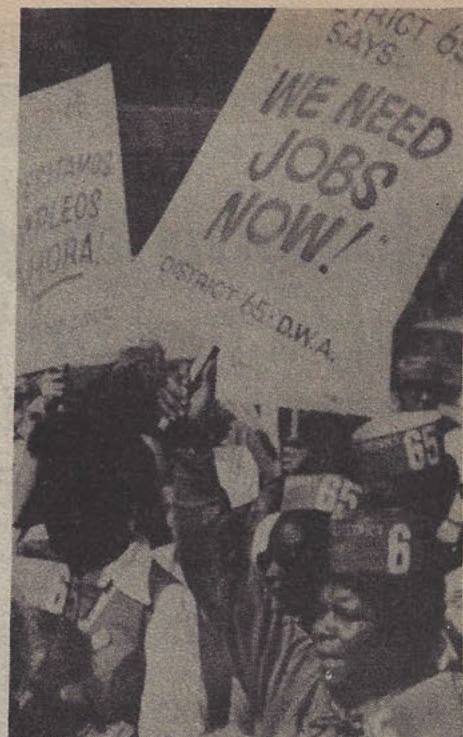
an area-wide Coalition for Jobs in December, 1977. The response from labor, neighborhood, minority and peace groups has been substantial: some 40 groups plus another 40 individuals have become Coalition members. They include: South Philadelphia Unemployment Project, (a recently established service agency, partly funded by CETA); the Philadelphia Urban League; and the Philadelphia Council of Neighborhood Organizations, an umbrella group of over 100 citizens' organizations from all areas of the city. The Coalition has stimulated even broader religious and labor participation.

The Coalition for Jobs is a broad action-oriented group demanding jobs—particularly in the public service sector which would have the most impact on the poor and low-income communities. PUP hopes to continue to strengthen the Coalition's ties to the black community, Hispanic groups, and to a number of women's groups oriented toward blue collar women and families. The group's initial focus has been on putting pressure on Congress for 1) four million new public jobs per year; 2) a doubling of the current CETA job slots. It sees passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill as a first step in this direction.

Left Participation

While initially energized by leftist organizers of various persuasions, the Philadelphia full employment movement now includes a wide radical-liberal spectrum. The mood of PUP and Coalition meetings is often very hostile to corporate power and runaway plants. There is considerable criticism of politicians who seem more concerned with pleasing business than responding to the needs of the unemployed and the sectors of organized labor that are not mobilizing for jobs.

On the other hand, unemployment is often traced to the failure of local politicians to insure continuing military



Full employment demonstration in New York City, Sept. 7, 1977.

contracts. The argument that "stopping foreign imports" would save thousands of local jobs in also frequently espoused by labor representatives in the Coalition.

In addition to this rather typical mix of working class attitudes, PUP and the Coalition include vocal advocates of the Transfer Resolution and many who respond positively to its idea of converting military-based industry to peaceful jobs, including urban development.

At present, however, the only explicit common goal of the movement is the *expansion of public sector jobs* with special emphasis on demanding the right to organize on such jobs and setting the wage at the prevailing union standards. PUP and Coalition activists have discouraged efforts, at least up to now, to formally link the Transfer concept with the main goal of more jobs.

The activist core of PUP and the Coalition share a commitment to developing mass action and movement among the unemployed themselves. There is frequent stress on the need for cooperative, united action among the unemployed and a conscious effort made to bring in and encourage new members, encourage leadership to support the expression of outrage over the intolerable

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Getting Together

St. Louis labor blues— “Right to work” forces are trying to make Missouri their “show me” state

by Bob Baugh

Missouri labor is in a state of crisis. Major anti-union Right to Work legislative attempts have been launched while non-union shops are springing up throughout the state. Employers are aggressively fighting labor at the bargaining table and on the shop floor. And these local struggles are beginning to take on nationwide significance. Missouri is rapidly becoming a major battleground for Labor and Capital.

It is as much a function of geography as anything that the “show me” state has become so pivotal an area. In its gentle rolling hills and tranquil rivers, East meets West and North meets South. The state, in particular St. Louis and Kansas City (yes, it's in Mo.), has a rich legacy of labor history and currently is the tenth most unionized state in the nation. Though there is a tradition of electing Democrats, they tend to be of a Republican flavor and the part-time State Legislature is rural-dominated and highly conservative. Missouri is the ideological and real home of Phyllis Schlafly who helps lead the Anti forces—anti-Panama Canal, anti-abortion, anti-ERA, anti-union, etc.... The conservative nature of the state's politics has not gone unnoticed and the forces behind the growing Right in this country intend to consolidate its position here via Right-to-Work laws. If this can be accomplished in Missouri, which is in essence a northern industrial state, it would be considered a major victory. The labor movement cannot afford to let this happen. But, to its dismay, the threat is very real.

The force behind the RTW legislation is the National Right-to-Work Committee based in Fairfax, Virginia. Formed

in 1954 by Fred Hartley, co-sponsor of the Taft-Hartley Act, and E.S. Dillard, president of the Old Dominion Box Company, the Committee sponsored ten attempts in the seven years following to pass RTW laws, and succeeded in two states. In 1961 Reed Larson was brought in from the Kansas Junior Chamber of Commerce to head the Committee in a reorganizational effort; he is still the head of it.

Until 1974, the NRTW Committee was only one of a number of relatively small issue-oriented right-wing groups. Between 1955 and 1975, the Committee sponsored 62 campaigns to institute RTW laws, with only two clear victories. Membership had grown from the original 35 to only 11,000 in 20 years. Their annual budget had hovered around \$500,000 since the late 50's.

Big Changes

In 1974, big changes started. That year, the Committee began a well-financed, high-powered direct mail campaign; it became the model for a resurgent Right. The mailings paid off with an average of 15,000 new members each month in 1974. That year, Reed Larson claimed a membership of 170,000. By 1975, the NRTWC claimed 300,000 dues-paying members and 450,000 interested supporters. Its budget mushroomed to \$3.5 million in 1974 and to over \$4.5 million in 1975.

The Committee now has a full-time staff in Washington of approximately 80, including 11 lawyers and two lobbyists. It burst into national prominence in 1976 when it sent out a 4 million piece mailing against the common situs picketing bill. The response was the largest flood of mail ever to hit Washington, D.C.. As a result President Ford

broke his promise, vetoed the bill and caused the resignation of his own Secretary of Labor, John Dunlop.

Within Congress the Committee has a cadre of support led by Jesse Helms of North Carolina and Orin Hatch of Utah. In addition, the Committee is closely linked with other right-wing groups. The “Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress” works with the RTW forces to identify and financially support anti-labor congressional candidates. Also there is plenty of money available from contemporary Robber Barons like Joseph Coors of beer fame.

Heady from recent victories in Louisiana and Arkansas, the NRTW Committee has selected Missouri as its target. A massive effort is underway to have a referendum on the issue in the fall. An attempt to push a law through the legislature was stopped in committee but at great cost to labor in terms of time, energy, money, and labor legislation dumped as a tradeoff. The real test will come with a vote, and that is where RTW has the advantage. They have a slick professional campaign, tricky slogans and a name that is totally misleading.

Right-to-Work has nothing to do with full employment or jobs. What it does do is attack a union's ability to organize. A RTW law literally takes away the right of a union to negotiate a union security clause. Such a clause means that anyone working in the shop covered by the union contract must pay their fair share of dues for the benefits and protection a union offers.

The RTW forces charge of “compulsory unionism” is deceitful. A union security clause is collectively bargained for and exists only if and when management agrees to it. A union can demand it only if its membership supports it. That is a very tough message to put across in a war of slogans and “Right-to-Work” is a tough act to follow.

Missouri is ripe for RTW. “The Missouri Corporate Planner”, the state's business guide, brags about the lack of unions outside the major urban areas. It tells companies to move to rural Mis-

souri and enjoy "the deemphasis of unionization", while paying one of the lowest corporate tax rates in the U.S.

In addition, the *Planner* points with pride to the low wages, low unemployment taxes and free plants built with municipal bonds in the outstate regions. Like a foreign country, Missouri is promoted for multinational corporations with low taxes, cheap labor, free plants and no unions. The results of this approach are readily apparent in a local labor struggle that has already cost 1,500 steelworkers a year's pay.

Strike-Breaking

If you happen to be in your local grocery on this Mayday stop for a moment and look at those refrigerated bins in the vegetable section. Chances are they were manufactured by the Hussman Refrigeration Co. It was one year ago Mayday that 1,500 members of United Steelworkers Local 13889 struck Hussman after contract negotiations broke down; they are still out. Today the plant is run by strikebreakers—a situation reflecting the inadequacy of current labor law and the seeming impotence of organized labor.

Last May, Hussman Refrigeration Co., a division of the diversified food conglomerate Pet Inc., decided to challenge the USW. Their "final offer" was intended to take away past contractual gains in areas such as grievance handling and job classification; and it would mean layoffs. This was an offer designed to fail, and the local voted it down overwhelmingly.

In June, Hussman began to move aggressively towards reopening the plant. Job advertisements were posted throughout the metropolitan area and a strong response came from the predominately black communities of north St. Louis and St. Louis County. Because of the lack of significant communication between the labor and the unemployed, little could be done to stop the tide of applicants for the jobs.

The strikers fought back with mass picketing. The company obtained an injunction against the pickets and nearly

a hundred were arrested. The arrests were followed by another demand from the company that the union settle and the workers return or be permanently fired. The threats were ignored and negotiations broken off. Attempts by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Services to bring the parties together also failed.

Instances of violence punctuated the long months of waiting. One striker was arrested for several bombings and turned state's evidence. A grand jury indicted two of the strike leaders on conspiracy charges.

Fighting Back

The International Union finally got into the act in late October. International Steelworkers president Lloyd McBride called for a nationwide boycott of all Hussman products and those of its parent company Pet Inc.. McBride said he believed the strike was "pre-determined by the company" and he termed their union-busting techniques "a moral outrage to all union members and their families." Unfortunately, the

follow-up on the boycott has been slow, though locally it has affected the sales at Pet's 9-0-5 liquor stores.

In court, the International faces charges of an illegal secondary boycott while its own unfair labor practice charges against the company were dismissed by the NLRB.

In February, the FMCS brought the parties together, including McBride's representative, Steelworker District 34 director Buddy Davis. The company demanded the union accept a package that obligated the union to represent more than a thousand scabs, while placing strikers on a preferential rehiring list to be recalled when, and if, vacancies occurred. "They told us", Buddy Davis said, "that there would be no vacancies in the foreseeable future."

The company also refused to reconsider the discharges of 86 union members for violating a court injunction against mass picketing. But, the real shocker was a brand new company proposal, elimination of the Union Shop provision — Hussman's own right-to-
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MAKING UNIONS UNNECESSARY

PROGRAM OUTLINE

- Management Commitment and Communication
- Setting the Non-Union Objective
- Gaining Commitment for Dealing with People Directly
- Communicating the Company Policy
- Basic Assumptions in Negotiation
- Overview of the Program

- Newsletters and Magazines
- Supervisory Style and the Language of Action
- Attitude Surveys—The System

HOW THE SEMINAR WILL WORK

Throughout the seminar, Dr. Hughes will present lecture material to provide each attendee with a step-by-step approach to making unions unnecessary. Ample time will be available for questions and answers and Dr. Hughes will be present at a late afternoon cocktail reception for informal discussions.

The seminar will be seated at round tables in groups of six to eight. Members of each table will compare and challenge each other regarding their companies' policies for maintaining non-union status, including: pay rates, communications programs; selection, promotion; health and safety procedures; grievance procedures; and other matters.

"Any management that gets a union deserves it—and they get the kind they deserve. No labor union has ever captured a group of employees without the full cooperation and encouragement of managers who create the need for unionization. Management language does not even have a positive word for operating non-union. The positive approach is MAKE UNIONS UNNECESSARY."

—Dr. Charles Hughes

EXECUTIVE ENTERPRISES, INC.
presents

Dr. Charles Hughes' newest seminar

MAKING UNIONS UNNECESSARY

Houston
October 6-7, 1977

Last year unions won 48% of the 8628 elections held. The management of 4146 more plants must now deal with a union because they did not develop and follow a specific program for making unions unnecessary.

Executive Enterprises, Inc. and Dr. Charles Hughes have developed a new seminar, "Making Unions Unnecessary," that will help you develop a comprehensive preventive program. This two-day seminar shows you how to:

- Communicate "up front" to employees that your company has a policy of operating union-free.
- Establish basic policies and programs that assure that your employees have positive attitudes toward the company.
- Eliminate those practices that make your company vulnerable to unionization.
- Simplify policies and programs so that employees get a clear understanding of the advantages of working for your non-unionized company.
- Understand the values and interests of various employee groups.
- Assure that your message stays alive and that your actions and those of every manager and supervisor are consistent with your message.

Dr. Charles Hughes is an alumnus of two of the most successful non-union companies in the country. After receiving his doctoral degree in industrial psychology, he began his career with IBM. Later, he spent ten years with Texas Instruments, specializing in personnel research and policy development. The basic tenets of "making unions unnecessary" that Dr. Hughes has developed are successfully being used by hundreds of companies throughout the country.

In a recent speech, Thomas A. Donahue, executive assistant to George Meany, blamed the inability of unions to win a greater share of union elections on men with briefcases that the union officials almost never see in action. He singled out Dr. Hughes as a leading example. Now you can receive the benefit of his experience.

Congress has legislation before it to make union organizing easier. If your company hopes to continue operating non-union, you must take positive steps now. The first step should be the attendance of your management team at the seminar. Register today.

Las Mujeres— Chicana artists come into their own

When two very important Texas art exhibits were held last year, the long-standing dual discrimination that confronts cultural workers who are both female and Mexican-American was sharply evident: only one Chicana artist was represented.

In order to challenge the barriers that keep Chicana artists from gaining recognition—and financial support—a group of women in Austin, Texas, have formed an organization committed to promoting “the creative expression, development, and advancement of Chicanas and Latinas in the visual arts through continuous identification, exposure, and community and educational services.”

Mujeres Artistas Del Suroeste (MAS), organized last September, has already sponsored four exhibitions of members’ work and is conducting art workshops in the local community. A slide registrar of women’s art is also being compiled.

One of the founding members of Las Mujeres notes that “Chicana artists have not received the recognition that men have and that’s why there is the connotation that we don’t have any women artists.” Santa Barraza concluded, “I’ve seen what has happened to so many Chicana artists because of racial and sexual discrimination. There must be a change.”

Bringing about that change is what MAS is all about.

This feature was prepared by Sylvia Orozco, a founding member of Mujeres Artistas Del Suroeste.



“The actual experience of creating is very important to me, but I am realizing that it is not enough to just paint. The work has to say something more—although it does not have to be obvious; it may be a hidden message at certain times.

“‘Chicana Feminist’ is successful in that it contains a part of me. There is a message there but it is hidden thus making it different and more profound.”

— Nora Dodson Gonzales



"My photography is primarily documentary; the people and the situations in my pictures reflect the Mexican culture and the socio-economic problems that confront them here in Texas, e.g., the struggle of the Texas Farm Workers.

"Being Chicana, I am concerned about my people—and I want to communicate nuestra lucha, cultura y nuestra gente to others. . ."

—Maria Flores

Looking For America



"My art was mainly influenced from my trips to Mexico where I saw much of the weaving and pottery de los indios, and from my husband who is also a Chicano artist.

"'El Ojo de Dio' started out as a cortina with no planned design; the design just happened as I continued stitching. The colored threads that I love seem to take their own shape.

"I want my work to be free and to look handmade and natural like the Indians of Mexico that create beautiful tejidos without using a fancy bought loom."

—Modesta Trevino



Musicians and singers are also members of MAS and they have provided links between different cultural forms by performing at the opening receptions for MAS-sponsored art exhibits. Diana Mutos, Magaby Jimenez, and Junis Palm entertained audience opening night at Garcia's Gallery in San Antonio.



"I was brought up in the barrios and all those associations are reflected in my art work. My family lost its land several years ago to the gigantic King Ranch; we were very poor and life was very hard. This is reflected in the bold and crude technique in my artwork."

—Santa Barraza

The Long View

Eurocommunism — Promise but no blueprint

by Richard Healey

The American left has always been something of a stepchild in the international socialist family—lacking its own theoretical traditions and a strong base in its own working class. As a result, it has had an unfortunate tendency to constantly look beyond its own borders for its perspectives, strategy, and even tactics.

For the Communist Party, USA, this has meant a long and debilitating adherence to the Soviet Union as a role model and political godfather. For others on the left, it has meant a reliance on the modes and methods represented by such socialist countries as China or Cuba. And, as the standard left jokes so often parody, for a few it has even meant the elevation of such a remote and alien culture as Albania to a model for an American left.

Today, many on the left here are seeking to break with these time-honored but ineffectual traditions, and to develop a socialist road that grows out of our own experiences and culture. But even the attempt to do this is marred by the continuing tendency to look elsewhere for ideas to validate our methods—or even to determine them.

Over the past few years the trends in the major Communist parties of Europe, particularly those of France, Italy, and Spain, have become the basis for an enormously creative and important historical development known as Eurocommunism. It is a development that has provided the impetus for a re-evaluation of socialist theory and strategy theory and strategy around the world—and its impact could alter the course of socialist movements for decades to come.

Unfortunately, however, it has also revived the tendency on the American left to seize on someone else's answers as solutions to our problems. Or, conversely, it has led some to write off certain approaches here because of their disagreements with Eurocommunism.

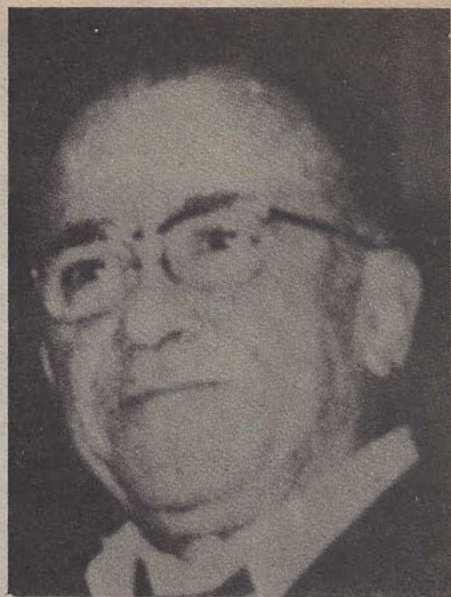
Neither of these attitudes offers a fruitful response to this vital trend. I would argue that instead we need to analyze Eurocommunism in the context of the specific societies in which it has developed, drawing from that its significance for the overall development of Marxist theory and its relevance, if any, to the American situation.

In order to begin this process we need to understand the major defining aspects of Eurocommunism. These include:

1. Each communist party must chart its own course to socialism based on its commitment to Marxist principles and the particular conditions and history of its own country. It cannot take the Soviet Union—or any other socialist country—as a model for its efforts: it cannot be expected to refrain from criticism of the socialist countries; and cannot allow its policies or stances to be determined by the needs of those countries.

The Eurocommunist parties recognize and stress that the conditions—whatever historical reasons necessitated them—that currently exist in the socialist countries are not likely to inspire working people in their own countries. They know that a new and different vision of socialism must be at the core of their approach.

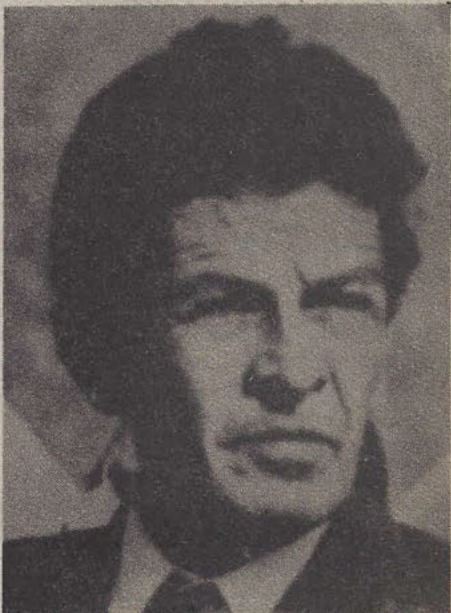
2. Probably the central element of this new vision is its emphasis on democracy. For the European Communist parties, the existing democratic rights are not to be simply written off as bourgeois trappings. After the long struggle



Santiago Carillo



Georges Marchais



Enrico Berlinguer

photo by Morning Star

photo by P. Vauthey-Sygnia

photo by James Adamson/Sygnia

waged against fascism—and its denial of those rights—they are recognized as working class victories that must be guarded and defended. Moreover, this defense cannot be seen as a temporary or opportunistic measure within capitalist society, but must rather be a fundamental part of the socialist society that is projected.

But Eurocommunism also recognizes the limited and distorted forms in which these rights presently exist, and it stresses as well the necessity to give them life by extending them throughout the institutions of society. Thus, democracy has to include popular control of the most basic aspects of daily life, from the shop floor to the school system, from the media to the armed forces.

This focus on democratizing society is thus seen as an essential means of advancing towards socialism in that it strengthens the ability and understanding of the working class and parts of the middle strata to challenge the domination of capitalist ideas.

Class Forces

3. The recognition of the power of traditional ways of thinking as a means of tying people to the existing order is a third important aspect of Eurocommunism. It is closely linked to an analysis of the class forces in these societies. The institutions most vital to integrating people into the society, such as the school system or the government bureaucracy, are increasingly staffed by those whose origins are in the working class or the lower level of the middle strata. Such people's sympathies are not necessarily with the ruling powers, as was generally the case in Russia or Germany at the turn of the century.

In addition, parts of the middle strata and the working class are similarly affected by the economic/social crisis that characterizes all the advanced capitalist countries in this period. Socialism is now as necessary for some of the middle strata as it is for the working class; and the Eurocommunist parties see it as their task to advance pol-

icies that unite these constituencies and help them to see their common interests.

4. Given the extent to which both these middle strata and many working class people are now part of the extensive state bureaucracy, Eurocommunism also posits that it is no longer possible to speak of a monolithic state power that is always and entirely at the service of capital.

As the state continues to take on new functions and extends old ones, the contradictions present in society as a whole are reproduced within the state itself, making it possible for the left to intervene. For instance, both the growing rate of unionization among state employees and the growing progressive movement in the army in Italy indicate possible ways in which parts of the state can potentially be turned against the capitalist class.

These four points are key elements in the evolving approach toward a socialist strategy in the advanced capitalist countries that has come to be known as Eurocommunism. They do not encompass the specific course that each party has embarked upon in the world of real politics, nor do they fully indicate the historical meaning of these developments for each of the countries involved. But although there are important differences in the approaches that each European Communist Party is taking—for instance, the Italian Historic Compromise is not simply analogous to the French Common Program—I am here drawing on what is common among these parties that has given rise to their joint identity.

The significance of Eurocommunism does not simply lie in its political principles, however, but in its ability to link these to specific historical developments in a way that completely alters the balance of forces in these societies. What is so vital is the extent to which this tendency represents a decisive break with the status quo. Since WWII the major left parties of Europe have been mass parties; they have been disciplined and visible, with a militant and loyal following. (This obviously varied from country to

country; for instance, the Spanish party has largely had to develop underground.)

However, despite this prestigious strength, these parties had remained outside the centers of power, an opposition force that could protest or apply pressure, but not a dominant force that could govern or initiate policy. There was a growing danger of stagnation, of simply becoming an institutionalized opposition.

Eurocommunism enabled the Communist parties to break out of this box—to enter into a serious contest for power with a revitalized vision of social transformation. It changed the political and economic dynamics throughout Europe, just as changing objective conditions had helped to lay the basis for the dramatic developments that these parties underwent.

None of this is to say that the Eurocommunist parties have necessarily pursued the best tactical courses within this overall framework. And there are those who criticize these parties for "reformism," that is, for simply settling for patching up the existing system, rather than overthrowing it.

I don't agree with these critics' wholesale rejection of the revolutionary potential of Eurocommunism. They are usually too simplistic in that they base their assessment on abstract ideas rather than concrete analysis. However, they are right in pointing up the potential dangers that are present in the course that these parties have taken. While any serious attempt to contest for power involves such dangers, it is important to be aware of them in order to avoid succumbing.

Potential Dangers

The European Communist parties ability to win power—like that of any left in an advanced capitalist country with a democratic tradition—is based on its ability to construct a majority coalition that will support its policies and follow its leadership. Such coalition-building is a delicate process that requires compromise and accommodation.

Mis manos: mi capital

For instance, when the Italian Communist Party has at times seemed to lag behind the new movements that have sprung up there in the past year, it is in large measure due to the fact that there are other sectors of the population that the PCI is seeking to represent who are not at all sympathetic to these movements.

Yet, at the same time, the PCI must—in order to insure its strength—maintain its own base. Too many compromises may anger and alienate those to whom it owes its primary allegiance.

A second problem is that of the tension between bureaucracy and democracy. In order for the Eurocommunist parties to influence the direction of their societies, they have to enter into the major institutions of those societies. Yet such institutions can act as a conservative force, pressuring against direct action and decision-making at the base of society.

Finally, there is the danger that the current analysis of why a revolutionary break is not possible at this time will become de facto frozen into a permanent approach of gradual reform. Santiago Carillo, the General Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, has himself argued that the “democratization of the state apparatus” has to be seen only as a “starting point,” not an actual revolutionary strategy. Yet it will require great political sophistication and revolutionary commitment for these parties to remain open to taking bold leaps forward as circumstances warrant.

There are two important factors that it is necessary to note in any discussion of Eurocommunism and reformism. They act as forces *against* any tendency toward integration into the existing order.

First, at least in Italy, and probably in France and Spain, objective factors may well prohibit any kind of purely reformist solution, along the lines of traditional social democracy. The economic situation simply does not allow for the kind of co-optive reform program that would be necessary to buy



off and silence the existing unrest. A climate of growth and expansion is not on Italy's agenda—and without it no real social democratic solution is possible.

As a result, Lucio Magri, a leading theorist of one of the “new left” groupings, *IL Manifesto*, says that the PCI is and must be committed to a “very radical, very profound, and very conflictual transformation of internal and international power relations.”

Secondly, subjective conditions within the working classes of these countries make a social democratic solution unlikely. As Andrew Feenberg has argued persuasively (“From the May Events to Eurocommunism,” *Socialist Review* #37) critics of reformism ty-

pically ignore “the role of the balance of forces between classes in determining the ultimate significance of reforms in specific, real societies.”

The working classes in the societies in question have not been integrated into the system in the same way that those of the United States or Northern Europe have, for example. As a result, they are more class conscious and combative. In such a situation, a specific reform can take on a very different meaning than it would in America or Britain. The Eurocommunist parties, unlike actual social democratic parties, seem at heart committed to sustaining that working class militancy and activism.

New Inspiration

At this point, however, it is simply too soon to tell whether Eurocommunism as we presently know it will provide the basis for a socialist transformation of the countries in which it exists. But it is possible—and indeed unarguable—to point out that it has jolted the courses of the left in those countries, providing new inspiration and vigor.

It is this dramatic aspect—whatever political differences there might be—that has spurred considerable interest in Eurocommunism within the American left.

There is no doubt that the simple existence of Eurocommunism as a political tendency aids the cause of socialism in our own country. By their emphasis on democracy, these parties begin to crack the capitalist mythology that communists have no concern for liberty or freedom. Over time, they may begin to demonstrate even more forcefully that it is only the left that has a genuine commitment to democracy and civil liberties.

Secondly, the parties' much-publicized independence from the Soviet Union challenges the standard image of communism as a monolithic ideology, modeled on and subservient to Russia. It provides a basis for the evolution of a pluralistic world socialist movement.

And the willingness of the European Communist parties to engage in coalitions and the willingness of more mainstream forces to ally with communists also helps to undermine the image of the left as an alien and isolated force, outside of the normal workings of society. In recognizing the significance of these aspects, it is important that we don't simply fall back into that old tendency of the American left to look for models abroad. We should take from Eurocommunism that which is relevant and valuable to our own situation, but we should neither see it as providing ready answers for us or as a "deviation" to be avoided.

The European Communist parties



Workers assembly at Lip watch factory in Besancon, France, during 1973 strike.

are already powerful mass parties in societies with well-organized and class conscious working classes—and with advanced political, social, and economic crises. When these parties talk about democratizing institutions or nationalizations, their power makes them a credible alternative to the status quo: people can see that capitalism is not the only choice.

Such is not the case in this country. We could take the exact same steps as any of the European Communist parties and it could matter not a whit. We are faced with the problems of how to strengthen a divided working class that lacks a strong class consciousness, while simultaneously promoting a socialist vision in the stronghold of capitalist ideology.

Those who say that Eurocommunism is simply reformist and should be written off are mistaken. It has considerable revolutionary potential and many elements from which we can learn. However, it does not—and was never

intended to—offer us any blueprint for these difficult and unique questions that we face.

Its most urgent lesson is not any particular tactical twist, but rather its singular underlying premise: that every country must examine its own traditions, experiences, and concrete conditions, and must fashion out of these—and the insights of Marxism—a socialist strategy and vision that is appropriate to its own circumstances.

To the extent that Eurocommunism spurs us to this task with renewed optimism, it is a great contribution to the building of a socialist movement in America. But to the extent that it is relied upon as a guide—for what to do or not to do—we are in danger of once again looking for easy solutions and finding only unsolved problems.

Richard Healey is the National Secretary of the New American Movement.

Philadelphia —

from p. 10

inadequate and corrupt jobs programs, etc.

A handful of members of the New American Movement and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, as well as a number of independent leftists, are important in PUP and the Coalition. So far their political influence has been less visible than their organizational contributions. They have been strong supporters of the themes of collective action, public service as opposed to private sector jobs, and anti-military spending. They have contributed to strengthening ties with labor, the black community, and are beginning to increase the links with the women's movement.

Probably the political evolution of the full employment movement in Philadelphia will be influenced, at least in the near future, by how the question of the Transfer Resolution is resolved. The left can make a valuable contribution

to the movement not only in raising the issue but in beginning a process of dialogue and debate that results in a broader awareness of the implications of the struggle for jobs.

In recent weeks some discussion has begun among DSOC and NAM members about the need to develop popular education that would bring a democratic socialist perspective to the local full employment movement. The left has yet to develop ways to effectively make its pressure felt on the qualitative issues such as: the kind of work we want, the organization of that work, and the relationship of that work to our communities, families and to workers in other countries.

Based on the Philadelphia experience, left activists in other centers of high unemployment might re-examine the prospects for local action-oriented coalitions of the unemployed, labor, and community groups. At least three guidelines for organizing can be suggested. First, significant attention to

the immediate service needs of the unemployed can be balanced with an activist stance: the unemployed can be the center of the full employment coalition and the driving force for "mass lobbying" and other forms of resistance to unemployment.

Secondly, a strong link with progressive segments of the local labor movement can and probably must be forged to provide organizers of the unemployed with a stable and legitimate base.

Finally, it would seem that from such a base, the left can and should enter into a dialogue about the causes of mass unemployment and about the kinds of democratic control of economic institutions that will be needed to really provide full employment.

Dennis Brunn, a sociologist and community organizer, is on the steering committee of the Philadelphia Coalition for Jobs. He is a member of NAM and DSOC.

St. Louis labor blues —

from page 13

work law. Davis concluded, "They have now shown their true intentions—to break the Union".

As the May 1 anniversary draws closer it seems as though Hussman's intentions may be a reality. Though production is down, turnover high, and quality lacking, Hussman is working and the Steelworkers of Local 13889 are not. Undoubtedly, the company's next maneuver will be a decertification election.

The situation at Hussman is typical of the problems faced by organized labor. When a company such as Hussman decides to get rid of a union, all the cards are in its favor. With the assets of a conglomerate backing it, Hussman can easily take a strike; it's a tax write-off. With a large reserve army of

unemployed workers who are ambivalent towards or alienated by organized labor, ready and willing employees can be found. With court injunctions easily obtainable and boycotts illegal, unions can be rendered impotent.

The passage of the national Labor Law Reform legislation will help eliminate some of the legal loopholes that strengthen the corporate hand, but it does not address the underlying issues at Hussman or the real possibility of a RTW victory in Missouri.

The labor movement in Missouri has been put on the defensive; the best hope for its revitalization lies in its ability to forge new alliances and to develop a larger and stronger base. In addition it will need better ties with the black community and a more active commitment

to working for full employment if the kind of strike-breaking tactics used at Hussman are to be minimized.

A dialogue among labor, minority, women's, and environmental groups is beginning. Their ability to develop a common program could provide the basis for the immediate defeat of the right-to-work effort. More importantly, their cooperation can open the door toward future joint activity. The concept of a labor movement that is constantly seeking to broaden its base and that tries to represent all working people, not just unionists, is long overdue.

Bob Baugh is a member of St. Louis NAM and a staff member of the Service Employees International Union.

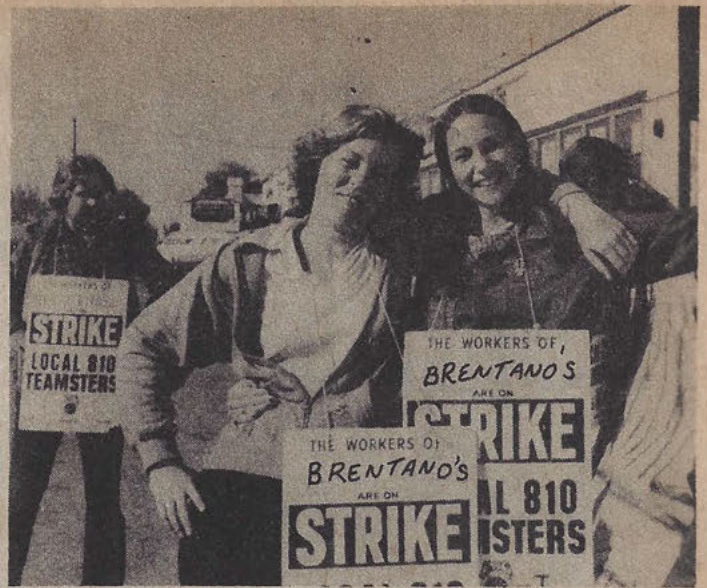
NAM News

JOBS CONFERENCE Jobs and the Environment is the theme of a local conference St. Louis NAM members are helping to organize May 5. The conference, which has gained support from many local unions, such as ACTWU and SEIU, is designed to make links between labor activists and environmentalists so they won't work at cross purposes. Machinist Union President William Winpisinger and Institute for Policy Studies planner Gar Alperovitz will keynote. St. Louis NAM members also helped launch Missouri Citizen's Action recently. The group, modeled on similar mass-based statewide citizen action groups in California and Maryland, will begin organizing against high utility rates, but plans to focus on several other issues as well.

HOUSING BATTLE Two years ago, Buffalo NAM initiated the Housing Resource Center. Today the Center is building an organization of tenants in federally subsidized housing. In such housing, the federal subsidy goes to private management corporations that frequently let the buildings run down and add a host of extra charges and late fees to the rents. Minnie Brown, president of Buckingham Tenants Association (Buckingham is a large management corporation), says tenants who began the association "had to face evictions and being harassed outlandishly." Nonetheless, the group has persevered, and has put pressure on the federal government to enforce the rules against such practices. The Center is



Minnie Brown, President of Buckingham Tenants Association.



also supporting statewide legislation to outlaw retaliatory evictions. Action by the tenant's association has brought some relief on problems such as three months wait for minor repairs. And unity among tenants has made them a force to be dealt with. "Now HUD and management want to meet with us. Before, we weren't anything—just 'you people,'" says Brown.

LENGTHY STRIKE A nationwide boycott of Brentano's bookstores is being called by members of Long Island NAM. Fifteen Brentano's workers, members of Teamster Local 810, have been on strike for union recognition since October 26. Picketing Brentano's daily since then, they've cut sales by 50%, according to striking NAM member Gary Stevenson. "It's been a long haul, a very cold winter," says Stevenson, "but we are determined to win." Brentano's has replaced the workers, who include retail, warehouse and delivery workers, with scabs and refused to bargain. Brentano's is owned by McMillan Corporation, which is using large amounts of money to break the strike.

FREE SPEECH When is an elected official legally bound *not* to represent his/her constituents? When the official is a union steward, according to the leadership of Local 1101 of the Communications Workers of America. The New York City local leadership removed a steward who spoke out in favor of a strike saying that while members of a union have a right to free speech, stewards must only express the union leadership's line. Union members sued, saying they could never elect anyone to express their views under that policy. They won; but the union appealed and the ruling was reversed. Now the union members are trying to take the case to the Supreme Court. New York NAM members are supporting their efforts.

AKRON FALL-OUT The repercussions of the Akron anti-abortion ordinance are already being felt elsewhere around the country. And it looks like the next major battle over this repressive legislation may be shaping up not in a provincial small city but in one of our major metropolitan centers. The Chicago City Council is about to begin consideration of a bill almost identical to the Akron measure (see p. 3 for a description of some of the provisions of the bill). The Chicago bill has the endorsement of 26 of the city's 52 alderman who seem to be hoping that they can just sneak it through Council quickly and quietly. Fortunately, pro-choice advocates

do not intend to allow this to happen. The Chicago Women's Health Task Force, which includes members of Chicago NAM chapters, is planning to pressure individual aldermen, as well as to expose the anti-choice thrust of the bill through public

education. It is producing literature on the legislation, including an ad in one of the major daily newspapers. The Task Force is working with other local women's groups to get broad sponsorship for the ad and to catalyze active opposition to the bill.

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New American Movement

