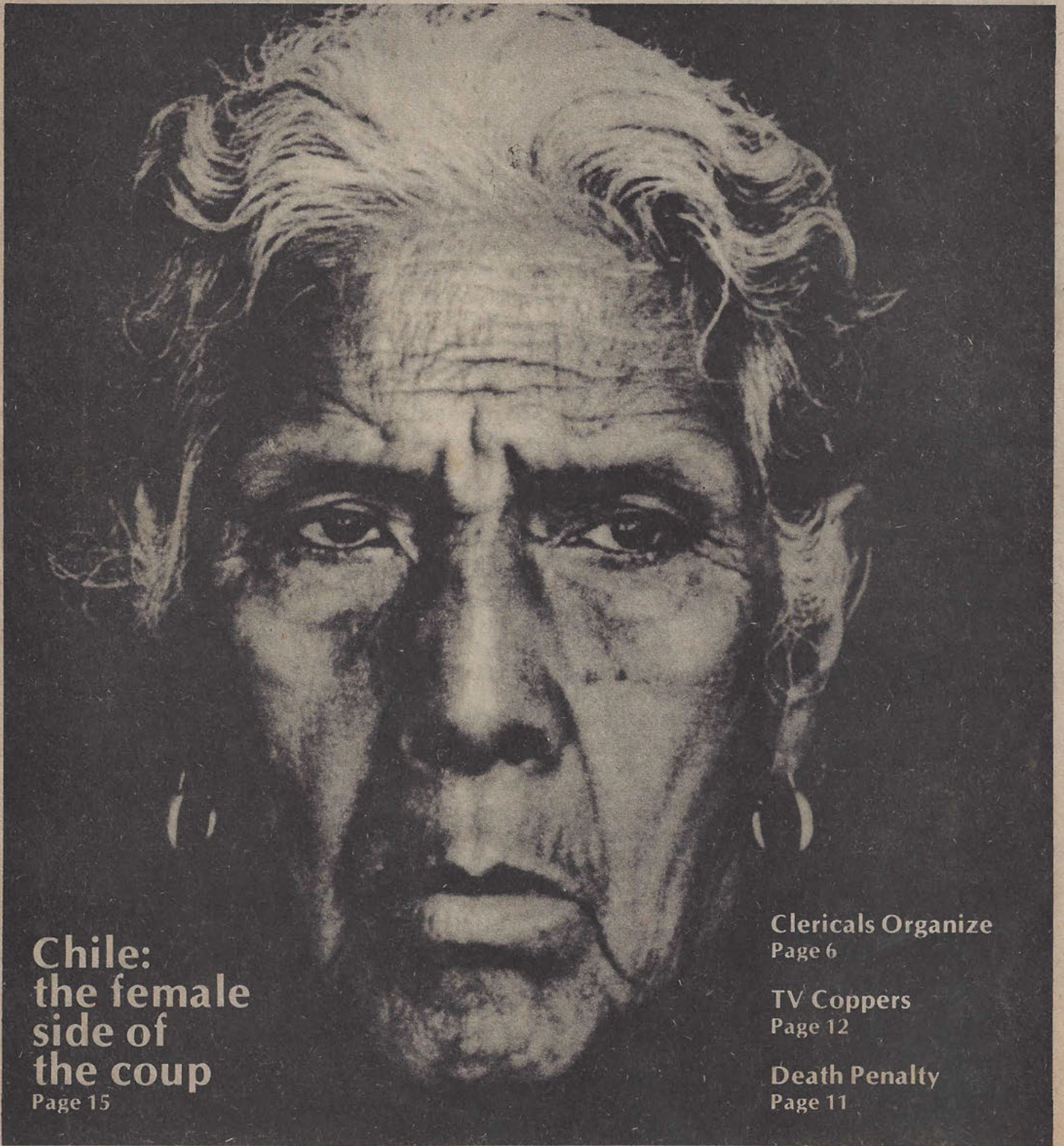


# Moving On

MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT



**Chile:  
the female  
side of  
the coup**

Page 15

**Clericals Organize**  
Page 6

**TV Coppers**  
Page 12

**Death Penalty**  
Page 11

# Moving On

MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

EDITORIAL BOARD: Alan Charney, Holly Graff, Dorothy Healey, Bill Leumer, Bobby Lilly, Mark Mericle, Bob Niemann, Glen Scott, Sue Wells

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## Dear Friends

This is the first issue of a new monthly magazine. **Moving On** is the descendant of **New American Movement**, the newspaper of NAM since the organization began. We decided to make some changes in our publication because we felt that in seeking to be a newspaper (when it didn't really have the resources to cover the news), it was neglecting functions that it could play--political analysis, education, and cultural commentary. We also decided to publish out of Chicago where our National Office is located.

Each month **Moving On** will be providing thoughtful and thought-provoking articles. We will be seeking to take political theory out of the realm of the abstract and out of the style of academic journals, and make it alive for today. We will not try to report the news, but we will present a Marxist perspective on important events. We will not try to feed you a "line," but the magazine's approach

will be guided by NAM's political perspective and strategy. We will not relegate "culture" to an occasional movie review, but will analyze current trends, life-style changes, personal attitudes, and more. We will emphasize activism, and be looking at organizing efforts going on around the country.

We think that **Moving On** will be of interest to NAM members and friends, and to the many people who are becoming aware of the necessity for a socialist solution to our country's problems. We hope that you will be a regular reader, that you'll urge your friends to subscribe, and that you'll order extra copies for distribution in your area.

All subscribers to the NAM newspaper will continue to receive **Moving On** for the duration of their original subscriptions. But many of you who are being sent this issue are not current subscribers. You have been on our mailing list and received our newsletter at no charge. We will no longer be putting out a newsletter. We hope that you'll want to stay in touch with NAM by subscribing to **Moving On**. The rate is \$4/yr. (10 issues).

Just fill-out the subscription blank on the back page and return it with your check. Financial necessity dictates that this will be the only issue you'll receive if you don't subscribe.

Your participation in **Moving On** is very important. Please let us know what you're thinking!

In Solidarity,  
NAM Political Committee

## What is NAM?

The New American Movement is a nationwide organization of socialists in nearly forty chapters. It is committed to organizing a majority movement for a social and economic system that is thoroughly democratic, in which racial and sexual equality prevails, in which the wealth and resources of the nation are publicly owned and democratically controlled by all Americans, in which the decisions that 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. For more information and to subscribe to **Moving On** use the coupon on the back page.

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COVER PHOTO:  
ACTION FOR WOMEN IN CHILE

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## Sadlowski— down but not out

by Richard Healey

By the end of the campaign, the media had backed off from its romantic attraction to Ed Sadlowski, the "Raw Steel Man." In the week before the final faceoff with Lloyd McBride, "Oilcan Eddie" was attacked on the pages of the *Wall Street Journal*, the *N.Y. Times*, and over the airwaves of CBS and NBC. It was true that Sadlowski was big news, that his rough and tumble, militant image was new and exciting, that he sold newspapers. But in that last week the issue became power—who was going to run the United Steelworkers of America?—and on that issue, the major media was in agreement. McBride's safe, grey and conservative image sold no papers, but his brand of unionism represented no threat to the status quo.

Not that the media made the difference that beat Ed Sadlowski. The primary reason for that was the powerful role of the union staff and officials. Tied by habit and finances to the existing administration they almost universally worked for McBride, bankrolled his campaign and made it impossible for Sadlowski supporters to reach many members of the union by refusing to disclose the locations of some plants and polling places. The huge union infrastructure behind McBride probably stole thousands of votes—especially in the south and west—and convinced older workers with more seniority and better pay that Sadlowski represented a threat to their security.

[Against the odds]

In spite of the enormous organization that was stacked against him, in spite of that fact that he was a "new boy"—with a deep base only in his own district, and not well known nationally until the campaign began—Ed Sadlowski scored very well against the odds. He scored with his attacks on the class collaboration of the AFL-CIO leadership. He scored with his attacks on the cozy relationship of the USW leadership with steel management. He scored with his insistence that the union should belong to the workers, and that democracy and membership participation in all important decisions would make a strong and effective

union. He scored with his call for a return to the political traditions of the CIO in a union that had become synonymous with narrow self-interest and cold war politics in the last thirty years.

For this Sadlowski was red-baited. The red-baiting was severe in his own home district, where the man running on the Sadlowski slate for District Director was Jim Balanoff, a well-known ex-Communist who is still a radical. Yet Balanoff won his election. We can hope that red-baiting will not recover from the set-back it received in this campaign.

The successes of the Sadlowski effort are no isolated phenomena. Four years ago, Miners for Democracy got rid of Tony Boyle in the UMW. There are important stirrings in the Teamsters, the crookedest of unions, today. Steelworkers Fight Back, the organization behind Sadlowski's campaign, is an expression of a new trend in the labor movement that places the question of union democracy at the center of its program.

[Ongoing organization]

The Steelworkers' effort represented an advance over the UMW because from the beginning key elements within it had an understanding that win or lose the organization should carry on its work after the election. It wasn't a question of Sadlowski's sincerity or whether he was more radical than Arnold Miller of the UMW. It was a simple realization that Sadlowski would be unable to carry through his program unless there was an independent and organized base in the union to back him up in his fight with the companies and conservative union staff, and to "keep a boot in the ass" of whoever won the election, even Sadlowski. The election campaign was a vehicle for building that organization and spreading awareness of the need for rank and file organization.

It was an especially good vehicle in the Chicago/Gary area, where recognition of the need for ongoing organization was high, and Steelworkers Fight Back has a deep base. It had more limited success in other areas, and it is likely that the rank and file organizations in many parts of the country will falter now.

Sadlowski's defeat is a big set-back for Steelworkers Fight Back. It will demoralize the workers who supported him. It will mean increased harrassment and loss of jobs for militants. Yet the seeds of independent organization are sown in a large number of steel locals. The task of cultivating that organization will be harder with McBride in office. But that is what must be done.

# Defense spending on the defensive

by Roberta Lynch

Remember the Cuban missile crisis. The United States was a nation on the brink. If you were an average American in 1962, you were probably terrified, wondering if your city would be the first to be bombed. Those were the fierce days of the Cold War — days when we were warned about a sinister Khrushchev who reportedly wanted only to “bury” us.

Then, out of the sixties, blossoming slowly under the duress of the Vietnam War, a new era was born. Fears of destruction gave way to talk of detente. The time of peaceful coexistence with our “neighbor,” the Soviet Union, had begun. It led to cultural exchanges, disarmament negotiations, and an emphasis on maintaining the *balance* of power.

An even more significant change took place in our national consciousness as a result of the Vietnam War itself. A small sector of the American people became aware of the imperial basis of the U.S. foreign policy, and began to realize that the main threat to world peace and the developing nations was not the Soviet Union, but their own country. On a much larger scale, masses of Americans rebelled against a foreign policy of intervention (both covert and military) whose logic eluded them. For what had so many lives been lost in Vietnam? This is a question that most of them still

cannot answer, but they cannot forget.

There are deepening contradictions in American foreign policy, as the rationales for U.S. actions are constantly eroded. The real basis of U.S. decisions — the necessity to protect and expand corporate investment and its sphere of influence abroad — cannot be acknowledged to the American people. And the long-established scare tactic of the world communist menace is increasingly being defused as an issue by detente and the accompanying necessity to re-humanize the Soviet Union and China. With its real reasons unspoken and its rhetorical reasons slipping away, the U.S. government is conducting a foreign policy that increasingly appears a mystery to the American people — and that they will be less and less likely to tolerate.

[Nostalgia]

Now in an effort to minimize these contradictions, there has developed in certain quarters a severe case of nostalgia for those good old days of the Cold War. The military-industrial complex, which won such fame and fortune through its role in Vietnam, is back with a new production designed to restore its power and financial standing. It is out to get the U.S. to run the arms race full speed ahead — not just to place or show, but to win. Once again, the threat of the Soviet Union is being used as the motor force for

U.S. weapons proliferation. “The principle threat to our nation, to world peace, and to the cause of human freedom is the Soviet drive for dominance based upon an unparalleled military buildup.”

This mildly hysterical warning appeared as an opinion in the *New York Times* by a group called the Committee on the Present Danger. It was sparked by a recently released study that purports to show that Soviet military strength has achieved near parity with (and may now be surpassing) that of the U.S.

This supposedly “independent study” was in fact conducted by a committee of hand-picked foreign policy hard-liners. It is being widely publicized by friends of the Pentagon in order to bolster the claims of defense spending advocates. The Committee on the Present Danger goes on to warn:

“If we continue to drift, we shall become second best to the Soviet Union in overall military strength... Our national survival itself would be in peril, and we should face, one after another, bitter choices between war and acquiescence under pressure.”

This big push for a more hard line foreign policy comes primarily in reaction to post-Vietnam war cuts in military excursions. More immediately it is rooted in the fears that have been generated within the military-industrial complex by the success in organizing against the B-1 bomber, the talk of “waste” in the defense budget, and greater pressures for social spending at home.

Of course, it's not simply the Soviet Union or feeding the military machine that is motivating this pressure for a new arms buildup. The core of U.S. foreign policy is not warfare with Russia, but the propping up of right-wing governments, covert CIA activities in destabilization, and small-scale wars

against countries seeking their own liberation. The intentions behind this latest propaganda blitz are clearly to further these policies.

Right now all eyes are on the 1977 federal budget allocations as a testing ground for what's to come. The trade-off between guns and butter, between defense spending and social spending, has long been widely acknowledged. Now, an amendment process to the federal budget is opening the door to a full-scale battle on the question of national priorities within the U.S. Congress. An amendment has been introduced into the Congressional debate on the budget challenging the traditional assumptions of U.S. foreign policy. This "transfer" amendment proposes elimination of specific aspects of military allocations, such as CIA covert operations and aid to dictatorships, with the funds from these programs being transferred to specific domestic programs to meet human needs. (See accompanying chart for a breakdown of these programs.) All told the amendment would transfer some \$13.6 billion.

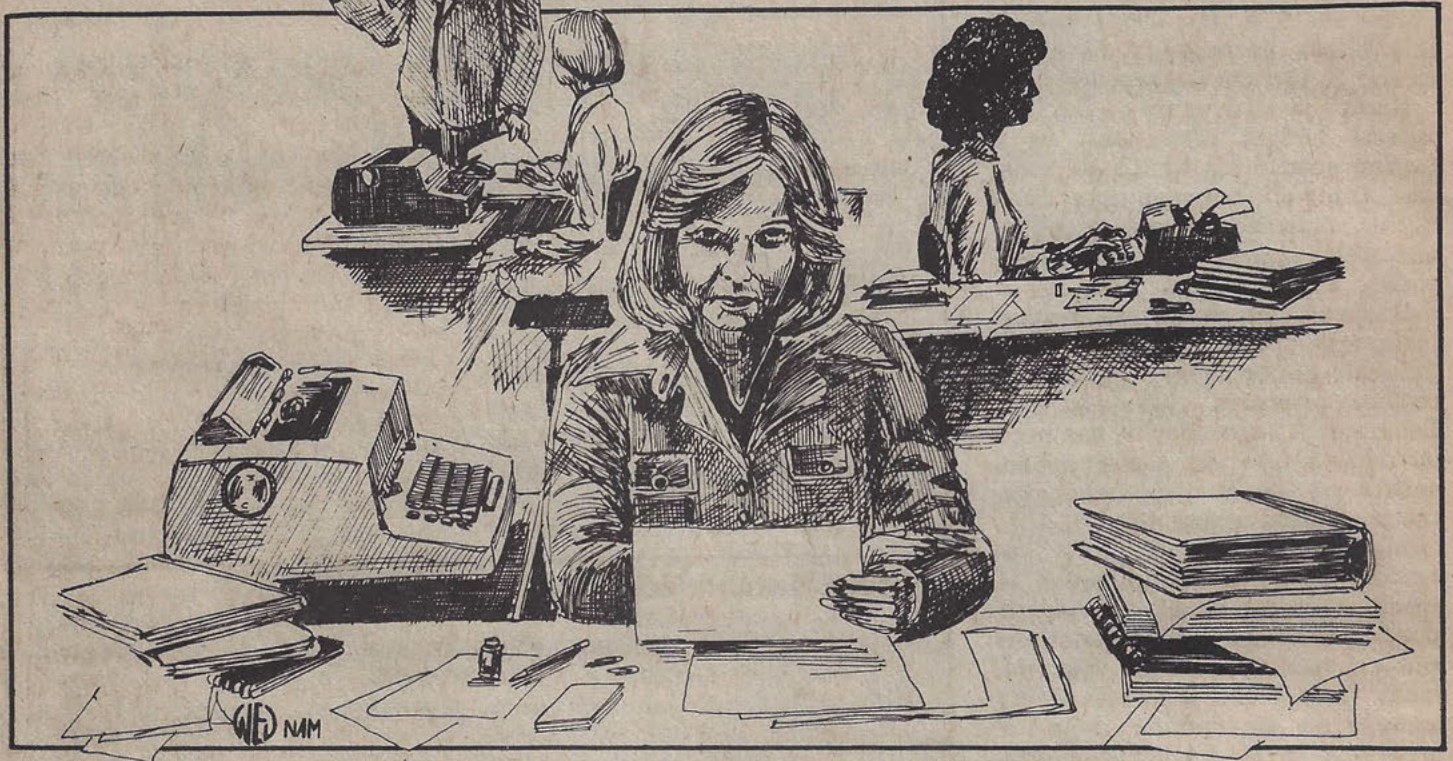
Of course, the defense hard-liners will be out in full force looking for *more*, not less funding. And they have the big money and the big media behind them. The debate could be over before it begins, unless public awareness and pressure can be generated in support of the transfer resolution. The Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy (made up primarily of church and peace groups) is trying to mobilize such pressure. They see the resolution as an important means of broadening support for non-interventionist foreign policy because it:

\*Targets some of the worst and most vulnerable aspects of U.S. foreign policy for elimination or reduction;

*turn to p. 21*

<b>Reduce Military Spending</b>		
	<b>FY '78 Savings</b> <i>(billions\$)</i>	<b>Job Loss</b> <b>FY '78</b>
<b>New Foreign Policy:</b>		
(1) A Non-Interventionist Asian Foreign Policy: Force reductions in Asia and Pacific	\$2.5	25,000
(2) And Covert CIA Intervention	.5	6,000
(3) End Aid to Dictatorships	.2	n.a.
(4) End Nuclear Weapons production and testing	1.9	n.a.
(5) Cancel Unnecessary Weapons Systems	4.84	264,550
(6) Competitive Bidding on Weapons Contracts.	2.0	n.a.
(7) Correct Wasteful Personnel Practices	1.7	21,000
<b>Total Savings and Job Loss</b>	<b>\$13.6</b>	<b>316,550</b>
<b>Meet Human Needs</b>		
<b>Program</b>	<b>Increased funding:</b> <i>(billions \$)</i>	<b>New Jobs</b> <b>FY '78</b>
(1) Planning and Assistance for displaced workers	\$.5	
(2) Child Care Services	1.0	100,000
(3) Rural Development, Housing and Health Care	1.3	416,5000
(4) Anti-Recession Aid to State and Local Govts	2.5	240,000
(5) Minority Employment	2.0	376,4000
(6) Public Service Jobs	1.0	122,000
(7) Older Citizens Employment	.25	62,5000
(8) Health Insurance for the Unemployed	1.0	n.a.
(9) Education	2.0	124,000
(10) International Hunger and Development Assistance	2.0	n.a.
<b>Additional Funding for Human Needs Programs:</b>	<b>\$13.6</b>	<b>1,441,000</b>
<b>Total New Jobs</b>		

## Getting Together



# Keyboard Power: the white collar is fraying

*"Imagine what would happen if all the clerical workers got fed up one day and stayed home. Finance, insurance, telephone, law and government offices would grind to a halt. Manufacturing companies would be thrown into chaos. Phones would be ringing.irate customers would be demanding services no one could perform. Nobody could communicate or get paid or be billed. Orders couldn't be sent out or filled. Nobody would know where anything was."*

—Jean Tepperman,  
*Not Servants, Not  
Machines*

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by Dolores Wilber  
and  
Judy MacLean

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*"Get up/Downtown/Don't you wish you could get out of this?"*

—Chicago Women's  
Liberation Rock  
Band  
"Secretary"

Clericals are the largest unorganized bloc of workers in the U.S. One third of all working women are clericals, and the percentage of clericals in the total workforce, now at 18%, climbs yearly.

Clericals are becoming crucial to the economy at the same time that new machines make the work more boring and factory-like. The growth of clerical jobs makes it increasingly unlikely that the average clerical can fulfill the traditional dream to "get out of this" and advance in the company.

The growing numbers of clericals, the low pay and routinization of their work, the development of the women's movement and changes in the labor movement all encourage organizing of clericals today.

The public sector has been the fastest growing area for clerical unions. Several factors are involved

in this growth. First, once public sector organizing became legal (as it has in many states), the government couldn't always use the union-busting tactics common to private industry. In addition, there is a general trend toward unionization among almost all public employees. Finally, unions, particularly the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) have made a greater effort among clericals in the public sector.

"If some other unions were paying as much attention to private sector clericals as AFSCME did to those in the public sector, you'd see a bigger percentage of unionized workers there too," says Margie Albert, an organizer for District 65 Distributive Workers, a union that is beginning a big drive in the private sector.

#### [Obstacles to Organizing]

Despite such efforts, however, the obstacles to the organizing of clerical workers are still enormous, and each effort takes years of commitment. "There aren't particular problems with organizing clericals, but with organizing women generally. Most have children to take care of, and it's difficult for them to find time to become active," says Bobbie Lilly, statistical typist and Detroit NAM member. Lilly has been active in AFSCME for the past four years, and is presently the vice-president of her local.

"Women have had little or no contact with unions before," she points out. "They have not thought of themselves as having a real need to join together and work together. Despite the fact that the situation is difficult, women sometimes see themselves as extensions of their bosses, and have strong loyalties, not to other women, but to their

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The obstacles to the organizing of clerical workers are tremendous and each effort takes years of commitment.

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individual bosses."

Peggy Murphy (pseudonym) is a low-level supervisor in a large public university. She and some other NAM members have recently taken jobs there in an attempt to begin organizing clerical workers.

"There's a lot of competition among women," she explains, "and that holds back organizing. They don't have any real decision-making power around anything. So many women get excited and possessive around almost trivial decisions regarding who will collect money for coffee, or buy donuts. It's the only decision they're allowed to make."

In addition to these problems, there's the fact that labor unions have evidenced little interest in or regard for clerical workers, and have contributed to the clericals' sense that they are different than other workers.

#### [Changing Conditions]

These obstacles won't disappear quickly, but they are widely challenged — just by the very conditions of clerical work itself. Clericals are among the lowest paid workers in the labor force — and they are over 90% female. This massive juxtaposition of women workers and low wages has become increasingly spotlighted as a result of the women's movement.

Even more striking has been the growing sense of worth among

clericals, and a growing anger about the social terms of their jobs. "I feel so degraded," says Murphy. "Sexism on the job is a big problem that we feel, although most women see it as a 'lack of respect' and don't call it sexism. Respect and dignity on the job are the biggest problems. It is by far the thing that is discussed and griped about the most."

The changing composition of the clerical workforce has also brought about changing attitudes. Over the last two decades, increasing numbers of Black women have become clericals. They now comprise 22% of the clerical workforce. Blacks are 50% more likely to be found in the public sector than in the private, and much more likely to be found in the lower-paid jobs like keypuncher than in the higher-paid ones like administrative assistant. Organizer say that Black women are often among the leaders in unionization efforts. Lilly notes that in her experience "Blacks tend to be more militant and have more understanding of the need to fight."

In addition, as clerical work becomes more routinized, as unions grow among other kinds of white collar workers, the divisions between clericals and other workers in their companies are breaking down.

Lee Mayfield, a NAM member and 20-year veteran clerical worker, took part in a three-year organizing drive that finally won union status for the 640 clerical workers at the City Light in Seattle. She says that the genesis of the campaign was a support action for other workers.

"It started with a walk-out by the electricians who asked the clericals to come out in support of them. The clericals did and it hit them that they were walking out for unionized workers and they had no union themselves. Out of that walk-out

over



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**S**ix percent of all workers are clerical in banking and insurance. They are today what steel and auto were in the 30's.

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was born the first organizing committee of City Light."

#### [Unionization — What it Takes]

The labor movement has organized relatively few workers in the past 25 years, and that's one reason for the lack of activity among clericals. But even where this is changing, problems remain with the style and approach of the traditional labor unions.

The university where Murphy works had a union drive among clericals last year that failed. "The clericals did not feel that they were able to participate in a democratic way. There is a lot of sexism involved in the relationship between the male union staff and the clerical workers who felt that they were doing all the work, but not making

any decisions," she explained.

Because of that experience, her group is trying to create an organization of office workers at the university. When it gets strong enough, they will affiliate with a union. "Without the previous independent structure, we didn't feel that it would be possible to withstand getting smothered by the union bureaucracy."

Dan Luria, who works for the United Auto Workers, believes unions like District 65 and the Office and Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU) that have traditionally organized clericals or new ones like SEIU 925 stand the best chance of building strong clerical unions.

Most manufacturing unions haven't even bothered to organize the clericals in their own industry, where they make up 10% of the workers. Luria points out: "In the logic of industrial unionism, there's no reason to. The way they see it if secretaries went on strike at Chrysler, production wouldn't stop."

In addition, the demands of industrial workers, like reduced work time, are tailored to the decline in production jobs, while the clerical workers' demands reflect increasing jobs. These differences would necessitate more complicated negotiations, and production workers fear that some of their demands might get weakened in the process.

The clericals at City Light will testify to the fact that it isn't easy to find a union. Even those that encourage clericals are not always consistent. After searching for a union that would take advantage of their surge of interest, they settled on AFSCME. But the union did little. After a year-long period of getting cards handed out and signed for an election, AFSCME sat on them. It was only when the City Light workers broke off with

AFSCME and joined the International Federation of Professional and Technical Employees (which was new in the area and anxious for members) that they finally won union status.

Bobbie Lilly says that her union tries to organize all workers at a particular workplace into the same local. She believes that this makes for a stronger union. However, even though most clerical organizers would like to build union solidarity and break down divisions among workers, this isn't always easy either.

Mayfield says that even after the clericals in Seattle had walked off their jobs in support of the electricians' strike, the electrical workers didn't want the clericals in their local and refused to authorize sign-up cards for them.

Barbara Merill, former AFSCME organizer in Chicago, says she initially held the view that a unit of employees was strongest when it included all levels of workers. "Time and events taught me this was idealistic thinking," she says today. "The needs of clericals tend to get slighted in favor of those of the professionals that they work with." She now believes that clericals do best with separate locals or separate units within locals.

Most clerical organizers don't see these problems as reasons to avoid unions, but as reasons to try to change them. By and large, they would agree with Lilly that "unions are the only vehicle that workers have that will help them fight for their rights."

#### [Working Women's Organizations]

But there is another vehicle — or at least an interim vehicle — growing up around the country. There are now at least ten independent working women's organizations — groups like Nine to



Five in Boston, Women Office Workers in New York, and Women Employed in Chicago.

They include clericals from different workplaces and have two major focuses. First, they act as a pressure group directly on employers, particularly around issues of respect and dignity. Second, they pressure affirmative action agencies to enforce the law against employers guilty of job discrimination.

The groups often involve women who are afraid of unionization. "It's a way to involve women who've never joined anything like this before," says Sherrie Holmes, a member of NAM who is active in Dayton Women Working.

Unions that organize clericals have high praise for the working women's organizations. "They've raised consciousness among women, and that's the first step toward unionizing," says Margie Albert.

"So many of the women I've worked with have come to an awareness that they need some kind of collective strength through work with Women Employed," says Charles Rader, an organizer for OPEIU in Chicago.

Although the influence of these groups is spreading, they still tend to be concentrated in the upper sectors of the clerical workforce — probably because their feminist slant and their emphasis on affirmative action tend to be more relevant to these sectors. Often, they involve a large number of women who have jobs halfway between clerical and professional or managerial work — administrative assistants, editorial assistants, assistant underwriters — who keenly feel their lack of opportunity for advancement into the "male" jobs just above them. Key-punchers, on the other hand, can't claim sex discrimination if they're not promoted to secretary.

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The way they see it, if secretaries went on strike at Chrysler production wouldn't stop.

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Organizers for the working women's groups say that it's important to reach out to those women who are ready to act and to build up a strong organization, because lower level clerical workers will be more likely to have confidence in the group when they see that it can win real gains. However, critics claim that the groups don't make a real effort to move beyond their initial constituency.

Many of these women see individual promotions, not unions, as the solution to their problems. Ellen Cassedy of 9 to 5 says that they try to deal with this by working for affirmative action for a group, rather than individuals. For example, they might work to get all editorial assistants paid the same as their male counterparts, the assistant editors. She believes that changes in these semi-professional jobs have made women more open to unionizing.

Of all the working women's groups, 9 to 5 has been the most assertive about moving toward unionization. And its initial organizing enabled it to strike a strong bargain with a union — SEIU — in terms of local control and women's concerns. Sherrie Holmes sees 9 to 5's arrangement with SEIU as a test; if the group makes it as a clerical workers union, SEIU and others may make funds available to other working women's groups to start unions. "We'd like to see that,

but it's too soon to tell," she says.

Like unions, the groups have full-time paid organizers (initially funded by foundations, later partly funded by membership dues and/or member fundraising). And critics say that some of them have some of the same flaws as many unions — lack of democracy and unresponsiveness to members.

Connie Simmons (pseudonym) was a member of Women Employed for over a year. She left for reasons that she believes have pushed many other women out too. She stresses that the organization is very important because it creates a feeling of solidarity that is vital in helping women in terrible situations on the job to realize that they are not all alone or stupid because they're stuck there.

But she feels that real democracy in the group was lacking. She says that the staff made all the major decisions — like what kind of action to take — as well as many minor ones, leaving only trivial tasks and decisions to the members. The staff never gave a clear sense of the strategy of the group, but she feels that anyone who attempted to question its direction was pushed out. According to Simmons, a committee head who wanted WE to work more with clericals who weren't covered by affirmative action had her committee meetings taken over by the staff. "They also didn't want to talk about unions to women," she says, "and discouraged those members who brought the subject up."

At this point it's hard to assess how widespread or accurate these criticisms are. It seems clear that many of the groups do have a problem with staff domination, but it's probably also true that compared to the average American union, they are hotbeds of de-

over

mocracy. Some argue that, in fact, in the long run, the working women's organizations may help bring about a more democratic and feminist-oriented labor movement.

#### [Clericals' Key Sectors]

One of the most significant things about the working women's organizations is that they have managed to break ground in two very important industries — banking and insurance — at a time when very few unions are having any success there. Some clerical organizers like to compare the situation of today's clericals with that of workers in the basic industry in the late 1930's before the CIO was organized. In that analogy, banking and insurance are today's steel and auto.

They have the highest ratio of clerical workers (50%) of any industry. Six percent of all American workers are clerical in banking and insurance, and their number increase yearly. A strike by bank clericals across the country could grind the economy to halt in days. (Unlike steel, you can't stockpile transactions.)

Despite this potential, only 35 out of 10,000 American banks are organized. Several factors combine to make unionizing these industries especially difficult. The companies tend to be conservative and use repressive methods on employees who talk union. In addition, the National Labor Relations Board has rules about what constitutes a bargaining unit that make organizing difficult where there are many branches and local offices. A union will win a majority of workers only to have the labor board delay for years and then perhaps rule that the workers don't constitute a bargaining unity. By that time, many of the workers who signed cards will have to quit, and organizing must start afresh.

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**L**egislation mandating new Labor Board regulations will be a prerequisite to cracking banking and insurance.

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Mark Strolle, a NAM member in Lansing, found that low wages (an average annual salary of \$5,200) and poor working conditions made it possible to organize the majority of workers at a department of Michigan Bankamericard into an independent union. Their problems began when they had to go to the Labor Relations Board, which ruled that they weren't an appropriate unit. To make matters worse, the Board said that their unit couldn't include some of the people right in their own department, but had to include people in altogether different buildings.

Again, some blame for the lack of progress in these industries must fall on the unions themselves for not making the effort to organize. But most activists believe that legislation mandating new Labor Board regulations will be a prerequisite to cracking banking and insurance.

#### [The Influence of Feminism]

There's no doubt that the women's movement has had a part in sparking new organizing among clericals. Lee Mayfield believes that the new feminist consciousness among women she works with also created a consciousness of oppression on the job and helped spur the organizing drive. The City Light clericals fought to have a woman organizer because the male-dominated union didn't seem to under-

stand the special kinds of demands women workers had.

Margie Albert believes that all women, "even those who say, 'I'm no women's libber' have been affected by the women's movement." Her union has written clauses into contracts that bar discrimination based on "marital or parental status or sexual orientation." "Although some of the male organizers were aghast that we raised the gay issue, the women workers thought it made sense," she says.

Sherrie Holmes thinks that the incipient feminist perspective in clerical organizing can contribute to the building of a more progressive labor movement.

#### [The Organizers]

Clerical organizing, like all serious organizing, requires a substantial time commitment. "It takes a couple of years to get started, and the organizing is time-consuming. You have to have a lot of one-on-one contact," says Holmes of forming a group like Dayton Women Working.

Bobbie Lilly warns that: "You have to be willing to talk and talk, saying the same things over and over again. You need to be persistent. It takes a long time."

"You have to build up workers' confidence. What helped most was to act, to be the one who helped others to fight, to scrap about the situation," says Lee Mayfield.

All of NAM's clerical organizers feel that being a socialist has helped them over the rough spots. "Without the socialist consciousness and without a group outside that we could come to for both moral support and blowing off steam, I don't think we could have held on," says Mayfield.

Lilly feels that a socialist perspective "provides a larger understanding of what I'm doing; it keeps me

*turn to p. 22*

# Confronting Capital Punishment

The long-drawn-out battle over Gary Gilmore's execution served to make capital punishment as much a public spectacle as a political question. Yet in states across the country, capital punishment is a real

life and death issue for the men and women who now sit waiting on death row.

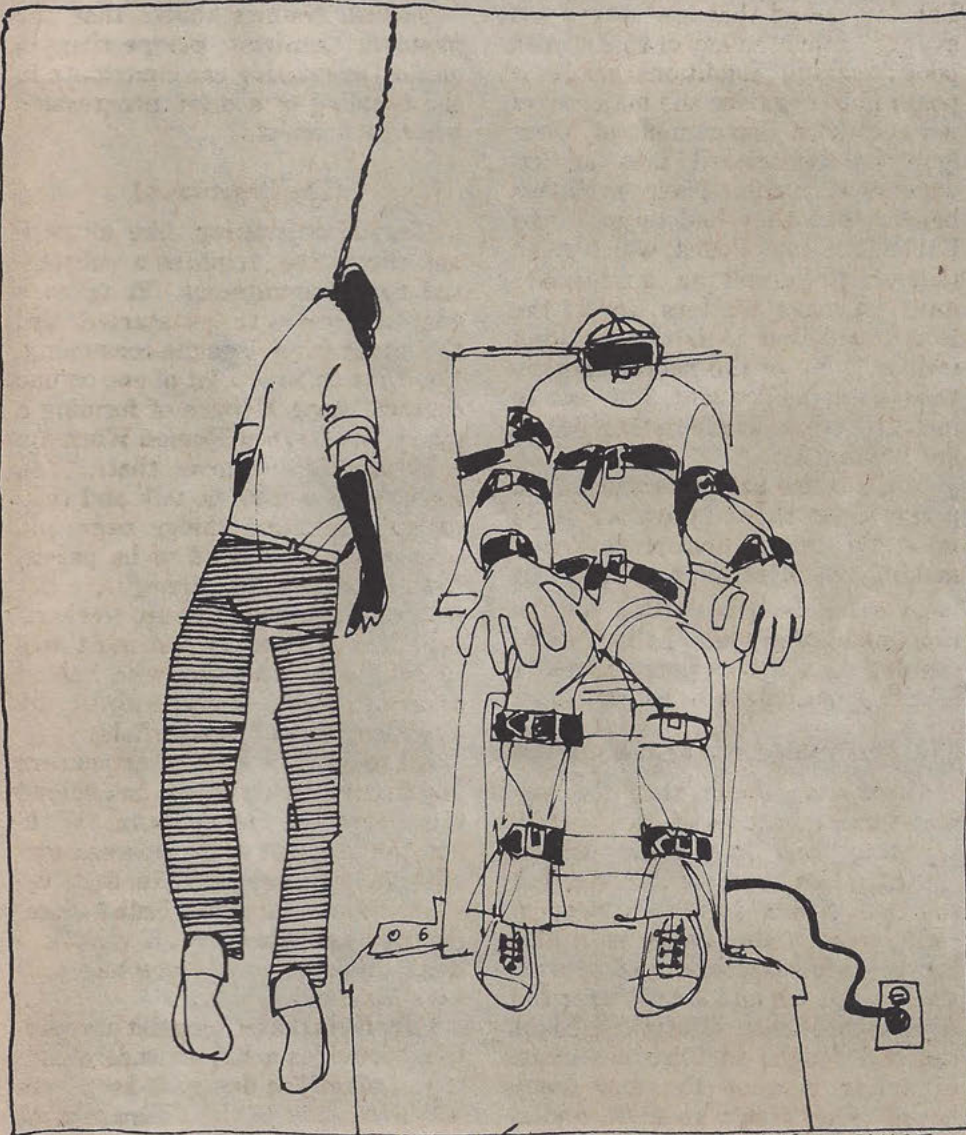
Two-thirds of this death-row population is made up of Blacks or other minorities. Many of the others are

low-income whites.

Capital punishment should be opposed not just for moral reasons, but because it is one of the most blatant examples of the racism and economic discrimination that permeates the entire judicial system. Nowhere is this more striking than in the South, whose prisons hold two-thirds of all those who have been condemned to die in this country.

Perhaps this is why some of the most active organizing against the death penalty is taking place in Southern states. In Florida a state-wide coalition is trying to outlaw capital punishment and stop the execution of some 43 death-row inmates. In North Carolina, State Supreme Court struck down the death penalty and commuted the sentences of the 110 people who had been on death row to life imprisonment. However, the battle goes on there since pro-capital punishment forces are now trying to get a death penalty bill through the state legislature. In Georgia where 60 people are on death row, the State Supreme Court has upheld state executions, but anti-death penalty forces continue to organize.

In order to coordinate and publicize these and other efforts, a major demonstration is being held in Atlanta on Saturday, April 9th. Sponsored by the National Coalition against the Death Penalty, the "Easter Witness Against Execution" is expected to draw people from across the South and Eastern Seaboard. It will include a march through downtown Atlanta, as well as workshops the preceding evening, and a sunrise vigil the following day. The activities have one clear and overriding theme: End All Executions! NAM members and friends in the area are encouraged to participate in this show of opposition to capital punishment. For more information, contact: Murphy Davis, 369 Connecticut Ave. N.E., Atlanta, GA 30307. Phone: (404) 377-3253.



peg avenue / LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE

# Looking For America

## TV Cops— the new breed

by Harry Chotiner

With the cowboys and doctors disappearing from T.V., it's left to the police to provide excitement and take care of us. Traditionally, we had two types of cops to do this, but now a third has emerged.

In the 1960's, the dominant theme on cop shows was dissatisfaction with authority and society — sit-in's at Southern lunch counters, draft card burnings to protest the war, and teenagers fleeing negligent and hypocritical parents.

While the source of dissatisfaction was usually traced to "weak" parents or "prejudiced" white people, at least

it was suggested that law-breakers were themselves victimized by others. And some shows even suggested that the "crimes" committed paled beside the horrendous behavior of law abiding citizens in Washington, Saigon, or Birmingham.

This attitude toward crime required new cops who could understand the criminals and what motivated them. The result was young cops ("The Rookies," "Mod Squad") or teams of cops where at least one partner was "hip" to social problems ("Streets of San Francisco").

These sensitive young cops either had more experienced partners or worked for hard-headed



bosses. But the message was that the wounds of society could be healed by youthful compassion and mature, experienced realism. Remember, John Kennedy was still a martyred image of social change.

#### [Backlash]

The backlash began in the late 1960's and brought the second type of cop. "Ironside" and "Police Story" were important new shows. But the leader of the pack has always been the first of the "Fascist" cop programs — "Hawaii Five-O."

Every week we saw that it was wrong and hopeless to challenge the law. Instead of the buddy-buddy police departments, Steve McGarrett ran an authoritarian, top-down, super-efficient unit. Drawing on the governor, the Pentagon, the latest scientific technology, cooperation from other states and countries, the team invariably booked the baddies.

We were now supposed to identify with the victims of crime — not the criminals. Rather than seeing criminals as mixed-up kids, idealists, non-conformists, or Viet Nam vets, the new criminals were "cold-blooded psychos," greedy corporate executives, and professional criminals.

As T.V. depicted crime with increasing violence and randomness, it became impossible to identify with criminals. In a recent "Police Story," an ex-con, recently released from prison after raping and murdering an old woman, sadistically kills motel managers and the owners of Mom-and-Pop grocery stores. He's clever and enjoys inflicting pain.

When the cops gun him down, one stands over the body and says, "now he's rehabilitated." And we feel safer that he's dead. Many of us are happy that "he got what he deserved." This show could not have been aired in the 1960's.

The soft cops were disappearing or turning their attention to the victims of crime. Human compassion developed through the contacts cops had with the people they tried to protect or in the relationships between cops ("Police Woman," "Streets of San Francisco," "Blur Knight," "Hec Ramsey," and "McCloud." The exception is "Baretta").

#### [Kojak the Model]

In the 1970's we have seen a third type of cop. "Kojak" is the best example — and he has clearly inspired "Delvecchio," "Serpico," Butch "Starsky" and

Sundance "Hutch." Kojak reflects the partial truths and satisfactions we found in the old soft cops and later "fascists."

Like the 1960's hip cops, Kojak is fed up with the "system." He knows of the hypocrisy, violence, greed, and corruption that permeate it. But unlike the 60's cops he doesn't believe it can be any different. His contempt for the system is rivaled only by his contempt for do-gooders. So he works at his job for the money, for the hell of it, and for the little personal satisfactions in helping some folks.

Like the Five-O unit, Kojak gives us the illusion of protection. He uses his street-knowledge instead of the crime lab or help from the "feds." But the ultimate point is the same. People who brutalize property or other people are going to be brutalized by Kojak.

Once again TV has managed to speak to our real needs and fantasies, but in distorted and unsatisfying ways. Poor and working people are the victims of most crime, and we want an end to it. We can't see that happening, but TV cops at least suggest there will be some retribution.

The shows often feature kidnapping, bombings, and assassinations where we can actually see the police prevent a crime. In fact, the shows invariably end with the criminal being prevented from committing a new outrage.

Unfortunately, TV cops reflect and reinforce our powerlessness. They do what we can't do for ourselves. They are unafraid, seem to enjoy their work, and can take care of others. We are afraid, don't enjoy our work, and can barely keep ourselves together. This powerlessness underlies our love of TV and its cops — neither of which we can control.

In a society that seems to run along without human control, Baretta, Steve McGarrett, and Kojak are irresistibly appealing. Between them we find real human compassion, enormous power and efficiency, and a cynical father who does his job well and without illusions. They're tops. But they're also no substitute for our own compassion and power.

*We thank the East Bay Voice, published by the East Bay NAM chapter, for permission to reprint this article. It originally appeared in the December 1976 issue (Vol. 1, No. 8). Subscription rates: \$3/yearly from East Bay Voice, 4120 Telegraph Ave., Oakland CA 94609.*

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**Wife's Lament**

It's been like this for years now--  
you in your long underwear  
and I fading off into my grey nightie.

"We cannot do this anymore,"  
we say secretly in our dreams,  
trying to think of the last time  
we spoke--  
my last hysteria.

We cannot do this anymore,  
cannot drift away  
into each other's worst emptiness,  
crouch inside each other's sorest spots,  
hover over the gaping mess  
like buzzards on the make.

I'd rather be a seabird  
and cross the whole expanse of quiet sea  
alone,  
watch my wings  
and fish from flight,  
than spend another night  
with you.

Alice Allgaier

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**A New Image**  
POETRY FOR INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

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### For Karen Silkwood

Karen Silkwood, a worker and union activist at Kerr McGee Corporation in Crescent, Oklahoma, was killed last year when her car crashed, supposedly after she fell asleep at the wheel. She was 15 minutes away from turning over to a **New York Times** reporter documentation of serious radiation hazards at the plant and the company's falsification of safety records. She herself was known to have been poisoned by plutonium. Although a co-worker saw her carrying the documents as she got into her car, they mysteriously vanished from the wreck and have never been found. Congressional hearings on the case, a result of pressure from the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, NOW, and Supporters of Silkwood (SOS), are continuing.

I want to think of Karen Silkwood  
watching secrets flow over her desk  
like water,  
an endless stream of secretaries,  
receptionists--  
material secrets  
buried deep in their desks  
neatly addressed  
and stapled, like letters  
returned, unread

I want to think of Karen Silkwood  
leaving home each morning,  
her briefcase beside her  
when the secrets she knew  
fell to ticking  
like the paper  
secrets shredded by men  
in power

(She poisoned herself  
they said,  
when traces of plutonium  
appeared in her urine,  
she drank it on purpose)

I want to think of Karen Silkwood  
unlocking  
the box of secrets,  
her bravery,  
at last understanding the highway,  
the white distance  
of headlights behind her  
in the night

Madeline Keller

*We thank Women — A Journal of Liberation for permission to reprint "For Karen Silkwood." This poem appeared in Vol. 4, No. 4. Subscription rates: \$5/3 from Women — A Journal of Liberation, 111 Eighth Ave., New York NY 10011.*

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### Aggressions

Children poured out of my mother.  
She had children against him.  
for him,  
because of him.  
She had children  
like a vending machine.

I have no children.  
I take dancing lessons,  
acting lessons,  
and Judo.  
I live with a man  
who wants no children.

I dance furiously,  
act like the devil,  
and can throw a man.

Alice Allgaier

# Chile: the female side of the coup

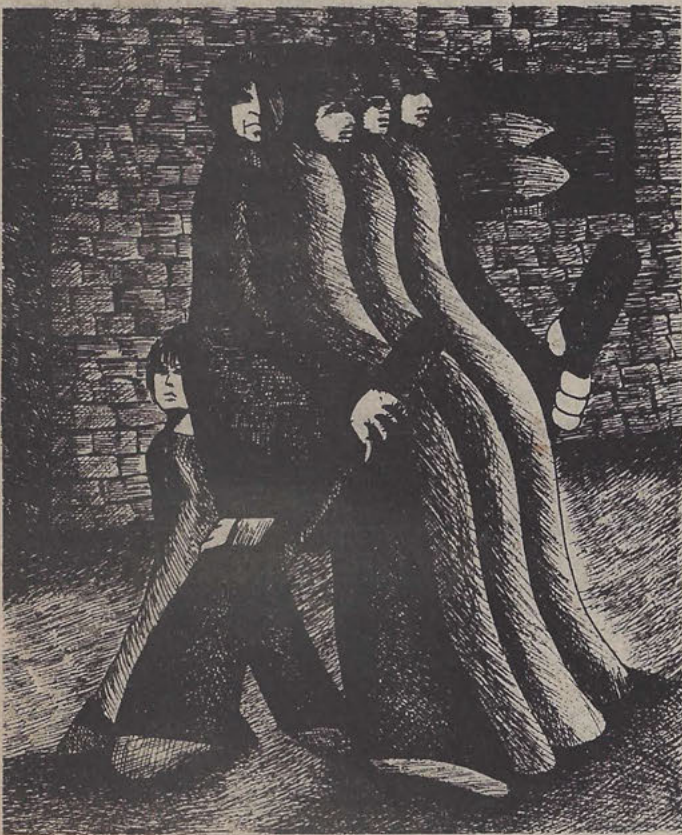
Since the 1973 coup that overthrew the Left government of Salvador Allende in Chile, much has been written about the economic, political, and military sabotage carried out by the Right — and supported by the United States — during the years of the Popular Unity government. Much less has been said about the ideological offensive of the Right which was also a powerful force in weakening the Popular Unity.

The following article from the newsletter of the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) is an attempt to analyze how the reactionaries in Chile were able to mobilize certain sectors of women to play a key role in that ideological offensive. We are reprinting it here because we think it raises important questions

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## The Long View

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both about why women would respond to the appeals of the Right, and about the use of media and cultural symbols in the revolutionary (and counter-revolutionary) struggle.

There are three points that it's important to note as a context for this article:

\*The author is focusing specifically on the question of women and the Right, and so does not touch on the widespread involvement of women in the progressive mass struggles, or the changes that occurred in the women's consciousness through this involvement.

\*Feminism as a political ideology does not have a distinct history in Chile. There is no independent feminist movement; both of the major mass women's organizations were linked to the political parties — Women's Power to the Right, and the Women's Patriotic Front to the Left.

\*Although the Allende government did create a Ministry of the Family and a national women's organization, these measures were limited in their scope and effectiveness and many women remained outside the political process under the Popular Unity.

In addition to raising important questions of political strategy for those of us concerned with socialist revolution and women's liberation, this article affords a striking contemporary parallel with the current Right-wing mobilization of women in this country in the anti-ERA, anti-busing, and anti-abortion movements.

It also serves to remind us of the tragedy of Chile today. For information of the current status of women in Chile, particularly those who have resisted the Junta, contact: Action for Women in Chile, Box 530, Cathedral Station, New York, NY 10025.

(Ed. Note: Although the following article has been edited for length, none of the terminology has been changed from the NACLA original. Possible confusion could arise from the author's use of the terms describing class divisions. To simplify: "upper bourgeoisie" can be understood as the richest people, the owners of manufacturing, banks, etc; "middle bourgeoisie" are the owners of small scale industry and agriculture; "petit-bourgeoisie" are the middle class, in her terms including not just shopkeepers, but teachers, nurses, truckers, etc.; "working class" are those who work in industrial jobs; "pobladores" is often used distinct from "working class" to describe the poorest people.)



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by Michelle Mattelart

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The Right's ideological battle against the popular regime (i.e. the Allende government) was not implemented only through propaganda leaflets. It came to life in the streets. The whole counter-revolutionary potential of its constituency was thrown into the fray. Women served as a "democratic" front for the brutal coup in the same way that professional and employers' associations did.

"The women really taught us, the men, a lesson. They never lowered their heads by accepting something they did not want; they proved themselves unyielding... We want them to participate in the administration of the country. The women will play as important a role as the trade associations, the armed forces and the political parties."

General Leigh spoke these words—an unusual addition to the annals of world fascism—in the days immediately following the coup. As a sign of gratitude for her services, the Chilean woman was to be rewarded with direct representation in the future "Parliament." Today, in the Junta's more recent declarations, there is more caution, and even a reluctance to bring up this issue.

Nevertheless, an important question remains to be answered: what happened to the conception of women in the dominant ideology? On the one hand, all the essential traits consecrated by the dominant ideology in order to build and reproduce the "feminine" order were, in effect, present: respect for private property, non-participation in politics; the so-called feminine inclination to see and understand everything, and confinement to discriminatory interests and tasks. On the other hand, and in violent

contrast, the bourgeoisie overnight proposed that its women adopt those aspects of themselves which constituted "another" feminine reality: women in politics, women in the violent streets.

#### [Women in the Forefront of the Battle]

A number of episodes attest to the constant presence of women in the crucial moments of class confrontation during the three years of the popular regime. Allende was elected with 36.2 percent of the vote on Sept. 4, 1970. The majority of the female electorate preferred the candidates of the Right: 68.3 percent of women voted for Alessandri of the National Party or Tomic of the Christian Democracy, while Allende won only 30.5 percent of the women's vote.

The Right's first mass demonstration was carried out by women. That famous first protest, the "March of the Empty Pots and Pans" which took place in December, 1971, was one of the factors which led Fidel Castro, then visiting Chile, to declare: "During this first year, reactionaries have learned more, and more quickly, than the revolutionaries." Organized by the Democratic Women's Front, which joined together the female masses of the National and Christian Democratic parties, this demonstration was the first opportunity for the Right to measure the effectiveness of these street actions.

In March 1972 the Right decided to rely primarily upon its "masses," relegating to a secondary position traditional means of pressure and attack (the Parliament, the courts the parties). The demonstrations were repeated regularly. In all of them the symbol and noisemaker was an empty pot beaten with its top or with a cooking spoon. The "tam-tam" of the empty pots was to

the Right what the "yu-yu" was to the women of the liberation forces of Algeria. Two weeks could not pass without the metallic meeting-call being sounded on the street corners between eight and ten at night.

The women's demonstrations were always carried out in the same way. The main contingent was made up of bourgeois women of all ages who arrived in automobiles, often accompanied by their maids; next a considerable number of petit-bourgeois women, and finally, a minority of women from the poorer districts. All were encircled by chain-bearing militants of the extreme Right's paramilitary group, "Fatherland and Liberty," which had an active women's branch and was openly seditious.

The opposition women's movement was not limited to sectors of the upper and middle bourgeoisie. The Right also had the support of certain working class and petit bourgeois women. There were two ways in which these women could participate. Firstly, they worked with community organizations created by the previous government and in many cases still controlled by the Christian Democrats. Among these organizations were the centros de madres (women's centers—a type of workshop set up in the poorer neighborhoods) and the juntas de vecinos (neighborhood boards for the administration of local matters composed of both men and women strongly influenced by the women). While the Christian Democrats still appeared to be the main opposition force (until October 1972) the Right organized several demonstrations of pobladoras (in habitants of the shanty-towns).

One of the calls to what was to be the last demonstration lists all the sectors of the female population that the opposition claimed to represent.

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**The ghost of hunger and the specter of Marxism were slogans that constantly appeared on city walls. "Your sons and daughters will be sent to Moscow."**

Chilean woman:

*Mr. Allende does not deserve to be President of the Republic.*

*Mr. Allende has led this country to catastrophe.*

*We have no bread for our children!*

*We have no medicine for our sick!*

*We have no clothes to keep us warm!*

*We have no walls for shelter!*

*We have been harassed and persecuted for defending our sons, for supporting our striking husbands, for taking to the streets to stir up the sleeping consciousness of so many people.*

*We call women to a commitment of honor!*

*Wednesday, September 5, at 5:00 P.M.*

*We call on women transport workers, women of the Papelera [Paper and Box Manufacturing Company], peasant women, pobladoras, women students and merchants, secretaries, nurses, social workers, housewives, professional women and women of Chile's Gremios.*

Note the proletarianization of the demands of the bourgeois woman! In effect, a movement of double mystification was in operation. Even though women of diverse social sectors coexisted in the ranks of the Right, they did so in widely differing proportions. By putting a few women from the popular classes in the front lines, the bourgeoisie waves the flags of the proletariat. Its collective action usurped the banners of the poor people, for whom the price of bread matters. (Of course, the popular government was doing everything possible to protect the price and supply of bread.)

That was the showy side of the women's opposition to the Popular Unity government. But this op-

position also had an everyday side. If the principal attack dealt with a lack of food, the principal focus was hoarding. Both points proceed from the same definition of the woman. She runs into the street to demand bread, while she implacably builds up her storehouse. "There's no meat there's no eggs/in this new Chile,"

#### [The Woman-Mother Symbol]

The pages of *El Mercurio*, the oldest newspaper of the Chilean bourgeoisie, were filled with testimonies which revealed that the Right was not about to exclude women from a strategy to overthrow the popular government. Women's new civic duties are quite clearly defined in those pages: "No housewife, no neighbor, no person who is presently capable of action or expression, has any right to wait for others to defend the freedom of this country..." Paradoxically, the particular element which the Right was counting on arose precisely from a sacred part of the dominant ideology — the division between women and politics. This separation allowed the bourgeoisie to present the women's new activity as devoid of political content and to have it accepted as such. Demonstrations were seen as the spontaneous reaction of the most apolitical sector of public opinion, brought together and activated by a natural survival instinct.

The words used in another call to the last right-wing demonstration show how the bourgeoisie claimed to represent the working people by means of the women-mother symbol. The call also shows how the bourgeoisie painted its most violent calls to counter-revolution in democratic colors.

Chilean women:

*Mr. Allende says he will submit his resignation if the working*

*people request it.*

*We are the people! Every child of this land was born from us!*

*Today, Wednesday the 5th, at 5PM, in front of the Catholic University and in every Chilean city, women will make Mr. Allende fulfill his promise.*

*No woman can fail to be present today at 5PM.*

The bourgeoisie was able to hide its class interests behind the protests of mothers and housewives, behind demands which appeared unrelated to class strategy because they encompassed areas traditionally marginalized from the political sphere such as the home, family organization, rearing and education of children. On the other hand, within the repertoire of demands which emerged from these demonstrations, the Right tried to move beyond the specific field of women to surreptitiously include clearly political demands shared with other opposition sectors.

The concept of women which cloaked the ruling class ideology was used, in effect, to avoid class antagonisms. Thanks to the universal character of Nature, the condition of being a woman would guarantee the fundamental unity of interests between all women, over and beyond any social, economic, or ideological differences. This conception of women (which gained a formidable tactical rationality in the struggle) provided a tangible bond which cut through all sectors.

#### [Women in Chilean Society]

The formation of a women's popular front" was no doubt facilitated by the mechanisms of women's integration instituted by previous (Christian Democratic) administration. The Right was able to capitalize on the "social integration" of the population which the

"participation-oriented" Frei (Christian Democrat president) had encouraged. They set up a network of organizations at the grassroots level, such as neighborhood committees, cultural centers, and above all women's centers (centros de madres). We should point out, however, that the women's centers, as well as other grass-roots organizations, were to become battlegrounds between the Right and the Left. More than once, the struggles which were fought there favored the progressive forces.

Generally speaking, however, these community-level organizations, particularly within the poorer communities, were organized according to the principles of aid to

the "marginalized" people. In other words, they are based on norms of participation and ideological frameworks which given a climate of constant confrontation and the aid of right-wing parties, made them effective tools in mobilization of women in favor of the traditional system. These women's centers brought together a group of specifically women-oriented tasks. These women increasingly confirmed themselves in and limited them to their exclusive role as mothers and wives under the tutelage of women from the middle bourgeoisie and even upper bourgeoisie. In exchange for their candidates. Under the facade of "participation," these centers drew women away from any

political action or affiliation that went against the system. They created the illusion overcoming the marginalization felt by poorer women, thereby diffusing the explosiveness of the situation. Learning once again to be obedient, many women from the popular sectors were effectively demobilized.

Therefore, when we consider the characteristics of women's participation in the process of production, we realize that Chilean women from the popular sectors, and particularly from the petit-bourgeoisie, are most affected by the mechanisms of socialization which exist at the community level. In fact the vast majority of the  
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# Ultrasuede Crusade

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*If you think that the accompanying article belongs to another time and place ("that kind of thing could never happen here"), think about some of the implications of the following report based on a Los Angeles Times story.*

In mid-November four hundred women assembled in the Grand Hall of the Music Center Pavillion in Los Angeles "wearing Ultrasuede and Chanel shoes and lunching on crepes." They were not gathered together for a new fashion show or a society luncheon, but for the launching of a new organization—The Women's Crusade for a Common Sense Economy. Their purpose: to fight the "erosion of the American Free Enterprise System." Their immediate goal: the mobilization of 1 million women and \$1.4 million to "strengthen the foundations of the nation, protect the family paycheck, and secure our children's future."

The national organizing committee for the "crusade" includes the chairman (sic) of the National State Bank of Trenton, the chief executive officer of Copley Press, the president of the Women's Finance Forum, and a former

Democratic national committeewoman (although the main backers of the group seem to be Republican).

One of the new organization's main purposes seems to be fighting against government spending for social welfare. In not-too-cryptic terms, Helen Copley, one of the corporative executives who addressed the group, warned that "rising living standards are not achieved by devising new methods of taking something away from one group to give another."

Former Secretary of the Treasury, William Simon made clear the political purpose of the "crusade" in his remarks before the group. Saying how much he preferred talking to housewives and women consumers over economic theorists, Simon argued that "the same senator, congressman, or official... who may not pay much heed to... a former Treasury secretary will have to sit up and take notice when you go to him with the force and power of a million women behind you." Needless to say, none of the talk about cutting government spending included any mention of the bloated military budget.

This "crusade" is out for some unholy ends.

**The main contingent was made up of bourgeois women, with their maids, followed by a number of petit-bourgeois women, and women from poorer districts. All were encircled by chain-bearing militants of the extreme right.**

female population remains outside the process of economic production.

According to the 1970 census, only slightly more than 19 percent of women above the age of twelve earn wages for work outside the home, compared with 69 percent of men. In terms of the adult family, that figure falls to 11 percent for women. Many women withdraw from paid labor because of marriage and family duties and, contrary to what occurs in more developed countries, they do not reintegrate themselves into the workforce at a later date. Moreover the employment sectors which they enter, because of tradition and a lack of real choices, further reduce the possibilities of their being exposed to a different orientation. Almost 40 percent of working women are employed as servants or do washing or ironing in private homes, a kind of work which tends to break down the bonds of solidarity with their own class. An indication of the extent of their exploitation is the fact that less than 45 percent of these women are registered by their employer for social security benefits.

Twenty percent of economically active Chilean women are factory workers of which a very small percentage is unionized. The remainder is divided among professionals and skilled workers (16 percent) and employees of the state or private enterprise (25 percent) as secretaries, saleswomen, etc. The meager professional qualifications of petit-bourgeois women and their resultant fear of change make them even more vulnerable to the Right's

blackmail. In fact, the few professional associations in which women were in the majority participated fully in the Central Confederation of Chilean Professional Associations. Founded in 1971, it became one of the first fronts against the Popular Unity. Among the participants were the Nurses' Association, the Social Workers' Association, the Midwives' Association, and the Librarians' Association.

#### [Women, Media, and the Right]

We often forget that women's confinement to the home is the constant reference point for television and radio programming. To understand the full meaning of this phenomenon, we must consider not only the qualitative rupture between the media that supported the popular government and the media controlled by the right, but also have to take into account the purely quantitative aspect. The bourgeoisie not only retained its communications apparatus intact. It even expanded it, creating magazines and newspapers like *Tribuna* which daily spit out headlines insulting the President. The bourgeoisie lost some of its power only in the area of television media because the State network (the only national network) was automatically controlled by the new government. The government, however, had to allow pluralistic access to all other sectors of national opinion. With the proven support of imperialism, reactionary forces used all of their powers to recover some of the ground they had lost.

The mass media became the favorite launching pad for the bourgeoisie offensive. Between November 1970 and June 1973, *El Mercurio* devoted 120 editorials to the women's front. The main impact of the whole terror campaign was aimed primarily at women. The threat which "marxist totalitarianism" represented for the home, the survival of family ties and the education of children, were and continue to be, the arguments used to stir up world-wide anti-communism. These threats are designed to paralyze women and to push to the extreme the conservative features of the dominant feminine culture. Since 1964 when Frei was campaigning against Allende, the Christian Democrats broadcast the voice of Juana Castro, a leader in the Cuban exile movement and Fidel's half sister, to convince Chileans to fight communism. In 1970 the same operation was repeated, but with great violence and a different slant: "Your sons and daughters will be sent to Moscow." The ghost of hunger and the specter of Marxism were slogans that constantly appeared on city walls, in newspapers and on the airwaves. By using this repertoire of arguments and symbols based on mother and child, the Right hoped to legitimize the overthrow of the popular government by any means possible: "Your mother is waiting in line... This child cannot wait until 1976! The children of Chile need a solution now." The photo to this caption showed a child crying in front of his house in a poor neighborhood.

The bourgeoisie also broke with the traditional format of the women's press in order to further stimulate the active opposition of women. In addition to weekly soap operas and serial publications, the Chilean bourgeoisie controlled three

magazines — *Eva*, *Paula*, and *Vanidades*. During the period of the Popular Unity government, these publications still accounted for 80 percent of the women's press.

The local magazine *Eva* underwent the most spectacular shift. In an interview with foreign journalists, its editor admitted her intention to make it an instrument of agitation. "I have declared war on the Popular Unity. Women must fight and we must help them." A look at the editorials, a few other sections and the many details spread throughout the magazine is enough to convince even the most inexperienced reader of its new character — unheard of in a magazine of this type. *Eva* was transformed in two major areas: A welter of intellectual references were cited and all aspects of daily life were politicized. The content remained the same with one exception. Whereas previously the magazine had rigorously limited its content to sentimentality and love life, motherly concerns and care for the home, it now introduced items which were supposed to "inform" women about national politics and "open their eyes" to the antagonisms between two conflicting ways of life.

One particular section blatantly contributed to the task of mobilizing its readers. The articles encouraged women to intensify their combativeness and even gave them precise instructions. The following is an example:

*We must not forget that sacrifice molds willpower. It is not logical to invest money in gambling when it is needed for the cause — to keep free radios on the air or to help Channel 13 withstand governmental pressures. We cannot live wars for only a few hours a day. We must remain in the trenches, as an example to others, with sac-*

*rifice, engaging in action during the whole day. Women who continue to believe that they need at least five pairs of shoes, more than ten dresses, etc... are not partaking in this struggle. Women are not active if they do not promote the collection of funds and registration in work groups, whether for social work or political action.*

This chronicle closed by calling on women to sign up for training in the "regular armies" (the political parties), the "fifth column" (infiltration in the enemy's ranks) or in the guerilla movement (direct action used against Marxists). As we can see, sedition is a school. Paradoxically, the right-wing's ethics repudiated the frivolous softening of women produced through consumer society, that society which this struggle intended to restore. This message penetrated the rest of the magazine in a more diffuse fashion, entering every article dealing with the daily concerns of the housewife.

The day after the coup, when the right flooded the market with the goods it had "stockpiled," its newspapers and magazines described tears of joy shed by housewives at the sight of the renewed abundance. "Chile's second independence" went hand-in-hand with the "liberation of the housewife." And, when the supplies ran out, inflation quickly demonstrated the emptiness of their rhetoric.

The full version of this article appeared in the Sept., 1975 issue of *Latin American Empire Report* (Vol. IX, #6). It can be obtained from NACLA for \$1 (order from NACLA, box 57, Cathedral Station, NY, NY 10025). Subscriptions to this monthly newsletter are \$10 from the previous address or from NACLA, Box 226, Berkeley, CA 94701. We would like to thank NACLA for their permission to reprint this article.

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## Transfer Amendment

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from p. 5

\*Offers a concrete means to link cuts in the military budget with increased social welfare spending;

\*Counters fears that cuts in military spending will mean loss of jobs and a rising unemployment rate.

According to Jack Nicholl, co-director of the Coalition, the transfer resolution "stresses job creation more than any single factor." As the accompanying chart shows, the transfer amendment would create over a million *new* jobs by funding labor-intensive human services.

So far the response to the resolution within the labor movement has been interested but guarded. Nicholl says that there has been a great deal of support among union people at the local level, but that things are much slower to move at the top. The traditional support of some of the major labor leaders for military spending rests as much on their consistent support for a Cold War foreign policy as it does on concern for jobs. It will take pressure from the base to challenge the alliance of labor and industry that defends defense spending.

The building of such pressure is what the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy is all about. Its strategy includes public education to counter the effects of the latest Pentagon scare campaign, as well as popular mobilization to put sufficient pressure on Congress to actually effect changes in the budget. Coalition branches are being formed around the country and  
over

Nicholl says that a key priority right now is local pressure on members of the Congressional budget committees.

The issues of military spending and foreign policy are important ones for the Left. The transfer amendment provides a way to concretize our opposition to U.S. imperialism and our support for the forces of liberation around the world. It offers a vehicle to reach out to the majority of the working class — the force essential to really turning American foreign policy around. And were it to win, it could have far-reaching significance for our efforts to build a Left in this country.

It would mean:

\*U.S. imperialism would lose some of its ability to maneuver in the world.

\*A dent would be made in the profits of the defense industry and government funds would be shifted to low or no-profit services.

\*A new alliance of labor, community, minority, peace, and church groups could develop to provide an ongoing force for a new non-interventionist foreign policy and more social spending at home.

\*The arms race could be slowed down a little and greater pressure brought to bear for disarmament and an end to cold warriorism.

Like any reform, there are problems with the transfer amendment. It doesn't deal with the inequities in the tax structure, nor does it help to clarify the real basis of American foreign policy. But given the propaganda of the Right for increased military spending, and the urgency of the world situation, it's well worth supporting.

For more information on the transfer resolution, contact: *Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy*, 120 Maryland Ave. N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.

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## Clericals

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*continued from p. 10*

from getting discouraged and helps me explain how the system operates." Strolle notes that he has a more realistic expectation of what unions will and will not do because

he is a socialist.

What about being red-baited? Pauline Burn, another NAM member who took part in the City Light struggle, says: "It's obvious to most people around me that I'm a socialist. That doesn't seem to matter so much." She felt that older women initially distrusted her as a radical, but when she supported their right to keep their jobs, they warmed up to her. Lilly says that she only discusses socialism when she can relate it concretely to a particular situation, and that she has never been redbaited within her union.

[What's Ahead?]

Charles Rader, OPEIU organizer, points out that in all of the western world, except the U.S. and Canada, clerical unions are some of the most militant and progressive of any unions. He thinks that they have the potential to play this role here as well.

Lilly believes that clerical organizing can be a first step in building a larger consciousness. "It can give a clearer understanding of the role of a capitalist economic system and thus make it easier to point out a socialist alternative. Every time you go to the bargaining table, you're right up against capitalism. You really see where capitalist interests are, and it's not in the area of taking care of workers."

Organizing clerical workers, like other union organizing, is only one part of the larger task of building a socialist movement. But it is clear that an expanded and democratized labor movement will be essential if a broader socialist movement is to emerge. As Lilly puts it: "Winning battles like this can give workers confidence that they can take control of their lives. It's only with that feeling that people will begin to move on and change other things."

## Resources

\*Working women's organizations: 9 to 5 Organization for Office Workers, 140 Clarendon St., Boston, MA 02116.

\*Union Organizing: Both the Service Employees International Union and American Federation of State, Country, and Municipal Employees Union have materials available.

\*ORGANIZE! A WORKING WOMEN'S HANDBOOK, UNION W.A.G.E. Educational Committee—a concrete and readable guide to getting a union organized, writing and negotiating union contracts, and building a rank and file caucus. (UNION W.A.G.E., P.O. Box 462, Berkeley, CA 94701)

\*NOT SERVANTS, NOT MACHINES: OFFICE WORKERS SPEAK UP, Jean Tepperman, Beacon Press—a popularly written overview of the situation of clerical workers today, including descriptions of organizing efforts around the country.

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# NAM News

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The 1977 National Convention of the New American Movement will be held at Coe College in Cedar Rapids, Iowa on August 11-14. We would like to urge all members and friends of NAM to attend. We'll be publishing information on the agenda and costs in upcoming issues of *Moving On*.

## [Winter Institutes]

In February NAM sponsored three regional "winter institutes" focused on the labor movement and workplace organizing. Representatives from nearly all chapters participated in the sessions which emphasized strategic perspectives as well as concrete problems of organizing. Among the topics discussed were: a historical overview of the role of the Left in the labor movement; an analysis of current trends in the labor movement today; perspectives on how to combat racism in unions, caucuses, and work situations; and organizing women workers.

## [East Bay Voice]

The *East Bay Voice*, the newspaper of East Bay NAM, has only been publishing for a year, and already it's making waves in the Bay Area (Oakland and Berkeley, CA). In a survey done by local radio station, KPFA, the *Voice* was voted the *fifth* most widely-read periodical of the station's listeners. It was beaten only by such mass circulation papers as the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Time* magazine, and even finished ahead of *Newsweek*. The *Voice* carries articles on local political struggles, interviews with popular figures, and varied cultural commentary.

## [People's Power]

The People's Power Project of Chicago NAM and the Illinois Public Action Council recently drew some attention in that frozen Midwestern city. As the much-heralded new



film, *King Kong*, opened in local theaters, the utilities activists took *King Com* (see photo) out to protest Commonwealth Edison's latest rate hike request. With one of their ranks dressed in a gorilla costume and crushing a symbolic consumer in his giant paw, 60 representatives from community groups demonstrated before the Illinois Commerce Commission. Kathy McCourt, spokesperson for the People's Power Project, explained that the King Com character symbolized the "bestly" manner in which Com Ed treats the city's working people.

No decision has yet come down from the Commerce Commission on the rate increase. However, both the PPP and Public Action (a multi-issue coalition of community groups to which PPP belongs) plan to continue the battle against the real monster, Commonwealth Edison.

## [Utilities]

In mid-March NAM's Industrial Heartland region will sponsor a conference on utilities organizing in

Yellow Springs, OH. The conference will focus on such topics as: the limits and potential of "lifeline"; raising the issue of worker and consumer control; relating to utilities workers; local utilities and the big oil companies. There are now 10 NAM chapters involved in utilities organizing and many of them are dealing with these questions actively in their work. The conference will also seek to develop a comprehensive NAM program on energy-related issues.

## [Kudos for Maids]

*Union Maids*, the moving film made by NAM members Julia Reichert and Jim Klein with Miles Mogulescu continues to receive wide acclaim. Julia recently travelled to Copenhagen and East Berlin where there were special showings of the film. In this country, its New York premiere (a benefit for NAM and the July 4th Coalition) was greeted by what can only be termed "rave" reviews in the *Village Voice* and the *New York Times*. NAM chapters can rent the film at a special rate from the national office.

## [Sadlowski]

Earlier this year the National Interim Committee encouraged chapters to support the campaign of Ed Sadlowski for president of the U.S.W.A. (See "Comment" for our viewpoint on the outcome of the election). A number of chapters did get actively involved. Seattle NAM members played an important role in coordinating the campaign in that area. Pittsburgh NAM helped to organize fundraising events, including a very successful Pete Seeger concert. In the Willamette Valley area of Oregon (where no local Sadlowski office existed), NAM members helped steelworkers to produce and distribute leaflets. Buffalo and Chicago NAM also worked actively in the campaign.



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