



Women and the left

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NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

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Banks bilk bankrupt NYC

by Steve Max
West Side NAM

NEW YORK CITY—Lines began forming at downtown banks at 10:30 a.m. on June 6, as 200,000 New York City employees rushed to cash their paychecks amidst rumors that the city was \$43 million short and could not cover the week's payroll.

That day also brought dismissal notices to 9,000 city workers, including police, sanitation workers, firemen, and school crossing guards, bringing dismissals to a total of about 12,000.

The layoffs followed hard on a march on Wall Street by over 10,000 city employees, the first political demonstration by municipal unions in at least three decades. Demonstrators heard union heads condemn the impending layoffs and blame the banks for charging the city excessive interest rates. Victor Gottbaum, executive director of District Council 37, the largest of the city's public employee unions, denounced First National City Bank as "chief villain" among banks for refus-

ing to further extend the city's credit. Union officials called for a boycott of First National City by individual depositors and announced that \$175 million in union pension funds were being withdrawn.

Missing from the day's speech making was any mention of a strike in opposition to the layoffs. That evening however, the traditionally more militant Social Service Employees Union, Local 371 of District Council 37, did vote to petition the D.C. to take a strike vote if permanent civil service employees were fired.

As the thousands of dismissal slips went into the mail, frantic negotiations took place between the mayor and the governor to find a way of avoiding default on the payment of interest on city bonds due the following week.

BIG MAC TO THE RESCUE

While the issue is by no means settled, the following plan has been worked out: A new state body, the Municipal Assistance Corporation

(MAC or Big MAC) is to buy the city's short-term loans and consolidate them. It will then sell its own long-term bonds to raise money to pay off the city's short-term debt.

In return for this "service" the Big MAC board of directors, all top bankers, insurance, and business representatives, will take over supervision of the city's financial operations and budget.

New York's Mayor Beame was reported ready to accept the proposal

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Calif. UFW organizes for ballot victory

by Ralph Stevens

When Governor Jerry Brown signed the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act of 1975 on June 5, he made California farmworkers the first in the nation to win a representation law. The signing also signaled a new and crucial phase in the struggle of the United Farmworkers Union to build a fighting union for the state's 400,000 farmworkers.

The forces that oppose the UFW have already fired the first shots, taking aim at the new law. A spokesman for the Delano table grape growers said, "We are not convinced that the slam-bang, pressure cooker tactics employed by the Governor have produced commendable or even workable legislation." Coachella Valley citrus growers have also gone on record against the legislation, and Gallo Wine (which publically supported the law) reportedly paid its Teamster Union employees to campaign against it.

The Packer, a highly influential industry publication, indicated the kind of opposition the food industry as a whole can be expected to take to the law: "We find the bill unacceptable... (it) is a pro-UFW bill nearly all the way. There will be no peace..."

The Teamsters Union, the UFWs rival in the fields, has publicly endorsed the new legislation. They seem to believe that its impact will depend entirely on the composition of the

five-member Agricultural Labor Relations Board.

BOYCOTT CONTINUES

The Gallo Company, target of the UFWs intense and effective nationwide boycott, demanded that the UFW immediately call off the boycott after the signing. Many growers reiterated this theme in the days following enactment of the law. To all of this Cesar Chavez responded: "The boycott will be called off only after the ink is dry on the contracts the growers sign with us. We will continue the boycott after the elections. We know all too well that many unions have won elections and failed to get contracts."

The terms of the new law will be supervised by a five-person Agricultural Labor Relations Board (each of whom will receive \$42,500 annually). As of this writing the governor has not yet made any appointments. One of the rubs is that this Board has to be approved by the relatively conservative state senate. There will be a chief counsel of the Board who will also be subject to senate confirmation.

The Act further provides for certification of unions only through the election process. No recognition strikes are permitted. Election petitions can only be filed by unions at peak season, when at least 50% of the

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Mozambique is free!

by Nick Rabkin
Bay Area NAM

Independence celebrations on June 25 marked the end of five centuries of colonial domination in Mozambique by Portugal. The Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), which engaged in ten years of guerrilla warfare against the Portuguese, has assumed leadership of the country. FRELIMO leader, Samora Machel, has been inaugurated as the first president of the new African nation.

Machel, a Marxist, has pledged his government to the task of eliminating the economic and cultural heritage of colonialism, and to fighting white-minority rule in southern Africa. FRELIMO has already initiated a massive literacy campaign in the countryside, begun to develop a new educational curriculum to meet the needs of the country, and taken steps to boost industrial production.

Since some 80% of Rhodesian foreign trade passes through Mozambique ports and across the country, FRELIMO is in a unique position to weaken the white-minority regime of that country. It is virtually certain that Mozambique will join the United Nations boycott against Rhodesia.

The importance of Mozambique independence will undoubtedly grow as the country moves in its own way toward building a socialist society and playing a larger role in the African community of nations. Unlike many of the African nations that were granted independence in the 1950s and 1960s, and where neo-colonial regimes tied to the old colonial powers rule today, FRELIMO built a popular movement and fought for independence for a decade. It will pursue a policy of economic development and self-sufficiency, and of political independence and friendship with China, the Soviet Union, and other socialist nations.

Attica now- another Brother acquitted



by Beth Bonora

It is now nearly four years since the Attica Prison Rebellion of September 1971. Four days after 1,200 men took over a part of the prison and negotiated with the State of New York for an improvement in the brutal, inhuman conditions under which they lived, Governor Nelson Rockefeller ordered the storming of the prison by state troopers. The massacre that followed, termed an orgy of violence by the highest New York court, left 39 people dead and many more injured and maimed for life.

Governor Rockefeller appointed a special attorney general to head up the Attica investigation and prosecution, and a year and a half later indictments including about 1,500 charges against 62 men were handed down by an all-white grand jury based in Attica and the surrounding rural towns which depend on the prison for their livelihood.

CORRUPTION AND COVERUP

Charges of corruption and coverup have long plagued the Attica prosecutions as the evidence has mushroomed on illegal wiretaps, destruction of evidence, government informers in the defense camp, and finally the coercion of witnesses through torture, beatings, threats, and the use of parole. Recently the assistant attorney general, in charge of investigating crimes committed by state troopers, resigned charging the chief prosecutor, Anthony Simonetti, with engaging in a coverup of state crimes.

New York Governor Carey has now appointed a new investigator to investigate the investigators. He is N.Y. Supreme Court justice Bernard Meyer who is expected to submit a report in the late summer. A bill is also pending in the New York legislature which would grant amnesty to all those involved in the Attica Rebellion—prisoners and state employees.

Meanwhile, pressure is mounting to push the trials of the Attica Brothers to conclusion as quickly as possible before the whole situation gets out of the

TO OUR READERS:

This is the last issue of the NAM newspaper to be published in the San Francisco Bay Area. At the May meeting of the NAM Expand National Interim Committee (See NAM paper for June 1975) it was decided to move the newspaper to Boston. The move will take place this summer. The next issue of the paper will be put together by the new newspaper collective soon after the national convention August 6 to 10. The Boston address will be 14 Union Sq., Somerville, MA 02143.

The newspaper has been published here for the last four years. We on the collective have learned a great deal from one another and from our comrades throughout the country. We have all developed and grown. But we have only just begun.

We anticipate great accomplishment for the newspaper and for NAM as a whole. Toward a Socialist future!

The NAM Newspaper Collective

state's control. So far, 4 of the 42 indictments have been tried, resulting in two acquittals, a dismissal, and the convictions of Dacajaweah (indicted as John Hill) for murder of a prison guard and Charley Joe Pernalice for assault. Many more indictments have been dismissed on the eve of trial for lack of evidence. Some of the Brothers have taken pleas.

CURRENT TRIAL

The current trial of Attica Brother Shango Bahati Kakawana (indicted as Bernard Stroble) is illustrative of the corruption and fabrication the prosecution has engaged in over the last four years at the expense of the inmates.

Shango was indicted with four other defendants in 1973 for the alleged murder and kidnapping of two inmates, Barry Schwartz and Kenneth Hess, during the Rebellion. Shango is representing himself on one indictment and is represented on the two other indictments by attorneys W. Haywood Burns of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, and Ernest Goodman of Detroit.

The prosecution's theory is that Hess and Schwartz, as a result of a conversation they had with a reported in D Yard on the second day of the Rebellion, were taken to the inmates' negotiating table where they were allegedly "tried" for treason and then escorted off the yard to D Block where they were subsequently killed by inmates who were allegedly carrying out the plan of the inmates at the table.

Until June 19, the charges against Shango included two indictments for kidnapping and felony murder and one indictment for "common law" murder. At the close of the prosecution's case on June 18 (after six months of a pretrial hearing and trial), the defense presented a motion for dismissal of all the indictments against Shango on the grounds that the prosecution had not yet presented any evidence of kidnap.

Attorney Burns argued that the "prosecution has engaged in a deliberate warping and twisting of facts in order to reach out and grab those men who had been persistent and strong in pressing for the needs and demands of the men in D Yard at Attica in September 1971. The state has deliberately inflamed this situation by fabricating this case in order to make the public focus on the alleged crimes of the inmates and not the failures, responsibility, and criminal acts of the State of New York at Attica before, during, and after the Rebellion."

DISMISSAL

The following day, Judge Joseph Mattina dismissed the kidnapping and felony murder charges, substituting two charges of unlawful imprisonment and leaving the common law murder charge for the jury to decide. The prosecution's sole witness on this murder charge is inmate James Ross who admitted on the witness stand that he lied to state investigators on several key issues. Ross has a long history of psychological and nervous problems for which he has been treated with thorazine. He said that at one point he fled to Boston, breaking his parole, in order to escape the pressure the state investigators were putting on him.

Ross' testimony was directly contradicted by another former prosecution witness who said that he saw inmate Tommy Hicks, not Shango, kill Schwartz, and that Ross was in a position where he could not possibly have seen the alleged murder. (Hicks was killed by the state in the retaking of the prison).

The six months of testimony from witnesses in Shango's case have revealed a shocking record of abuse and coercion by the Attica prosecution. The prosecution's own inmate witnesses, on cross-examination by defense attorneys, testified to the constant unbearable pressure and coercive tactics used by state investigators to elicit false testimony

from inmates.

One major prosecution witness, John Flowers, testified that he had been questioned almost daily by the state investigators for six months following the Rebellion. He said, "I got the message from them that they could be helpful to me when I came up for parole in May 1972, if the murders could be pinned on Shango." He was told by state investigators that he would be kept in segregation at Attica until he told the investigators everything they wanted to know from him.

STATE TERROR

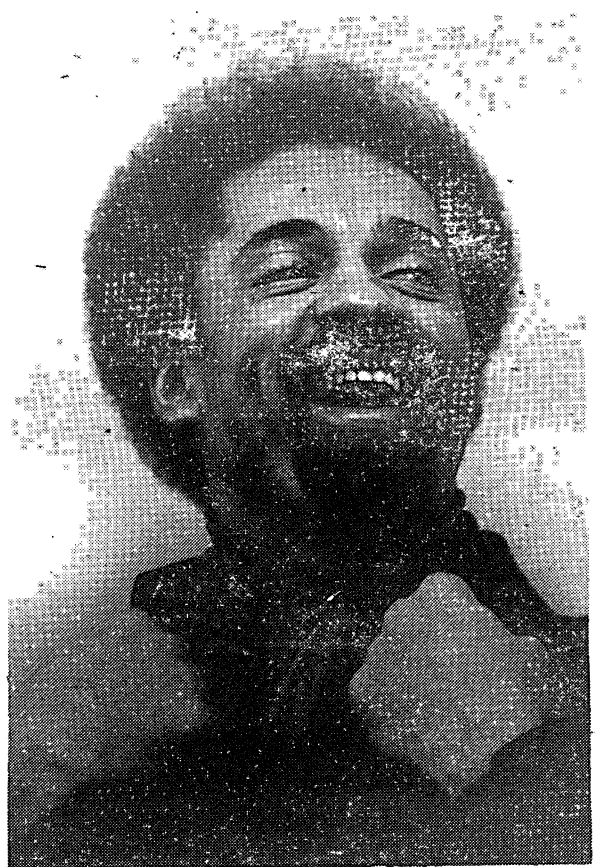
Other witnesses testified to being questioned while a gun was held to their heads. One witness, Flip Crowley, testified that after several days of repeated threats to his life and beatings, when the state investigator finally arrived to question him, he would have testified against his mother.

A clear pattern emerged of early parole for every witness who would fully cooperate with the State (including false testimony whenever necessary).

The dropping of the majority of the charges against Shango is an important defense victory, but it comes after two years of struggling under the weight of charges that were clearly false from the beginning. And the prosecutions continue with trials of other Brothers scheduled to begin soon, in spite of the current investigation into the prosecution's misconduct and coverup. Shango commented on the dismissal of the charges with the following statement:

"I find the dropping of these charges to be a vague compromise to answer the many questions of the public concerning the prosecution of the Attica Brothers in the first instance, and a play at deceiving the public into believing that justice is scrutinizing the prosecution of these Attica cases when in fact the principle of justice can never be met in this historical terrain of Attica—the person of Rockefeller has long seen to that."

[Editors' Note: As we went to press we received a telegram announcing that Shango was found not guilty on all counts!]



The New American Movement (NAM) exists to help organize a movement for democratic socialism in the United States. Our aim is to establish working-class control of the enormous productive capacity of American industry, to create a society that will provide material comfort and security for all people, and in which the full and free development of every individual will be the basic goal. Such a society will strive for decentralization of decision making, an end to bureaucratic rule, and participation of all people in shaping their own lives and the direction of society. We believe the elimination of sexist and racist institutions and the dismantling of American economic and social control abroad are central to the struggle for socialism.

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Telephone workers union linked to CIA

by Daniel Marschall
Bay Area NAM

The Communications Workers of America (CWA) has been "deeply intertwined" with the Central Intelligence Agency through the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), delegates attending the CWAs national convention in San Diego were told on June 10.

In an exclusive report to this author, Cynthia Sweeney (CWA Local 11500) said that "1,500 copies of the pamphlet *CIA & CWA* were handed out to delegates and alternate delegates" despite physical threats made against the pamphlet distributors by a "fascist group from the deep south."

"The Communications Workers of America has been the active partner of the Central Intelligence Agency for more than 13 years," the pamphlet begins. "No one pretended that the pamphlet's information was not true," Ms. Sweeney reported. Enrique Perez, a member of CWAs staff for its Latin American operations, admitted that "It's all true. They (CWA leadership) would be stupid to deny it."

These revelations about the CIA and the CWA have led members of the CWA and other union bodies to demand that Senator Frank Church, chairman of the Select Committee on the CIA, investigate the charges that "the CIA has used our national union as a vehicle to carry out many secret operations in Latin America and elsewhere around the world."

THE LATIN CONNECTION

The connections between the CWA and the CIA begin with the activities of "former CWA president Joseph Bierne who conceived of AIFLD in 1958 and 'is credited with taking the initial steps which led to AIFLDs establishment' in 1962, according to AIFLD catalog." Bierne was "an important collaborator in CIA labor operations," says Philip Agee, former CIA operative in Latin America and author of *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*.

Joseph Bierne serves as Secretary-Treasurer of AIFLD until his death in 1974. Fred Hirsch, author of *Our AFL-CIO Role in Latin America*, and others have well documented the CIA's covert funding of the AIFLD, now conducted through the State Department's Agency for International Development (AID). Agee describes the AIFLD as a "CIA-controlled labor center financed through AID." The AIFLD's Secretary-Treasurer is now Glen Watts, president of the CWA and a member of the International Affairs Committee of the AFL-CIO. Other members of the CWA who hold "important international assignments" with the AIFLD were revealed to the CWA convention delegates for the first time.

"The links between the CWA and the AIFLD go on and on," the pamphlet says. In 1966 the CWA turned over its training facility in Front Royal, Virginia, to AIFLD. It has been used since then to train local labor leaders for unions throughout Latin America.

"Unlike some other unions, which merely pass on AID funds, the CWA directly taps the dues of all its members to fund its own 'Operation South America,'" Cynthia Sweeney explained. Launched in 1959 by Joseph Bierne, Ray Hackney, and Louis B. Knecht (now Secretary-Treasurer of the CWA), Operation South America has separate projects in 13 different Latin American and Caribbean countries; all 12 CWA Districts are "actively involved." Its activities have included funding the Telephone Workers of Cuba in exile in the United States since 1962 and sending members of the Bolivian telephone workers union to a

"six-week course on cooperative management in Front Royal, Virginia."

According to Philip Agee, the CWA also performs a special function for the intelligence community: the CWA is "used by the CIA to control the Post, Telegraph and Telephone Workers International," an international trade secretariat encompassing over 3 million communications workers throughout the world. Beginning in 1959, the CWA financed Jose M. Larco's rise to "international importance" in the PTI. Larco is now a regional director and directs all PTI activities in Central America and the northern half of South America.

COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY PRIDE

It's not surprising that the CWA and the AIFLD are housed in the same office building in Washington, D.C. According to William Doherty, AIFLD Social Projects Director, graduates of the Front Royal Institute were "intimately involved" in the 1964 military coup in Brazil which overthrew the

democratically-elected government of Joao Goulart: "What happened in Brazil on April 1 did not just happen—it was planned...and planned months in advance. Many of the trade union leaders—some of whom were actually trained in our institute—were involved in the revolution, and in the overthrow of the Goulart regime."

Specially trained by the AIFLD, 33 Brazilian labor leaders were involved in the coup itself. "One of these AIFLD trainees went home to organize key communications workers in support of the coup itself," Doherty continued. "When the pro-Goulart labor movement called a general strike to block the coup, these key workers broke the strike and kept the telegraph lines open to coordinate troop movements."

Apart from Operation South America, the pamphlet documents other connections between the CWA and AIFLD. "Most significant of all, AIFLD serves as a channel for large amounts of U.S. government funds to the CWA. It works like this: the government's Agency for International Development



William Doherty and Joseph Bierne at the Front Royal Institute

Texas farmworkers organize

by Glenn Scott
Austin NAM

Coverage of the United Farmworkers' triumph has muffled the news of a farmworker struggle in Texas—one that may be of equal significance.

In late May, campesino team leaders came to UFW organizers in the Rio Grande Valley requesting authorization for a melon strike. (The melon harvest is of strategic importance because the fruit must be picked the day it is ready or it will rot.) On May 26, three UFW activists went to the International Bridge at Hidalgo, Texas, to leaflet green-carded Mexican nationals who cross each day to board trucks for the mega-acre farms of the Valley. In minutes, 1,500 people were gathered around them, wanting to participate in a strike. The organizers hastily garnered a 50-car caravan to take as many as possible to picket the melon fields. For the next three weeks, over 200 farmworker families maintained a consistent strike against four of the Valley's largest farms.

The strikers are unique in UFW history in that 70% of them are Mexican nationals. In earlier farmworker strikes in California and Texas, aliens have always been called "esquirols," those who were desperate enough to cross the UFW picket lines. But this strike was started and has been carried by campesinos from both sides of the Rio Bravo.

The union organizing committee can not pay strike benefits. The farmworker families have subsisted on funds and food sent from several Texas cities (Austin has made the largest contribution, sending over \$1,000 and three truckloads of food). On several days up to 3,000 campesinos have honored the farmworker picket lines, even though there has not been enough money to feed that many strikers.

GROWER RESPONSE

The growers have responded with violence. On the morning of May 26, foreman C.L. Miller of El Tejano ranch near Hidalgo drove up to the pickets and shotgunned them, wounding 11. Those 11 and 7 others were charged and brought to trial for "inciting to violence." Miller, charged with aggravated assault, was released on bond. The sheriff has not yet set a hearing.

These "farmers," as they are often referred to in the media, quickly formed a secretly funded association to defend foreman Miller and improve their public image. This group used an incident of melon throwing by some of the pickets to convince district judge Carrillo to grant a temporary restraining order on picketing and other strike activities. On June 2, the day after 400 farmworkers and supporters—men, women, and children—demonstrated their nonviolence on a symbolic 8-mile march from Hidalgo to McAllen, the

(AID) gives grants to AIFLD (\$5.5 million in 1971; \$5.7 million in 1972), which in turn enters into subcontracts with the CWA and five other major unions. The content of these subcontracts is not known, but one report holds that the CWAs subcontract amounted to \$300,000 per year in 1969."

In addition to the AIFLD in Latin America, the CIA also operates labor centers in Asia and Africa: the Asian-American Free Labor Institute and the African American Labor Center. "Each of these institutes has subcontracts with the CWA," the pamphlet charges, "and Bierne served as Secretary-Treasurer of the African operation."

The AIFLD has also "vigorously supported" right-wing upheavals in Guyana in 1963, the Dominican Republic in 1965, and Chile in 1973.

Links between the AFL-CIO and the foreign operations of the CIA were also revealed at the CWA convention. "Five independent investigators have published studies which conclude that the AFL-CIO functions as the active partner of the CIA in covert actions abroad, and the AIFLD is one of the most important instruments. In addition, former CIA officer Victor Marchetti confirmed that the CIA uses labor in those sections of his book that escaped the CIA-censors. By all reports, George Meany is the king-pin of these operations, providing the CIA with a massive front to infiltrate funds, agents, and influence into the Third World. And Philip Agee concurs: George Meany is the "principal CIA agent/collaborator in US trade union movement for purpose of the CIA international labor operations."

The distribution of this information at the CWAs San Diego convention is the first action by a group of rank-and-file trade unionists to expose the infiltration of the American labor movement by the CIA. They intend to continue the work already done by the Union Committee for an All-Labor AIFLD in San Francisco. "In the future," says Cynthia Sweeney, "a pamphlet will be written about the Retail Clerks International Association. One chapter will be on the CIA connection."

Copies of the CWA pamphlet are available for \$1.00 each from P.O. Box 8155, San Diego, CA 92101.

growers and strikers reached a mutual agreement and the ban on picketing was lifted. The growers pledged not to block public roads and the strikers promised not to enter private property.

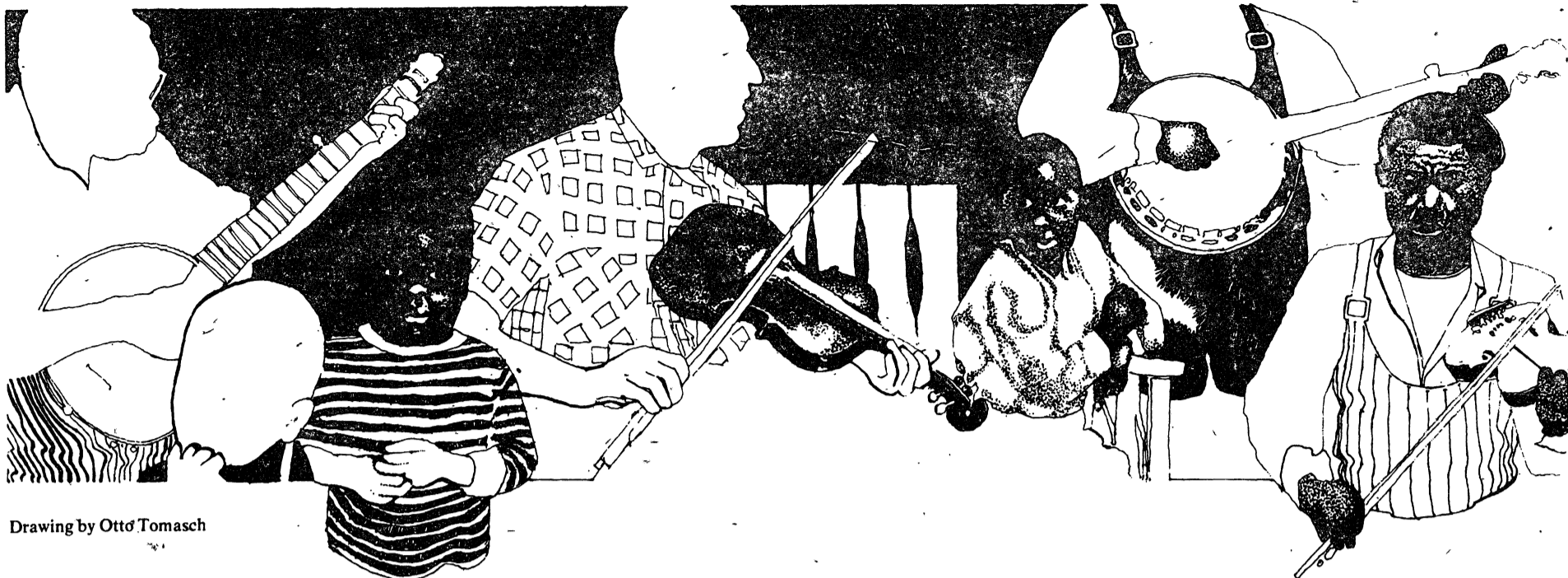
By May 30 UFW organizers had collected over 1,000 union authorization cards, and were hoping to receive a favorable decision from Judge Carrillo, granting them elections. This hope was not based on any belief in the justice of the South Texas courts—not in a region where LBJ-ite machines and godfathers wear the same Stetson—but because the state legislature opened impeachment hearings on Carrillo this month.

TEXAS LAW

Grower violence and grower control of the law is a stale script in Texas, just as it has been in California. The first UFW strike effort in Texas, 1966-67, was blunted with appalling repression by the Texas Rangers. "Los Rinches," as they are called by their South Texas victims, were brought in by local authorities when the injunctions of grower-controlled county courts failed to weaken the strike. UFW demonstrators were beaten and shot; news reporters either obeyed orders not to take pictures or had their cameras smashed.

For Tony Orendain, who was among the UFW organizers arrested in 1966 and is a leader of the present strike, the

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Drawing by Otto Tomasch

"Blood on the Tracks"

Longing for the old Dylan

by Elayne Rapping
Pittsburgh NAM

When I think of the connection between culture and politics—between feelings and ideas—I often think of Bob Dylan. He was one of the earliest influences on my political development, as a feminist and a "radical." (We didn't call ourselves socialists in those days.) I remember countless afternoons spent at the kitchen stove (cooking dinner and listening for babies' cries) supported by the sounds of "Positively 4th Street," (which begins "You got a lotta nerve/To say you are my friend," and ends "I wish that for just one time/You could stand inside my shoes/You'd know what a drag it is/To see you.") This song, and so many others from "Another Side," "Bringing It All Back Home," and "Highway 61 Revisited" made me feel strong and often laugh right out loud with the joy of righteous indignation and rebelliousness.

Of course there were others—political thinkers and organizers, poets and novelists, friends and enemies, Marx and Lenin—who contributed to my political development. But Dylan was and is important, first because he played the same role in so many lives, and second because his career tells an important political truth about what happens to art and artists in a capitalist society.

ART IN CAPITALISM

I plugged into Dylan when he was already renouncing and denying his political roots. I learned second-hand about the skinny kid with the funny little cap who walked miles for a glimpse of Woody Guthrie, longed for "the hungry thirties" when Woody sang in union halls, and wasn't afraid to say so on his own album liner notes.

By the time I got to him, he was already slipping away into cynicism, individualism, and finally silence. First, he became a chameleon, inventing the form of public discourse known as the put-on, in an effort to maintain his privacy and integrity. And then he dropped out of public life entirely, to write thin little songs about the joys of marriage, fatherhood, fishing, and country pie. "That must be what it's all about," he kept saying. And it was painful to listen.

Reports of a comeback were always in the air. And with every new album at least one critic was convinced it had happened. But it never did. "George Jackson" was a false alarm. "Planet Waves" was just a better album about marriage and privacy. And the '74 tour, exciting as it was, proved once and for all that the '60s were history.

BLOOD ON THE TRACKS

But now we have "Blood on the Tracks" to start things up again. It's the best thing Dylan's done in years—moving, brilliant, beautiful to hear. But to say, as I've heard leftists do, that it's a political album, because it's about the failure of personal solutions, is self-deluding if not plain silly. Most popular art, from "Heartbreak Hotel" to "D-I-V-O-R-C-E," is about the failure of personal solutions. And the best of it, *La Dolce Vita*, or even *The*

Godfather, is about the failure of capitalism itself. That's not the point.

What made Dylan political was his relationship to his audience, as a performer and a writer. He set out to follow in Woody's footsteps, traveling down the highways, mingling with people, and recording what he saw and heard in the images and rhythms they had invented. He was part of a popular tradition in those days. He used to talk to his audiences a lot. And he liked to remind them that his songs were written not in "Tin Pan Alley," but "somewhere down in the United States."

And it was true. What he said grew out of a common American experience and was rooted in a vision of social change—in a conviction that things should, could, and most certainly would be different.



But the media and music industry changed all that. Fame and fortune cut him off from his original audience and material, and threw him into the world of the promoters, hustlers, and masters of war who ran Maggie's Farm. At first the view from inside the belly of the beast seemed to increase his bitterness and rage. Biting political truths bristle through "Highway 61," "Blonde on Blonde," and even "John Wesley Harding." The number of political catch-phrases and chapter headings from these albums attests to their importance. We don't need a weatherman to prove it.

But in the end, being cut off from normal people and things warped and corrupted his vision, and sent him scurrying into apolitical privacy as a way of preserving his sanity.

NOT A MARTYR

If, like Scott Fitzgerald or Janis Joplin, he had become a martyr to capitalism by drinking or drugging himself to death, we could have forgiven him.

But he survived by turning his back on everything he had learned and taught us. And the shallowness, cynicism, and even stupidity of much that he's written and said since then is hard to forgive.

That's why "Blood on the Tracks," which is far from shallow, cynical, or stupid, is such a welcome relief. And why so many people are bending over backwards to find things in it that just aren't there.

Certainly, it goes beyond the naive self-satisfaction of "Nashville Skyline" and "New Morning." And certainly, it proves that Dylan's creativity, intelligence, and wit are alive and well. For the first time in years we have a Dylan album that demands and rewards careful listening, that continues to stun and move us after repeated playing. Some cuts, like "Idiot Wind" and "Tangled Up in Blue," are as complex, insightful, and suggestive of deeper social meanings as the early Dylan. But most of it is a lot more limited.

My own favorite turns out to be a love song called, "If You See Her, Say Hello." It's about a woman who left him and it's filled with a respect and affection for women unheard of in previous Dylan albums. After years of cringing, turning out, or rationalizing the misogyny of songs like "Just Like a Woman," "It Ain't Me Babe," and "Queen Jane Approximately," it was a relief to my schizophrenic, feminist soul to hear Dylan saying, "I always have respected her/For doing what she did and getting free."

GOOD—BUT NOT GOOD ENOUGH

Good for you, Bobby. But not good enough. Those of us who are still angry and still marching can hardly find solace in a personal mellowing and maturing that was ten years coming and arrived in a political vacuum. It's nice to know that Dylan's more humble and concerned about commitments and relationships. But as he himself said (in one of his few unredeemably offensive songs), "You can have your cake and eat it too." Indeed, as we who believe that the personal is political know, you can't really have one without the other.

I for one have given up on Dylan at this point. I doubt that he'll ever remember all the things he used to know, or connect them to what he's figured out since. I do forgive him, though, because contrary to bourgeois theory, art is not a matter of individual "genius." It's an expression of collective, political experience. And Dylan, at his best, gave voice to the feelings, thoughts, and dreams of a conscious, political community. That that community wasn't yet strong enough to support and maintain him wasn't entirely his fault.

But the times are changing. And because he had the power and vision to make us see it and believe it, he contributed to the process that even now is making it come true. As we get stronger we'll produce stronger artists—because there won't be a revolution without dreams and visions. And whatever he does with his life or his talent, Dylan will have been a part of that historical process. As he himself used to point out (when he was still talking to us), if he let us be in his dream, we can't very well leave him out of ours.

The kid industry comes of age

by Barbara Ehrenreich
New York Mets NAM

A few weeks ago the *New York Times Magazine* ran an article entitled "Why Have a Baby?" It wasn't an easy question to answer, according to young writer-parents Nancy and Chip, since hardly anyone has kids anymore. "In fact," they wrote, "we get the impression that babies figure in the new scheme of things roughly the way ocelots and coatimundis did a few years ago—as rare domestic pets."

That's where it's at: a coatimundi or a kid. I began to realize kids were losing status when I discovered that paperback bookstores shelve childraising advice books in the section where you'll find *How to Communicate with Your Avocado Plants* and *Self-Help Hypnosis at Home*. But now it can be said: kids are sinking to the level of house plants and pets; childraising is degenerating into an expensive hobby.

CHILDREN'S CENTURY?

This century seemed to start out very well for kids. With the passage of child labor laws and laws requiring school attendance, for the first time kids began to be free from grueling labor in the factories and fields. Optimists called this the "century of the child;" after centuries of exploitation and neglect, they believed, kids would finally emerge as individuals in their own right.

I think the trouble really started back then—when kids began to be pushed out of the paid labor force. In our society people who don't "pay their own way" inevitably sink to the status of bums, parasites, or "welfare chiselers" (unless, of course, they are capitalists living off the wealth created by others, which for some reason is socially acceptable.) And face it, those annual \$750 tax exemptions just don't begin to cover the cost of a kid, which is running somewhere around \$2,000 a year—not counting day care, baby sitters, or the wages the mother could have been earning if she wasn't home with the child. Children used to be extra breadwinners or necessary "hands" on the farm. Now they're financial liabilities pure and simple.

WHY HAVE CHILDREN?

So why does anyone have kids anymore at all? Not counting contraceptive failures, the big reasons seem to be: First, there's a continuing grip of the Feminine Mystique—the idea, promoted by psychiatrists and baby food manufacturers, that women instinctually need kids. Second, there's the very real fact that most people in our society are lonely. Outside of the Pepsi and Sangria commercials, camaraderie is pretty hard to find, and kids are still better company than coatimundis.

Besides, kids are "cute." As new-father Chip says, "Children are fun to watch"—a fact that Art Linkletter (author of *Kids Say the Darndest Things*) successfully exploited for years on late afternoon TV. Finally, as every responsible parent knows, kids aren't just a spectator sport for the here-and-now. They do grow up—which means that all the money you shell out for them now is an investment which will eventually "mature" in the form of a product



"Little Sisters of the Grasslands"

you can be proud of—a Beautiful Bride, a Doctor (as in "my son, the..."), or at least a graduate of the local junior college.

So, from the individual point of view, kids can be pleasurable. Collectively, of course, they are profitable. Most of them will eventually be needed in the labor force (though more likely as typists and technicians than as doctors or pro-football players), and almost all of them will be needed as consumers (the consumer goods market is, of course, population-dependent). Even while they're little, kids make an enormous contribution to the economy. After all, all that money parents spend has to go somewhere, and an awful lot of it goes to the makers of Sugar Smackos, Barbie dolls, Pampers, and the rest of the giant Kid Industry. And the economic impact of kids goes way beyond specialized kid products. Kids are at the center of a commodity "package" which, as advertised, includes a house in the suburbs, a second car, a washer-dryer set, and a hefty insurance policy.

It's this massive Kid Industry that has given America the reputation of being a "child-centered" society. What other nation has produced a Disneyland? Or a Marineworld? The people who brought the world Shirley Temple and *Sesame Street* must love kids.

The truth, which the coatimundi option brings out, is that American society has been slowly and subtly turning against kids. I think kids started losing ground in the '50s when the Korean War POW fiasco and Sputnik revealed that American kids were too soft and stupid to ever face the Enemy. Then kids took a disastrous plunge in the '60s when the "movement" proved kids were the enemy. That boy you'd hoped to go to football games with turned out to be a red, and would-be Beautiful Bride took off for Haight-Ashbury. Kids were so disappointing that

infanticide came back into style briefly—at Kent State and Jackson State, for example.

But the bottom really fell out in the '70s when the experts told us that American kids were not just wimps or punks, or subversives—they were *population* which, as everybody knows, is a euphemism for *pollution*.

At the same time, a new singles-oriented consumer goods market has been opening up. Read the ads in *Playboy*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Viva*, or *Ms.* and you'll see why kids may be an endangered species: one affluent single can spend as much on liquor, clothes, and hi-fi equipment as a family of four spends just to keep alive. The vision of the Good Life has switched from a ranch house with station wagon to a condominium with sports car. And in this "new scheme of things" Nancy and Chip describe, Russian Wolf hounds are already giving kids a run for their money.

REAL WORRY

What worries me is not that people might stop having kids. I'm worried about the kids who are already here—whether they're here because their parents were too poor for an abortion, or lonely, or ambitious, or allergic to ocelots. What is it like to grow up in a society where kids have been degraded to the level of commodities? Worst off, of course, are the poor ones (also known as "welfare statistics") whose parents can't afford their upkeep—a family defect punishable by years of malnutrition and official neglect. Then there are the kids who don't pay their way by being "cute" enough (also known as "child abuse statistics") who are subject to unofficial torture in their own homes.

Of course we need some kind of social commitment to kids—free, high quality day care, health services, food, and so on—and these things should be among the highest priorities of our movement. But the problem goes even beyond that to the question of what kind of lives we want for our kids—all of our kids—while they're kids? I even worry about my own kids, who never in my mind competed with a coatimundi or a cruise and who are not under any pressure to be all the things I'm not (Beautiful Bride, doctor, etc.), I worry as I watch them growing up in toddler ghettos (day care, nursery school) where they pass the time making Mother's Day doilies and being patronized for successful crayoning and for "cooperativeness."

Will kids ever win dignity and respect? I don't know, but I've noticed something interesting. My four-year-old loves to have Chinese children's books read to her. I think I understand now why my daughter gets a strange glint in her eye when we read "Little Sisters of the Grasslands" or "outpost Number Three"—here is a world where little children save the commune sheep, outwit the Kuomintang, and, if need be, print secret leaflets for the cause. This is her fantasyland—a place where kids aren't pets, or liabilities, or markets for commercial investment; a place where kids don't have to grow up before they can be something.

Wages for Housework

by Barbara Ehrenreich

My article on housework (*New American Movement*, March 1975) was hardly meant to be a definitive "attack" on the Wages for Housework line—as the response by Boch, Hirschmann, and Somers suggests (*New American Movement*, June 1975). I wrote it because I felt that in all the talk about WFH, no one has paid much attention to the nature of the work itself.

I think the WFH people deserve a lot of credit for (1) helping make housework into a "political" issue, and (2) emphasizing the essentially proletarian nature of women's experience—as the manual laborers and service workers in every home. I should have said this in my article and I should have given a more complete account of the WFH position.

But after reading the article by Gisele Boch, Jane Hirschmann, and Peggy Somers, I am no longer sure that I could explain WFH to anyone. First, housework itself seems to have evaporated into "a constellation of physical, emotional, and sexual services that serve to produce and reproduce husbands, children, and the female worker herself." (emphasis in original) Sounds like this includes everything from toothbrushing to sex, so why not call it Wages for Living?

Next, Boch, Hirschmann, and Somers tell us that once we get the wages we are not really going to do

the work, i.e., the "constellation of physical, emotional, and sexual services etc." Do you mean that, in order to spite the capitalists, we are no longer going to have sex, brush our teeth, or kiss our kids goodnight? Why not really fool the capitalists by *destroying* our labor power (i.e., committing suicide)? (I'm no economist, but I have the feeling that the concept of a "use value" has gotten lost somewhere along the line.)

But my real problem is this: Suppose I completely understood and subscribed to the WFH line. Then my question would be: What actual concrete steps do we take to organize the political struggle WFH calls for: Do I organize a WFH group on my block? Where do we take the demand? I mean, I don't have any idea what actual practice goes along with the WFH line.

I think we (on both sides of the discussion) are falling into an error that a friend of mine calls "demandism"—the idea that all you need to build a mighty movement is that magical politically correct demand.

We know it's not that easy. In the meantime, tens of thousands of women (many of them houseworkers) are already involved in struggles for day care, better health care (for themselves and their families) and other services that would help to socialize domestic work. It seems to me that this is the direction we ought to be going.



Socialist-feminism: dynamic trend in the left

by Toby Silvey
Bay Area NAM

As this is being written, hundreds of women are making plans to attend the first national Socialist Feminist Conference in Yellow Springs, Ohio, from July 4-6. One of the tasks facing that conference is clarifying the connection between women's liberation and the left. It is to the many women working on that project that this article is dedicated.

Women's liberation began in the context of a radical but not a socialist movement. The early anti-war, student, and civil rights movements had included some people who made a thorough critique of capitalist society saying, "It's the system," but for the most part none posed socialism as an alternative to capitalism.

The new left was slow to recognize the centrality of women's liberation to revolutionary change. What is less well known is that the new left maintained for many years that socialism is irrelevant to revolutionary change. Where the issue of socialism was raised, such as by the SWP, it was so anti-communist and anti-feminist that it delayed the emergence both of a durable socialist movement and the theoretical proximity of socialism and feminism.

With very few people discussing socialism, fewer spoke of class consciousness. In the early years, SDS members didn't see themselves as part of the working class even though 50% of people 21 years old were in college in 1969. The students held out the belief that it was a privilege to get trained for new slots in the workforce even as they voiced criticism of that process.

Women have also only recently begun to share a new political conception of class. The confusion over our class status stems from the inadequacy of bourgeois definitions of class (which are based on husband's or father's status or on life style) and traditional Marxist ones (which are based on one's connection to the production process). Women's creation of surplus value through unpaid labor in the home and service and clerical work is only now coming to light, posters proclaiming that "women hold up half the sky" notwithstanding. Our sense of women as members of the working class continues to be challenged today by taunts of "bourgeois concerns," which are used by anti-feminists to trivialize and discredit the basic thrusts of the movement.

The college experience of the '60s that eventually led the student movement to see itself as part of a diversified working class led women to see the limitations of their life chances posed solely by their sex. We saw that while the number of women entering college rose dramatically between 1955 and 1970, the percentage of women finishing had hardly grown at all. The irrelevance of most work opportunities was even more apparent to women graduates than to men; we were forced to choose between typing and filing, while men at least had a few career possibilities.

One major idea of early SDS that took root and was developed in the women's liberation movement was the notion that capitalism's oppressive systems can be seen operating in one's own life. Politics can be understood by extrapolating from personal experience to a certain extent—the personal is political.

When SDS split up in 1969, the remaining tendencies other than women's liberation emphasized the struggle against capitalism and imperialism in ways that led away from analysis of daily life under advanced capitalism. It has been largely the women's movement that has found ways to put into organizational practice the struggles against the daily oppressiveness of capitalist society.

VIETNAM

We are only beginning to sort out the effects of the long war in Vietnam on the socialist and socialist feminist movements. Originally many American

feminists were confused about how to raise our critique of bourgeois institutions such as the family and heterosexuality while we were drawing political inspiration from women whose goal was a return to the security of traditional family life. As we followed the struggles of the Vietnamese people through their setbacks and final victory, women's liberation developed a much less culture-bound view of all institutions.

Confusion over the meaning of the war and how best to build a movement against it led to many severe splits in the broad anti-war movement, not the least of which was the intensified division between women and men. For one thing, men's experience of the war as draft resisters, soldiers, and veterans was very direct and personal, and made it hard for many women to feel legitimate raising the banner of Personal Experience when none of us faced combat or prison.

The war experience led many to decide it was imperialism rather than capitalism that was the main enemy. The struggle was going on outside the U.S. and the American movement should basically build support for liberation movements. In this way the anti-imperialist wing of the left continued to call for Serve Others politics. It was aided by the Serve the People approaches of the Black Panthers and Mao Tse-tung, which of course had quite different meaning for the ghetto and rural China than on U.S. campuses or communities. Serve the People has never been a winning approach for large numbers of women—it's too much like the old bourgeois and Christian feminine virtues.



Finally, the war experience fostered an adoption by male leftists of a pseudo-military style which many women found either intimidating or ridiculous.

When liberal politicians such as McCarthy began to protest the war in 1968, they managed to largely swallow up the radical content of the protest—its condemnation of U.S. imperialism and American society as well. This was the context in which a left tendency of the women's movement emerged and began to differentiate itself from liberal feminism. It flourishes today as socialist feminism.

CHANGES IN ECONOMIC PICTURE

There is always a lag between adjustments in the economic world made by the capitalist class and a political movement's ability to respond to those changes. In many ways socialist feminist politics still reflects ideas of strategy more appropriate to the liberalism and economic expansion of the '60s than to the conservatism and recession of the '70s.

In the '60s many economic opportunities seemed to be opening up for various competing groups. Although we said "We're not an interest group—we're half the human race!" the women's liberation movement in general fostered pluralist politics and did not pose a clear challenge to the Share-the-Pie view we inherited from the civil rights movement and early SDS. Both the liberal and radical feminist approaches advocated power for women now and (maybe) socialism later.

Self-interest as a political principle applying to the

majority of the population was never clearly distinguished from self-interest of individuals or small groups with a *particular* interest. Even groups that criticized individualism among members continued to promote classic interest-group politics. Throughout the '60s various groups with civil rights roots detailed their specific oppression under capitalism (women, blacks, other racial minorities, gays, and lesbians), and have built organizations that have tended to reproduce (though not reinforce) the divisions of capitalist society itself.

In the early '70s the economy began to shrink. The deferred costs of carrying on a 20-year war against the Vietnamese people finally had to be borne. We are paying still, in the form of inflation, wage controls, service cutbacks, and huge deficits in every city coffer. Nixon told us to share the misery by cutting back our family size, family purchases, and consumer expectations.

The shrinking economy meant an end to many of the tax-supported programs that had been instituted in the period of liberal reform as a response to strong and militant pressure. Programs that looked for a while like advances for women—the promise of expanded early childhood programs, day care, maternal-child health programs, more schools, affirmative action on all levels—died for lack of revenue. Some new local and state programs were set up to administer the small revenue sharing funds, and they created jobs for some women. But these jobs were fraught with the contradictions of competing affirmative action programs, further obscuring the class nature of the economic crisis and pitting relatively privileged women against (usually male) blacks for temporary and meaningless "positions."

Today the trend in the country seems to be toward conservatism on all levels. Progressive education is under attack, more discipline in the home is advocated in women's magazines, and tangly skirts and unwalkable shoes remind women they're not going anywhere in a hurry. Thrifty, cozy domestic virtues like quilting, canning, and gardening are making a big comeback. The abortion movement has been set back by the Edelin conviction, and even women's right to self defense is being challenged in the medieval trial of Joann Little. These developments have taken place on the mass political level and are affecting the majority of women.

The relatively small number of women who are rich, highly educated, or young may still be intrigued with the possibility of an independent career. The advertising world is taking advantage of those illusions and aspirations with snappy Clothes To Do Serious Work In (\$35 for the denim shirt, please), while making a mockery of the real unemployment and underemployment of most women. The figures we see for unemployment only include the people who register for work and can't get jobs. Many women whose sense of themselves as workers took tentative form in the late '60s today are not applying for unemployment benefits and don't show up in the figures.

For women the recession will mean that while being discouraged from seeking any meaningful work, they will be forced to leave school and try to enter the workforce earlier, and they'll probably marry sooner and more often.

The strategy the socialist feminist movement develops to respond to the recession and period of conservatism we are now entering will be of importance to all women. How reactionary the counter tendencies become is a matter of speculation; the trends appear different in different parts of the country (worse in smaller cities and in the south,

(Continued on next page)



From the Wobblies to SDS

by Barbara Easton
Bay Area NAM

If American socialist feminists are to develop a broader understanding of the relationship of women and of feminism to socialism, we must look at the histories of the major left movements in the U.S. and their relation to women and women's issues. Otherwise we will make assumptions about mixed left movements based only on one portion of that history.

In this article I will look at women and women's issues in four organizations at the time of their greatest strengths: the Industrial Workers of the World (1905 to roughly 1917), the Socialist Party (1900 to 1921), the Communist Party (the 1930s), and SDS (the 1960s). I can only discuss these organizations briefly; my conclusions will be very tentative.

THE WOBBLIES

The IWW (whose members were known as Wobblies) was something between a union and a revolutionary organization; it tried to be both and embodied elements of each. It was composed, for the most part, of the most rootless, mobile, and sometimes the poorest of American workers—hoboes, lumberjacks, miners, railroad workers. Most of these workers were men, many of them single. Many of these men could not vote either because they did not live in one area long enough or because they were recent immigrants. Many of them participated in the militant strikes of the period which were often brutally put down by the state acting at the behest of employers.

In part because of these experiences, Wobblies were prone to see the state as simply the executive committee of the capitalist class, and politics as a sham, designed to fool the workers. The Wobblies saw revolution as taking place entirely in the economic sphere—workers seizing control of workplaces. The IWW led many militant strikes and circulated a good deal of revolutionary literature but, because of the foot-loose nature of much of the membership and the Wobblies' unwillingness to make compromises with capitalists (such as signing contracts), IWW locals often had short lives.

the IWW was mainly made up of men first, because the workers who were most drawn to anarchosyndicalism were mainly men—and often men who lived in virtually all-male communities. Secondly, the syndicalism of the IWW tended to exclude women. The home was not included in the Wobblies' concept of the workplace; therefore, housewives were peripheral to the revolution. Also, the Wobblies' contempt for electoral politics cut them off from the major women's struggle of the early twentieth century, the movement for woman suffrage. In addition, the Wobblies' culture—the songs, stories, cartoons, and slang—was shaped by the male enclaves in which so many Wobblies

moved. The typical cartoon of a Wobbly as a big, brawny male workers, and the constant references to Wobblies' physical strength, did not help women to identify with the movement.

But although the Wobblies did not direct much attention toward women, they were not anti-woman. Some women, especially Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, became strong Wobbly leaders; the Wobblies organized militant, and sometimes successful, strikes with immigrant women textile workers while the A.F. of L. was claiming that such workers would never organize or strike.

Furthermore, the Wobblies' anti-authoritarianism and hostility to social tradition worked to the benefit of women. Wobblies spoke in favor of women's right



to contraception when birth control was illegal and highly controversial in the left. When a pamphlet written by Margaret Sanger, founder of the birth control movement, was declared illegal, IWW locals distributed it. Life for women in the IWW was affected by these attitudes: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, for instance, lived with a lover for many years; in any other organization this would have jeopardized her leadership.

SOCIALIST PARTY

Many of the weaknesses of the IWW in relation to women were rectified by the Socialist Party, at least

partially, or in one or more of its tendencies. The Socialist Party, which was founded in 1900 with a membership of 10,000, reached sections of the working class the Wobblies were unable to: semi-skilled and skilled workers, often members of A.F. of L. locals, tenant farmers, some factory workers, and some professionals. At one point, perhaps 10% of Socialist Party members were women, some of whom worked outside the home, but the majority of whom were housewives.

The Socialist Party emphasized electoral work. Some Socialists believed that socialism itself would be won through majority vote. Even those Socialists who foresaw the transition to socialism involving struggles outside the electoral arena generally believed the socialist movement must make use of and expand all available democratic rights, including the vote, and that the socialist movement must come to represent, if not include, the vast majority of American working people.

The Socialist Party supported and in many areas worked actively for woman suffrage. Over the years an increasing number of Socialists also saw the importance of drawing women into the Socialist Party, of developing an analysis of women's oppression, and of creating special forms for women within the Socialist Party. If the socialist movement were to represent a majority of the working class it must represent women; furthermore, many Socialists thought that women, as an oppressed group, were especially likely to support socialism.

In the early years of the Socialist Party (roughly until 1908) the position of women in the Party left a lot to be desired; little attention was given to the needs of women Socialists or to the ways of drawing more women into the Party. In response to this, many women argued that separate socialist organizations for women should be formed which, it was hoped, women would join more readily, and in which they could participate more easily. Other women disagreed arguing that such organizations would divide the socialist movement, re-creating the divisions between men and women created by capitalism. Such an organization was formed—the Women's National Socialist Union—but it remained small, failed after two years largely out of an inability to formulate programs once the initial task of self-education about socialism was accomplished to the satisfaction of the members.

Another reason why women Socialists increasingly directed their energies into the Socialist Party itself was that the Party improved on women's issues, partly in response to the work of women within the Party and partly in response to the growth of the woman suffrage movement. The party increasingly worked for woman suffrage, sometimes with the women's movement, sometimes independently; in many places the SP ran women for office in spite of the fact they could not take office; and a Women's National Committee was established which developed literature on women's issues and kept in touch with women's socialist clubs.

Many Socialists also debated issues that are now taken up by socialist feminists: what would the family be like under socialism; was women's entry into the workforce outside the home positive or negative; how would housework and childcare be arranged under socialism? While many Socialists took conservative positions on these issues, a minority were willing to criticize the structure of the family and the sexual division of labor. The fact that these issues were raised in the Socialist Party had a lot to do with the existence of the women's movement and of bohemian groups, inside and outside the SP, which were criticizing bourgeois values and life-styles. But it was to the credit of the SP that there was open discussion on these issues, and an attempt to relate them to socialism.

COMMUNIST PARTY

In 1919 the Socialist Party split over the question
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socialist-feminism

(Continued from Page 8)

for instance). Strategic priorities will need to be made taking local differences into account.

RISE OF SOCIALIST FEMINISM

Socialist feminism has grown tremendously in the past two or three years. Its appeal is related to the failure of liberalism not only to sustain high material well-being but also to accept challenges to any of its supporting institutions. But we're not a movement by default. Credit for articulating socialist feminism as a theory and organizing approach must go to the radical, socialist, and feminist women who have worked for five, ten, or more years to build organizations where there had been only small groups and develop an analysis out of conflicting theoretical fragments.

Socialist feminism as a growing and dynamic tendency on the left has many implications for women and the socialist movement as a whole. It has produced a power base from which men and women can have principled struggle over issues of sexism which formerly divided us. It has interjected into the scope of traditional socialist theory the realm of personal life, formerly seen as politically irrelevant. It has the potential to transcend narrow interest group politics, to lead toward unity among sectors of the working class, and to formulate transitional programs that can win concrete improvements in living conditions without swerving away from a revolutionary direction. In its insistence on a Marxist approach to knowledge, in which being is not

separated from knowing, it has stressed unity of theory and practice. It has demonstrated the viability and political appeal of a theory that affirms our right to make the revolution in our name, in our (broadly-defined) self-interest. It has hastened the demise of politics based on guilt. Its continued growth demonstrates the importance of factors other than income level or life-style in determining class consciousness.

For these reasons and others many people see the rise of socialist feminism as one of the brighter lights on the political horizon of the '70s. In some ways it does represent real progress toward unity of the women's movement and the mixed socialist movement. The New American Movement and many local groups have incorporated feminist perspectives into their theory and have attracted women who are feminists and who didn't work with men during the late '60s.

Perhaps more important, the growth of socialist feminism, in its theoretical and organizational form, represents the power of women to define the direction of the revolutionary movement from our point of view. We have been able to build organizations that fully satisfy women's political needs and sustain their allegiance over a period of years. Women are not leaving these organizations to join larger (mixed) ones the way many men and women had anticipated when the Unions began springing up. The suspicion that socialist feminism may be "only a necessary phase" through which politically inclined women need to pass before joining the left can be dispelled: we are part of the left and we are here to stay.



OPINION

Gay men: homophobia in the left

by Tom Kennedy
Bay Area NAM

Last June marked the sixth anniversary of the Stonewall Rebellion in New York where several hundred gay women and men battled with police and symbolically with straight society in response to a police raid on the Stonewall Inn Bar. In an atmosphere of social change, gay liberation emerged to vocalize centuries of rage, anger, and oppression. This article is dedicated to those gay people who have perished physically and psychologically throughout the centuries in our struggle to survive in a heterosexist society. This article is also dedicated to those feminists whose strength and courage paved the way for the emergence of a gay liberation movement.

insights into the negative aspects of the nuclear family, monogamous relationships, and heterosexual relationships.

Yet the (male) left has rejected, trivialized and dismissed us for so long and so consistently that it has not allowed gay (male) theory to be presented and digested. Gay socialist spend most of their time trying to reconcile the contradiction between their gayness and a predominantly anti-gay socialist movement. However, within NAM and among a very few other socialist groups, gay people are beginning to be acknowledged as people who have much to contribute to socialist revolution and, in fact, whose absence is a serious loss to any organization that sees itself as working to build a socialist party and movement.

against sexism must have gay as well as straight experiences. Yet I am certain that almost all gay socialists would agree that a gay experience would definitely have a positive radicalizing effect on any straight man. The fear of homosexuality is a fear that has been drilled into the minds of men and women since they were children. It is a fear that patriarchal capitalism has had to perpetuate in order to sustain itself. A society where men take pride in gentleness, emotional tenderness and its application through gay sex is incongruent with patriarchal capitalism. Capitalism needs competition between workers, not cooperation, and it is male competition that helps sustain divisions among workers. Likewise, capitalism cannot allow a society where

many other gay people will testify to the fact that smashing the fear of gayness is an incredibly liberating and joyful experience. It is an experience that the homophobic ruling class will encourage you in every way not to have. If we are to expand the concept of revolution past a limited economic revolution to one that includes a sexual/emotion revolution as well we must begin to acknowledge in ourselves the potential to develop male-male and female-female relationships as well as female-male relationships. Likewise, we must free the oppressor within us.

For men in particular there must be an end to hiding in our intellects and the beginning of developing relationships that may or may not involve gay sex but that will involve loving, sharing, and the pride and acknowledgement that same gender relationships are just as valid as a mixed gender relationship. Men loving men is a major aspect of gay liberation. In a society based in male aggression and competition, it is a revolutionary act.

Clinging to heterosexuality is clinging to privilege. If men are sincere in their struggle against sexism, they must begin by not only respecting their gay brothers and sisters but by struggling on a personal level by allowing emotional and/or sexual feelings toward other men to surface. Likewise, gay people must end any attachments they have regarding their gay identities. I am avoiding stating that we must evolve toward a bi-sexual society because until the privilege of heterosexuality is ended, bi-sexual is not the neutral term it is implied to be.

Hopefully together we can create a society where labels are meaningless and people can function freely as they so choose. But until that day arrives, straight men dedicated to socialist revolution should acknowledge the privilege they have as heterosexual men over women, gays, and children. Likewise, that privilege and power must be shared. The mistrust for straight men shared by lesbians and gay men, as well as by some feminists, must partially be resolved by the men themselves by dealing with their sexism on a personal level. Hopefully, this process will lead to a more integrated socialist movement with a broader representation that currently exists within the left.



Gays demonstrate at San Francisco School Board for affirmative action rights for gay teachers

At a recent program on feminist therapy sponsored by Bay Area NAM, one of the key points and criticisms was that men have yet to begin to combat sexism by themselves without the support, the encouragement, or the prompting of women. With the exception of gay men, the speakers pointed out, men have yet to see sexism as an issue that relates to them personally. A common attitude among those men who are attempting to support the struggles around sexism is that it is basically for the benefit of women or gays—always for some other rather than something that relates to them directly. This attitude of straight men that the struggle around sexism is primarily for the benefit of an outside oppressed group, coupled with the fear of homosexual/gay feelings (homophobia) is not only a serious handicap for the non-gay men themselves, but a handicap that is certainly holding back certain aspects of the socialist movement.

For far too long, the contributions and analyses that gay men have to offer the (male) left have been ignored and/or dismissed. As men victimized by a male heterosexist society we have considerable insight into the crippling effect of male dominance. Many of us have been married or at least have had to fake heterosexual roles and have

As a gay man who has been working within the left for several years, I am always amazed at the ability of straight men to dismiss me and my political beliefs because I am gay. When I first noticed this happening I assumed it was my own projected paranoia. But as time went on and I compared notes with other gay brothers I could see that there was a definite pattern developing. There are many reasons for this attitude such as actually believing stereotypes and shallow analyses that state we are products of bourgeois decadence.

Yet one of the major reasons for our dismissal is the fact that we are feared because straight men fear the gay aspects of themselves. For the most part straight men still see something wrong with the possibility of involving themselves in any sexual/emotional contact with other men. Granted, fear is fear and it is not something that can just be dismissed, but the source of these fears must be identified for what it is—bourgeois morality. At the very least I feel the eradication of homophobia in a very positive political/personal act that definitively liberates an individual.

Unlike some early radical lesbians who stated that a woman wasn't a "real" feminist unless she had sexual/emotional relations with other women I don't feel that every man committed

women are strong, assertive, and independent of men as characterized by lesbianism. The fear of the positive, revolutionary aspects of gayness within oneself is a perpetuation of the system of patriarchal capitalism.

One of the most unfortunate dynamics existing between gays and non-gays is the fact that we get penalized for the fears of non-gay people. Straight men often hold back their emotional support for us for fear that it will be misinterpreted as a "come on." They are afraid to touch us or have any kind of physical contact for the same reason. These types of actions leave us feeling ignored and alienated.

In the realm of politics, dealing with issues of gayness and/or sexuality are often much more anxiety filled than any other issue because one must deal with real sexual and emotional feelings. Gay people, are, fortunately and unfortunately, a very real "threat" to those who are insecure and attached to their sexual identities. This is one of the major reasons that gay people are not welcomed into the left—we bring a part of the revolution right along with us. We take the theoretical and by our very existence make it personal.

Again I will say here that the fear of gayness and gayness are two different but related things. I am not stating that everyone must become gay. But I and



RED ROSA IN WARM BROWN This poster of Rosa Luxemburg, 2 1/2" high, is printed on a high quality paper by members of a worker controlled print shop. Money earned from sales of this poster will also go towards the work of Resistance/NAM, an organization committed to socialist democracy, as Rosa Luxemburg was.
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Sexuality: utopian and scientific

by Karen Rotkin
with Michael Rotkin

Most of us probably have a clearer fantasy of what a sexually liberated society would be like than any notion of how to get there or, more concretely, how to deal with the nitty-gritty of unliberated sexuality in our own lives. I want to raise some issues concerning goals of liberated sexuality and obstacles to the development of a relevant praxis, and to offer some tentative suggestions for steps toward such a praxis.

A Marxian perspective on the dialectical connection of present experience and future goals seems crucial to these questions. As we know all too well, visions of liberated anything—including sexuality—without some relevant practice amount to useless utopianism. It should also be clear that visions and goals for the future must inform our conscious practice in the present.

UTOPIANISM

Utopianism makes for great fantasies but, given the nature of our society, it makes for lousy practice—being trusting and vulnerable may set us up for betrayal; we are often prey to devastating anxiety for indulging in socially unapproved means of gratification; our security may be threatened by broadening sexual experiences; etc. And besides, we'd only get hassled and busted for having orgies in the park. In the context of non-utopian social relations, utopian sexual ideals are no more than pie in the sky, and the effort to mold our practice to them is more likely to make us miserably confused than liberated.



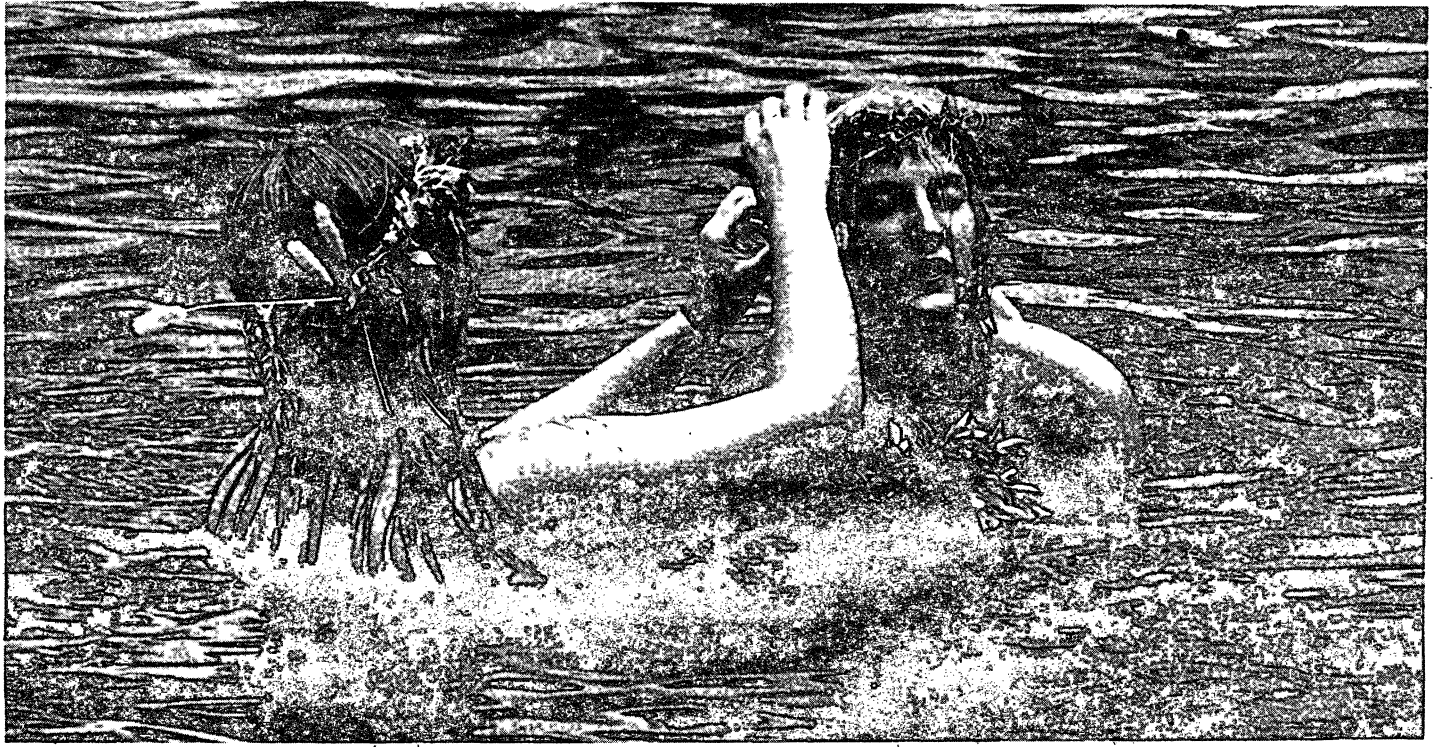
On the theoretical level utopianism fails to acknowledge the historical roots of its own visions in a repressed, alienated society and consequently fails to challenge adequately the assumptions it has inherited from bourgeois sexual ideology. As a result, utopianism does not comprehend the historically changing nature of goals—the process through which present conditions, conscious practice, and visions, for the future continually reform each other.

REFORMISM

Most non-utopian contemporary sexology leaves as much to be desired in vision as utopianism does in practice. (See "Sexual Therapy or Sexual Revolution?" *New American Movement*, June 1975.) The goal of most prescribed sexual practice is to salvage the institution of nuclear, heterosexual marriage—with minor variations or subtle refinements of the same old theme of male sexual privilege and dominance and female dependence and subservience. The so-called "sexual

revolution" above all does *not* offer an alternative vision to the competitive, reified, and alienated nature of sexual relations in capitalist society.

Without a revolutionary critique of the sexual status quo and a corresponding alternative vision, we remain



trapped by a number of socially/historically created assumptions, the most basic of which is the view that sexuality is *not* socio-historically constructed and therefore cannot be subject to consciously political reconstruction. It is assumed that the way we experience ourselves sexually is instinctually given in "human nature," or that sexuality is immutably fixed by infantile socialization; in short, that sexual activity is the manifestation of a transcendently given, apolitical disposition.

Consequently it is also assumed: that the historically specific social norms of how we are allowed or forbidden to get off are naturally fixed rather than ideologically functional in maintaining bourgeois social relations or production and reproduction; that heterosexual coitus is naturally, transhistorically given as the only complete and essential form of sexual expression; that consequently all non-heterosexual and non-coital sexual activity is rationalized in relation to penile-vaginal intercourse or is explained as deviation. The consequent male heterosexual privilege and the repression of female and homosexual sexuality is then understood simply as "the way things are" rather than as the effect of male heterosexual hegemony. Finally, it is assumed that our alienation from our own sexuality and the commodified, competitive, reified character of sexual relations are simply one aspect of "the human condition" rather than the result of historically specific capitalist social relations.

The liberal failure to challenge the fundamental values and premises of bourgeois sexual ideology and the related failure to propose visions of revolutionary sexuality thus perpetuates the mystification of sexual experience and entrapment in ultimately unliberating sexual reformism.

PRAXIS

While it would be a mistake to endow utopian fantasies with the status of unalterable goals, we do (or can) have some clear expectations of what liberated sexuality in a socialist society

would be like. We would expect, for example, that sexual experiences will be self-directed, that sexual interaction will not be an expression of hostility or competition, that male-female sexual interaction will not be characterized by a power imbalance, that there will be

function of making it clear that, for example, resentment of men who expect infinite and unreciprocated support is neither a unique problem nor a personal flaw. In politicizing our understanding of the personal, feminism has made it impossible for people who take

no normative hierarchy of the multitude of ways to get off.

It seems at this stage that a relevant sexual praxis would include the demystification and deprivatization of our sexual experiences. As long as sexuality remains a strictly private concept, it will be extremely difficult to demystify it. And as long as sexuality is mystified, it will be extremely threatening or painful to deprivatize it. For many people it is hard enough to tell your lover(s), let alone an "outside" person, how/where you like to be touched, kissed, etc., what your fantasies are, what your fears and frustrations are. It may seem very threatening to talk with other people about the details of what you do with your lover, the shortcoming of the interaction, the "inadequacies" you perceive in yourself.

Most likely a large part of the difficulty in communicating about sexual experiences is precisely that we remain stuck with the mystifying sense



that our sexuality is an unalterable essence of who we are, that our "inadequacies" (as measured against norms we didn't create) are therefore an indication of a basic personal flaw. Without knowing how other people experience their sexuality, we continue to assume that to tell someone else the intimate details of your sexual experience is to reveal what you might assume are your own unique "perversions" and "inadequacies."

Women have been mystified in much the same way about all other aspects of the "personal" realm. Consciousness raising groups served the invaluable

it seriously to dismiss the unequal division of responsibility for emotional support in male-female relationships as simply a matter of personality conflict or "no-fault" incompatibility.

It seems to me that "sexual incompatibility" should be no more a valid excuse for copping out of a relationship than "emotional incompatibility" is. But without a support group to share responsibility in dealing with sexual problems, copping out is the only alternative, that frequently leads us either to a series of exchanging one set of incompatibilities for another in the repetitive hope of finding the "right lover" or to *disappointedly* dropping out of sexual relations altogether. (I certainly do not mean to imply that non-involvement in sexual relationships is necessarily a cop-out or a disappointment.)

A dialectically reinforcing process of demystifying/politicizing sexual theory and deprivatizing sexual experience could be valuable in dealing with sexuality in the same ways it has been crucial in dealing with other areas of personal life. I think we need to begin understanding how sexual ideology is, socially/historically constructed, how our sexual behavior and expectations are political activity, and the ways in which our sexuality is oppressed and oppressive. And it seems to me that the most productive means to that beginning would be to make our sexual experiences a concern of collective support, evaluation, and analysis—a process which could inform and be informed by concrete methods of dealing with sexually oppressive and frustrating relations.

LOVERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!
You have nothing to lose but your

- (a) socks
- (b) privacy
- (c) chains
- (d) hang-ups
- (e) none of the above

Kansans fight nuclear folly

by Jim Kendall
Lawrence NAM

BURLINGTON, KAN.—Mention nuclear power to Frances Blaufuss and he'll talk your ear off—if you give him half a chance.

It's terrible. People don't know what they're getting into," he said after a recent meeting of the Wolf Creek Opposition.

The other 25 people at the meeting were just as grim about the big nuclear power plant that's supposed to be built about five miles north of here.

Fighting Kansas City Power and Light and Kansas Gas and Electric isn't their idea of a good time. Hard-working men and women that they are, they'd just as soon spend their evenings at their farms snoozing before their television sets.

But the plant will take away many of their farms—and a lot of them are just plain scared about the danger of nuclear power.

Mrs. Russell Woods and her husband are one of about 45 families losing their homes to the 10,500-acre power plant.

They moved over by Wolf Creek in 1946, because the land was good and because her husband could hunt coon

The United States has never had a serious nuclear power plant accident, but the plants haven't been operating long. The technology is still experimental. Every plant is different and new questions are constantly raised about the plants' safety.

For example, leaks were found in the cooling system of a plant near Chicago recently.

A controversy still rages over the Emergency Core Cooling System for reactors. The system is designed to dump water into the reactor core, should the complex plumbing system fail.

In 1970, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) ran six scale model tests on the emergency system. It failed six times.

The AEC promises new tests early next year, but meanwhile 52 nuclear plants are operating throughout the country with a safety system that has been proved only by a computer print-out. If the water cooling one of those reactors were cut off for one minute, the plant would start to melt into an uncontrollable mass of radioactive metal.

Radioactivity would spew out for a hundred miles, killing 45,000 people, injuring 100,000, and causing \$18 to

Convention

(Continued from Page 16)

will be evaluated and experiences shared to help chapters doing this work. Many NAM members are hoping to build a national program that has an explicit focus on organizing women and raising issues of socialist-feminism. Child care has been suggested as a possible focus and will be the subject of several workshops.

In addition to the debates around positions proposed for adoption, the 1975 convention will include political discussion on two topics that are critical to NAMs development. One focus will be culture and class consciousness. There will be a panel discussion addressing such questions as family life, mass media, and the dispersal of communities. There will be small groups and workshops on different areas raised in the panel presentations. And, as part of the attempt to integrate our discussions into the process of the convention itself; the people planning these sessions have called for members

be dead.

Opinions in the scientific community vary about the effect of low-level radiation. The main problem is that no one knows what the effect is. The cancer rates for uranium miners are far above those for the public, but power plants haven't been around long enough to know their real effect.

The economics of nuclear power makes it a questionable enterprise, too. The plants have only been able to operate at about 55% of design capacity.

The cost of producing the uranium fuel for the plants is very high in terms of the energy used to produce it. All the uranium used in this country is enriched at the expense of strip-mined coal. The reactors have problems operating in the black, too.

Beyond the objections Blaufuss raised to nuclear power, the danger of nuclear terrorism and the creation of a national police force seem apparent. The amount of plutonium needed to make a nuclear bomb is frighteningly small—a lump about the size of a grapefruit, 11 pounds in weight.

Theodore B. Taylor, once a nuclear bomb maker, says it would be comparatively easy to steal nuclear material and make atomic bombs out of it. The AEC says special skills and experience are needed to make a bomb, but Taylor says anyone with a rudimentary knowledge of reactor theory and engineering could do the job.

All the necessary information is available in public print.

With 600,000 pounds of plutonium around the country and shipments increasing, the danger of theft and accident increases.

In the Soviet Union nuclear material travels by Red Army convoy; in this country it goes by any truck, train, or airplane that will take it.

Danger of theft led the AEC to propose a federal security force in a draft environmental impact statement issued late in August. Such a force would be a "new type of police unknown to American life," Sen. Walter F. Mondale, D-Minn., said late last month.

Such a force would have to have the kind of control over American life and society that every totalitarian state police demands.

The Wolf Creek Opposition has been fighting hard against the plant in Burlington for almost a year. They say they'll keep on fighting. They have filed a suit challenging the constitutionality of the eminent domain law through which the power companies are trying to take their land.

They're lobbying in the state legislature for a change in the eminent domain law and working on a bill to stop nuclear power in Kansas forever. They are talking to other groups, showing movies, passing out bumper stickers and writing letters.

"We ain't never going to let them do it," Blaufuss says.

Reprinted from the University Daily Kansan.

to bring instruments, songs, plays, etc., and to plan ways to make the convention a happy personal experience.

Secondly, the convention will feature a political education session on "Should NAM Become a Cadre Organization?" In particular the panel will attempt to explore the relevance of Leninism for the development of a revolutionary organization in contemporary U.S. In addition to the three positions that will be presented on this panel, Dorothy Healey and Louis Menashe have been invited to participate as commentators. The issues of "mass vs. cadre" and "democracy and discipline" have been a source of continuing controversy in NAM over the past year. This session is seen as a means of clarifying some of the questions involved in the debates and enabling those interested to explore them further.

CAUCUSES

Women's, men's and gay caucuses will each meet twice during the weekend. The Women's Caucus will be discussing how best to organize women. In the past NAM has tended to de-emphasize issues that relate particularly to women in favor of programs that are directed toward "uniting the class" and involving men and women equally, e.g., utilities. There is a growing move within the organization to change this approach and to stress the importance of organizing women around programs that are of immediate concern to them and that make clear aspects of women's oppression. Both NAM and independent socialist-feminists women's unions have found it difficult to develop programs that relate to working-class women while raising feminist and socialist questions. The convention discussions will be directed toward contributing to this process of program development.

The men's caucus will include a number of workshops on such areas as "men and sports" and "military organizing." The caucus will also be engaged in drawing out the political debate that surfaced at the last Expanded NIC. Many men in NAM have become increasingly concerned with understanding how they can actively fight the oppression of women. Most people see this as a progressive development that can strengthen the organization. But it sometimes has a related aspect that is a source of much greater controversy—the emphasis on how sex roles oppress men and the corresponding need for men's liberation. There was a criticism of the extremes of this tendency from the E-NIC women's caucus that stressed that our commitment to socialist-feminism must primarily mean a commitment of fighting sexism as it oppresses women. It explicitly rejected the claims of some men's groups that "there is no hierarchy of oppression" and warned against the growth of these ideas in NAM.

The gay caucus workshops are now being planned and will be described in the convention program.

The convention must be situated in the real world—it cannot be an isolated enclave to which we retreat for a weekend of friendly (or even heated) conversation. It must draw its meaning from our view of the events of the past year and our understanding of the prospects for political activity in the coming year. The panel discussions are all directed toward this end. As the same time, the convention should be a place for us to come together to share ideas and experiences that are concrete and local, and for us to learn from each other. Thus the agenda also includes ample space for ad hoc caucuses, political education sessions, and small group discussions on major panels. Finally, the convention should be a means for us to re-establish the sense of community that is crucial to the development of a revolutionary organization. In a country the size of the U.S., in a movement that has overemphasized unique local conditions, in a society that fosters divisions and isolation—such solidarity is vital.



and fish along the creek. They're retired now and their son lives across the road and farms their 240 acres.

The power companies threatened to condemn the land and force them out by next January 1. So, like half the other landowners in the area, they sold—and the power companies gave them until January 1, 1976 to move.

"You get your home, thinking you've got everything established and you have to move," Mrs. Woods said.

Construction for the \$818-million plant is scheduled to begin in late 1975 or early 1976. Operation is scheduled to begin in 1982. Much of the 10,500 acres will be used for a cooling lake to store water to cool the nuclear reactor. The reactor will evaporate 25,000 gallons a minute. The power plant will use about 50 per cent more water than a fossil fuel plant the same size, 1,100 megawatts.

The water table in Kansas drops about a foot a year; it fell 1.9 feet in western wells last year. At that rate existing wells will last 20 to 30 years and a nuclear plant isn't going to help Coffey County's water table.

Blaufuss is worried about more than water though: accidents, wastes, low level radiation, and the plant's economics concern him, too.

\$280 billion property damage, according to a 1965 AEC report. The AEC was forced to release the study last year after Friends of the Earth filed a freedom-of-information suit.

If an accident does occur, we are insured for \$560 million, the federal maximum for nuclear power plant liability.

According to *Nation* (Aug. 3), a plant the size of the one planned in Burlington will produce 200 pounds of plutonium a year. Plutonium is one of the most poisonous elements handled by man. One pound of plutonium-239 oxide is sufficient to cause 9 billion cases of lung cancer if finely dispersed in the air.

This year the AEC says fission reactors will produce 8,820 pounds and 600,000 pounds a year by the year 2000.

Plutonium stays around for a while, too—24,000 is its half-life. Some scientists estimate it takes 20 half-lives for an element like plutonium to become harmless. That's a long time to keep something that deadly sealed up.

The AEC hasn't been able to come up with any container capable of holding nuclear waste more than 20 years. Even 99.99% containment won't be any good in the year 2000. We'd all

Rubberworkers

Chicanos fight for union

by Frank Stricker
Los Angeles NAM #1

It's hard enough to organize a union where the employers are militantly anti-union. It's even harder for Chicanos in the traditionally open-shop Southwest. But the workers at the Sloane rubber pipe-fitting plant in North Hollywood, 85% of whom are Chicano; are engaged in just such a struggle.

Chicanos have tried to organize unions before. Back in the 1920s they formed La Union de Trabajadores del Valle Imperial (Union of Imperial Valley Workers), and, in Los Angeles, the famous Confederacion de Uniones Obreras Mexicanas (Confederation of Mexican Labor Unions). However, in the face of intense employer opposition and financial difficulties, both unions were defeated.

In the early 30s the Communist Party assisted in the formation of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers International Union which led successful strikes in El Monte, Santa Monica, Venice, and

Culver City. Ultimately, this union too met defeat. Later in the 30s the CIO organized the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America which also drowned in the face of employer opposition. It is in this tradition of rank-and-file militance against exploitative employers that the United Farmworkers and the rubberworkers of Sloane have organized themselves.

While most people are aware of the United Farmworkers' ongoing struggle, few know of the problems encountered by the United Rubberworkers Local 621 in representing the workers of R & G Sloane and Company. These problems began in March 1973 when the union seemed on the point of ratifying a contract offered by the company. Then the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) cited the Sloane Company for wage and promotion discrimination against Chicanos and women. In response to the OEO action management claimed the need to "revise the wage structure." At that point the union refused the watered-down contract.

When negotiations resumed, the company reversed its earlier agreement and insisted on an open shop, no seniority on shift assignments, and the right to reclassify certain jobs enabling them to pay even lower wages. The workers could not and will never bow to the company's dictates. The union is now involved in an ongoing strike and boycott of GSR (Sloane's brand name) products. The union and the New American Movement urge readers to support the strike and boycott.

Recognizing that public awareness and support is one of labor's strongest weapons against economic, racial, and sexist abuses, and as an effort in support of Sloane workers, the New American Movement and others have produced a videotape that includes picket line interviews with women and men strikers, a labor relations officer from the Los Angeles Police Department, and a scab. The 1/2-inch, EIAJ standard videotape is 16 minutes long and is available for purchase for \$35.00. Half the proceeds will go to the local strike committee. Send requests for purchase or rental (\$20.00) to:

L.A. NAM Chapter #1
P.O. Box 24251
Los Angeles, CA 90024

Farmworkers

(Continued from Page 3)

issues remain the same: "I want the right to put a price on my sweat." Speaking to the Austin Friends of the Farmworkers on June 12, Orendain said that this time, especially with the new California legislation, Texas farmworkers have a good chance to demand that similar legislation be enacted in Texas. He is well aware that legislative reform is no cure-all, given the kind of law enforcement farmworkers have suffered from in the past. (Legally, the minimum wage is \$1.80. However, actual wages trickle down to \$1.35 and below.)

Orendain insists that precisely because the campesinos have no legal recourse, because they have been flatly ignored by every federal legislative act in U.S. history, their actions are labeled "illegal" or violent." "We don't have legal ways to solve our problems."

To organize enough pressure for such legislation will mean carrying the strike beyond the Valley to other farm regions of Texas. Also, the South Texas melon harvest ended in mid-June, forcing campesinos north to find work. In the following weeks organizers have been going to West Texas and the Panhandle in an effort to broaden the strike. Orendain said if the momentum could be maintained during the summer there is the possibility of a concentrated citrus strike in the fall.

CHAVEZ' POSITION

With the critical legislation in California sapping all the UFWs organizing energy and funds, Cesar Chavez did not officially authorize the Texas strike. He didn't disauthorize it either. This lack of official sanction has caused some Texas liberals to criticize the strike and Orendain's strategy, or at least to refrain from support.

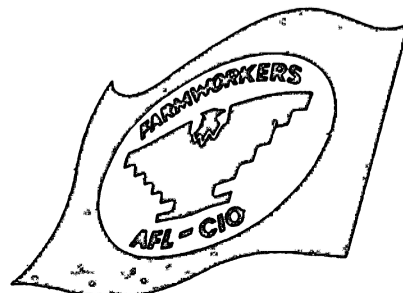
Orendain's response is simple and straightforward—a response that has been baked in by 25 years of organizing in the fields with the UFW, the last six spent in the Valley: "I just couldn't tell those people they would have to wait."

There are farmworkers in almost every state in the U.S. Does this mean that each state must wait in line for the union to rescue them? Last year Chavez requested that Orendain leave the Valley and go to Chicago to work on the boycott there. He thought it over, he said, and decided to stay.

PROSPECTS

It is too early to measure the impact of the Texas strike on the honeydew harvest, but there have been visible effects: growers increased wages to \$2.50 an hour to attract strikebreakers (this is the highest wage ever received by a farmworker in South Texas); reports from the Valley describe fields of rotting melons; but more significant has been the solidarity of the farmworkers across an international boundary—a boundary which, for the workers who live on it, has never been recognized as culturally significant, a boundary which growers as well as unions have used to pit workers against each other.

Moving the strike north will be a mammoth task, and no one knows this better than the organizers. They know they don't have the language on their side, the law on their side, the schools on their side, the funds on their side, or even at times the unions on their side. But this didn't stop the farmworkers in California, and it looks like it's not going to stop them in Texas.



Banks bilking NYC

(Continued from Page 1)

when new demands were added by the syndicate of banks which is expected to purchase \$3 billion in Big MAC bonds. The banks, Morgan Guaranty Trust, Chase Manhattan, and First National City, are requiring that all of the money raised by the sale of MAC bonds be used to pay off only the loans of the city and not the payroll or other debts. It is these very banks which hold most of the city's short-term loans.

As part of the same package, the banks are also asking that *all* of the money coming to the city from sales tax and stock transfer tax, about \$1 billion a year go directly to MAC to pay the interest on the bonds it will sell. The Mayor responded that by taking their

share off the top the bankers aren't leaving the city enough for other expenses. By the time this reaches print, however, he will probably have given in.

Essentially, the MAC plan, in whatever form it is finally adopted, means the end of even the pretense of self government in New York and the beginning of direct control of the city by those who have controlled it indirectly for years—the major banks, insurance companies, and real estate interests.

ROOTS OF THE PROBLEM

As New York approaches bankruptcy and receivership the press abounds with blame and recrimination. The

Republicans blame the Democrats, saying that "the city has been living beyond its means for years and must now pay for making life so soft for its residents." The Democrats blame the Republicans in Albany for their refusal to vote the city new taxing power. The Mayor accuses the banks of conducting a "whisper campaign" to undermine the city's credit in the bond market. The banks blame the unions for their "unrealistic" wage demands. The unions blame the banks for outrageous interest rates and a credit shortage that seems to have no more basis in reality than the oil shortage. Of all these explanations, only those offered by the unions start to come close to an understanding of the roots of the problem.

The New York fiscal crisis needs to be seen in the context of the decline of America's world economic position and the resulting attempts by the large corporations to maintain their profits by lowering the standard of living of working people. Higher prices and reduced public services both have the effect of transferring the tax dollar and the consumer dollar to the corporations, and diminishing the small share of the nation's wealth that working people enjoy.

Socialists have long noted the tendency for the U.S. economic system to turn everything from health care to a walk in the country into a source of profits. City governments have always

interest and principal payments for a total of almost \$2 billion a year.

It is clear that the banks are milking the city, but that's only part of the picture. The bigger question is: why must the city borrow so much in the first place? The facts of the exodus of the middle class from the city and the deterioration of taxable housing stock are well known. What is less well documented is the way the city has been handing out tax abatements to builders and tax reductions to real estate owners of commercial property. In lower Manhattan, where the development of Battery Park City and the World Trade Center have substantially raised property values, the city recently granted multi-million dollar tax reductions on over 140 commercial properties.

If this sounds like civic suicide, why does it happen? A quick look at the campaign contribution of one of the city's biggest construction and real estate operators, Christopher Boomis, gives a hint: to Mayor Beame—\$23,000, Gov. Carey—\$40,000, Carey's Democratic Primary opponent Howard Samuels—\$15,000, Carey's Republican opponent Malcolm Wilson—\$5,000, Assembly Speaker Steingut—\$5,000.

Over the years a cozy relationship between bankers, real estate developers, and city and state officials has converted taxes into profits. Whether the method is to collect taxes and then pay them to the banks in the form of interest, or not to collect taxes and give



UFW

(Continued from Page 1)

workers are employed. A petition must be signed by a majority of workers.

If a valid petition is filed, an election must take place within seven days. If there are more than two choices on the ballot (i.e., two unions and no union) and no designation receives a majority of the votes, there must be a run-off between the two highest categories.

Workers now on strike will be eligible to vote in the elections under board rules.

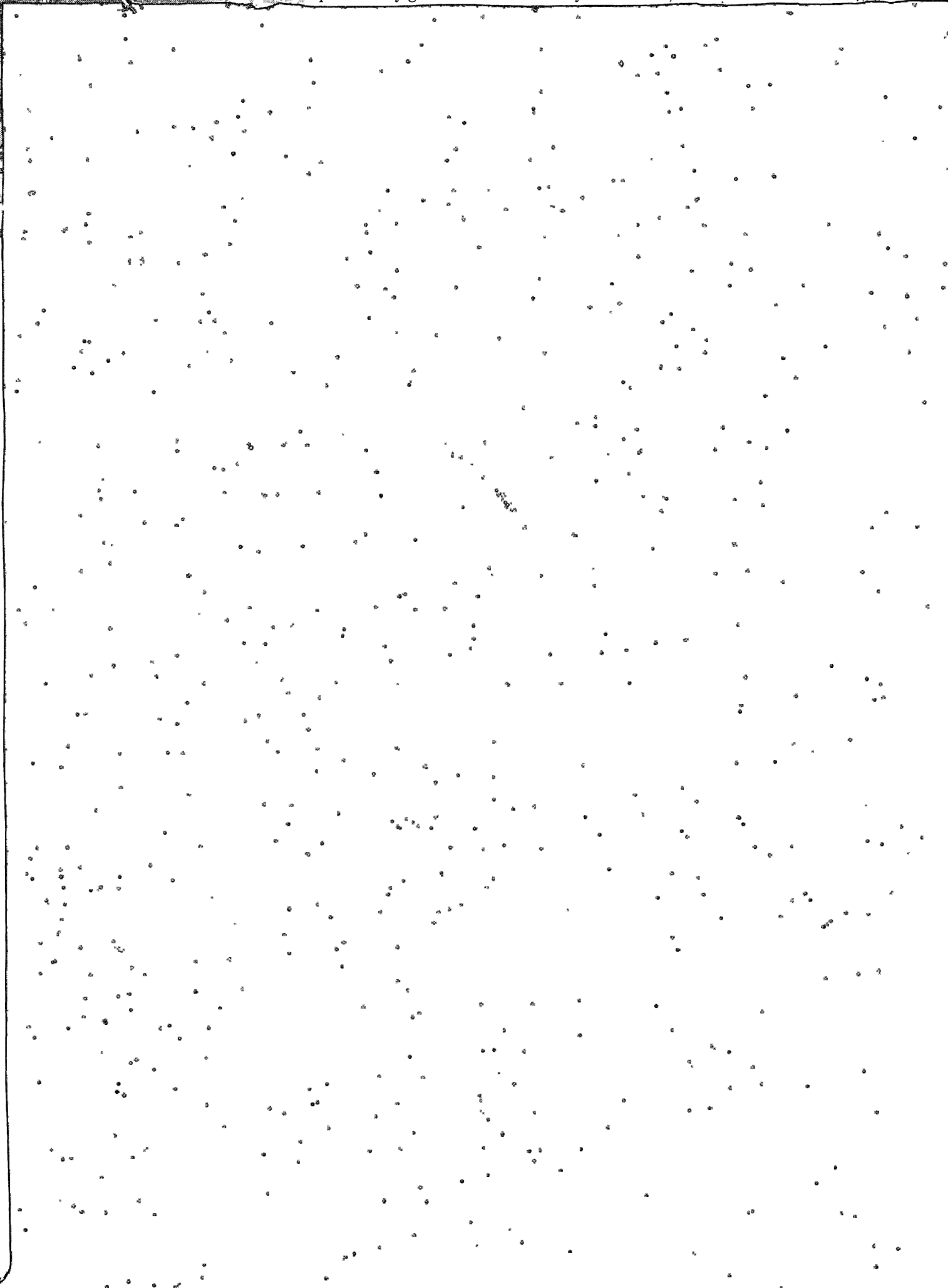
SOME CONCESSIONS

The law covers "all agricultural employees of an employer" and excludes from the Act construction workers and others covered by the National Labor Relations Act. This was something of a concession by the Farmworkers to the powerful building trades councils. The UFW had hoped to include construction workers within their jurisdiction. This would have allowed UFW members to advance to higher paid jobs in the fields—for example, tractor drivers. Chavez had charged that Brown's concept of bargaining units would provide a "mandated ghetto" in the fields where Chicanos would be relegated to the lowest paying jobs.

As for the boycott, it bars farm labor unions from setting up picket lines aimed at stopping employees at a store carrying boycotted products. However, after winning an election the union can carry on a full consumer boycott such as "Don't Shop at Safeway." Pending an election the contending union can carry on a limited consumer boycott. There is no restriction on the product boycott such as "don't buy grapes."

Above all the law allows strikes at any time, including harvest time. This has long been fought by the growers.

Now the UFW is busy explaining the new law to the workers in the fields and has, in effect, set up a dual organizing campaign. One is in the fields where workers are being organized and the other is in urban centers where the boycott continues.



Women and the left

(Continued from Page 9)

of the relationship of the American socialist movement to the Bolshevik revolution. The Communist Party, the side of the split that firmly aligned itself with that Revolution and accepted the leadership and authority of the Bolshevik Party, came to be the center of U.S. revolutionary or socialist activity especially in the depression of the '30s. Woman suffrage had been won and there were no special women's issues being raised by the mass movements of the '30s; the most important popular issues of this period were the winning of economic reforms through the state. Women came to make up perhaps 30 or 40% of the Communist Party in the depression years, participating actively in all its programs and often making up its local and state leadership.

Particularly after 1935 when the Party turned its attention to building mass popular movements and to building the Party itself into a mass organization, importance was attached to bringing women into the Party. A Women's Commission was established; a women's column was started in the *Daily Worker* which dealt with everyday problems of working class women—including how to deal with chauvinist husbands—as well as questions of socialism.

Unfortunately, as the Party's mass influence grew it increasingly sacrificed discussion of the ultimate goal of socialism to discussion of the immediate concerns of American workers. On the women's page this meant more recipes and less political discussion.

But the Party nevertheless maintained an internal socialist culture, and part of that culture was the fight against male chauvinism. Women were at least allowed, and often encouraged, to develop leadership abilities; men were expected to help with housework and child care. "The woman question" was an accepted part of Marxist theory: women, like blacks and other minority groups, were seen as specially oppressed, and the Party considered itself responsible to fight that oppression. Even if there were few programs around women's oppression, recognition of that oppression improved life for women within the Party.

The weakness of the Party's internal approach to women's oppression lay in the conservative bias of the Party's socialist culture. While the sexual division of labor within the family was attacked, there was little if any discussion of the nuclear family or questioning of traditional sexual mores. Styles of life other than the nuclear family were looked at askance. Homosexuality was seen as bourgeois decadence, and the criticism of personal life and the development of new personal life styles were largely ignored.

WOMEN IN SDS

The Communist Party virtually crumbled in 1956 under the combined pressures of the revelations of Stalin's horrors, the invasion of Hungary, and the long-standing failure of the Party to develop a program for the United States once the depression was over and the CIO had been built. The New Left, and especially SDS, developed as an alternative to the "Old Left," at attempt to build a radical move-

ment that was not dogmatic and tied to foreign powers. Unfortunately, along with the desire to build a left suited to U.S. conditions went a rejection of theory, especially Marxist theory, and of socialism itself.

SDS members criticized certain aspects of American culture, but the sexism of American culture was for the most part adopted uncritically: women did the shitwork and were often not listened to at meetings, not consulted on decisions. "Male chauvinism" was a phrase that one did not utter unless one was ready to be laughed at. I was a member of both SDS and the Communist Party in the early sixties. I found the only way to deal with sexist behavior in SDS, if it was on the part of another Party member, was to bring it up in the Party. In SDS I would not be listened to.

In the early sixties movement women were willing to put up with a lot. In the first place, we had little experience in criticizing sexism and little knowledge of feminism. In the second place, we were building a movement that was growing at a dizzying pace, and even if we generally took second place at least we felt we were doing something worthwhile. Finally, in

the early days of SDS there was a consciousness of uncertainty, of not having all the answers, and relatively little arrogance. So we hardly noticed that anything was wrong.

In the late sixties all of this changed. It became clear that building a student movement, or an "inter-racial movement of the poor" was not enough. SDS members began to search for the group that would lead us to the revolution—blacks, workers, whoever—and the correct revolution line. Each of those lines seemed to lead us in circles, but the male leaders, with their new-found confidence that they possessed the truth, were increasingly willing to order women (and non-assertive men) around. Women, doubting if we were accomplishing anything and sure that we were being pushed around, began to leave SDS, often to join the women's movement.

THE ROLE OF AUTONOMY

I think one can draw a few lessons from this history. First, the existence of a women's movement that is in contact with the mixed left seems to enhance the role of women and the view of women's issues within that left. Here the SP is a positive example; the IWW is an example of less contact and therefore less influence; and SDS could have benefited by the existence of an autonomous women's movement.

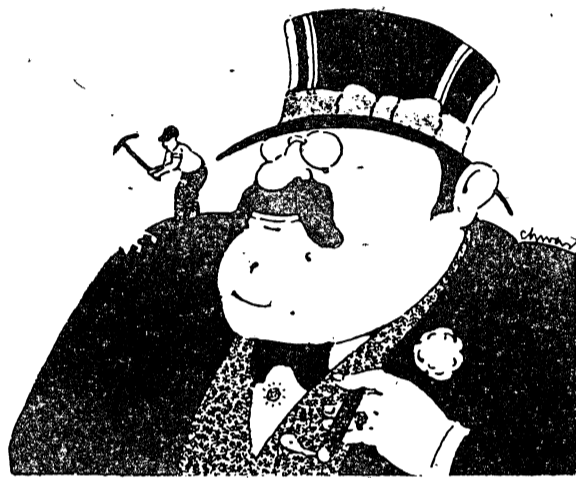
But there are other factors that influence women's role and women's issues in left organizations. The Communist Party was relatively good, especially in its treatment of women within the Party. Here the main cause seems to have been that the Communist Party took Marxism relatively seriously—if an often dogmatic brand of Marxism—and that a Marxist outlook including an understanding of women's oppression. But there was no women's movement at the time and feminism was considered a dirty word in the Party.

We can also understand the IWWs and the SPs treatment of women and women's issues best if we examine their general political theories and then ask what these theories implied for women. SDS' failures around women and women's issues can partly be understood in light of SDS' reaction against theory—and the consequent spontaneity with which sexism became overwhelming in SDS.

Finally, the role of women within these organizations is important. In both the SP and the CP women made an effort to bring attention to women's issues and to improve the role of women within the organization. In SDS no such attempt was made until the very end, and by that time it was too late.

It is often assumed by socialist feminists that the only factor in "keeping the mixed left honest" when it comes to women is the simultaneous existence of an autonomous women's movement. My argument is that the assumption is built on the experience of SDS, not an analysis of the history of the left, and in fact that other factors—the role of women within mixed left organizations and the development of the general theory and practice of those organizations—are also worthy of the attention of socialist feminists.

Note: Much of my information about women and the Socialist Party comes from Bruce Dancis; much of my information about women in the Communist Party in the '30s comes from Lorna Hall. They are not responsible for my conclusions.



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Nat'l convention August 6-10

NAM to focus on left strategy, labor movement

The year that has elapsed since the New American Movement's national convention in Lexington, Kentucky (July 1974) has been one of contradictory signs. The victory of the Indochinese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism certainly stands as the signal event of this period. There have been numerous other advances throughout the world that have demonstrated an intensification of the class struggle. The liberation movements in Africa are drawing new strength from the triumph over Portuguese colonialism. And in Portugal itself a working class that lived for more than 40 years under a right-wing dictatorship has begun the difficult task of defining its

and a liberal solution for 1976. The spontaneous outburst at the jobs rally in Washington not long ago could signal that working people themselves are not so willing to hang their hopes on a presidential candidate. Yet the struggles against bussing and the popularity of George Wallace also indicate that racism continues to be a major divisive force. And whatever we make of these various developments, one fact is indisputable: no unified, militant mass movement has developed in the past year despite the deepening economic crisis—the working class remains bound by passivity and the lack of political consciousness.

These are the signs—what is visible



Corporate and government policies have laid the burden of the international crisis of capitalism on U.S. workers. The year began with the biggest strike wave in nearly three decades.



After more than three decades of war the Vietnamese victory over U.S. imperialism this year will shape the future course of history.

own political life. As a result of the struggles of women around the world the U.S. proclaimed 1975 as "International Women's Year." (If the recent UN-sponsored international conference in Mexico City is any indication, attempts to coopt or control the women's year programs will not meet with easy success.)

At the same time, repression—sometimes fierce—also continues and the forces of the right mobilize and organize. Chile remains under the domination of the fascist junta. In Argentina, leftists are brutally murdered and the government teeters on the edge of fascism. The Rhodesian government shoots down protesting blacks.

U.S. SCENE

It may be possible to say that the international picture is a very hopeful one taken as a whole. It is much more difficult to assess the situation within the U.S. Major segments of the Democratic Party and the labor movement look to the emergence of Ted Kennedy

on the surface. As Marxists, our task is to analyze them—to understand the forces at work that are not immediately apparent. The questions that emerge as we seek to understand the meaning behind them will shape NAMs 1975



Women in Guinea Bissau. The struggle against Portuguese colonialism brought independence to Guinea Bissau and Mozambique. Angola is scheduled for independence in November of this year.

national convention. What are the present prospects for the development of a socialist movement in the U.S.? What is the current state of the left in this country? What do our views on these broader questions mean for the work we'll be doing in the coming year. NAM members and observers from across the country will meet in Oberlin, Ohio, August 6-10 to discuss a series of issues that try to illuminate these questions.

STRATEGIC DIRECTIONS

A major focus of this year's convention will be the debates around strategy for the present period. The panel on strategy will be a summation of discussions that have gone on within the NIC, regions, and chapters over the past year. The NIC has developed majority and minority position papers based on this discussion. The majority position will argue that while there is a growing rightist network that is certainly stronger than the socialist left, the right is "still only a weak challenge to the consensus politics that the capitalist class prefers to maintain." One of the minority positions emphasizes much more the growing ascendancy of the right. Given such differing views, the question of how much of an emphasis should be placed on reform struggles rather than agitation for socialism is a central one in this debate.

Related to the more general debate on analysis and strategy is the decision to develop a NAM position on trade unions. This question has come to the fore as part of NAMs increased emphasis on building bases in workplaces. The convention will adopt a minimal,

experimental position on trade unions to be tested in our practice over the coming year and modified based on lessons learned from our experiences. To help strengthen this practice, the convention will feature a program workshop on the labor movement that will meet several times as well as caucuses around specific industries or unions.

ONE-YEAR PLAN

Such workshops and caucuses are part of an overall perspective that informs the convention. As much as possible in planning the convention, the NIC has attempted to insure that delegates will examine the practical implications of broader strategic questions and relate these to program developments in the coming year. Thus, the NIC is proposing to the membership the adoption of a one-year plan for 1975-76. The purpose of this plan is to help NAM set clear priorities for work and to guide the NIC in the allocation of national resources. The plan presents organizational goals in five areas: program, political education, outreach materials, administration, analysis/research. The program proposals emphasize workplace and community organizing.

Program implementation will be discussed in the program workshops that are scheduled to occur several times throughout the weekend. The workshops will include health, internationalism, racism, and many others. The major national programs of the past six months—utilities and unemployment—

(Continued on Page 12)

I am not a member of NAM but I am interested in attending the NAM National Convention, August 6-10, in Oberlin, Ohio. Please send me registration materials:

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