

NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE PAID
BOSTON, MASS.
PERMIT NO. 57429

VOLUME V NUMBER V

January 1976

35 cents

Boston Busing Fight Continues



by Frank Bove, Middlesex NAM

Charging that his court order desegregating the Boston public schools has not been implemented at South Boston High, Federal Judge W. Arthur Garrity has placed the school under federal receivership. The decision followed a week long hearing on a petition brought by the NAACP on behalf of the parents of black students attending the school. The NAACP called for the closing of South Boston High, charging that black students were subjected to daily verbal and physical abuse from white students, teachers, and police.

Racial incidents exploded after the decision. The NAACP headquarters, and the home of a black minister closely tied to the NAACP, were firebombed. At South Boston High, numerous fights broke out, culminating in the arrest of three black students. At Charlestown High, eighty white students staged a walkout. The "anti-busing" organization ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) called for a massive boycott of Boston schools. Nearly 100 state police were stationed inside South Boston High.

In his decision, Judge Garrity agreed with most of the charges made by the NAACP, parents and students. He found that black students were subjected to discrimination, that the faculty failed to cooperate with the implementation of the Phase II busing plan and that black students and faculty faced verbal and physical abuse. "More often than not, school and police authorities detain and suspend all the black students involved in the incident, but only one or two whites." Finally, Garrity charged that anti-busing organizations, through the distribution of inflammatory handbills to white students and by urging student boycotts, have promoted racial tensions and serious violations of law.

Instead of closing South Boston High, Garrity placed it under federal receivership, which gives the court control over fiscal operations and educational policy. The headmaster, his administrative staff and the football coach were transferred to other schools. Garrity also placed the "lameduck" school committee under a "limited receivership." Charging that the school committee was obstructing and avoiding implementation of Phase II, Garrity stripped away its patronage power by prohibiting it from making any appointments for the rest of its term (which ended Dec. 31).

Garrity also ended the school committee's control over desegregation by establishing two independent departments dealing with school safety and the Phase II implementation. School Superintendent Marion Fahey was given the power to control the two departments.

Why Receivership?

Last summer, The U.S. Civil Rights Commission recommended that a much broader receivership, for the entire school system, was necessary to implement the desegregation order. Garrity's

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Angola CIA Subversion Revealed

The United States has spent almost \$50 million in the past six months in a secret intervention in Angola's civil war, according to the *Washington Post*. While Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger have been complaining about Russian aid to one faction in the war, the U.S. has been shipping massive military aid to the other two factions, in the largest covert operation in history outside Southeast Asia.

U.S. aid has gone to the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for Total Independence (NUTI), which are both fighting the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). The South African government is also giving massive aid to NUTI, and 1000 South African troops and several columns of white mercenaries have invaded southern Angola to support NUTI. (For more on the situation in Angola and the role of the various factions, see the *NAM Newspaper*, November 1975.)

The decision to send arms and money was made in early spring by the Forty Committee, a select group of federal officials who approve all U.S. covert operations. Congress was not informed or consulted, and the operation was kept secret from the American people.

Meanwhile, government officials have attacked the Soviet Union and Cuba for their aid to the MPLA. But according to the *N.Y. Times*, the Soviet decision to send arms to Angola was not made until after the U.S. covert operation began, and was a response to American military aid to the other side of the civil war.

Inside:

- CLUW Convention
- Int'l. Women's Year
- Clerical organizing
- New Haven Threatens General Strike
- John Prine
- Black organizer framed

Daycare Under Attack

by Michael Sandberg

The demand for daycare has finally attracted the attention of government, big business, and Albert Shanker. If any of them get their way, daycare will at last become available to most people. But it will look nothing like the parent-controlled daycare we've been fighting for.

On one flank are the daycare profiteers -- businesses which enter into the daycare field in search of profits. In the past few years, liberals in Congress have pressed for more federal money for daycare: a bill sponsored by Senator Mondale, for instance, would provide \$1.5 billion in federal funds in the next ten years. The prospect of all that federal money has led businesses to set up profit-making daycare centers, and to lobby for federal regulations that would allow them a higher profit -- at the expense of the quality of the daycare.

For example, profit-making daycare centers recently won a court injunction preventing the enforcement of federal regulations which call for high ratios of staff to children in the centers. For the daycare profiteers, higher staff to children ratios mean higher wage costs per "commodity" (that is, per child), and therefore lower profits.

Overhead

Many profit-making daycare centers -- the majority of daycare centers in this country -- provide low quality care. To the daycare bosses, the teaching staff, who are crucial to any childcare facility, are simply part of the "overhead." For his

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New Haven Teachers Win

by Alan Kay

NEW HAVEN -- The event itself is but a moment. The buses pull out, and they are gone, the quickly recognized faces of fellow teachers blurred by the speed of their departure. They are off to jail, for striking for a contract in defiance of state law and a court order. It is New Haven on a cool November day, and the city is in turmoil over the teachers' strike, the mass jailing, and an impending general strike by the area's 92 unions.

The two major issues in the strike, which ended in a negotiated settlement on November 23, were the money package offered to the teachers and the maximum number of students in classes. The union asked for a salary increase and an increase in the "increments scale," the additional money paid to teachers for added teaching experience, education, and years of service.

But the dispute over money was soon buried in negotiations over class size. The Board of Education wanted to reduce its costs by cutting the number of teachers. Since the number of students in the school system has remained fairly constant, this would mean an increase in the average class size, resulting in more work for teachers and less education for students. With some 150 fewer teachers in the classroom this fall, teachers reported that some classes rose from 22 to 28 students.

The teachers' union argued that teachers were being blamed for the high cost of education which was actually brought about by a school system top-heavy with administrators. The New Haven schools suffer from the legacy of former mayor Richard Lee's administration, which governed the city during 16 fat years of local access to federal and foundation funds. One knowledgeable observer estimated that the new mayor could easily pare the school budget by \$250,000 a year now spent for surplus administrators.

Mass Jailings, General Strike

The union's position hardened when Superior Court Judge George Saden ordered 12 union leaders jailed on November 14. Four days later, he had 78 rank and file strikers arrested, and shipped off to an old National Guard camp that had been hastily converted into a prison camp.

The jailed teachers were charged with contempt of court for violating an anti-strike injunction. The arrests provoked state-wide protests, and a move to repeal Connecticut's law against teachers' strikes. The morning after the arrests, 1000 school custodial and cafeteria workers refused to cross the teachers' picket lines.

The support for the teachers culminated in a surprise move for a general strike, called by the New Haven Central Labor Council (AFL-CIO). The Council, representing 92 unions, voted unanimously to call for its 30,000 members to walk off the job at noon Tuesday, November 25. The strike was intended to be a one-time, one day event, but Council president Vincent Sirabella reported that a second resolution was also approved which mandated a continued strike if any employer retaliated against a striking worker.

Two days before the general strike was scheduled to occur, the Board of Education backed down and made a new offer to the teachers, which they voted overwhelmingly to accept. They won \$200 raises, plus increment increases of \$300-\$600 for the current year, with further increases in 1976-77. Class size will be held to 31 students this year; next year, grades K-2 will be limited to 29, and grades 3-12 to 30 students per class.

With the teachers' strike settled, the New Haven general strike was called off. But the labor solidarity engendered by the teachers' strike and Judge Saden's actions may have set the stage for broader unity among working people, including the beginning of a breakdown of the divisions between blue collar workers and the white collar teachers.

Until the strike was well underway, little had been heard from "the community," that ill-defined category that usually means "everyone else in the city." Parents with children in school felt the impact first, so the first organized



response came from the PTAs. They took an official position of neutrality, but one sampling showed that parents in some PTAs were two to one in support of the teachers.

The most exciting community response to the strike was the formation of the Community Consortium, born in the black community as a coalition of 11 community and religious organizations. Black voices in New Haven are seldom heard downtown, except for those filtered through the Democratic Party organization. So it was doubly notable that the Community Consortium, spearheaded by blacks, managed to make itself heard by the two sides of the strike, and succeeded in mounting an important public meeting about quality education and the state of the schools.

In that meeting, New Haveners united in their concern for the schools came together to share visions of the way things ought to be. Such an event is rare in a city robbed of its neighborhood cohesiveness by urban renewal and redevelopment. The moderator tried hard to keep the discussion away from the specific issues of the strike, but its spectre haunted the room. The tone

of the meeting was criticism of the state the schools are in, and of the Board of Education for letting things develop as they have.

No one is going to find easy solutions to the teachers' conflict with the city. The money the union demands is not readily at hand. New Haven, like most middle-sized cities, is suffering declining revenues as the white middle class flees from the city to the suburbs. The teachers are caught in the middle.

So they strike -- for money, yes, because the economy makes that a necessity. But they also strike, they say, for their dignity. They strike to not be made the scapegoats for the problems of the school system which they did not cause.

The teachers, the unions, and the working people of New Haven must all stay actively interested in the quality of education now that the strike is over. This will be easier for the teachers, who face these questions daily as part of their working conditions. But the strike has shown the need for involvement, not only of the teachers, but of working people throughout the city, in fighting for an educational system that will serve the needs of all.



Steve Carlip, Chris Casey, Lisa Dennen, Lew Friedland, Roger Gottlieb, Dean Manders, Larry Miller, Kathy Moore, Karen Morgan, Carolee Sandberg, John Viertel

NAM Newspaper, 16 Union Sq., Somerville, MA 02143

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.

editorial

1976 -- The End of an Era

1975 is over. Looking back over the last year, we see the end of a decade, an era of American politics. The 1960's are really over. In many ways, we won.

Sixteen years ago next month, four black students at a North Carolina college -- Ezell Blair, Jr., David Richmond, Franklin McCain, and Joseph McNeill -- sat in at the Woolworth segregated lunch counter and demanded service. Within a year, over 50,000 Americans, black and white, had sat in, marched, and gone to jail to defeat Jim Crow segregation in the South.

Few of us imagined that out of that first sit-in would come the boycotts, the freedom rides, the voter registration campaigns. Or that they would inspire the free speech movement, campus take-overs, draft resistance, student strikes, and the women's movement.

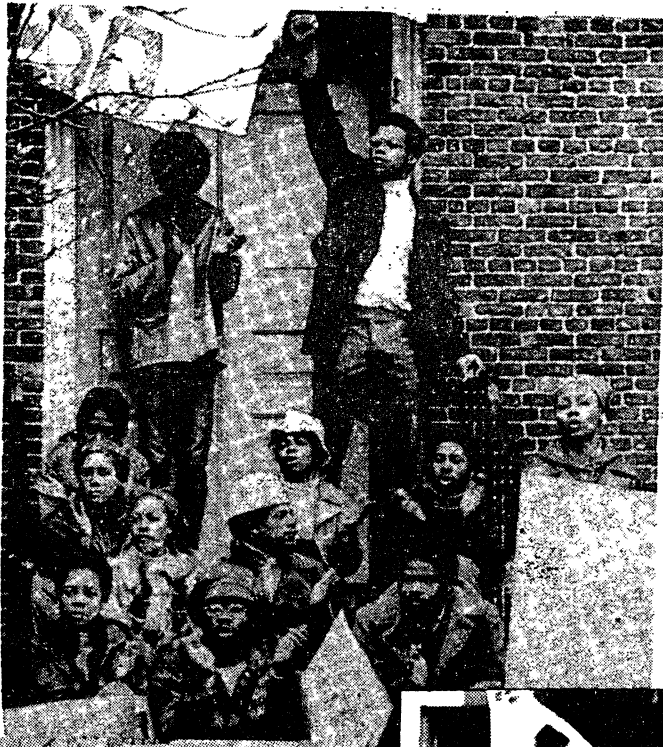
Eleven years ago last month, 1500 people staged the first U.S. demonstration against the Vietnam War. Five months later there were 20,000 demonstrators in Washington. In 1971, there were half a million.

In 1975, the fires of war in Indochina were finally extinguished by the victories of socialist revolutionaries.

The Spirit of the '60's

The spirit of the 1960's, years of struggle and resistance, did not emerge out of thin air. It grew out of the quiet, unnoticed efforts of dedicated activists who had worked for years to make a mass movement possible. Nor did the impact of those efforts die at the decade's end. To really gauge the importance of those years, one has to look at some of the events of the past year.

In 1975, Joann Little was acquitted in the stabbing death of a white prison guard trying to rape her. The verdict was a victory for the right of women to defend themselves against sexual attack, as well as a defeat for racist justice in America.



In 1975, successive foreign policy defeats and the aftereffects of Watergate forced the CIA to start spilling its guts in full public view. Besides the educational effect of these disclosures, it is reported from Washington that the CIA's contacts around the world are drying up from fear and mistrust -- a process which can only have good results. No doubt the worst about the CIA has yet to be told, but even the admissions so far should make the agency a less effective tool of

counterrevolutionary warfare throughout the world.

Most importantly, 1975 marked the victory of the Indochinese people after thirty years of revolutionary war. Having fabricated its own nightmare of Falling Dominoes, the United States then proceeded to make it come true. Revolutionaries in Cambodia, South Vietnam, and recently Laos took power from the American-backed rulers.

The birth of three non-aligned, socialist nations in Southeast Asia will have consequences for years to come, some of which we can barely foresee. We do know that America's pursuit of empire has received its worst defeat since our country's founding.

These victories -- particularly those in Indochina -- were in part made possible by the activities of American radicals. Tens of thousands of people worked tirelessly in organizing opposition to the war. Many went to jail, and many more risked it. Many made a fateful break with family or career to publically express their outrage at a criminal war.

The End of the Great Illusion

And although it was never enough, all of this activity gradually clogged up the war machine, made it more difficult and expensive to run. The antiwar movement helped cause the downfall of two Presidents, the practical destruction of the U.S. Army as an effective interventionary force, and the end of the Great Illusion -- of the American government as the Defender of Freedom, supported by all its subjects.

At a time when most movement work is invisible to individual radicals, let alone to the national media, it is important to remember our contribution to these victories. For the antiwar movement, the end of the '60's came in 1975. In the 1970's, the issues have shifted, and we understand them very differently. For socialists who continue their organizing at work, in communities, in army barracks and health care centers, a new round of struggle is beginning.



letters

To the Newspaper Collective:

Frank Bove's article on South Boston High School (this issue) shows a basic misunderstanding of busing in Boston.

Past issues of the NAM Newspaper have stressed the safety of black schoolchildren as a key short run issue. Yet now that Judge Garrity has finally made a decision that may actually mean greater safety, Bove attacks it for "dividing the black and white communities even more" -- as if South Boston could become more hostile to black people than it already is.

Garrity's ruling has disturbed the surface peace of the last few months. Violence has escalated, and news coverage has escalated more. But that peace had been a false one, in which the daily abuse, physical attacks, and police and administration harassment that black students suffered was simply ignored.

It is true: Garrity's decision is not what we would like. It will not mean parent/student/teacher control of education. To win that, and have it work, would take black and white unity.

But Bove's view of unity is curiously one-sided: white working people must be convinced that blacks are not the enemy. He neglects the equal need to convince blacks to unite with the white working class, and not, for instance, with the upper class "liberals" who support busing. As long as black students cannot attend school in safety, and as long as the white communities are dominated by a violent, racist movement, that unity will not be possible.

Judge Garrity's decision will not bring quality education to Boston. But it helps to lay the groundwork for equal education. And without that basis of equality -- and a left willing to fight for it, no matter how unpopular that is in the short run -- our wishes for a united, multiracial movement will remain merely wishes.

In struggle,
Steve Carlip



Dear Editors,

The November issue was well balanced in terms of national and international news as well as cultural articles. Particularly the Taxi Rank and File coverage was a nice change from shouting left news stories.

I thought the sports article on football lacked good politics. Bill Bigelow's analysis of the growing interest in football ignored the increasing media pressure and "selling" of sports. The growth of sports and its heroes comes from a capitalist market value and sales image, which needs to be examined and could explain why certain sectors of our society focus their attention on contact sports over national, international, and local news. Bigelow stereotyped sports fans and non-fans without fitting them into his analysis. More so, how do women view sports? How do women fit into the American sports scene? I did not get a sense that Bigelow understood football himself.

The lay-out of December's issue was a big improvement and it was pleasant to read. However, the Christmas shopping article needed clarity. It seemed Casey assumed his audience grew up Catholic and would understand his inside humor. The Rubyfruit Jungle review was much too long. I do not think members of the newspaper collective are exempt from space limitations.

In solidarity,
Karen Morgat

labor notes

•New figures released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics reveal that one out of every ten workers in private industry suffer a job-related injury or illness every year. In all, 6 million people are killed or injured as a result of unsafe working conditions.

These figures do not include recently discovered long-term diseases which result from exposure to toxic substances on the job, such as the cancer that miners and construction workers risk as a result of exposure to asbestos dust.

•Under strong pressure, the Senate Government Operations Committee has agreed to investigate the death of Karen Silkwood, a worker at the Kerr-McGee plutonium factory. According to local police, Silkwood died in a car accident. But marks on the bumper of her car indicate that she may have been forced off the road at high speed, and a briefcase containing documents incriminating to the company was missing from the scene of the crash. Silkwood charged that unsafe practices at Kerr-McGee endangered both the safety of the workers at the factory and public health in the surrounding area. Groups ranging from the National Organization for Women to the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers' Union have demanded a full investigation of her death.

•Growing numbers of unemployed workers are trying to sell one of their kidneys for transplant operations to raise money, according to the Wall Street Journal. The National Kidney Foundation has received 100 offers recently, and ads offering kidneys for sale have appeared in New York and Pittsburgh newspapers. One ad in Pittsburgh offered an unemployed blue collar worker's kidney for \$5000.

what we mean Capitalism

by Roger Gottlieb, Newspaper Collective

In last month's column, we described socialism, our political goal. In order to work for socialism, we have to understand what we're up against: capitalism.

What is capitalism?

Capitalism is an economic system which has the following three features. 1) There is a class division between a small minority of people who own the means of production -- the factories, farms, tools, and resources used to produce the things we need -- and the large majority of people who must work for this small group in order to earn wages. The small group of owners -- the capitalist class -- makes a profit by selling what the majority -- the working class -- produces for more money than they pay the working class for producing it.

2) Since the capitalist class owns the means of production privately, production is controlled by what they want, which is profits. Our needs for education, interesting work, good housing, medical care, leisure, etc. -- are not important in deciding what is produced and how.

3) As capitalism develops, monopoly control of industry replaces competition. In the early stages of capitalism, capitalists competed by trying to undersell each other. They did this by cutting wages, lengthening the working day, increasing mass production and the use of machinery. [They were content to make less profit on each item if they could sell more items.] But this competition led to the losers being put out of business. As businesses have grown larger, economies of scale have made it more difficult for new competitors to enter the market. An individual with a few thousand dollars might be able to open a bakery, but he'll have a hard time starting a new automobile company. Capitalism permits a constant increase in the size of corporations, with less and

As American and international life, from entertainment to agriculture, from car production to health care, is dominated by an ever smaller number of ever more powerful firms, more and more power concentrates in the hands of the men who control those firms. Democracy at home and abroad becomes more and more of an empty formula. The number of people who have the economic independence of being self-employed, owning their own farm or business, declines dramatically: from 60% at the turn of the century to less than 10% now.

Capitalists fight to expand their markets not only in the United States but in other countries as well. For hundreds of years, Europe and America, where capitalism developed, have engaged in colonialism and imperialism: the control and exploitation of markets and raw materials in foreign countries.

Their Government, Their Ideas

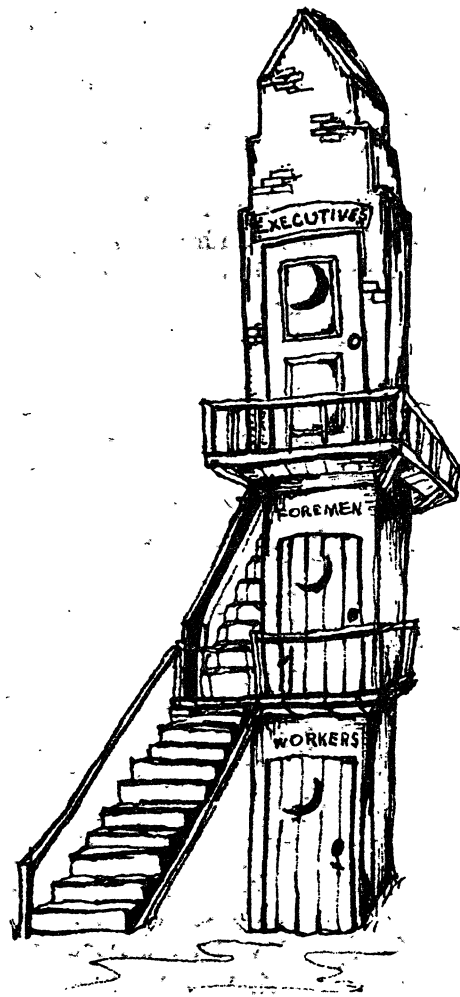
Capitalism is first and foremost an economic system, but it affects the form of our government and even our thinking. The government exists, above all, to defend the capitalists' private property with an army, police and judicial system. The government claims to represent "all the people" -- but history shows that governments in capitalist countries almost always support and defend the interests of the capitalist class. Capitalist governments respond to the needs of the working class only when they are forced to, when strikes, social unrest, or the threat of revolution make reforms necessary.

In every social system, no matter how unjust, most of the people seem satisfied most of the time. Every brutal system, from black slavery to starvation in India, has been defended with the explanation that the people involved don't really mind. In every society not on the verge of revolution, some set of ideas (or ideology) justifies the way things are and assures the people that things couldn't be any better, or will be better in another life, or will be better in heaven. Capitalist ideology tells us that this system, with all its faults, is the best of all systems, that human nature makes it impossible for people not to be competitive and greedy, that people are poor because they are lazy, stupid, or have bad genes, that anyone can get ahead in America, that all our suffering will be rewarded in heaven, and that socialism is evil or impossible. Schools, universities, psychiatrists, the media, and the church all teach and enforce this ideology.

Divisions in the working class are widened by capitalist ideology. Not believing that we can do anything about the real enemy, the capitalist class, we easily believe that blacks or whites, men or women, Russians or Chinese, Jews or Arabs or Catholics, homosexuals or heterosexuals are The Enemy. As long as working class men and women have to compete for limited job security, as long as welfare payments come out of taxes on the working class, it will continue to seem as if men and women, blacks and whites, those who have jobs and those who don't, are each others' enemies. And as long as we remain divided against each other, we will not challenge the rule of the capitalist class.

It is important to see capitalism as a total system: economic, political, and ideological. Is there a way out? Next month we will explore the tensions within capitalist society and see how the structure of this society creates both economic crises and conflicts between classes. It is these crises and conflicts which can lead to an entirely different type of society.

1 1/4 inch NAM buttons, smartly designed in blue and white. With safety catch. Excellent for strengthening NAM's presence at many different types of functions, and for helping you feel part of the group. \$.50 for one, \$4.00 for 10, \$7.00 for 20. Joni Rabinowitz, 2300 Pittcock St., Pittsburgh, PA 15217



campus notes

•Students at Washington University in St. Louis are trying to prevent the administration from firing Carl Boggs, a Marxist political science professor. Boggs, a member of NAM, has been denied tenure on the grounds that his research -- which deals mainly with the Italian Communist Party and with Antonio Gramsci, an Italian Communist and leading Marxist theoretician -- is "outside the normal canons of scholarly inquiry." In a rally in December, 150 students and faculty heard speeches warning that the decision to deny Boggs tenure may herald a purge of other radical teachers in the next few years.

Boggs says that he is being fired because he has attacked "the myth of scientific objectivity and academic neutrality. Education is linked very closely to politics. That doesn't mean that everybody who takes my courses has to agree with my assumptions. But there should be a place on campus for critical thought."

Washington University's decision is part of a pattern now occurring across the country. Radical faculty members hired as a result of student demands in the late '60's are now coming up for tenure. In the absence of a strong student movement, administrations are using the tenure decisions as a chance to force the radicals out.

•Students and faculty at Southeastern Massachusetts University have successfully blocked a plan to train Iranian naval cadets at SMU. Under the secret proposal made by the Iranian dictatorship to the SMU administration, 250 cadets would be admitted as engineering majors next year. Within ten years, this number would increase to 1000, a fifth of the total student body. In return, Iran would offer the university \$30 million for a new staff and possibly a new engineering building.

When word of the plan leaked out, 100 students and faculty appeared at a trustees' meeting to demand open discussion of the proposal. The next day, 200 people, including representatives of the Iranian Student Association, confronted U.S. Admiral Charles Grojean, the Iranian representative on campus. Faced with the growing opposition, the SMU administration and Grojean withdrew their proposal.

One student told For the People, a local community newspaper, "They thought they could put something over on us -- that the school was poor, that the students were narrow-minded and wrapped up in their personal problems and could be bought off. They thought we didn't care about what was happening in the world. But we showed them where we stood."



less real competition because there are fewer and fewer businesses.

From Competition to Monopoly

So capitalism is always changing. The competitive capitalism of the 1800's has grown into the monopoly capitalism of the twentieth century. This has not happened because of bad laws or government interference, but because it is a logical result of growing technology and the economic survival of the fittest.

Today, many corporations no longer have to struggle to produce more efficiently and gain a greater share of the market. A small number of companies control the market in cars, in steel, in oil and gas, and in countless other industries. They make agreements not to compete with each others' prices. Instead, they work to expand the total size of the market. So we are attacked by a continual barrage of tasteless advertising designed to make us want and buy things we don't need, from cars with tail fins (before the manufactured energy crisis) to vaginal deodorants. American life, outside of work, becomes a never ending consumption of poorly produced goods. At the same time, prices become higher and higher, since agreements among monopolists mean that they never have to fear a real price war.

Cops and Hoods Frame Black Organizer

by John Shannon, Orange Country NAM

Frank Shuford is a 23-year-old Black community organizer in Southern California who has been framed, imprisoned and beaten by agents of the ruling class for exposing their connections to the heroin traffic and for fighting racial oppression.

His home is the Santa Ana Black Community, an enclave of less than 10,000 Blacks buried in the heart of right-wing Orange County, California. By the early 1970's the alliance between the local ruling elite and the far right was beginning to come apart. The Lincoln Club -- far-right agricultural interests and backers of the "old" Nixon -- were losing their base in a country increasingly populated by civil servants, workers in light industry and junior executives. The ruling class set out to build new alliances, even allowing a few Democrats to enter county offices. To Blacks this meant that open KKK terrorism was out -- for the moment -- and subtler and more vicious forms of oppression were on the way.

In 1971 the Santa Ana Black community was organizing to fight inadequate schools, unemployment and police brutality. Then a flood of heroin suddenly poured in and within a year, heroin stupor had replaced activism.

Frank Shuford set up the Community Youth Council (CYC), organized free breakfasts and lunches, tutorial programs, school walkouts to protest inferior education and police in the halls and a runaway program. The mayor gave him a community center and later a letter of commendation.

Too Close to the Truth

But Shuford soon began to see deeper problems. He challenged police harassment of young Blacks and Chicanos and mobilized the CYC to expose heroin pushers. A friend in the city government warned him that he was playing with fire, but he refused to quit. The CYC tailed a pusher to a nightclub, where he received a large package from a policeman.

Shuford now had knowledge of the connection between the heroin epidemic in his community and the ruling class; and the ruling class had to destroy him.

In early 1972 Shuford had an argument with a racist clerk in a local liquor store. The clerk threw Shuford through a plate glass window and he nearly bled to death. The police did nothing. Nearly a year later, on February 2, 1973, as Shuford was trying to find the source of heroin in Santa Ana, three men entered the liquor store where Shuford had been beaten, and one of them shot and wounded two clerks. Shuford was home with family and friends watching TV at the time. Neither of the clerks shot was the one who had assaulted him. But Shuford was arrested, tried once with a hung jury and, on a second trial, sentenced to thirty years.

The legal proceedings were a mockery. There was no physical evidence that Shuford had been in the liquor store on Feb. 2. Witnesses testified that he had never owned a gun and had been home the whole night. A polygraph test clearing him was lost. The real gunman was wandering around the community, bragging about his crime. He was interviewed and released by the DA, despite the fact that he was a parole violator. It was discovered later that during the second trial Shuford's lawyer had applied to work for the DA. He conducted a totally incompetent defense.

Framed

The only evidence against Shuford was the testimony of one of the three clerks, a man who positively identified him -- but forgot that he had

been a witness to a traffic accident Shuford had a month earlier. The real tactic of the prosecution was to brand Shuford a troublemaker and a revolutionary. In the second trial, it worked.

Shuford was sent to Chino prison, where he denounced the "capitalists who railroaded me into prison because of our organizing in working class communities." Moved to Vacaville, he was beaten unconscious by five guards one night.

Next, the prison authorities claimed he had a brain tumor and threatened to 'cure' his 'violent-proneness' with a lobotomy. A community protest was organized, medical records demanded and the 'tumor' miraculously disappeared -- for the moment. But Shuford's future is very much in doubt.

The Frank Shuford Defense Committee has been formed to tell the truth and defend Shuford's rights while he is in jail and try to re-open his case. Working with the Committee are Shuford's friends in the Black community, independent radicals in the county, and the Orange County and several L.A. chapters of NAM. The Bar Sinister, a Los Angeles legal collective and the ACLU are working on a bail request and an appeal. The movement to free Frank Shuford is growing, but the Committee will need much more support and money for the investigation and the appeal to get him out.

For information and contributions contact: The Frank Shuford Defense Committee, 617 S. Townsend, Santa Ana, CA 92703.



More Prison Deaths

by Jane Evans, Ann Arbor NAM

Four black prisoners have died recently in the U.S. Penitentiary at Terre Haute, victims of totally inadequate medical care and racism. The American Civil Liberties Union's National Prison Project has announced that they will investigate medical conditions at the prison. In addition, the People's Law Office of Chicago is preparing a civil suit against the Bureau of Prisons and prison authorities in relation to the most recent death, that of William Lowe.

Lowe, a 30 year old black man from Detroit was forced to go to work in the prison factory even though he was seriously ill. As in most prisons, Terre Haute inmates who work in the factories can't go straight to the hospital when they're sick, but must first report to their jobs and then arrange for an appointment. In this case, all appointments made from the factory were scheduled from 2 to 3 p.m., after the prisoners had put in a good five to seven hours of penny labor.

By the time Lowe reached the prison infirmary his condition was rapidly deteriorating. He was seen only by a medical training assistant (MTA), a prisoner with no professional training. The MTA began to prepare him for transfer to a local hospital. The doctor was called in when it became obvious that Lowe was dying, and arrived just in time to pronounce him dead of viral pneumonia caused by a flu epidemic in the prison. He was to be paroled in one month.

90% of the walled prisoners at Terre Haute

staged a work stoppage to protest Lowe's death. Prison activists were charged with and found guilty of 'encouraging others to refuse work.' The only evidence against one of them was copies of letters he had sent to the New York Times, the Chicago Sun-Times, and other newspapers. Similar evidence was used against others. Each was either locked in the hole with a loss of good time or transferred to other closer custody prisons such as Leavenworth. Eventually, charges were dropped, due to outside pressure and the brothers' refusal to admit to the charges.

More of the Same

The three other deaths at Terre Haute fit this same pattern. The most recent, on August 14th, was the death of Yusuf, a 30 year old black man from Chicago. He, too, was not seen by a doctor from the time he was admitted until he died eight hours later. Yusuf had a history of asthma, and suffered a severe attack. The MTA who was called in to see him left to pass out pills to other patients. He finally returned with a respirator which had been reported broken two weeks earlier.

When it was "discovered" that the respirator wasn't working, Yusuf was given a shot of thiorazine, a powerful tranquilizer and antipsychotic. He died minutes later. A doctor who recently saw the released records said in an interview, "The case was a mess from top to bottom."

Yusuf, a rising Sunni Muslim minister, had

been gaining respect around the prison. His relatives have not ruled out the possibility of premeditated murder on the part of prison officials.

In comparison with other prisons, Terre Haute is not the worst in America. But corporal punishment of inmates and racial incidents are common and the inmates earn 21 cents an hour in a profit-making prison industry. Throughout the American prison system, people are deprived of medical care as a means of oppression.

At Attica State Prison in New York, wounded prisoners were brutalized and denied any emergency or medical treatment. The official report of the state Special Commission on Attica states, 'the authorities were well aware that the assault might result in large numbers of gunshot casualties. ... However, they failed to make adequate provision in advance for the evacuation and treatment of the wounded.' Although there were over 120 casualties suffered by inmates and hostages, there were only two MDs at the prison.

Similarly, at Soledad, George Jackson, among others, was shot again even after lying motionless on the cement. He was then left lying for six hours.

As prisoners organize against repression and as their political consciousness grows, whether it be at Terre Haute, Attica, or Soledad, they are met with more repression. The vicious circle continues.

For more information about the situation at Terre Haute, write to the Terre Haute Support Group, 2747 N. Seminary, Chicago, IL 60614.

"Free World" Unions Reject U.S.

by Rodney Larson

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICTFU), once funded by the AFL-CIO and the U.S. government, is biting the hand that no longer feeds it. At a recent meeting in Mexico City, delegates from 119 labor organizations in 88 countries attacked the U.S.-backed Chilean military junta, American multinational corporations, and "the angry men of the AFL-CIO [leadership] who smart with resentment about the fact that the world is changing and they can't stop it."

The meeting sent a special delegation to Santiago, Chile, to "demand the release of the 5600 political prisoners that are accounted for on lists just for Santiago, and to help the rest out, the ones [Chilean dictator] Pinochet claims have disappeared, and the people stuck in prison camps the whole length of the country," in the words of Jack Jones, leader of the Transport and General Workers Union in Britain.

The delegation, made up of union representatives from Britain, West Germany, Canada, and Columbia, stayed in Santiago for two days, lodged protests over the eradication of the Chilean Confederation of Labor, visited religious and lay leaders working with victims of the junta, and made plans to send a shipment of food and other relief supplies to these victims.

Returning to Mexico City, they reported that they had been systematically followed and that their documents and papers had been stolen by Chilean government agents. They confirmed the existence of a "total police state," and called for uncompromising condemnation of the Chilean government and for aid to the exiled leaders and members of the Chilean labor movement. Otto Kerstein, Secretary-General of the ICTFU, called for a "worldwide boycott of goods to and from Chile."

The delegation to Chile recommended worldwide actions against the junta and multinational corporations which cooperate with it. This resolution, later passed by the ICTFU Congress as a whole, could affect firms like General Motors and Marcona Mininf Corporation, which have expanded their investments in Chile since the coup.

The conference also condemned the govern-

ments of South Africa, Argentina, Spain, and others who hinder the development of international labor affiliations. It set up a working party to reorganize the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers, an organization described by the U.S. Senate as ineffective because it is "identified with U.S. government policy and its interventions" in Latin America.

The ICTFU and the Cold War

The ICTFU is an offshoot of the American Institute for Free Labor Development, formed in 1949 as a "free world" alternative to the communist-lead World Federation of Trade Unions. The current Secretary-General, Otto Kerstein, is reported to have spent eight years in a Soviet labor camp after participating in an uprising in 1953 while he was a student in East Germany. He later fled to West Germany and went to work for the trade union movement there.

The AFL-CIO, which funneled CIA funds to its foreign affiliates, left the ICTFU in 1969 when George Meany objected to dialogues between the ICTFU and unions in the World Federation of Trade Unions. At the meeting in Mexico City this year, the ICTFU announced that it is "currently elaborating an effective trade union strategy toward [multinational corporations], and it is clear that the power of multinational-organized capital must be confronted with the strength of worldwide labor unity." In other words, there must be worldwide union negotiation to deal with global firms.

George Meany is on the record against "attempting to set up international unions and bargaining on an international basis." Since most major multinational firms are based in the U.S., the AFL-CIO's absence from these moves toward labor unity is a serious weakness. The United Auto Workers and the United Mine Workers do maintain relations with the ICTFU.

The ICTFU also discussed the formation of a new trade union federation in Europe. Although this new body would unite, non-communist, anti-communist, neutral, and Christian unions, it has been bitterly attacked by AFL-CIO and U.S. government officials.



Oklahoma Socialists Attacked

by Charles Smith

NORMAN -- An Oklahoma grass roots reform group has become the target of a local witch-hunt. The Norman Citizens for Civic Responsibility (NCCR), which organized a broad based coalition against utility rate hikes, has suffered a major red-baiting attack from right wing forces.

The NCCR had earlier succeeded in rolling back utility rates and preventing any future rate increases without the consent of the voters in a public referendum. In addition, it had elected John Neal, well known in local socialist circles, to the city council, and had won a ward system, in which city council members are elected by individual wards instead of at large.

Local right wing forces have responded to these victories with a red-baiting attack on Michael Wright, an organizer of the NCCR. A virulent letter by Fielding Haas, former Norman city attorney, appeared in the Oklahoma Daily. It accused Wright and others of being bomb throwers and arsonists who were trying to provoke violence against the police.

Soon after the letter appeared, John Neal, who the NCCR had elected to the city council, surfaced as an FBI informer. The revelation polarized the NCCR, with most of the liberals running for cover and refusing to stand up against the attacks on Wright.

A defense committee, the Norman Political Rights Defense Committee, has formed, with the support of the National Organization for Women, the American Civil Liberties Union, and others. Wright has filed a libel suit against Haas. Contributions to the defense committee can be mailed to Mike Wright, 410 College St., Norman, OK.

Busing

continued from page 1

decision stopped short of the commission's recommendation because: first, the majority of schools have to some extent implemented the Phase II plan; second, there is no precedent for appointing a receiver to assume the power and authority of elected public officials.

Garrity chose to keep South Boston High open not only because he wanted to break the resistance to his Phase II plan, but also because he could use the school as a test case for this type of receivership. The evidence of noncompliance with the desegregation order is overwhelming. The chances for setting a precedent are greater if the test case is South Boston High rather than the entire school system. Once there is a precedent, Garrity can threaten the school committee with complete receivership of the school system if it continues its obstructionist policies.

The new school committee, which formed this month, faces the threat of losing its patronage power if it follows the same policies as the previous committee. It already has limited control over school jobs since the court has given power over desegregation matters to Fahey. As the last vestige of the old machine, the school committee finds itself in a double bind. Either it obeys the desegregation ruling in order to maintain some of its patronage power, thereby alienating its constituency; or it follows its constituency and has its power over the school system completely stripped away.

There is no doubt that large corporate interests, and their large friends in state and city government, are determined to smash the old political machine in order to take over that machine's last stronghold -- the Boston Public School System.

These representatives of national corporate interests realize that the school system has not provided adequate training for the kind of labor they need. The school committee is more interested in doling out jobs to its community supporters than in improving education. Under Phase II, the school curriculum will more closely reflect the needs of large corporations and banks.

The School System is "fiscally unsound," according to these corporate interests and their friend, Mayor Kevin White. This "New Boston" group, headed by White, has control over every government agency except the school system. The old machine, which resisted with little success the onslaught of urban renewal, is now faced with the New Boston's streamlining and belt-tightening policies.

"Fiscal Responsibility"

In a memo to all community superintendents, Marion Fahey has detailed plans for massive layoffs of teachers, and the crowding of pupils past the limits of the Teachers' Union contract, all in the name of "fiscal responsibility." The consolidation of classes will be based on the number of students attending at present. Boycotting students are considered no longer part of the system. If they decide to return to school, the classrooms will be seriously overcrowded.

Meanwhile, teacher and student morale is very low. Teachers fear layoffs and are concerned over court ordered transfers of South Boston High's staff. Even the the conservative Teachers' Union is "considering the possibility of a strike at some future time." Students fear for their safety and realize they are receiving a poor education.

All this leads to a final question: has the black movement for better education won a victory here or not? Black parents and students wanted South Boston High closed not only because of

discrimination and lack of safety, but also because they have no control over the school. They realize the necessity of having some control over the functioning of the school in order to insure that a safe, adequate and orderly education is provided.

Under receivership, the school may eventually become safer, but parents and students have little influence over its functioning. There will be "improvements" in education -- in the direction of better vocational training for manual blue collar work. Meanwhile, the court's decision has divided the black and white communities even more. The NAACP, and the black community itself, are seen as the enemy by the ethnic white working class. The KKK is back in town. And the South Boston Information Center, before the court decision was made, urged that the NAACP be "wiped out." A few days later, the firebombing occurred.

The real enemies are the national corporate interests, with their belt-tightening policies, and the local "machine" capitalists. Like labor union leaders, the machine speaks the rhetoric its followers want to hear in order to disguise its corrupt motives. The machine is interested only in maintaining its sphere of power against the steady encroachment of the national capitalists, not in satisfying the needs of the white ethnic communities.

There is a long struggle going on between these two sectors of the capitalist class. Early in the century, the machine wrested control of the city from the national capitalists after a bitter struggle. Since 1945, its power has been greatly lessened by the national capitalists' policies of urban renewal, streamlining and "fiscal responsibility." Those who believe that the situation here is simply a struggle between oppressed blacks and a racist community ignore the tensions and divisions in the white community and the ruling class as well.

across the country

Office Workers Organize

by Debbie Socolar, Radcliffe-Harvard NAM

Office workers are on the move. In this traditionally unorganized part of the workforce, groups ranging from women's caucuses to union organizing committees have been forming in unprecedented numbers during the past few years.

At present only 17% of full-time clerical workers, who total 9 million, are in unions. Counting those with part-time jobs, there are well over 14 million clerical workers in the U.S. today, and they include more than a third of all working women. The male-dominated union movement, until recently not interested in low-paid women workers, has given little attention to this rapidly growing sector of the workforce. But women office workers have begun organizing themselves, and unions are taking another look at the potential for clerical unionism.

Unions traditionally justified their failure to organize clerical workers by arguing, among other things, that most women were just working temporarily and were not their families' primary breadwinners. This image of women workers has become less and less true. "The economic reality of being a woman worker," says Karen Nussbaum, a founder of 9to5, Boston's organization for women office workers, "was becoming more apparent and more important to women." At the same time, the ideas of the women's movement helped give a greater sense of their own worth to many women -- including a lot who don't con-



sciously identify with feminism -- and encouraged them to speak out.

Changing Work

Other sources of new attitudes include the economic pressure of inflation and the recession, and, over a longer time span, the changing nature of clerical work itself. As the clerical workforce continues to expand, the office becomes more and more impersonal. Increasingly, office workers are tied to machines -- typewriters, dictaphones, switchboards, keypunching equipment -- instead of men. They are subject to pressure for greater and greater productivity and efficiency.

As a 1971 Harvard Business Review article accurately observed, "Many clerical employees are working under circumstances that differ little from factory conditions. For example, behind the marble facade ... of almost any bank or insurance company are huge bullpen areas inhabited by regiments of clerks. ... The work itself is fragmented and boring." The article was entitled "Your Clerical Workers are Ripe for Unionism."

Often a single specific grievance -- a skimpy raise, changes in work conditions made without consulting the workers, discriminatory promotion policies, or a dress code -- sparks office workers to break the usual barrier of secrecy about salaries, to discover and share their common concerns and anger, and to act. As a result, countless clerical employees groups and women's caucuses have grown up in firms of all kinds.

In some cities, women office workers from different firms have linked their struggles and built city-wide organizations. These organizations have grown by addressing women office workers' concerns in a way male union organizers have generally failed to do. For example, Boston's 9to5 composed a "Bill of Rights for Women Office Workers," which supports things ranging from the right to choose whether to do the personal work of employers (typing personal letters, serving coffee) to an end to discrimination on the basis of sex, age, race, marital status, or parenthood.

These clerical women's organizations act on several levels. They assist individual employees with problems on their jobs -- sex discrimination, unfair firings, harassment for organizing, etc. Lobbying for legislation (such as regulations for temporary office help agencies) and public campaigns against particular firms or industries are major activities. For example, Women Employed, the Chicago group, won a case requiring a company to pay several hundred women employees damages for past discrimination. 9to5 pressured the Massachusetts Insurance Commissioner into regulating employment practices of insurance companies; the rules, designed by 9to5, were the first such in the country.

Women all over the country are picking up on the example of groups like 9to5, Women Employed, and San Francisco's Women Organized for Employment. Similar groups have formed in Cleveland, Dayton, and New York this year. But such organizations are difficult to build, requiring both money and dedicated full-time organizers.

Unions

Clerical employee groups in many individual firms have concluded that they need a union to achieve their goals. This is a major trend on university campuses. Several of the city-wide groups, too, have moved to active involvement in union organizing, either independently or by affiliating with existing unions.

District 65 of the Distributive Workers, a traditionally progressive union, has a long history of clerical organizing, and is now leading a barrage of drives on campuses and in publishing companies. The United Auto Workers, the Teamsters, the Service Employees (SEIU), the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), and other major unions are looking with new interest at clerical workers in private industry. A key attraction is the fact that office workers represent a vast potential source of new membership -- and dues payments -- in a growing sector of the workforce.

But many unions still are reluctant to become involved in clerical organizing. Despite changes in office workers' attitudes, obstacles to organizing remain. Job type and status divide office workers



Women attend first conference of office workers' organizations.

from one another, and high turnover hinders sustained organizing efforts. Most women with families have a second job at home which limits the amount of time and energy they can devote to organizing. Another problem is the common idea that all unions are corrupt. Some office workers still feel they have less in common with blue collar union members than with management. And of course, management opposition to a rising tide of clerical unionism is likely to be fierce.

Some unions are also wary of clerical organizing because an influx of active and angry women could present a lot of problems for the traditional male leadership. Demands for women in organizing and leadership roles, and pressure for overall democratization of union structures, would grow. Women office workers' concern with maternity benefits, sex discrimination, whether they should have to do personal tasks for their bosses, and so on, could force unions to deal with sexism and other qualitative issues which they are accustomed to avoiding in favor of wage demands.

Challenging women's traditional work roles, building women's confidence, solidarity, and leadership skills, bringing new vitality to the labor movement -- many people involved in clerical organizing see all of these as their goals. And the movement is changing people's lives right now. In Jean Tepperman's forthcoming book, *Not Servants, Not Machines: Office Workers Speak Up* (Beacon Press), a Chicago woman explains:

"It's given me a great deal more confidence in myself as a woman. ... It's been the most exciting thing I've ever done in my life. Walk through the Loop here and ... you see all these wealthy corporations that are so rich and powerful that it seems like you could never crack them. But ... the vast majority of people working in these companies are women. And without us, those companies wouldn't be running at all. So if they have the power of money, then we have the power of women!"



NEW YORK ... to ...

NOW Moves Left

by Judy MacLean, Pittsburgh NAM

A slate of candidates running under the slogan "Out of the Mainstream and Into the Revolution" swept eight out of nine national offices and won a majority of seats on the board of directors at the National Organization for Women's national convention in Philadelphia October 24-27. The newly elected president and chair of the board, Karen DeCrow and Eleanor Smeal, pledged that NOW will work for the needs of masses of women in traditional women's jobs such as teaching, nursing, clerical work, and for the needs of housewives and welfare recipients, not just for gains for a few token women in high level jobs. They won a narrow victory over their opponents.

The convention itself was an endurance contest for the 3000 women and handful of men (out of NOW's national membership of 60,000) who attended. Hamstrung by rules of procedure written to govern an organization of 200, the participants were subjected to endless parliamentary wrangling and procedures that involved staying up all night in order to vote. One participant remarked that there had been almost no discussion of political issues, because so much time was given to points of order and procedure. Plans for a 1976 constitutional convention to revamp NOW's structure were debated hotly.

Political discussion on a local and regional level had led to the formation of the Majority Caucus, which captured the majority of the convention support. The victory was ambiguous, however, since the opposing group charged that the Majority Caucus won only because the convention was held in Philadelphia, a Majority Caucus stronghold. There is no delegate system at NOW's conventions, and any member who shows up can vote.

The impetus for the formation of the caucus was struggle over issues internal to NOW's national board. However, Eleanor Smeal stated that "there were differences in philosophy involved."

The Majority Caucus circulated a collectively written statement of politics which said that NOW should "articulate the common bond

between those oppressed on the basis of sex, race, sexual preference, poverty, or ethnic background and unite all feminists against these oppressive forces." It argued that NOW should use mass action tactics as well as lobbying and court litigation, and that NOW should not limit itself to changes in the mainstream, but should "change the mainstream itself."

The platform pledged to confront racism within NOW, recruit minority women, and assure that NOW publically struggles against racism as well as sexism. It also urged the removal of NOW officers who don't support lesbians, a move primarily aimed at Betty Friedan, a NOW veteran who has consistently opposed lesbianism as an issue for NOW to confront. Friedan denounced most of the convention participants at a press conference for "turning NOW into a revolutionary organization. Most women don't want that."

The opponents of the Majority Caucus insisted that they agreed politically with most of the caucus' points, and accused the caucus of splitting NOW for personal power reasons. However, campaign literature of the two opposition leaders, Mary Lynn Myers and Mary Jean Collin-Robson, mentioned none of the issues raised by the Majority Caucus: racism, lesbianism, broadening NOW's constituency to include poor and working women. Ms. Myers said in an interview that she feared the Majority Caucus would neglect women's issues by expanding to deal with other kinds of oppression. All the black, Chicana, and lesbian candidates for the board were from the Majority Caucus; the opposition was drawn from what is more traditionally NOW's membership.

By turning in a direction to struggle for the needs of all women, not just the better educated or those from relatively higher income family backgrounds, NOW is taking the whole women's movement in a progressive direction. And since the mass women's movement is one of the largest and most active in the U.S. today, it is an exciting development to have its largest organization turning its attention to the majority of women.

In her keynote speech, Karen DeCrow



Mary Lynn Myers and her mother, Lona Crandall, both members of South Dakota NOW.

attacked "the male left" and stated that sexism in the Soviet Union had made her believe that socialism was not the answer to the oppression of women. She insisted that the revolution she and the rest of the Majority Caucus seek is a feminist one, not a "traditional revolution where you talk about the means of production." But NOW's definition of revolution is vague, and does not include a vision of how society can be totally transformed or the building of a party of those who can do it. DeCrow's statement reflects some of the contradictions in NOW's view of revolution. But if NOW makes good its promises to fight for sweeping reforms such as full employment with new jobs in socially useful areas like childcare instead of areas like defense, it will confront the system head on. Its demands are not for a total revolution of the capitalist system. But the mobilization of masses of women to struggle for NOW's stated goals could mean the beginning of a new era for the women's movement.

The convention ended with unity among the factions and a pledge that they would all fight for feminism together. DeCrow and Smeal predicted a NOW united around their platform. It remains for the chapters to do the hard work of putting the promises into practice.

Bureaucrats Win at CLUW Convention

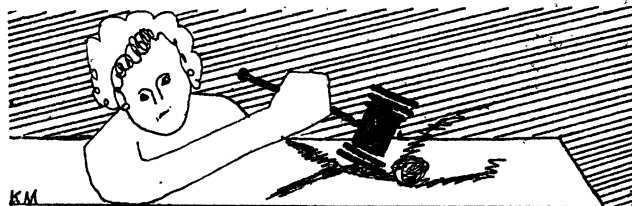
by Roberta Lilly, Detroit NAM

The struggle between the leadership of CLUW and the activist factions came to a head during the planning for CLUW's recent Constitutional Convention and culminated in a bitter floor fight over the adoption of a national constitution.

At the founding convention of the coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) in March, 1974, over 3200 women formed an organization of trade union women committed to fight for the rights of working women on the job, in society, as a whole and within the trade union movement. Since the founding convention the organization has been torn by an internal struggle between union bureaucrats, led by CLUW's national president Olga Madar (of the UAW) and progressive trade union activists who led a strong opposition to the leadership in local chapters and at the national level.

In the months before the convention activists had pushed for a constitution which would provide for strong, independent chapters, a democratic structure and a more open membership.

They were partially successful and shortly before the convention two alternate proposals for a constitution were sent to all members. The leadership faction's proposal called for a strong



national president with the power to appoint all committees as well as a National Executive Board based primarily on representation by region and international union -- but which severely limited representation of the local chapters. In this proposal membership in CLUW was limited to members in good standing or retired members of a union or other collective bargaining organization.

The activist faction's proposal provided two alternatives for membership--first, that CLUW be open to all working women; second, that CLUW be open to all women who signed authorization cards for representation in organizing drives as well as members and retirees of collective bargaining organizations. It also allowed members to remain in CLUW even if they lost their union membership due to layoffs. It provided for elected committees as well as a National Coordinating Committee based on strong chapter representation. Local chapter autonomy was stressed by allowing chapters to engage in activities, issue statements and make policies regardless of the positions of any international unions.

The activists had demanded an agenda prior to the convention which would provide time for workshops to discuss the real issues facing CLUW, as well as allow for discussion and

adoption of resolutions on CLUW's future program. But the leadership sabotaged this effort. Their proposed agenda allowed no time for workshops or resolutions. The agenda which was adopted allotted most of the convention time to social activities, special events and elections.

At the one full meeting of the convention, an involved parliamentary fight was dragged out for 12 hours until weary, confused delegates voted to adopt the leadership's basic document with only limited alteration.

The Future

A resolution committing CLUW to leading the fight for the adoption of the ERA by leading demonstrations and activities around the country was passed. The original proposal which allowed only chapters with a hundred or more members to be represented on the National Executive Board was amended to allow chapters with only 50 members to be represented.

It was nearly 1 a.m. when the constitution was adopted and elections for national officers were held. Olga Madar and her bureaucratic slate were elected by the remaining delegates over a young activist slate led by Dana Duke, CLUW's southern regional vice-president.

This major defeat means that CLUW has lost its capacity to lead working women in their fight for their rights on the job, both in society as a whole and in the trade union movement.

Summing Up International Women's Year Int'l



by Barbara Ehrenreich, N.Y. Mets NAM

In some ways it's a big relief to have International Women's Year over with. We women had had a lot of experience with "Days" (International Women's Day, Mother's Day, etc.) but we'd never before been offered a whole Year. There are rumors that we're going to be given another Year in 1980, so it's none too soon to start drawing some lessons from this one.

The high point of this year's IWY was, of course, the official UN-sponsored IWY conference held in Mexico City in August. It's been hard to find out exactly what went on there, but one thing is pretty clear. The conference set the stage for an encounter between women from the relatively fat, imperialist and post-imperialist "first world" countries and those from the hungry, imperialized "third world" countries. For some North American sisters, the experience was mind-blowing.

In the area of health, for example, one U.S. participant learned that for millions of women in the world the major problem is not drug hazards or cold speculums but water -- where and how to get enough of it to live on (see *Health Right*, Fall, 1975). Women from the gynecological self-help movement learned as much from their drive through Mexico (dirt-floor huts, subsistence farming) as from the conference itself. They returned to add "imperialism" to the growing list of known hazards to women's health.

Of course, as the newspapers stressed with anti-feminist glee, Mexico City wasn't all sisterhood and sharing. When you consider that the round trip airfare from, say, Chicago to Mexico City is \$300 (never mind lodging and meal costs), it's not surprising that the U.S. participants leaned heavily toward Republican matrons from the suburbs of Dallas, and fashionable feminists from the suburbs of New York. Even among the latter group, I am sorry to say, there were those who thought that the issues raised by Third World women -- distribution of the world's wealth, hunger -- were "divisive," not really "women's" issues.

The most embarrassing anecdote to drift this far north from Mexico City: A panel of African women nutrition experts was discoursing on starvation and malnutrition. When their presentations were over a North American woman, well-dressed and not noticeably undernourished, rose to ask the first question. Could the nutrition experts tell her, she wondered, whether diet pills would interfere with her hormones?

So the first lesson of IWY (for North American women anyway) is that while we may sometimes feel that we've got the world's patent on feminism, we have a whole lot to learn about the lives and problems of a major portion of the world's women -- women whose lives are dedicated to finding calories rather than avoiding them and whose family size is limited by disease rather than IUD's or pills.

Switching now to the national scene: Within the territorial confines of the U.S., IWY turned

out to be the most turbulent year in the history of the 20th century women's movement -- something like an Alastair MacLean novel with an all-female cast. Redstockings (one of the original 1960's radical feminist groups) publicly denounced Gloria Steinem for her CIA connections...NOW decided to jump "out of the mainstream and into the revolution," and Betty Friedan, who doesn't like revolutionaries any more than she likes Gloria, threatened to split, perhaps for a New NOW...In July nearly 2000 socialist-feminists met in Ohio and quarrelled over what is the "principal contradiction."

To confuse everything, Redstockings went on to issue a 200-page journal attacking not only the "liberals" but also the "left-lesbian alliance"... Robin Morgan insisted in *Ms.* that sisterhood is still more powerful than even Excedrin and that anyone who disagreed was being misled by "the boys' movement"... Meanwhile, *Total Woman*, the book that turns sexual slavery into fundamentalist fun, became a best-seller, and the ERA lost in, of all places, New York...

Sifting through these various events, pseudo-events and rumors, it seems to me that two main things happened on the U.S. feminist front this year:

1. A split within what had been the women's movement. The edges of the fissure are still ragged and there are plenty of splits within each side, but two sides are now clearly identifiable. On the one hand, there are radical or socialist feminists who believe women's goals cannot be met without a profound political and economic restructuring of society in the direction of socialism. On the other hand, liberal or bourgeois feminists who do not want to challenge capitalist, class-based society.

The CIA-Steinem revelations were only the last straw leading up to the split. It had been getting more and more obvious for years that the kind of feminism associated with *Ms.*, Betty Friedan and Betty Ford can do no more for the average working class woman than, say, the Mexico City conference did for the women factory workers of Taiwan or field hands of Columbia. So it is not surprising that this year also saw socialist-feminism surface in a big way -- a women's movement which is dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism, racism and imperialism as well as sexism.

2. There has been the emergence of a right-wing, anti-feminist movement opposed to equal rights and, in many cases, abortion, homosexuality, and busing. At first it was easy enough to dismiss the anti-ERA forces in New York because their arguments were so silly (for example, that ERA would cause the forced integration of public rest rooms!). But they've got to be taken seriously. They are well financed, and although the leadership of the New York anti-ERA campaign was solidly upper middle class, they have potential appeal to the working class women who are turned off by bourgeois feminism.

The lessons I draw from all of this are: First, given the rise of right wing anti-feminism, feminists of all stripes are going to have to stick together on the basic, civil rights types of issues -- equal rights, equal pay, control over our own reproductivity, an end to discrimination against gay people, etc. If we don't stick together on these kinds of issues, we can expect to lose even the limited gains of the last six years. For example: The whittling away of abortion rights in many states.

At the same time, we in the feminist left ("radical" and "socialist") are going to have to work harder than ever to distinguish ourselves from bourgeois feminism. We can unite with them around certain issues, but we need to establish our own political identity and priorities more clearly and forcefully than we have ever done. Their brand of women's "lib" may meet the needs of women executive, professors and sports stars, but it's a far cry from liberation for all of us.

Women's Strike Shuts Down Iceland

A high point of International Women's Year was a women's strike in Iceland which shut down the country for 24 hours on November 25. In a massive show of solidarity, nearly all of the nation's 60,000 women stayed away from their jobs or left the unwashed and the beds unmade.

Instead of working, the women flocked to a rally in the center of Reykjavik, creating the biggest traffic jam police said they had ever experienced. By one estimate, 25,000 women -- or nearly half of the women in Iceland -- attended.

The strike was organized to show that women are indispensable to the economic life of Iceland.

The telephone system came to a halt because of the absence of switchboard operators. Some businessmen were forced to take their children to the office with them, as all nursery schools closed.

The strike was almost 100% effective. Newspapers could not publish, because most typesetters in Iceland are women. Theaters closed for want of actresses, and the national airline had to cancel flights because they had no stewardesses. Most school children went untaught.

Banks remained open only when executives staffed the counters in place of the usual female tellers. A few restaurant owners stayed in business by serving customers themselves.

Many women did not return to their homes to cook dinner, but went to smaller meetings after the rally, and continued their strike from housework for a full 24 hours. "We hope our husbands can manage the children and cook cereal for them for one day," one said.



Portugal

Left Suffers Setback

by Larry Miller, Newspaper Collective

A month ago the Portuguese right-center government of Premier Azevedo seemed close to collapse. Massive demonstrations were calling for its replacement. The Armed Forces Movement (MFA) was deeply divided, with a vocal minority denouncing the government's policies and calling for it to move to the left.

Today, Azevedo is in his strongest position ever, and the left has suffered a serious setback. Amidst reports of an "unsuccessful Communist coup," Portuguese conservatives have purged much of the left in the military and the leaders of a number of left-wing parties have been forced underground.

What caused this dramatic shift in Portuguese politics? What has it meant for the left? The American media, which has accepted the official Portuguese government story at face value, has been little help in answering these questions. This article will try to explain what has happened and what is likely for the near future.

Government Under Pressure

In mid-November, the Portuguese left organized a series of massive demonstrations against the conservative government. On November 13, tens of thousands of construction workers surrounded Premier Azevedo's residence and the constituent assembly building demanding wage increases. The army refused to intervene, and the workers held the premier and the assembly under "house arrest" for 36 hours until their demands were granted.

Two days later, the workers' commissions of 120 factories around Lisbon held a mammoth demonstration of 150,000 workers. They were supported by the trade union federation, the Communist Party (PCP), and the United Revolutionary Front (FUR), a bloc of political groups to the left of the PCP.

The PCP called for a new coalition government, with greater voice for itself, ouster of the right-wing Popular Democratic Party (PPD), and representation of the groups to the left of the PCP. The Socialist Party (SP), which dominates the present government, strongly opposed this plan, but the MFA as divided.

Without the support of the MFA, the government would be unable to use troops to maintain its power. Furthermore, it was worried about the growing radicalization of the rank and file soldiers (see the NAM Newspaper, November 1975). If the government did not restore "order" now and halt the growth of a leftist mass movement, it would soon be too late.

With this in mind, on Thursday, November 20, the cabinet went on strike. In an attempt to appease them, the leadership of the MFA removed General Carvalho, a leading leftist, from command of the Lisbon military district. But on Saturday, the soldiers of Lisbon voted overwhelmingly not to accept Carvalho's ouster.

On Monday, November 24, the MFA once again removed Carvalho from his Lisbon command. While this was happening, groups of farmers from the conservative north blockaded Lisbon, in what many leftists saw as a rehearsal for a right-wing coup.

Paratroopers' Rebellion

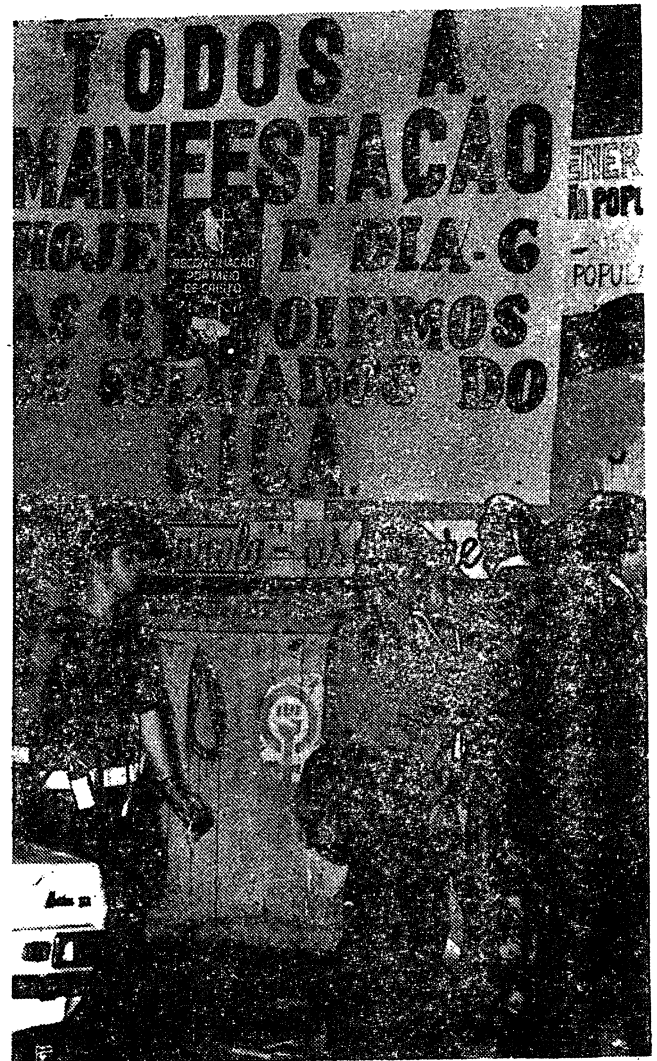
It was in this atmosphere of tension that the so-called "Communist coup attempt" took place. Early on the morning of the 25th, paratroopers from the Fifth Division occupied the Air Force Command and three air bases around Lisbon. The Paratroopers were not a leading leftist unit. Last March, they had been part of a right-wing coup attempt. Many had only recently returned from Africa, and were not used to playing a political role. They had been near mutiny for the past two weeks, ever since the government had ordered them to blow up the transmitter of a left-wing radio station. Only a few days before, the Air Force commander had officially dissolved the unit. The dismissal of Carvalho was the last straw for these soldiers.

The left seemed ill prepared for the paratroopers' actions. Other leftist military units mobilized, and some TV and radio stations were occupied, but there was no coordinated resistance. When right-wing troops appeared, they were generally allowed to take over. At the Presidential Palace, leftist paratroopers surrendered after a few shots were fired. The military police threatened to resist, but didn't. Even the Light Artillery Regiment, a leftist stronghold, allowed itself to be taken over.

All this suggests that no one on the left was planning a coup. The confusion and lack of coordination contrast too vividly with the discipline and precision of the April 1974 coup, planned by Carvalho, which brought the MFA to power. The paratroopers' mutiny was just another instance of the radicalization of protest within Portugal.

The Purge of the Left

The paratroopers' action united the center and the right behind the Azevedo government for the first time in weeks. The right-wing was quick to use the rebellion as an excuse to move against the left throughout the armed forces. Carvalho was



removed from his command and COPCOM, the radical military security council, was disbanded. The commanders of the Army and Navy were replaced by rightists. Over 100 leftist officers were arrested in Oporto, and warrants were issued for the arrest of the leaders of a number of the parties to the left of the PCP. A purge of the left in newspapers and radio stations began. One victorious Socialist Party official said, "If there was no paratroopers' rebellion, we would have had to invent one."

The Portuguese left has suffered its biggest defeat since the April 1974 coup which ended fascist rule in Portugal. But the Portuguese revolution is by no means over. The left has lost much of its power within the military command, but not among rank and file soldiers. And in civilian organizations -- the unions, the neighborhood organizations, the workers' councils -- it remains the most powerful force.

The coalition of centrists and rightists that put down the paratroopers' revolt is already beginning to shatter. The SP and the PPD, hoping to consolidate their own power, have called for the MFA to withdraw from politics, leaving them in charge. The PPD has further demanded that the Communists be excluded from the government, while the SP is calling for a loyalty oath.

But the moderate socialists in the MFA who up to now opposed the PCP are beginning to feel threatened by the right-wing revival. Their leader, Foreign Minister Melo Antunes, told reporters December 10 that the danger in Portugal is now from the right. He fears that the old ruling class and those who benefitted under the fascist regime are making alliances with some people in the military and the government. Antunes was a leader of the agitation that brought down the pro-PCP government of Vasco Goncalves last September. Now he is insisting that the PCP remain in the government.

The lines in Portugal are again being redrawn. Just as the Communist Party saw in September that it needed allies on the left more than it needed allies on the right, so now some of the moderate socialists are realizing that only the power of workers' organizations is an effective counterweight to the revival of anti-socialist power in the government and the military.



Construction workers demonstrate in Lisbon November 12.

VOICES OF THE THIRD WORLD A DIFFERENT KIND OF SPEAKERS BUREAU
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Spain After Franco

by a member of the Spanish underground

BARCELONA -- Franco is dead. Perhaps when you receive this letter it will be officially settled. Now (Nov. 19) he is medically dead, living without heart, stomach, or kidneys, artificially maintained with an incredible set of medical equipment.

The reason for this prolonged agony is clear. Franco is the last remaining strength of the ultra-fascists within the regime. Without Franco everything will have to change. The only question is the extent, the direction and the pain of this change. Juan Carlos, the designated heir, is now provisional Head of State, and will be the new ruler. What policy will he follow? How will the situation evolve? Three possibilities exist. They are supported by different political and social forces.

One is to maintain the Franco regime without change. This would mean intense repression and would cut Spain off from most other governments. This course is supported by bureaucrats of the Falange (the Fascist party), who will have no real place in the state once the Franco period is over. They are strong in the Cortes (the Fascist legislature), the Social Welfare Ministries, and the Guardia Civil (a national paramilitary police force.). They count on the support of 100,000 veterans of the civil war organized into "brotherhoods." This faction has organized terrorist squads and "death commandos" such as the "the Guerillas of Christ the King" which have threatened liberals and attacked supporters of the left.

It is not likely that this group will continue in power. Business circles fear the isolation from the rest of Europe that followed Franco's execution of five young leftists in October. Isolation from the European market would be an economic disaster. The establishment also recognizes that the Fascist policy of repression will not totally suppress the people's discontent. Any attempt to perpetuate the regime will provoke a strong popular reaction. Since it is bound to fail, the establishment does not wish to be linked with the "old guard" of fascism.

Juan Carlos and the group of Francoist liberals around him want to avoid the image of a pure repetition of Franco. What we can expect in the immediate future is an attempt to modify some of the most repressive aspects of the Franco regime

without altering any of the institutions of the dictatorship. They hope this will be acceptable to the Common Market countries and allow Sapin to enter the market.

This course of action is explicitly supported by the mainstream of the establishment, by the army and by a fraction of the church. This is what Juan Carlos will try: a restricted democracy with some political freedom for some political groups; some rights to unionize and strike within severe limits; freedom of publication with systematic censorship; some political amnesty with hundreds of exceptions; restricted elections within the bounds of the regime and only in a year or two, etc.

To accomplish this Juan Carlos will have to deal with the "ultras" (called in Spain "the bunker") on the one hand, and with the organized democratic opposition on the other. This "way in the middle" is supported by the army and the present government, but it is impractical for two reasons.

First: such a restricted democracy might be able to exclude the communists, the basque separatists, the extreme left and the workers' commissions. It cannot function without the center parties, liberal-monarchists, christian-democrats and socialists. All these groups have refused to join a regime headed by Juan Carlos unless he will accept free elections.

But there is a more important reason why "restricted" democracy will not work. Once the process of liberalization begins it will be irreversible if the political forces are strong enough at the grass roots level. Under the present conditions of fascist repression, the workers' commissions control the unions in the factories, the most progressive militants lead the neighborhood committees, professional associations, etc. With less repression and more legal opportunities for political action, the democratic opposition will flourish in spite of the official ban.

Juan Carlos is in a strong position now because he is backed by the army. But if he overcomes the opposition of "the bunker" and establishes "restricted democracy," he will then have to choose between slipping back to the right and intensifying repression or giving the initiative to the democratic forces.

Democratic Break

There is a third possibility, one which Juan Carlos will not willingly take, which is backed by the majority of Spaniards. It is called the "democratic break," that is, immediate amnesty for all political prisoners, new laws of civil and political rights and free elections without any restriction on participation.

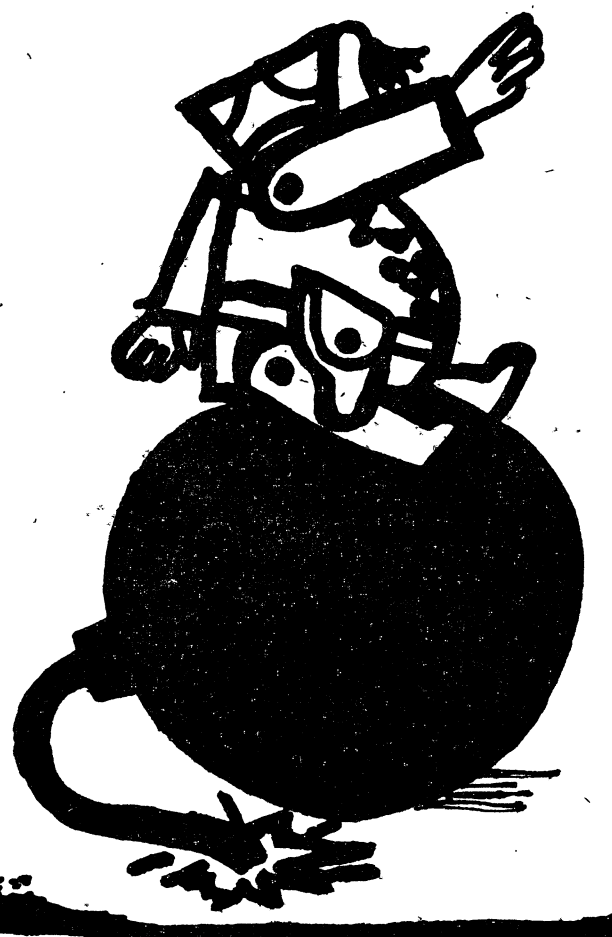
Two organized groups in Spain support this position: the "Junta Democratica," organized in 1974, included the Spanish Communist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, neighborhood associations workers' commissions and some groups of liberal monarchists. The other group is a coalition of Christian Democrats, the Socialist Party, Marxist-Leninists, revolutionary Christians and Carlists. In September, both groups signed a "united Action Pact." Early in November they issued a joint communique calling for free elections without restriction and refusing to negotiate with any government until these conditions are met.

The democratic opposition is organizing mass protests to force Juan Carlos to accept political freedom. They are being prepared through hundreds of small daily actions at the local level. The neighborhood committees in Madrid and Barcelona are demanding free elections at least for local governments.

The government has countered with increased repression. Students and workers have been arrested in Barcelona, Madrid, Sevilla, Galicia, Saragoza and in the Basque country. Torture has been widely used. But in a significant move, the courts have freed several people when the police could not present any proof of their "subversive activities."

Juan Carlos and his friends are not interested in democracy, but they are interested in looking good to the rest of the world. When the recent executions triggered world wide protests, other such executions were delayed. In the hard moments that will follow Franco's death it will be crucial for all democratic opinion to react quickly and strongly against attempts to renew the old oppression.

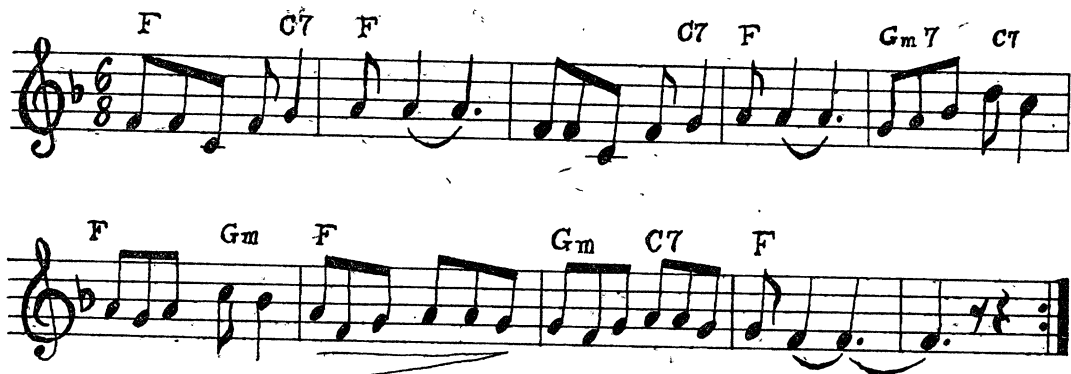
ESPAÑA



tricontinental

The Four Generals

"Los Cuatro Generales" -- Emilio Mola, Jose Varela, Gonzalo Queipo de Llano, and Franco -- were the leaders of the rebellion which, with massive aid from Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, overthrew the Spanish Republic and put Franco in power. This antifascist song was sung by the loyalists during the civil war.



Four fascist rebel generals,
Four fascist rebel generals,
Four fascist rebel generals
Mamita mia,
They tried to betray us,
They tried to betray us.

By Christmas all these gen'ral's
Mamita mia,
Will dance on the gallows.

Bravely Madrid's resisting
Mamita mia,
The fascist bombers.

We are laughing at the bombs
Mamita mia,
Madrid's proud children.

Los cuatro generales
Mamita mia
Que se han alzada.

Para la Nochebuena
Mamita mia
Seran ahorcados.

Madrid, que bien resiste
Mamita mia
Los bombardeos.

De las bombas se rien
Mamita mia
Los Madrilenos.

opinion

The Middle East

The following article should not be viewed as the position of the New American Movement on the Middle East. We are publishing it because we believe it helps to clarify an extremely complex subject.

by Roger Gottlieb, Newspaper Collective

The tragic situation in the Middle East is constantly before our eyes. Military actions on both sides, negotiations, calls for negotiations and refusals to negotiate are part of a maddening chain of events, each one of which seems guaranteed to help prevent any real solution to the problem.

In the light of this continuing situation and the recent U.N. resolution condemning Zionism as racism, I am offering here some guidelines for understanding the conflict between Israel, the Palestinians and the Arab nations.

1. It is a mistake to try to deal with the situation by deciding which side is right and which wrong. The present dominant positions of Israel, the P.L.O. and the Arab nations cannot be supported without reservation.

2. It is pointless to compare suffering: The Jews have been the victims of anti-semitism, the Arabs as a whole and the Palestinians in particular of European imperialism and colonialism. We face in the Middle East, and especially in the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians, a conflict between two suffering and oppressed groups.

3. The struggle between the 'Palestinians and Israel cannot be understood if we do not see that it is in the interests of certain groups that the struggle continue. a. The U.S. supports Israel as a base for its imperialism in the Middle East, and uses Israel's conflict with the Arabs as an issue which will distract the attention of the Arab people from their struggle against imperialism. b. The Arab ruling classes, who have for the most part used the Palestinians rather than supported them, use their continual barrage of propaganda against Israel to obscure the reactionary, nationalist and oppressive character of their own regimes. c. The current rulers of Israel benefit from a struggle which hides the racism of European Jews against non-European ones, the oppression of Palestinians who live in Israel, and which will block the demands of the Israeli labor movement.

3. The struggle between the Palestinians and Israel cannot be understood if we do not see that it is in the interests of certain groups that the struggle continue.

The U.S. supports Israel as a base for its imperialism in the Middle East, and uses Israel's conflict with the Arabs as an issue which will distract the attention of the Arab people from their struggle against imperialism. The Arab ruling classes, who have for the most part used the Palestinians rather than supporting them, use their continual barrage of propaganda against Israel to obscure the reactionary, nationalist and oppressive character of their own regimes. The current rulers of Israel benefit from a struggle which hides the racism of European Jews against non-European ones, the oppression of Palestinians who live in Israel, and which will block the demands of the Israeli labor movement. The Soviet Union competes for Arab loyalties against the U.S. by taking strong anti-Israel (and anti-semitic) positions.

4. In the struggle between Israel and the Palestinians, both sides function with the consciousness of a group with their backs to the wall. The Palestinians have been refused citizenship in all Arab nations except Jordan, are second-class citizens in Israel and are stateless and homeless. The Jewish experience of European and Arab anti-semitism convinces many Zionists that only a policy of armed might and territorial expansion will guarantee Israel's existence. In fact, the Palestinian demand for the dissolution of Israel, and the Israeli refusal to recognize the Palestinians as a independent nation, could well lead to the destruction of both groups.

5. Though the most publicized statements from both sides show an implacable hostility, there are other voices within each camp. We should support these other voices, which have raised the fol-

lowing demands: a. Israel must recognize the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination. b. Israel must return the territories conquered in the 1967 war. c. Palestinian refugees have the right to return to Israel or to receive compensation. d. Israel must recognize the P.L.O. as the legitimate representative of the Palestinians. e. A Palestinian state should be established alongside Israel. f. The Palestinians and the Israelis should cease the policy of terroristic attacks, which attacks only harden the intransigence of the other side. g. The Palestinians, and the Arab world in general, must recognize the national, as opposed to the purely private or religious, identity of the Jews. This includes the right to self-determination and separation and means, in the present, the existence of the state of Israel.

6. Israel and its supporters must realize that Israel has been part of European imperialism in the Middle East -- and therefore that Israel is perceived by the Arabs as simply the latest of a series of exploiting and invading groups. The Palestinians and their supporters must realize that Israel is not simply a colonial state made up of people who displaced the native population, but

also a refugee state made up of victims of European racism.

7. The emphasis on the rights of oppressed national groups to self-determination and the necessity, in the present, for separate states, should not obscure the following issues: a. Arab citizens of Israel and Jewish citizens of Arab countries both suffer from racism. b. A secular bi-national state is not a reasonable goal at present. One does not end decades of conflict between two groups by making them part of the same state. But with the establishment of a Palestinian state, the return of the conquered territories by Israel and the acceptance by the Palestinians of Israel's right to exist, tensions in the area might relax to the point where economic and social ties between the two states could be possible. c. Claims of 'Arab' and 'Jewish' unity are used as masks to hide the class conflict and exploitation found in both the Arab nations and in Israel. Hopefully, a peaceful settlement of the present conflict would pave the way for the development of both an Arab and an Israeli working class movement for socialism.

Puerto Rican Socialists Meet



by Alan Charney, N.Y. Westside NAM

Ten thousand people attended the closing session of the Second Congress of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), held in San Juan November 28 to December 7. In the four years since its emergence from the Pro-Independence Movement, the PSP has become a major political force in Puerto Rico. This year's Congress brought together delegates from throughout the island and the United States to discuss PSP strategy for winning independence and socialism in Puerto Rico.

In a break with the past, delegates voted to participate in the 1976 colonial elections. This electoral activity was viewed as a tactic for strengthening the PSP, publicizing its program, and encouraging unity among those who support Puerto Rican independence. However, the PSP does not see the elections as the path to independence, and plans to denounce their colonial nature. According to PSP General Secretary Juan Mari Bras, "The specific objective of electoral participation is the growth of the party. ... The most important political event of the next year is not the elections; it is the growth of the first Marxist-Leninist party in Puerto Rico."

The Congress affirmed that the PSP will try to build a united front for independence, which would include all pro-independence and anti-colonial forces. It condemned the policy of "colonial trade unionism," under which U.S. unions have organized Puerto Rican workers and blocked the growth of an independent Puerto Rican union movement. The United Workers Movement, which has close ties to the PSP, has recently begun to bring together many of the local independent unions, as well as a few affiliates of U.S. unions. This effort may lead to the formation of a Puerto Rican General Confederation of Labor.

The PSP committed itself to further involve women in the liberation struggle. The party's Central Committee now has relatively few women members, and the Political Commission has none. But there is now a mandate to expand the role of women within the party, and to favor the promotion of women into leadership positions.

The Congress also gave its full support to the Puerto Rican student movement, and in particular to the Pro-Independence University Federation (FUPI). The General Secretary recalled that in the 1950's, the independence movement was based in FUPI, and that there is a direct lineage from the student movement to the formation of the PSP as a revolutionary working class party.

Finally, the Congress reaffirmed the PSP's independent position on international affairs, and expressed solidarity with anti-imperialist movements throughout the world. The PSP maintains a critical attitude towards all existing socialist countries.

Bicentennial Without Colonies

The PSP's international perspective was highlighted by its invitation to several North American left organizations to send representatives to the Congress. The Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, CASA, the Union of Democratic Filipinos, Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, NAM, and others sent representatives. The PSP is aware that the growing independence movement in Puerto Rico will have an important impact on the revolutionary movement in the U.S.

In his closing speech, Juan Mari Bras promised that "the U.S. Section of the PSP, in coordination with the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee and other forces, will carry out a campaign [in the U.S.] for a Bicentennial without colonies. ... There will be tremendous demonstrations in support of independence."

This campaign is being taken seriously by the U.S. government. On November 28, the House Internal Security Subcommittee released a report on the PSP and its "Cuban connection." The report denounced the planned Bicentennial demonstrations as provocations by foreign, subversive forces. But in reality, the report only confirms that the PSP has made great progress since its founding in 1971, and that it is indeed a force with which U.S. colonialism must reckon -- not only in Puerto Rico, but in the United States as well.

book review

Cows, Pigs, Wars and Witches

A review of *Cows, Pigs, Wars, and Witches*, by Marvin Harris

by Kathy Moore, Newspaper Collective

"The sacred cow," says Marvin Harris, "is one of our favorite sacred cows." Harris is a Marxist anthropologist who has made a career of seeking, and often finding, rational explanations for the Strange Behavior of Exotic Peoples. He argues that the Indians have sound economic reasons for preserving their cattle, that a common environment explains the fact that both Jews and Arabs abhor pigs, and that tribal warfare serves as a means of population control, not by killing off warriors, but through the sexual values it entails -- which are still with us today.

Cows, Pigs, Wars, and Witches is, to my knowledge, Harris' only attempt to write a popular book. It is a collection of essays about different cultures in different places at different times, from Potlatch to the counterculture (by far the poorest essay, already dated a year after publication). The common thread is Harris' insistence that it all makes sense if we look hard enough, that the logic of people's behavior is more straightforward than we think. The book offers the fascination of all that exotica combined with a problem-solving approach that's as much fun as a crossword puzzle or a third-rate mystery or whatever your favorite form of mind-play happens to be.

Harris' approach to the world would be attractive even if we didn't like his politics. For all of us who prefer to believe that the world makes sense, material analysis of other cultures is more satisfying than explaining away other people's behavior as irrational.

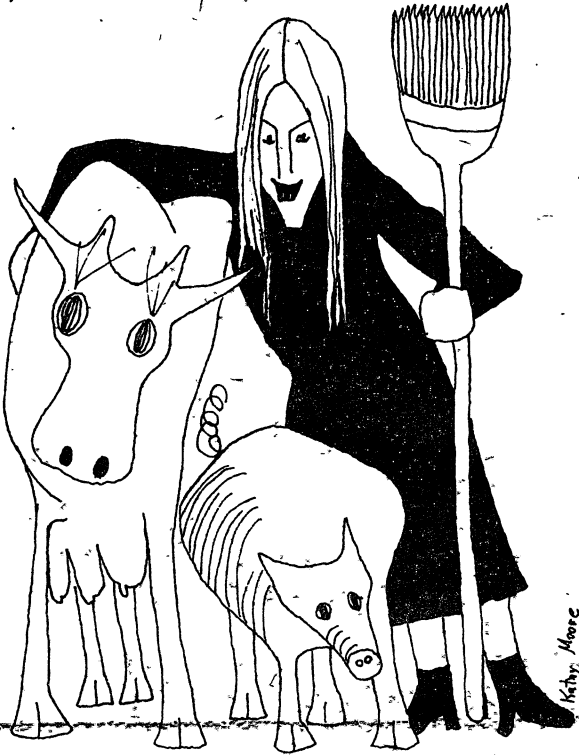
This sort of analysis, which is really Marxism applied to remote societies, is extremely humanistic in its implications at the same time that it is appealing on scientific grounds. Capitalist social science explains foreign customs as basically ignorant, a failure to behave rationally for lack of (our) scientific knowledge. So, if people persist in having too many babies because they don't know any better, we should go educate them, or simply force them to behave more sensibly. Or, if they are poor because of their stupid beliefs and those beliefs are all they have, we should respect their poverty as something they have chosen.

Harris, and Marxism, are more genuinely respectful. They assume that people do make the best of their circumstances. They look to those circumstances -- physical setting, available technology, and power (class) relationships -- for an explanation of subjective beliefs, not the other way around.

Of course, these circumstances are not fixed and unchangeable. The class relations in a given society may not be (and usually aren't) in the interests of the people of that society, and from a wider point of view people act irrationally by not overthrowing those class structures. But

Marxism recognizes that as long as people see no way to change their circumstances, they will make the best of those circumstances -- in ways that make sense and are not "stupid" or "irrational."

So Harris argues that Indians do not normally slaughter cows for perfectly good reasons. The cows produce milk and burnable dung without consuming anything that humans could digest. Most important, the cows are essential as draft animals in good seasons; to slaughter them in periods of drought would be extremely shortsighted. Religious reverence ensures that hungry peasants act in their long-run rather than short-interests. The poorest peasants do eat cows when finally die. And finally, Harris asks, whose cows would be slaughtered? Not the wealthier farmers' cows, certainly.



Politically, this underlying respect for remote cultures is what makes Harris' work attractive. *Cows, Pigs, Wars and Witches* is fun because its subjects are remote and exotic, and because our distance from them makes them more of a puzzle, a series of brain-teasers. But Harris' underlying premise, that people aren't so stupid, is applicable -- and crucial -- to understanding the most mundane situations around us. It is a fundamental truth about how people think, about consciousness and false consciousness, which we must understand before we can deal with people's most reactionary ideas. As long as we treat racism and sexism, for example, as simply bad teachings or mistaken ideas, we will overlook their material bases, and our well-meaning arguments against them will be irrelevant and condescending to most people.

Harris' work delights me because it illustrates how helpful Marxism really is. We should apply it at home.

Daycare

continued from page 1

labor pool, the profit-maker relies on the enormous number of unemployed women who have been trained for nothing except childcare. The treatment of the staff -- low wages, long hours, too many children per staff member -- results in a high turnover rate, which in turn means lower quality care.

Profit-oriented daycare also lessens parent involvement. In contrast to community-controlled centers, where at times parents have gained some control over their children's care, profit-making centers tend to exclude parents altogether. In MacDonald-like chains of daycare centers, decisions are not even made in the same city as the centers.

Shanker and Professionalism

The other side of the attack on daycare comes from Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of teachers (AFT), who is demanding that daycare funds be administered by the public school system.

Shanker offers two public justifications for this demand. First of all, he says, it would mean that daycare could count on the support of the powerful public school lobby in its fight for government funds. Second, public school administrators could guard against the loss of quality found in profit-making centers.

But Shanker has other motives. His plan would provide jobs for laid-off teachers, who would replace many present daycare workers, thus strengthening Shanker's position in the AFT. He also wants publicity that will help in his bid for the presidency of the AFL-CIO.

Most important, Shanker has consistently supported the idea of "socialization through education." By providing the "right" environment, he wants children to be educated to white middle class values, and removed from the class and ethnic influences of their communities. For this reason, he has long opposed community control of schools. His demand for the "professionalization" of daycare is thus an attack on the community identity of children.

Public school control would reduce the quality of daycare. The structure of the public school system does not allow decision-making by the child's cultural and economic community. At the same time, the professional image fostered by the public schools works to keep daycare workers from becoming emotionally involved with the children. Yet children need this involvement. Professionalism also stands in the way of a parent-worker dialog, as parents become intimidated by the "trained professional" and workers become less and less a part of the community.

Daycare workers and parents need to organize against both Shanker's professionalism and the profit-makers' greed, and to fight for parent-worker controlled daycare centers that will serve the needs of parents, children, workers, and the community.

There is a Boston area group working for these aims. For more information, write to the Boston Area Daycare Workers United (BADWU), 42 Walnut St., Somerville, MA 02143.

health notes

by Rick Kunnes, Ann Arbor NAM

All the items below were contained in reports from major research and medical centers or governmental agencies, released in the last 60 days.

•If industries continue to pollute the Mediterranean Sea at their present rate only disease producing bacteria and viruses will remain by 1990.

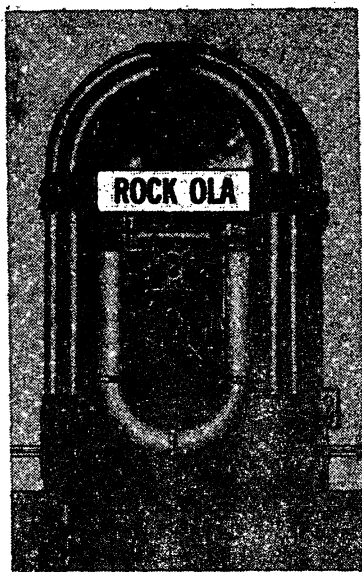
•The new Freedom of Information Act was passed allegedly to cut down on government secrecy. However, the U.S. Public Health Service defines their Freedom of Information [Act] Officer as an "officer delegated under the provisions of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Freedom of Information regulation to deny access to Department records." New

•The Environmental Protection Agency has dropped an awards program for companies making outstanding efforts to control water pollution because no company has ever won.

•In 1974, 14,000 known color television related injuries were treated in hospital emergency rooms. Most of the injuries were from the "instant-on" sets which have a tendency to explode 30 minutes after being shut off.

•Brown-sugar contains vitamins and minerals. Refined sugar contains only calories. High refined sugar intake increases susceptibility to numerous diseases including diabetes, bowel disorders, appendicitis and hemorrhoids. The American Chemical Society says refined sugar should be sold like cigarettes with a health warning on the package.





by Sandy Carter

During the past five years, the record industry has begun to pick up on the burgeoning market for country music. Since the early experimental synthesis of rock and country by such groups as the Byrds, Flying Burrito Brothers, and Poco, a new wave of country music lovers has been born. Turned off by the contrived spontaneity of so much third generation rock 'n' roll (Alice Cooper, David Bowie, etc.), a significant portion of the rock audience has begun a search to find a music with a little more honesty, roots, and tradition.

Since the 1930's, however, the merchandising of "country pickin'" has carried forward a slow but persistent erosion of the music's vitality. The intricate, twangy southern harmonies, the rough spontaneous instrumentation, and the plaintive Blue Yodel have given way to more assimilable pop sounds. Just as blues had to be "cleaned up" for the white audience, country has been homogenized for its new AM and FM listeners.

The new and so-called progressive country sound (mostly on FM) of artists like Emmy Lou Harris, Vassar Clements, and Willie Nelson is certainly a positive and innovative evolution for country and rock music, since, like the more pure country sound of Merle Haggard or Loretta Lynn, it retains the grit and authenticity of traditional country music. Still, the integrity of the genre has been sorely weakened by the market process.

John Prine

With this sad development in mind, the emergence of John Prine is cause for rejoicing. Over the last four years, Prine has produced a body of material that marks him as the foremost creator of a modern blue collar blues. Rooted firmly in the music of the Carter family and Hank Williams, Prine has penned a batch of songs that vividly describe the realities of working class America.

Prine's success stems from his distinctive ability to recreate the loneliness and alienation of characters who people his songs. He leads us inside the pool halls, bar rooms, and honky tonks that house society's victims. There, with his cinematic images to guide us, we meet Fat Lydia, Sam Stone, Billy the Bum, and others.

Before performing publicly, John Prine was a mailman in Chicago. His family had moved from West Virginia, where his father had been a miner. Prine's youth in the Midwest coincided with the rapid national growth of country music. From 1940 to 1960, an estimated 8 million Southerners migrated northward seeking better wages and working conditions.

This urbanization of the Southern working class brought with it the musical heritage of the country idiom. With the aid of a little mass marketing, the tunes of A.P. Carter, Roy Acuff, and Hank Williams soon became common radio listening in the industrial north. One of the more devoted listeners was John Prine. After acquiring a guitar and learning a few basic chords, he began his song writing at the age of 14. In 1971, mainly due to the attention of Kris Kristofferson and Steve Goodman, he was "discovered" and contracted by Atlantic Records.

Raw, Strident, and "Hick Sounding"

Since the production of his first and strongest LP, simply titled JOHN PRINE, Prine has come up against the inevitable comparison with Bob Dylan. Prine's vocals are raw, strident, and "hick sounding," like the early folk period Dylan. And

music review

John Prine

as Dylan before him, Prine can articulate the desperation of oppressed lives.

Unlike Dylan, however, Prine doesn't strive to analyze or prophesize; his objective is descriptive. -- to accurately capture the nuances of daily life. Unlike Dylan, and despite the underlying tragedy of much of his material, Prine bears a soft sense of humor. An example of this is his satirical lambast at chauvinistic patriotism in "Your Flag Decal Won't Get You into Heaven Anymore" -- a song dedicated to the fanatical Reverend Carl McIntire of the Victory in Vietnam Committee:

While digesting Reader's Digest in the back of a dirty bookstore

A plastic flag with gum on the back fell out on the floor;

Well, I picked it up and I ran outside and slapped it on the windowsills

And if I could see ol' Betsy Ross, I'd tell her just how I feel.

Always counterposed against Prine's lighter material are his poignant representations of despair. In "Donald and Lydia," we are told the story of lonely, fat Lydia, a cashier at a penny arcade, who makes love via masturbation to an equally lonely PFC named Donald.

Another of Prine's songs tells of an abused cripple named Billy who "was just a gentle boy, a real fluorescent light" before his humiliation killed him. In another narrative titled "Hello In There," Prine mourns over the horrors of growing old and feeling useless.

Ya know, old trees just grow stronger
And old rivers run wilder every day
But old people just grow lonesome
Waiting for someone to say, "Hello in there,"
"Hello."

"Take the Star Out of the Window" lays out the feelings of a young sailor who pleads with his parents not to ask him anything about his war experiences:

Don't ask me any questions
'Bout the medals on my chest
Take the star out of the window
And let my conscience take a rest.

The Way Most People Live

Concise lines like these separate Prine from the numerous other contemporary singer-songwriters in the rock and country marketplace. Bob Dylan recently said of him, "He's the only guy around today who is writing about the way most people live in this country." It is this quality of realism that makes Prine one of the most representative artists of our time. His work offers no solutions. His characters have their back to the wall and see no way out. Prine's importance emanates from his ability to dramatize so many of the contradictions of our age.

Yet, as Prine's audience has reached national proportions, his commercial success has remained relatively small. Prine's initial three LPs were collections of unpretentious and painfully honest material. The instrumentation, especially on the first two albums, was simple and country-styled like the music he grew up with.

This "hayseed" Prine has been difficult to market. Increasingly, he has been pushed in the direction of rock/country in order to cast his compositions into a more commercial format. His most recent LP, *Common Sense*, drowns in over-production. Even his lyrical style appears transformed. As he has moved into the music business as his occupation, his lyrics have become more abstract and subjective. His quest to become a "serious poet" (which in this culture too often means one understood by only a few) seems to have masked his former talent for direct expression.

Prine, like the people he sings about, seems overwhelmed by forces beyond his control. He views the decaying social reality around him and writes that the old "common sense just don't make sense no more." His autobiographical



"Rocky Mountain Time" says it well:

Christ, I'm so mixed up and lonely
I can't even make friends with my brain
I'm too young to be where I'm going
But I'm too old to go back again.

For his future, we can hope that Prine will somehow revitalize his art. But the pop music market thrives by dispensing "good product," not critical artistic expression. It quickly burns out its "artists" and discards them as soon as their market potential has been depleted. It separates the artist from the audience, the writer from her/his inspiration. This dynamic threatens to destroy one of the few socially relevant artists of the '70's.

... to secure peace
and liberty



the 1976 peace calendar
and appointment book
of the War Resisters League

Creative nonviolence in America's past? Yes, even if "official" historians prefer not to remember Mary Dyer, Adin Ballou, Alice Paul, Cyrus Pringle, Joseph Ettor and Tracy Mygatt. We are supposed to learn about Washington, Jackson and Grant—but not Jane Addams, Big Bill Haywood, A.J. Muste and (still going strong) Dorothy Day: all those who dared to challenge the structural soundness of the nation's institutions, and who nonviolently carried on the impetus of the revolution of 1776.

The WRL's 1976 calendar (edited by historian Larry Gara) helps to make the bicentennial a year of discovery of the tradition of nonviolent resistance.

The calendar has a page for every week of the year with a facing page of text and illustration. There is a listing of peace organizations and periodicals, American and foreign, and a section of blank pages and advance appointments for 1977. It's 128 pages in all, wire bound and flat-opening. At year's end, remove the appointment pages and you have a fine addition to your library.

\$3 each, four for \$11. Order now and receive your copies in time for the winter holidays.

War Resisters League
339 Lafayette St.
New York, N.Y., 10012

Correction

We omitted the by-line in last month's article, "The Evacuation of Phnom Penh." It was excerpted from *The Politics of Food*, a detailed report by the Indochina Resource Center. Its authors, Gary Porter and George Hildebrand, have both lived in Vietnam and written extensively about U.S. policy in Indochina.

The full report can be ordered from the Indochina Resource Center, 1322 18th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

A Season of Discontent

by Harry C. Boyte

Fear, uncertainty, and indications of growing polarization characterized the fall 1975 political season. "Mainstream" politicians moved rightward, showing more overt sympathy to business interests under cover of attacking waste and bureaucracy. Election results indicated shifting and conflicting currents among the people. The age of welfare state liberalism in the U.S. is over. What will take its place is uncertain.

Rockefeller's departure from Ford's presidential ticket was widely viewed as a sign of the deterioration of the Republican center in the face of the resurgent right. The Meanyite wing of organized labor, along with "centrist" Democratic candidates like Henry Jackson and Jimmy Carter, are backing a package of legislative proposals for increasing tax breaks, corporate-oriented economic planning, and other aid to failing businesses. The labor-company proposals, initiated by former Nixon labor trouble-shooter John Dunlop, are intended to "infuse money into the private sector," in Jackson's words.

In Congress, a bill to establish a Consumer Protection Agency passed by a close nine votes, meaning that the House will not override Ford's promised veto. This represents a major defeat for the consumer movement, which Ralph Nader now describes as "seriously stalled."

The Tricontinental Commission, a private group that represents a Who's Who of Western and Japanese corporate interests and is headed by men like David Rockefeller and George Ball, published a position paper in December on the future prospects of Western society, entitled *The Governability of Democracies*. The document's sections on Europe and America have stirred furor and controversy, even within the commission, for their blunt rejection of traditional democratic-capitalist rhetoric and values.

Using concepts drawn from Marxist writers like James O'Connor and Jurgen Habermas, the report maintains that there is a fiscal crisis of the

modern capitalist state which will become increasingly severe unless there is major change. It argues that the '60's and early '70's have generated a wave of citizen activity and protest which is a major obstacle to business needs in the new period of scarcity. The report proceeds to reason that "the excess of democracy must be reduced" by policies which increase "some measure of apathy and noninvolvement." It calls for economic planning to insure profits, restrictions on freedom of the press, increased centralization of power in the executive branch, cutbacks in education, and a rejection of experiments with worker participation in industry in favor of more efficient methods of work organization.

At the same time, however, radical ideas are appearing even on the fringes of the Democratic Party. The Forum, an organization of young professional activists, recently sponsored a report on planning by radical economists Jeff Faux and Gar Alperowitz. Presented at a party gathering in Louisville, Kentucky, the report called for changes in the tradition of decentralized socialism. It did not use socialist language, but it advocated public ownership of virtually all major American industry, price controls on most products, and the decentralization of power, money, and decision-making into smaller city and regional units.

Elections: Mixed Reviews

Meanwhile, election results reflected widespread public uncertainty and disillusionment, with contradictory indications of the direction in which public opinion is moving. Equal Rights Amendments to the state constitutions of New York and New Jersey suffered disastrous defeats. The right wing mounted a massive grass roots organizing campaign against the amendments, arguing they were a plot of the "women's movement" that did not represent most women. Coalitions of right wing groups, ranging from the John Birch Society and the American Legion to the Conservative Party, formed "Wake Up" committees which argued that the ERA would

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mean an attack on the family, unisex public toilets, and homosexual marriages. The amendment lost in New York State by over 400,000 votes, despite the backing of both major parties, the state AFL-CIO, and almost all major political figures.

Bond issues were voted down around the nation, continuing a trend of several years and also reflecting concern about public indebtedness in the aftermath of the New York fiscal crisis. Law and order mayors like Charles Sweeney of Minneapolis and Frank Rizzo of Philadelphia were easily elected.

On the other hand, race proved to be less of an issue than expected in the November elections. Both candidates for governor in Mississippi campaigned on platforms favoring interracial "cooperation" that would have been unimaginable several years ago. In Boston, right wing busing opponent Louise Day Hicks failed to lead the school board ticket for the first time in years, coming in behind a moderate ex-teacher, Kathleen Sullivan. Despite the ERA defeats in New York and New Jersey, a record number of women were elected in New York's state and local races. Women were elected Lieutenant Governor in both Mississippi and Kentucky.

On the whole, the men in power seem sure of where they're going. The soft sixties are over, and the carrot is being replaced by the stick. The rest of us are more confused. In some places and on some issues, the public seems ready to follow its leaders as they gallop to the right.

But there are also signs of resistance, even within electoral politics. Fred Harris' denunciations of corporate privilege and the super-rich have met with thunderous applause at Democratic Party activist meetings this fall. Perhaps the silent majority won't really accept a whole new wave of attacks on its freedom and standard of living.

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Men's Liberation

A Movement Standing Still

by Elayne Rapping, Pittsburgh NAM

A review of two books on men's liberation: *Men and Masculinity*, Joseph Pleck and Jack Sawyer, eds. (Prentice-Hall); and *Men's Liberation: A New Definition of Masculinity*, Jack Nichols (Penguin)

"The personal is political," we said in those early, exhilarating days when women were just discovering their common, institutionally-produced and enforced oppression. Now here are some guys who claim to be "joining [their] feminist sisters in a common struggle." They seem determined to make us eat our words.

I suppose it was inevitable that the media success of "women's liberation" would bring an echoing cry for "men's liberation," with its own C-R groups, Men's Centers, and books about "men's oppression." Two of the most popular of these are Jack Nichols' *Men's Liberation* and *Men and Masculinity*, a collection of essays edited by Joseph Pleck and Jack Sawyer.

The books reflect decidedly different political orientations. Pleck and Sawyer's collection is left-liberal; one of their 31 contributors even suggests that capitalism itself might be antithetical to sexual liberation. Nichols, on the other hand, pushes a kind of individualistic libertarianism. But their views of sexual politics are surprisingly similar -- individualistic and apolitical, failing to connect personal problems to the economic and social institutions that produce them.

The first sentence of Nichols' book promises that "the shackled man can free himself" of the "bondage" of masculinity by cultivating his feelings "without which a powerful bulwark of individualism is missing." Change some rhetoric and you get much the same message from the most politically radical entry in Pleck/Sawyer, "The Berkeley Men's Center Manifesto." "We as men, want to take back our full humanity," it begins. "We want to love ourselves ... to feel good ... to express our feelings," in short to be free of "our oppression as men."

Now I would be the last to deny that men are oppressed, and the first to congratulate them on taking their rightful place in the struggle against sexism. But after reading 32 variations on the theme of male "deprivation" and "oppression," I became uneasy.

There was a kind of self-indulgence in this laying out of wounds and scars. What was missing was a political, historical context within which to interpret and evaluate these experiences. When, for example, Julius Lester recalls the horror he felt as a teenager with an unwanted erection, one's heart goes out to him. When he says, "God, how I envied girls at that moment," one understands and believes him. But there is something very much off-balance in the conclusion he draws as an adult: "Now, of course, I know it was as difficult being a girl as it was a boy."

This brings me to the second shared feature of these books, their tendency to push a valid point (that men, too, are oppressed by sex roles) to a ludicrous extreme. "When women as oppressors are considered in these pages," says Nichols magnanimously, "it must be understood ... that they are in the grip of cultural deceptions which warp and mold their behavior." And, tit for tat, he hopes "women's liberationists who complain of male dominance will adopt a similar approach." Perhaps we should expect this from a man for whom all political movements, left and right, are equally evil, and who sees Harry Truman as a model of "non-masculinist" leadership, presumably because he fired Douglas MacArthur.

Such political insensitivity is even more disturbing when couched in the rhetoric of radical politics. "All liberation movements are equally important," say the Berkeley politicians; "There is no hierarchy of oppression." There's a grain of truth in there, but there's also a denial of the fact that women, throughout history, have been systematically exploited politically, economically, psychologically, and physically, as white, middle class men have not.

Political Myopia

This political distortion points to a more general, profound political myopia which cripples both books. In concentrating on emotional, interpersonal factors, the writers ignore or misrepresent the role of institutionalized sexism in creating the problems from which they so dramatically suffer. Almost every writer in these books asserts or implies that individual sexist behavior causes political and economic evils, rather than vice versa, and that each man would give up his "skin privilege," the competitive, hierarchical, and violent aspects of American society would disappear.

How does one do this? Nichols advocates pleasure and adventure as the highest goals in life. He wants to convince men to give up their security. Don't be afraid to go on welfare, he says. Work in this society is a drag anyway, and it's one's inner strength and self-confidence that really count. Nichols' one progressive proposal is for universal child care, to free men (!) from the "chains of domesticity."

If this sounds bad, Pleck and Sawyer's view from the left isn't much better. First, there's a program for executives that offers emotional and sensual gratification in exchange for nothing more than the relinquishing of a little money, status, and power. There's a hip professor who chronicles his sexist, careerist sins. He vows to change for his own inner peace, but he harps in the difficulties involved and the need for women to "accommodate themselves" to male weaknesses and backsliding in this Herculean task. And last but not least, there's a gay man who has won the battle against his sexism by withdrawing from heterosexual relations. Since his first girlfriend was "simple-minded and boring" and his second became "too dependent and weak," he moved on



to other men in order to avoid the macho tendencies women seemed to bring out in him.

I do know men who are actively struggling against sexism in their personal and political lives. Not one of them could have written a single page of these books. Yes, they feel the need for emotional fulfillment, and they're working on their personal lives to achieve it. But they also see that sexism is produced by and necessary to the political and economic functioning of American capitalism. So their commitment to struggle against sexism implies a broader commitment to struggle against the system that produces it. That struggle ties together all our individual sufferings and oppressions, no matter how great or small, and moves us in a common direction -- toward the creation of a truly humane, democratic society that will not be sexist, racist, classist, or, of course, capitalist.



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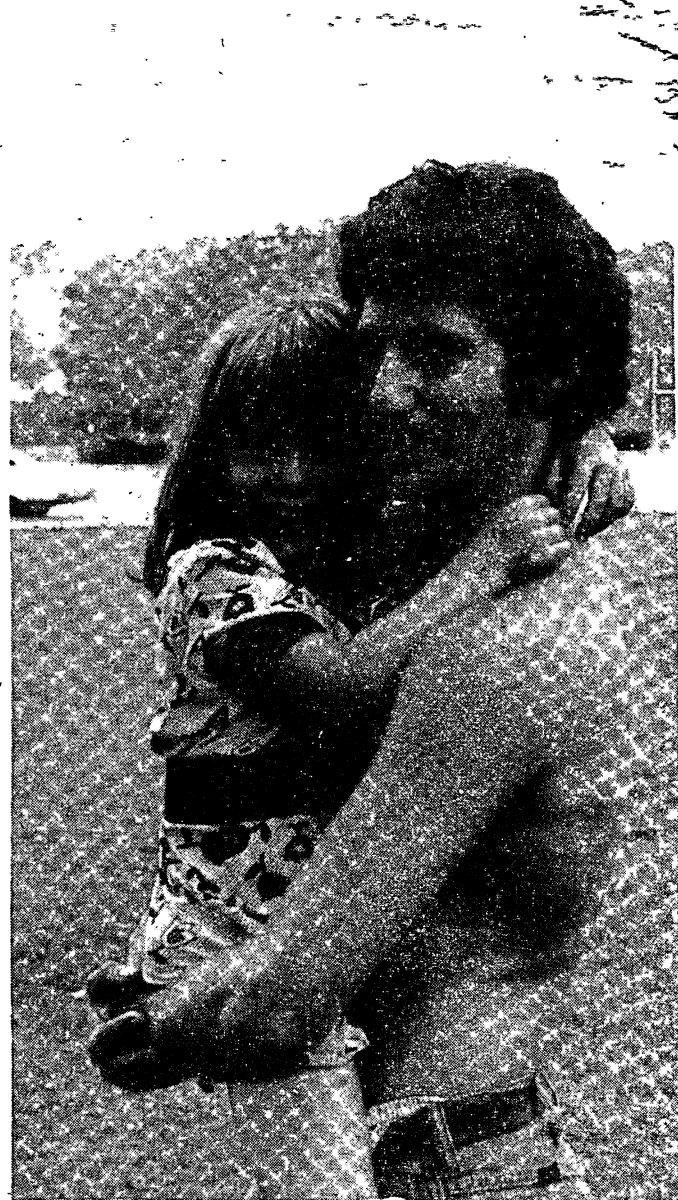
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