

Moving On

MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

Evangelism hits the big time



**Newspaper
strikers bleed**

**Organizers
notebook**

**Citizens/Labor
coalitions**

Members of the Jesus movement being baptized in Long Beach, California.

Towards a socialist America

Since we didn't publish an issue of *Moving On* in January, we'd like to share with you our New Year's resolutions for 1979 this month. Some of these are more hopes than resolves, but isn't that what new years are for?

●We resolve to maintain—and even extend—our commitment to publishing articles that you won't read in most other publications, even those of the left. Articles that share our fundamental commitment to a democratic, humane, and equalitarian socialism, but that attempt to pose new questions or re-examine old answers in order to help us figure out how we get to there from here.

●We resolve to print more letters to the editor. If you'll resolve to write them. Many of the articles that we publish are controversial or challenging. We want—and need—your feedback on them. The letters' column provides a forum for all of you to express your opinions and help shape *MO's* direction.

●We resolve to reach more people. With your help. For our part, we're planning a direct mail solicitation that we hope will bring *MO* to the attention of many new readers. For your part, you can share the magazine with friends, give it as a gift, or even sell a subscription.

●We resolve to prefer risking being wrong occasionally to being stodgy or dogmatic all the time, to strive for creativity of thought without sacrificing clarity of expression, and to remember what Los Angeles NAM member Dorothy Healey often quotes as the two characteristics essential for a revolutionary: patience and a sense of irony.

A belated Happy New Year to you. □

Roberta Lynch

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Correction: Our apologies to Neil Benson for neglecting to credit his photograph featured on the cover of Moving On, December 1978-January 1979.

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photo by Karen Ommans

Dr. Gar Alperovitz, co-director of the National Center for Economic Alternatives, talks with press after a meeting on inflation with president Carter and members of COIN, Citizens Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities on December 19, 1978. At left is William Wimpisinger, president of the Machinists Union, at right is Ralph Nader.

The politics of necessity— new alliances emerge

by David Moberg

WITHIN A GENERALLY DREARY national political drama, at least as viewed from stage left, three new characters emerged within the past year with aspirations to pull together and articulate

David Moberg writes for In These Times and is presently at work on a book on Lordstown's auto workers.

These coalitions have the active involvement of a number of major labor unions and try to embrace many of the causes on the left of U.S. politics.

a progressive story line heard less and less in public these days.

These characters, all coalitions, are particularly refreshing, because they

have the active involvement of a number of major labor unions and because they have assiduously tried to embrace much of the otherwise fragmented or isolated groups and causes on the left of U.S. politics.

The three, in order of appearance, are the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, the "coalition of coalitions" assembled by United Auto Workers president Douglas Fraser, and COIN (Citizens Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities). Although there is substantial overlap in membership and interests among the three, each

has a different focus.

The Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, initiated by organizers from the Midwest Academy, a community organizer training school in Chicago, naturally has focused on energy issues, attempting to draft and win a package of energy legislation that is more in line with working class interests than Jimmy Carter's.

Their main push this past year was opposition to natural gas deregulation. Although they lost, they put up a creditable battle, combining the technical lobbying expertise of Washington groups like Energy Action with consumer and community group direct action and union clout. This winter the Coalition, headed by the president of the 900,000-member Machinist union, William Winpisinger, has launched a campaign to stop utility shutoffs.

Fraser's coalition of over 100 groups (including the New American Movement, but dominated by several big unions and traditional civil rights, feminist and consumer groups) seems to initially want mainly to establish some discipline within the Democratic party. That would, they hope, permit party activists to pressure the President and members of Congress to live up to their 1976 Democratic platform.

Stung by the defeat of labor law reform last year through a Senate filibuster, Fraser is particularly intent on killing the Senate rule that permits filibustering at the start of Congress this year. In addition the "Fraser coalition" will probably concentrate on fighting budget cuts in social programs. Although not officially a "Dump Carter" movement, the coalition is another challenge to Carter from within the left ranks of the Democratic party.

The Democratic Party has begun to lose both coherence as a party and liberalism as an ideology. Its hold on the electorate has also weakened.

Even younger than the Fraser coalition, but already more active, COIN also features the ubiquitous and jovial-but-angry Winpisinger along with numerous other labor leaders, consumer activists such as Ralph Nader, and groups such as its founding genius, the Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives, led by Gar Alperovitz and Jeff Faux.

COIN has done research and produced popular literature to challenge conventional views on the causes of inflation and the remedies needed. In the last few years, they argue, inflation has been more than twice as bad in the Bureau of Labor Statistics categories for "necessities" (food, transportation, medical care and housing) than for non-necessities.

Since those items form a disproportionately large share of poor and working class family budgets, it is these families who are now hurt most by inflation, COIN claims. Also, inflation in each of those areas requires government action tailored to problems of dwindling supplies of raw materials, monopoly power, high interest rates or other problems untouched or worsened by traditional anti-inflation measures: tightened credit, slower growth, higher unemployment. As a result, COIN poses alternatives that, unlike measures taken by the Carter administration, could reduce inflation without hurting the working class and simultaneously inspire greater public debate over democratic planning of various sectors of the economy.

COIN interpretations of inflation have made slight inroads into Washington

official thinking, and the group shows signs of becoming a conduit of labor attitudes on inflation to the White House. Many unions, swayed by an analysis that lets workers' wages off the hook as a cause of recent inflation and that justifies higher wage demands, have been quick to use the COIN views in their own education and publicity. Starting this spring there will be a major "teach-in" on inflation in Washington that COIN hopes to spread throughout the country in following months.

Changing Conditions

These coalitions have emerged in response to a number of changed conditions of American politics:

* With Carter in the White House, labor has lost much of its clout and the liberal and left interests within the party have felt abandoned on nearly all fronts.

* The Democratic party has begun to lose both coherence as a party and liberalism as an ideology. Its hold on the electorate—itsself dwindling as disillusionment with politicians, parties and elections grows—has also weakened. It is thus possible for the left wing of the Democrats to doubt whether the party as constituted is an effective vehicle for them.

* The right wing—in both parties, in independent groups and through corporate-sponsored agents—has not only grown but also seized the initiative in defining issues, organizing discontent and pressuring the basically conservative representatives in legislative and executive offices around the country.

* Left or liberal programs—Equal Rights Amendment, pro-labor legislation, national health care, just to mention a few—have taken a severe beating in recent years.

* The left, broadly conceived, had fragmented into dozens of organizations that often seemed to be battling with each other when they weren't indifferent to each other's goals. There was no longer an overriding issue, such as civil rights legislation or the war in Vietnam, that could unite a broad

spectrum of this left and liberal constituency, which had in itself become more quiet and confused.

* An era of U.S. imperial power and domestic boom was passing. Global inflation, deep recession or sluggishness in growth, an energy crisis linked to rising prices of all fuels, and increased inter-capitalist trade competition also began to prompt business leaders to get tough and demand a clearer upper hand. This squeeze has hurt not only workers' incomes, which have not increased this decade in real terms, but also the reforms and causes of the left.

These three coalitions are designed to deal with such immediate problems, but they have potential longer-range significance. Although still working basically within the Democratic party, the new coalitions represent the development of a new center of political power and organization that could greatly change the Democratic party or form the basis of a new political party on the left. The political situation is fluid and the coalitions young, but the new formations are signs and possible implements of a transition in the political alignments of this country that will shape U.S. politics in the remaining decades of this century.

It is important that substantial segments of the labor movement, representatives of blacks and other minorities, women's groups, consumer organizations and at least some public socialists

The right wing has seized the initiative in defining issues, organizing discontent and pressuring the basically conservative legislators around the country.

Although still working basically within the Democratic Party, the new coalitions represent the development of a new center of political power that could greatly change the Party or form the basis of a new party on the left.

are together in this tentative, still-incoherent response to the political shifts described above. If remnants of the old peace, anti-war, and anti-imperialist groups—some of whom have united in their own coalitions, such as the Mobilization for Survival and the Coalition for a Democratic Foreign and Military Policy—were added, the coalitions would be even more encouraging.

Difficult questions

It is customary to give new groups at least a few months of life before picking at their weakness, but it is obvious from the start that these three coalitions will face tough problems. They have a low level of ideological coherence, of course. More immediately troubling, they may have trouble in finding a focus that will keep all the members happy. Fraser's coalition, which is less specialized, faces that most forcefully. In some cases, they will simply have to set aside important issues, as when the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition decided to rule out taking any position on development of nuclear power.

Also, although the lists of participating organizations look impressive on paper, the coalitions are top-heavy at the moment. Will they try to mobilize a popular following and membership? Will they guarantee sufficient contribution from below and organizational

democracy? At the beginning those are not the most pressing questions, but if these coalitions are going to become a new center of political power, they cannot remain lobbying groups but must develop a loyal, active, popular base.

Other problems confront one or more of the various coalitions. Can the personal rivalries of various major union leaders be controlled sufficiently to maintain and expand the coalitions? Will loyalty to the Democratic party blunt the independence of the coalitions? How much will politics within the AFL-CIO come to determine coalition success?

Can the Fraser coalition become more than a diffuse forum, as it began? Can the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition succeed in avoiding the nuclear issue? Does the COIN campaign go too far in arguing that inflation is a major working class concern and thus blunt attention to the greater threat of unemployment?

The coalitions offer an important opportunity for socialists. They are a forum for discussion of alternative policy to meet the general crisis represented by the default and defeat of corporate liberalism. They challenge socialists to work patiently, modestly, and constructively within new formations that may be quite open to socialist ideas, though still reluctant to advocate socialism itself. The problems they face are enormous but so are the stakes for which they're playing. □



by Tom Muntzer

“WE MAY NOT WIN, BUT even if we lose, we’ll take a chunk this big out of their rear end,” says Jim Orcutt, a burly organizer for the Newspaper Guild.

Orcutt is leading 240 employees of the *Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader* in a strike against Capital Cities Communications, one of the nation’s fastest-growing media conglomerates.

Orcutt’s mix of hard-nosed determination and pessimism is typical of many in American newspaper unions, which now find themselves in the worst crisis in their long history.

Publishers such as Cap Cities, which a *Forbes* Magazine columnist recently called “absolute geysers of cash,” are in the forefront of the management assault on labor unions.

They are stronger than other businesses. Newspaper unions are weaker than many other unions. But the balance of power is also shifting toward management in other industries.

And the pending decline of newspaper unions goes beyond the lot of print media employees. Combined with the unchecked boom in chain ownership, it vitally affects the nature of U.S. journalism.

Wilkes-Barre is a strong union town which boasts of being the birthplace of the United Mine Workers. Nearly everyone is a union member or has close union ties.

It is also a tightly-knit ethnic community. Dozens of festivals each year mark the heavy influx of miners from Wales, Lithuania, Serbia and the Ukraine.

And this is the home of indicted U.S. Rep. Daniel Flood, an old-style pork-barrel politician and still a local folk hero for the federal largesse he brought in after a disastrous 1972 flood.

Tension arose in the office of the

Tom Muntzer is a NAM member and Capital Cities employee.

Q: What's black & white & bled all over?

A: Today's newspaper

Corporate media giants are out to break newspaper unions and homogenize the papers' content

town's major newspaper almost immediately after Cap Cities, following a nation-wide trend of rapid conglomerate takeovers of local monopoly newspapers, paid \$10.5 million May 18 for the *Times-Leader*.

The three local businessmen who owned the 70,000-circulation daily for decades had tolerated if not fostered the unions. Pay was \$370 a week for experienced journalists and similar for craft union members. There had been strikes, but they were peaceful.

With a specialist union-busting law firm from Nashville on hand, Cap Cities made it known during contract talks last summer that it planned a new era of management-labor relations.

The New York-based company built a 10-foot barbed-wire fence around the newspaper building. It installed floodlights. It ordered workers to carry identification cards to enter and leave the plant.

New techniques

As the Sept. 30 contract deadline approached, Cap Cities flew in dozens of non-union editorial employees and pressmen from some of its other properties

Six company guards were arrested for assault. Two were arrested for rape at a local motel. The union organizer had to wrestle a gun from a guard attacking the picket line.

for "orientation" in case of a strike.

They came from the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, the *Kansas City Star*, and the *Oakland Press* in Pontiac, Mich., a suburb of Detroit. Cap Cities last year easily broke several weak unions representing employees in Pontiac.

Negotiations produced no progress. The unions asked for renewal of the contracts and a 10 percent annual raise. The company responded with a 37-page list of "give-back" demands.

The strike began Oct. 6. The New York Times—fresh from its own stalemated

88-day walkout—has called it "the most bitter in newspaper history."

The first days of the strike threatened to erupt into a crisis commanding national attention. All but about a dozen employees joined the walkout. The *Times-Leader* shut down.

Meanwhile, strikers published their own daily, the *Citizens Voice*, which quickly topped the 50,000 circulation mark and gained heavy advertising from local merchants.

But the company filled the newspaper building with 150 security guards imported from the notorious Wackenhut Corp. in New York. Most of the guards were black and were paid as little as \$18 a day. Their supervisors were white.

Wilkes-Barre has almost no black community. Cap Cities had brewed a recipe for the most violent newspaper strike in U.S. history. Trouble was not long in coming.

Guards in trucks tried to crash through the picket line. They ran down and injured five union members, at least one requiring hospitalization.

Guards climbed onto a roof and fired a high-pressure stream of ammonia and water on pickets, passersby and even police—who are Teamster members and retaliated as such.

Mayor Walter Lisman placed the city on emergency alert, cancelling all police leaves. State police were notified. There was even talk of calling out the National Guard.

Six company guards were arrested for assault. Two were arrested for rape at a local motel (one was subsequently charged). Orcutt, the union organizer, had to wrestle a gun from a guard attacking the picket line.

All this terrified the strikebreakers inside the building, many of whom asked their bosses to let them go back home to Fort Worth, Kansas City or Pontiac.

In the face of much public embarrassment and a staff revolt in Kansas City,

Getting Together

Cap Cities fired the Wackenhuts and replaced them with a less violence-prone local security firm.

Since then the strike has settled into an economic war between the *Citizens Voice* and the *Times-Leader*, which is struggling to beat a near-total boycott by readers, young newscarriers and even union-conscious local businessmen.

"We're going to kick the hell out of them," pledged one top national Guild officer. Richard Connor, Cap Cities' bearded chief strikebreaker, recently lamented: "A company from the outside comes in, buys a business, and is almost run out of town on a rail within six months."

Chains grow

Twenty years ago a small minority of the nation's 1,800 daily newspapers were chain-owned. Now more than 60 percent are. The prognosis is for emergence of a few super-chains: "Many observers expect most of the American daily and Sunday press to be in the hands of eight to ten large groups by the mid-1980s," wrote British media expert Anthony Lewis recently.

There is no doubt that, in many ways, American newspaper publishers are spearheading corporate anti-union efforts. And Cap Cities is unquestionably in the vanguard of anti-union publishers.

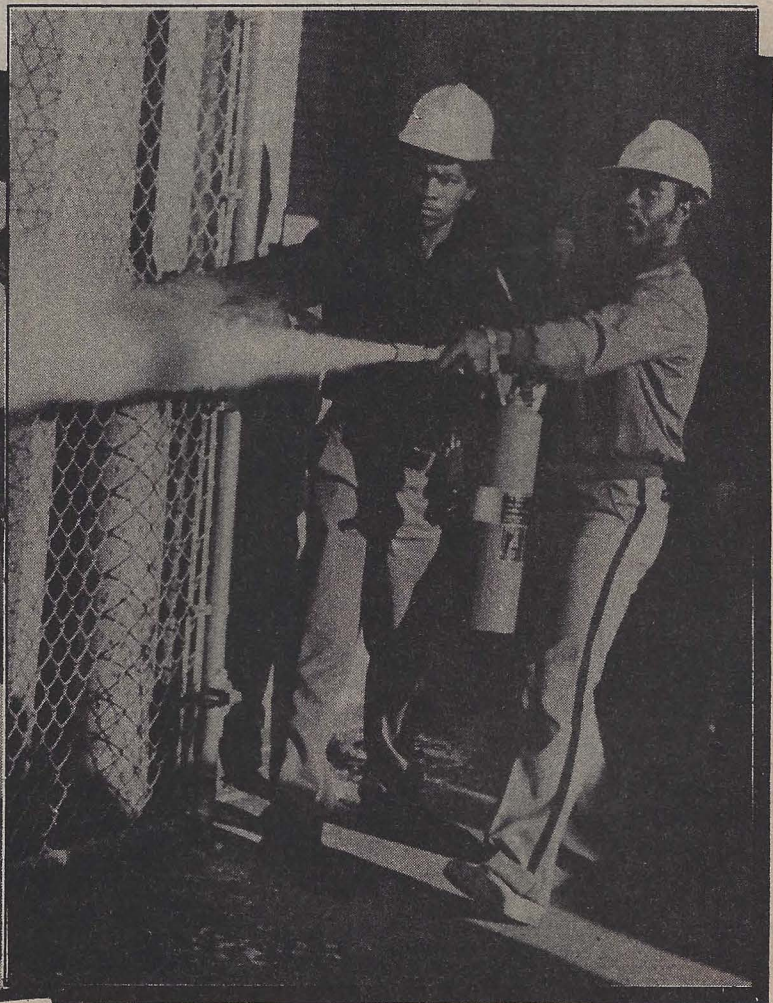
Some employees have tagged the \$212 million-a-year firm "the J.P. Stevens of the news industry."

In all, Cap Cities owns six TV stations, seven radio stations, six general-circulation newspapers and 23 trade publications. As chains go, it is one of the smaller conglomerates.

Cap Cities last year ranked 540th in sales on Fortune Magazine's list of publicly-held companies—and a stunning third in profits.

The business press recently heaped praise on Cap Cities-owned KTRK television in Houston, which racked up

continued on page fifteen



Photos by Guild Reporter/Citizens' Voice

Guards discharge fire extinguisher onto pickets.

Organizers' Notebook

Why Mommy's at a meeting

Dear Organizer's Notebook: We are both socialists. One of us is active in a trade union. The other is in a reproductive rights group. In addition we regularly attend meetings of our socialist group. We are also the parents of two children, ages 5 and 12. How do we explain to them what we are doing, why we are at all these meetings? The 12-year old, in particular, wonders why her home life is so different from her friends'.

Parents can do some of this themselves. "You start by explaining that you love them and that when they grow up they'll have to live in the world, and that it takes time and effort to make sure it's a better world," says one veteran activist whose child is now grown.

Five is not too young for a simple explanation of the issues. "We tell him everything while we're doing it. We explain all the time," says another activist and parent. "When we did South Africa support work, we explained what was happening to children on the Bantustans, to make it more relevant."

But parents should not be expected

to do the job alone. "My political activity brings my kids into contact with more people, a sense of community, and other kids. There's something wrong with the way the group is functioning if the kids aren't getting good things out of it, too," says a mother of two grade-schoolers. "My kids would worry if I missed meetings."

"It should be seen as important political work to form clubs and activities for kids that focus on the values we hold to as socialists and revolutionaries. It's part of our collective responsibility to communicate these things to our kids, not just the responsibility of the parents," says a single father. Though this might be more easily done in a socialist group, where members share a high level of commitment, it could also be tried in a union or rank and file group.

You should also look for political events your group can hold that can be meaningful to children. "Demonstrations are lots of fun, you can run around and stuff, but I don't want to go to meetings," says one eleven year old whose mother is very active. The Milwaukee NAM chapter recently had a showing of the film *Last Grave at Dimbaza*. Afterwards there was a special discussion for the children present. "And they understood the issues well," says one member.

Probably the hardest time, though, is when children reach adolescence. "The way I used to deal with my kids just doesn't work anymore. I get disgusted and depressed sometimes. The teenage culture has a strong pull on them," says the mother of two teenagers.

It's important to remember how we all rebelled as adolescents. Often, our rebellion led to our present values, and that makes it hurt when our kids rebel

against us now. But every idea we tried out as teenagers hasn't stuck with us, and our children won't necessarily hang onto the ones they've got today, either. Getting through this period can be difficult; there's no foolproof solution.

"You have to remind yourself, there was no rational reason for about half the stuff you did at 13," says a mother whose son is that age. "We try to explain what peer pressure is, and how most people don't feel the way we do about things, so he's going to get a lot of pressure. We try to be understanding and not to guilt-trip him. Also, we try to let him know he has a choice. He doesn't have to get into an argument every time he sees Nestle's Quick on the kitchen shelf of a friend's house."

If your group has some kind of ongoing activities for kids, then there's a chance some of the peer pressure can come from children of other socialists. But if the group only starts when the children are teenagers, it may be too late to have much meaning.

Relationships between parents and children have a lot of heartbreak in many American households today. We live in our culture, and are not immune to the forces that cause this. Our political understanding can help us to cope, but if we think it can give us the key to perfect children, we're falling into a trap this culture sets for parents.

—Judy MacLean

Born Again— Evangelicals hit the big time

by Judy MacLean

DRESSED IN A DEMURE WHITE floor-length dress, Sharon talks about her past as a Playboy Bunny. She lived in Hugh Hefner's mansion. She had luxury, servants, pleasure. Yet she wasn't happy. She cried everyday. Pat Robertson turns toward the TV audience. He's the host of *700 Club*, a born-again Christian daily TV Show with a Johnny Carson format. Wearing a leisure suit and sporting a blown-dry hairstyle, he emanates mild excitement as he probes the details of Sharon's past. She collected pornography for Hefner, experimented with drugs in a "hippy commune", bore a child "out of wedlock" and attempted suicide twice. Robertson makes a par-

Judy MacLean is the Organizational Secretary of the New American Movement.

"I'm not doing this for money. All counselors work as volunteers," says Mrs. Slocum, a motherly woman who answers the telephone . . . Can you save people over the telephone? "Sure you can," she says.

allel between Sharon and the Prodigal Son for the audience.

Then Sharon tells what every *700 Club* guest eventually tells: how she let Jesus into her life. Though still quiet, she be-

comes ecstatic. Jesus and Bible-reading changed her life. "Its all gone now, and I'm *forgiven*." She's now a full-time homemaker, mother of two children (also saved) and wife of a construction worker (not yet saved, but she's working on him).

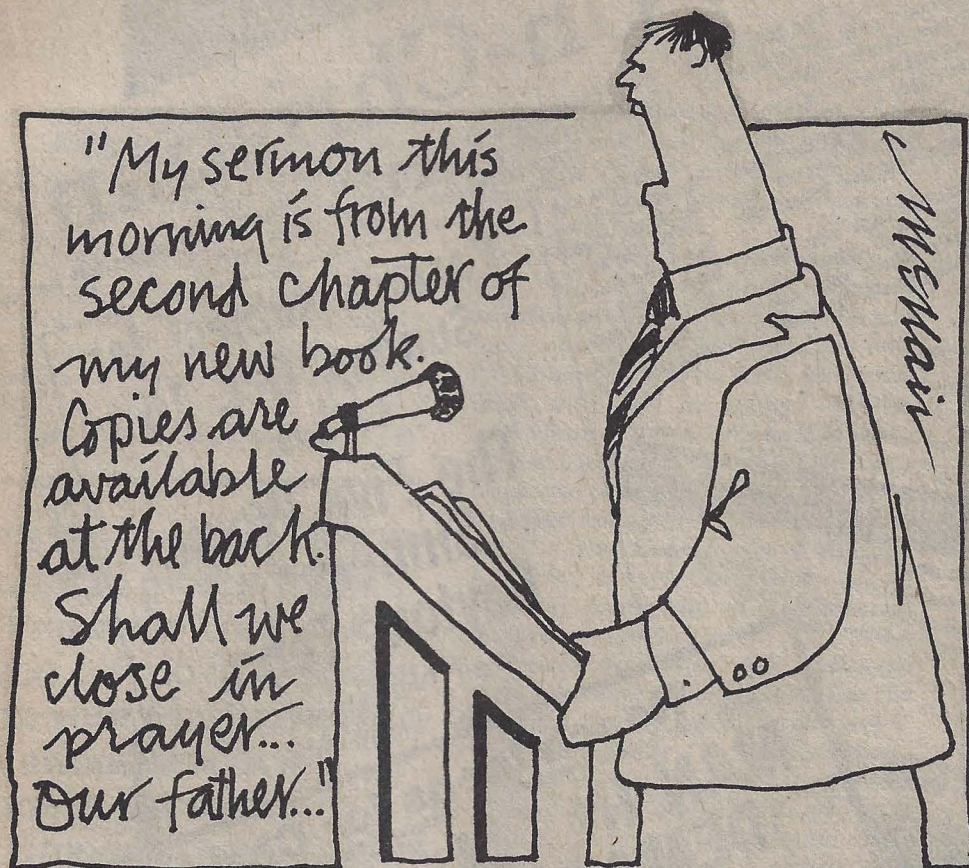
"Have you done things worse than Sharon?" Robertson asks the TV audience, estimated in the millions. "Jesus Christ died for you, for me and for Sharon. He'll clean you up right now, if you just accept him." He leads a prayer. A phone number flashes on the screen. If you call it, you can talk to a counselor.

"I'm not doing this for money. All counselors work as volunteers," says Mrs. Slocum, a motherly woman who answers the telephone. Robertson is beamed via satellite from Virginia; Mrs. Slocum is in Chicago, one of many volunteers around the country who answer calls while *700 Club* is on the air. "Some people want information, some want to contribute, some have prayer requests, and some want to be saved." Can you save people over the telephone? "Sure you can," says Mrs. Slocum. "We pray the sinner's prayer. I'm here to lead you in that prayer."

Mrs. Slocum, Pat Robertson and Sharon are part of what the *Wall St. Journal* calls the Electric Church. This new breed of television evangelists and their flock are the most powerful, visible and fastest growing wing of an even larger American cultural phenomenon, the new evangelicals.

New evangelicals vary widely. (Some don't even accept the term.) Whether on television or in churches, from the city to the suburbs to the farm, the hallmark is a personal conversion episode with Jesus Christ as a key life experience. Estimates of the scope of the movement vary from twenty to fifty million adherents. By any count, the growing urge among Americans to be born again is having a profound effect on our society.

"The rise of this type of religion can be seen as a cultural reflection of the full



arrival of the New South into the capitalist system," says Lee Cormie of American Christians Toward Socialism. The television preachers, even those whose shows originate in California and Ohio, have southern accents. Country and western tunes predominate in the frequent singing.

Yet as the religion with its roots in rural America makes the big time, its content also changes. Like the country boy who becomes a city slicker, evangelical religion is not the world-denying, stern fundamentalism of years past.

Christian capitalism

For one thing, it's a big business. If you want to pledge to TV's "Praise the Lord Club," you can do it by phone on your Mastercharge. Various products—books, TV shows, bumperstickers, T-shirts—accounted for over \$2 billion worth of business last year. The top eight TV evangelists each had budgets of over \$10 million. The *Wall St. Journal*

says of Jerry Falwell, whose *Old Time Gospel Hour* is the top moneymaker, taking in \$300,000 a day, "His ministry is a tribute to modern marketing and management methods." *WSJ* credits Falwell's success less to his charisma than to his "keen understanding of income and balance sheets."

Another change is the use of celebrities to promote Jesus. (And, as left-evangelical *Sojourners* magazine editor Jim Stentzel points out, celebrities using Jesus to promote themselves.) Eldridge Cleaver, Chuck Colson, country-western singer Jeannie C. Riley, Pat Boone, Larry Flynt, and Anita Bryant are among the popular luminaries at rallies and authors on the shelves of Christian bookstores. Colson's story, *Born Again*, has been made into the first feature length film about personal conversion to come out of Hollywood in 20 years, according to the producer who, like most of the cast and crew, has been saved.

Another growing trend is the use of

sports heroes. Columnist Gary Wills sees the constant emphasis on National Football League stars as an attempt by evangelists to replace the somewhat "sissy" image of born-again Christianity with a burly, masculine one.

Though Christian bookstores are springing up all over, and there are spinoff industries like Jesus Rock music, the biggest growth area is TV. Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN) has plans to become a fourth major network. It already beams programs by satellite 24 hours a day to independent stations, including 25 stations devoted entirely to religious programming. CBN pays for the air time out of contributions that pour in from viewers (approximately \$11 million this year) and so has no need to seek sponsors for its shows. It plans to produce soap operas and situation comedies to compete with commercial networks. Though CBN's yearly budget of \$58 million is dwarfed by the major networks' total of \$207 million for news and public affairs alone, breakthroughs in satellite technology and laws make CBN's goals more realistic.

With expansion in the business world comes diversification. There are Christian retirement communities for the elderly, Christian summer camps for the young (and the whole family), Christian charm courses for teenagers. And you can even retire on a Christian annuity (while avoiding capital gains taxes.) Sixty-five evangelical leaders met in Chicago last year to start a Christian version of the Better Business Bureau to protect the public. The Christian Yellow Pages will direct you to businesses where your dollars can remain among the born again.

Sometimes business troubles arise. The too-rapid expansion of Jim Bakker's *Praise the Lord Club* is a case in point. The TV show goes to 203 U.S. stations, and a Spanish-language version goes to 18 foreign countries. Construction of a college, expansion of TV facilities, and management problems led to a debt of \$13 million. The Bible supplier stopped delivering. The video duplicating com-

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TULSA, Okla. — The kids in the second-floor tower dormitory are going to miss Sharon Baxter. A student leader with a 3.4 grade average, she nevertheless could not measure up to the standards of Oral Roberts University. She was suspended for being too fat.

Sharon Baxter (not her real name) is one of a half dozen people who recently joined with the Oklahoma Coalition of Citizens

- Text: Bill Lloyd M. Perry
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Is Fat Un-Christian?

with Disabilities to request that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare review the university's statistics. The overweight students are described as "Christ-ce man," on a roll in affluent evangelist Oral

pension, was begun only two years ago.

Pastor's subject for Sunday, Oct. 16 11 a.m.

The Five Worst Sinners in Dayton, Tenn.

Their Names and Who They Are

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MAN IN DEMAND

Christian Charm Course

By Emily Hunter

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 - Standing, Sitting, Walking
 - A "New Look" Within and Without
 - Facial Beauty
 - Your Hair--A Halo of Loveliness
 - Styling and Setting Your Hair
 - Lovely Hands
 - Fashion Techniques to Flatter Your Figure
 - Christian Girl's Wardrobe
 - "Well-Groomed Look"
 - Girl's Guide to Etiquette



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Jesus said that even the rocks beside the road were willing to praise Him... Shouldn't we?

"If you will do what you are supposed to do, I will be a quiet rock for you."

the quiet rock

Luke 19:40

a reminder to praise the Lord



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 CITY, STATE, ZIP _____

pany threatened to stop its service. The \$250,000 biweekly payroll was late in November. Publicly, Bakker handles the situation through prayer for a miracle.

And why not? In 1972 the Securities Exchange Commission charged Jerry Falwell with fraud in a \$6.6 million bond deal that helped build his college and his TV empire. The SEC gave him 5 years to pay it back; with the help of God and "astute Christian businessmen"

It's big business. If you want to pledge to TV's "Praise the Lord Club," you can do it by phone on your Mastercharge. Various products—books, TV shows, bumperstickers, T-shirts—accounted for over \$2 billion worth of business last year.

he paid it back in four. According to Oklahoma evangelist Oral Roberts, God directed him to build a hospital. When the local Health Systems Agency axed the plan, saying it wasn't needed, prayer—plus some lobbying of the state legislature—brought what Roberts calls the "miracle" he needed. City of Life Hospital is now under construction. Such troubles are trials, sent by the Lord, the preachers believe. In the end, Jesus makes sure it comes out all right.

Social impact

Like the new South, the new evangelicals have eliminated the most obvious signs of racism. Every TV program has a black guest or two, and the preacher-

hosts (the really successful ones are all white) make a big show of hugging and friendship. There's open talk about how blacks and whites are all brothers and sisters in Jesus Christ.

A curious historical twist is the attitude that the black liberation movement somehow caused racism. A black Detroit Lions quarterback tells *700 Club* host Pat Robertson how his heart used to be filled with hate for whites until he found Jesus. Whites don't seem to make similar confessions. Ben Kinchlow is a black who plays a religious Ed McMahon to Robertson's Johnny Carson. He used to be "a frustrated follower of Malcolm X." Now, he says, Christianity has set him free, giving him an identity more important than skin color.

The new evangelical attitude toward sexism is more contradictory. On the one hand, Sharon, the ex-Playboy centerfold, was a sinner. On the other, *Total Woman* author Marabel Morgan, very popular among evangelicals, advocates women doing much the same thing Sharon did—but only for their own husbands in their own homes.

The image of woman as wife and mother predominates. Yet born-again singer Kathie Lee Johnson, married and settled into domesticity, found she was crying all the time. Her record-producer husband, Paul, understood: "You're not doing all the things the Lord designed you to do," he said. And so she resumed her career.

When the Lord reached Fran Minarik, a wife and mother of four in Des Plaines, IL, she felt the call to start a catering business. Her family approved and today she's a success. New roles for women seem tentatively OK if hubby approves. And if not, there is always prayer to change his mind.

What is the appeal of this brand of religion? A personal experience of Jesus has helped Americans to cope with their troubles and make sense of their reality for a long time. At the beginning of this century the arrival of the evangelist in a small Midwest town had all

the allure that slick TV ministry has today. Evangelical religion provided spectacle, drama, a sense of community, an acceptable channel for passionate feelings of many sorts, and a hope of a happier by and by.

And ever since, even into the 1960's when God was dead on the cover of *Time*, millions of Americans have been involved in evangelical religion. "It's easy to exaggerate the numbers being converted now," says Donald Dayton, author of *Discovering An Evangelical Heritage*. Media and established churches, after long dismissing evangelicals, are suddenly hyping them, he believes.

The world projected on these television shows is one of pain, suffering and moral confusion. Life is full of illness, quarrels with loved ones, money problems. The preachers give the audience permission to feel the pain, whatever its cause. There is little emphasis on sin, except as reflected in personal suffering. Pain, not guilt, is acknowledged. Inspirational bestsellers deal with triumph over every possible kind of suffering: stories by a 29-year old quadriplegic, an ex-heroin addict, a member of Manson's gang, the mother of two retarded children. It's not the world of California pop psych; there's no assumption you'll have a nice day.

But of course happiness—miraculous, complete and sinless happiness with the possibility of fellowship and understanding—is held out as a goal if Jesus is accepted. And for people like Sharon, caught in a swamp of bad experiences with no moral guideposts, the simple do's and don'ts can bring order to a chaotic life. Once you are born again, things can get better, though trials and tests of faith, like Jim Bakker's debt of \$13 million, still appear. The cheerful assumption, flushed with a bit of the sunbelt growth economy, is that things turn out for the best. The constituency is middle American: new South working people with rural roots; small town and suburban midwesterners; small business owners; more white but some black and

Chicano; more female but many male.

Mainline response

Most liberal church spokespeople see the TV ministries as catering to a desire for simple solutions. "The mainline churches' tolerance for ambiguity is not marketable today," says University of Chicago professor and minister Martin Marty. "The need for an immediate experience of God captures the mood of the '70's." He compares the appeal of pop evangelicals with that of Transcendental Meditation or Esalen.

Mainline churches, with their concentration on social issues that may be removed from the lives of parishioners and their shunning of charismatic preaching, have failed to address the pain and confusion rampant today. As a result, their attendance is down. *Wall St. Journal* reports that the very churches that opposed the Vietnam War and have social action arms that oppose racism and sexism are facing revenue losses as Falwell's coffers swell. Jim Wall, editor of *Christian Century*, believes most churches are having to respond to pop evangelism by beginning to provide the kind of experience so many people seem to be seeking.

The general political effect of the rise of born-again Christianity has been conservative. The emphasis on personal, immediate encounter with God tends to be depoliticizing, favoring individualism over collective action. Most of the TV evangelicals are apolitical in the extreme.

There are, however, forces within the new evangelicals seeking to capture the movement for the Far Right. Arch-conservative fundraiser Richard Viguerie called evangelical Christians the biggest growth area for the right wing in 1977. The far right strategy for the 1978 elections was to exploit this group for funds and votes to elect right-wingers. The results were not overwhelming; it is clear the right wing at present can only tap a small fraction of the money and loyalty the preachers command.

The right has done better around

single issues. Anita Bryant has exploited this constituency well in opposing gay rights; the anti-abortion and anti-ERA movements have both recruited some troops. The right has also formed groups such as Good News within the Methodist Church that systematically try to destroy the church's progressive positions on social issues and move their agendas rightward. But considering the amount of money expended and the traditional ties between conservative political ideology and evangelicals, the right wing has made little progress in molding the millions of the born again into a coherent political bloc.

Jerry Falwell is currently attempting to do just that, however. His "Clean Up America Campaign" is directed against homosexuals, abortion, and pornography. Falwell thunders from the pulpit that "We should register all Communists, stamp it on their foreheads, and send them back to Russia." He's actively trying to build his TV flock, the largest and most profitable, into a political force that can take its demands straight to the White House.

"Ninety percent of evangelical leaders are appalled by Falwell's philosophy,"



says Ron Sider, head of Evangelicals for Social Action. Evangelicals do come in all political stripes. Billy Graham and TV evangelists such as Bill Schuller are to Falwell's left. The man who sits in the White House takes inspiration from born again religion in formulating his policies. In *Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, Sen. Mark Hatfield argues evangelicals must be politically liberal.

Radical wing

Sider is one of a small but influential number of progressive and radical evangelicals who believe a true understanding of the personal experience of Jesus should lead to a commitment to radical social change. Evangelicals for Social Action's statement of principles, the Chicago Declaration of Evangelical Social Concern of 1973, calls for defending the social and economic interests of the poor and oppressed, promoting a just distribution of the world's resources, and opposing the "prideful domination" of men over women.

ESA reaches out to evangelicals with the message that the Bible shows the Lord on the side of the poor. It encourages evangelicals to take stands on issues such as peace, apartheid and world hunger. The results have been mixed; Sider got a poor reception on *700 Club*, but an enthusiastic one at a recent Southern Baptist Convention.

Sojourners and *The Other Side*, magazines of radical evangelicals, are rapidly growing in popularity. *Sojourners* combines solid investigative reporting on the evangelical far right with calls for a simpler lifestyle and sharing of resources with the Third World, while theologically stressing the importance of the personal conversion experience.

At a circulation of 35,000, it can't match Jerry Falwell. On the other hand, few radical special interest publications today reach a circulation of that size. *The Other Side*, with a smaller circulation, combines a strong commitment to Christian witness with activism, calling for changes "off the scale of the

continued on page twenty-two

Today's newspapers. . .

from page eight

an obscene net profit of \$14 million on revenues of \$21 million, or 65 percent.

Company public-relations efforts always trot out pioneer broadcaster Lowell Thomas as founder of Cap Cities in Albany, N.Y. in 1947. But Thomas, already a multimillionaire then, never played much of a role in managing the company.

Typical of the new breed of corporate media managers, the two top Cap Cities executives, Chairman Thomas S. Murphy and President Daniel B. Burke, come from advertising backgrounds.

Burke plied Jello for General Foods; Murphy was a brand manager for Lever Brothers. Both are graduates of Harvard Business School.

Neither has any journalism experience. "I only mess things up when I go into a newsroom," Murphy blurted when Cap Cities paid a record \$125 million for the *Kansas City Star* in February, 1977.

Appropriately, company headquarters are at 485 Madison Avenue in New York. Except for Thomas, now 84, none of the Cap Cities directors has a journalism background.

Collectively, the 11 men sit on at least two dozen other corporate boards, including some of the nation's largest banks, insurance companies and manufacturing firms.

Citing the massive concentration of media ownership, John Oakes, former *New York Times* senior editor, acknowledged recently: "The First Amendment was designed to insure the free flow of information and opinion, not the accretion of corporate power."

Yet it is clear the growth of media conglomerates tends toward the exact opposite. Like most large companies, the big media chains don't like controversy.

One-class journalism

There is no spelled-out policy in most

companies to exclude progressive editors and reporters. But new corporate marketing techniques can have virtually the same effect.

Those techniques involve "targeting" readers who also are the newspaper advertisers' best consumers. Many media chain executives no longer call their properties "newspapers." They are "consumer products" instead.

As a result, there is often a conscious write-off of the inner city and other impoverished circulation areas, where residents cannot afford the luxury of a newspaper subscription, much less to patronize many advertisers.

"The major advertisers don't want these people, and increasingly neither do the major news media," press critic Ben Bagdikian wrote recently.

That is one main reason for the new emphasis in many chain-owned newspapers on "lifestyle," entertainment, the woes of suburbia and the like.

The daily newspaper, Bagdikian said, "is becoming a one-class institution." And more than ever, there is no doubt whose class interests the papers, especially the chain-owned ones, are serving.

Or, as Lewis put it:

"The newspaper and attendant information media are now being locked into patterns of advertising and distribution which make large quantities of information available to small elites. The information is much more substantial, and perhaps 'better' than ever before. But those sections of the audience which do not demand to be informed (and who, in practice, perhaps never were) are now more completely cut off."

The over 30 cities with NAM chapters, for example, reflect a good cross-section of current U.S. media ownership. Only six (Chico, Middletown, Milwaukee, New Haven, Santa Cruz and Somerville) are without chain-owned daily newspapers.

All but 11 of the cities are dominated by monopoly dailies. And those with "competing" dailies—all larger cities—are among a shrinking number of exceptions. A full 97 percent of daily newspapers in the U.S. hold monopoly positions in their markets.

There is little prospect for much improvement in the focus of daily newspapers. Every sign is that they will continue to grow puffier, fluffier and more profitable.

And the main unions in the newspaper industry—the Guild, the International Typographical Union and several pressmen's unions—are in a poor position to do anything.

The Guild (34,000 members) and ITU (80,000) have set June 1 as a deadline to merge, a move made necessary by a highly successful divide-and-conquer management strategy.

But management-controlled technology is quickly abolishing the kinds of jobs ITU members hold. And the Guild is represented in only about 15 percent of the nation's dailies, and has had slim organizing successes in recent years.

Guild President Charles Perlik spoke recently at a support rally for the *Times-Leader* strike. Wilkes-Barre, he said, "was a union town when Capital Cities was not so much as a speck on the horizon. And it will be a union town long after Capital Cities has come and if necessary—gone."

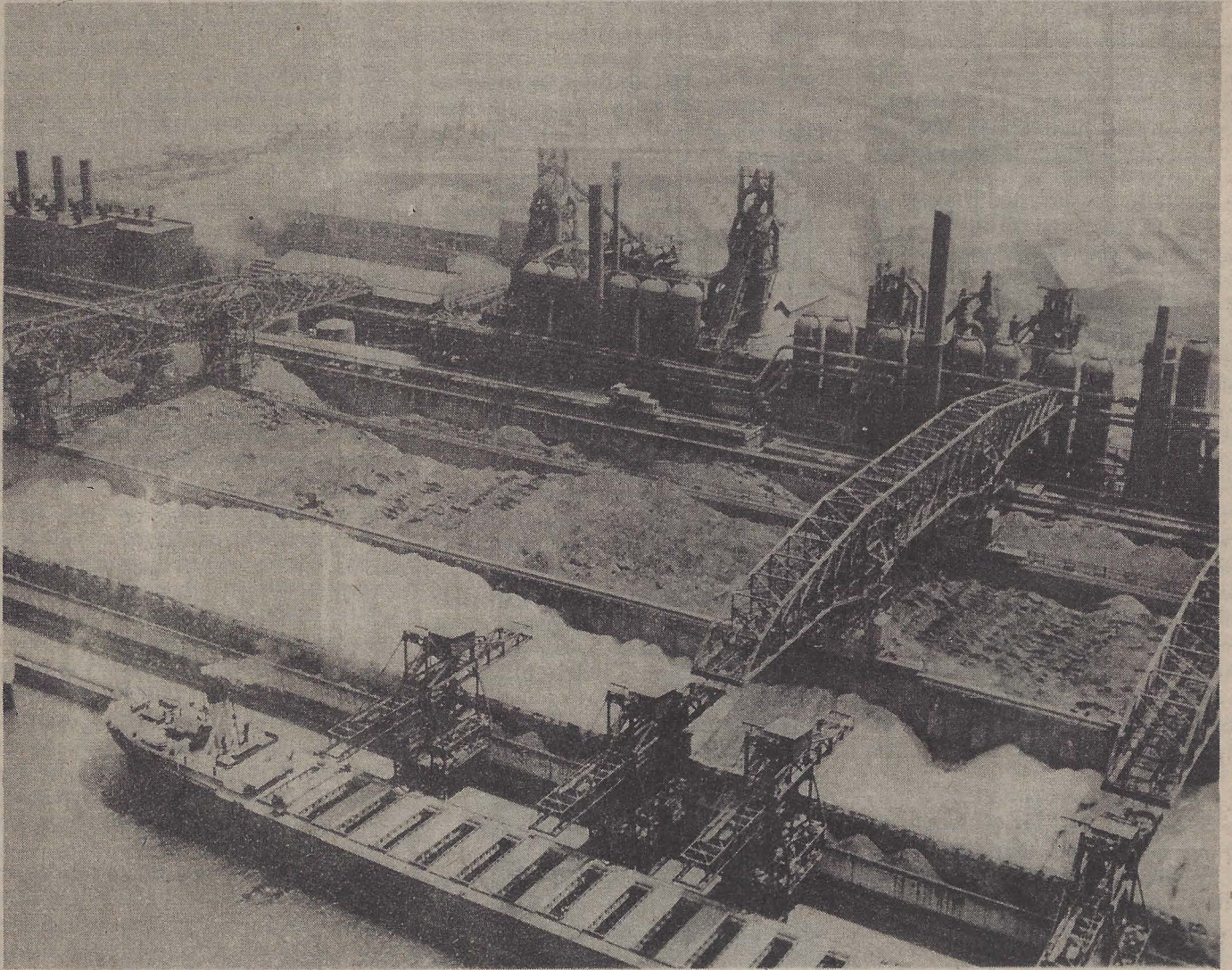
That may be true. But it's going to take a lot of changes and a hell of a fight if the Guild and other newspaper unions are going to be around to see that day. □

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The Long View

bad apples

by Al Phabar

THE ISOLATION OF THE UNITED States left is not so much a problem of its diminutive size or sectarian bearing as it is its difficulty in basing its approach on a defensible analysis of modern day capitalism.

For example, the left has exhibited remarkable unanimity in analyzing recent steel mill shutdowns. Capitalism (or, more to the point, the ruinous competition that characterizes it) has made the U.S. steel industry unprofitable, or at least ambiguously profitable, and workers have hell to pay.

Why not just re-open the plants under "worker control?" Without the need for a margin of profit, couldn't the plants' output be competitive? Wouldn't this be the ideal occasion to demonstrate the feasibility of self-management? And, if government grants or loans helped to

Al Phabar is an economist who lives and works in the Midwest.

Less profit, with capitalist or worker control, means less investment and more labor time required—and that means either longer hours for the same living standard or a lower standard.

buy out the capitalist owners, couldn't this be a chance not only for the social democracy of "nationalizing the losers," but for public *control* as well as ownership?

In fact, such an American social democracy is neither necessary or desirable. Nor are its principles—as applied to the steel case—based on sound economics: firms don't need a profit margin so that capitalists can have yachts, but to finance the investments that keep them in business by reducing the amount of labor embodied in their output.

Less profit, with capitalist control or worker control, means less investment and more labor time required—and that means either longer hours for the same living standard or a lower standard.

Social democracy is what the left wins when it cannot win *political* power, but is strong enough to obstruct the *economic* activities of the bourgeoisie. In England, for example, social democracy, while providing greater freedoms to workers, keeps living standards low. Its existence attests to a working class with the power to subvert production but not to reorganize it.

In France, West Germany, and Scandinavia, social democracy is rooted in the political power of centralized trade union movements whose cooperation is essential to trade-reliant economies, especially those with long left traditions.

In the U.S. our situation is dramatically different. There is no material left

tradition, a working class with virtually no shop floor or political power, and a not-yet-desperate capitalist class which, if anything, still fears growing regulation of business as a signal of a lower-profit economy.

The American left mistakenly continues to view capitalism as a thing and as wrong, rather than as a contradictory relationship between different actors with *identical short-term interests but hostile long-term needs*. The steel industry's current crisis has to be understood not as a thing or an event, but as a predictable process of aging capitals being driven under by more dynamic ones.

The left, if anything, should welcome the crisis in steel. As leftists have long argued, it is a dirty, dangerous, and unhealthy industry, a grotesque holdover from the industrial upsurge of 1890-1920. Indeed, it was the very success of workers and of middle-class reformers in imposing significant costs—for wage and benefit increases, for pollution abatement, and for health and safety improvements—on an industry already subject to mounting international and inter-regional competition that helped to render it an increasingly obsolete and unproductive component of the aggregate social capital.

Inefficient investment

For at least the past 20 years, every penny invested in the steel industry—and especially in its older Midwestern and Northeastern segments—has been bad for the working class. It was inefficiently spent; hence, a great deal of labor time was used without any add-

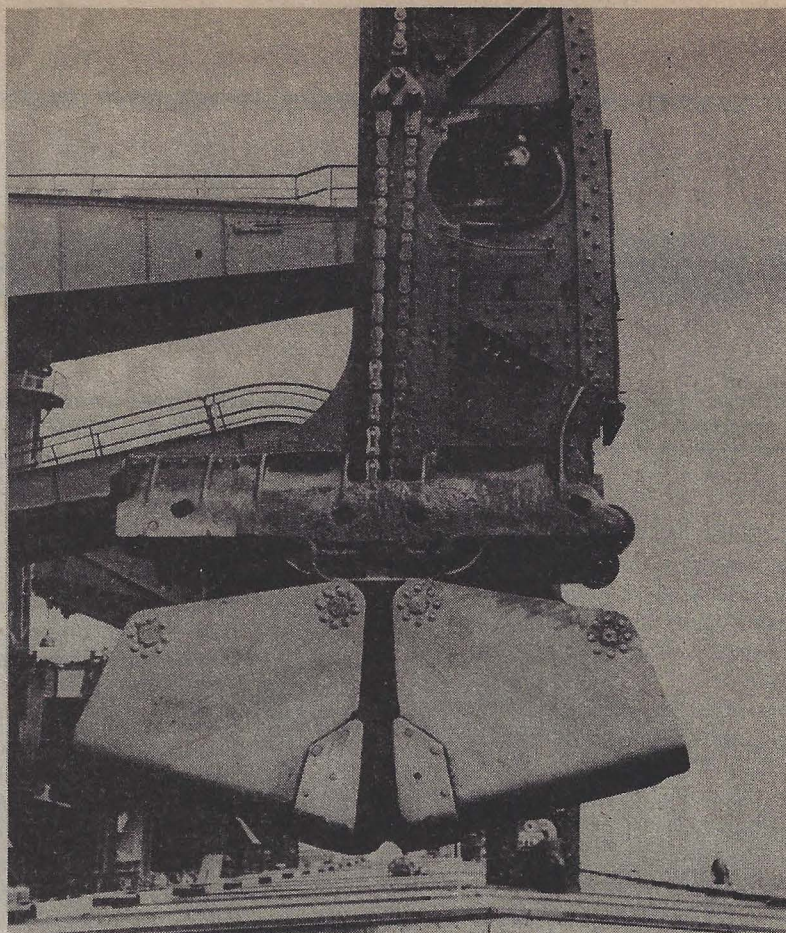
ition to either workers' living standards or capitalists' profits. Confronted with today's crisis in steel, the advanced sector of the capitalist class—that sector involved in high technology, often multinational, still and soon-to-be dynamic industries—has begun to recognize the waste.

It can, of course, be argued that the capitalist solution of letting old capitals be smashed by the competition of newer, more productive capitals produces undesirable results. And it does. But as I will argue below, the available alternatives, and the most likely scenario for the U.S. steel industry—bail-outs or subsidies or protectionism—would be far worse. This approach may seem insufficiently empathetic with displaced workers; in fact, wasting the surplus on unproductive activities is itself an attack on the working class as a whole.

The choice is not between supporting laid-off Ohio steelworkers and opposing them. It is rather between supporting ultimately unworkable and damaging short term solutions and the development of a positive program based on new social relations that includes prominently the further development of the forces and relations of production. That is, unless the left program involves producing a useful product or service efficiently and under benign working conditions, letting the plants stay closed is the only sensible course.

Any non-total or anti-technological alternative will involve even *greater* waste of labor time, and hence will offer only the unacceptable choice between more work and lower living standards. This does not mean, however, that the workers in these industries must wait for a new social order before they can again work. This article is not the place to lay out an intermediate program, but it is possible to point toward some form of conversion to useful public sector production accompanied by income maintenance that could provide greater financial security for workers even under the present system.

The real solution, however, is much more profound and, as yet, unarticu-



Unloader removing iron ore from hold of vessel at U.S. Steel, Gary Works, Indiana.

lated. The working class does not have such a solution; and it is most un-Marxist to think that it would. The failure of the left to develop such a new direction is another matter: that is the function of the left, as well as the historical justification for its initially middle class composition. What is needed is a progressive political-economic program that can convince people that society can be reorganized on the basis of the most advanced social ideas and the most advanced material forces.

Left confusions

Let me give an example of certain confusions on the left that act to hamper the development of such a program. Most of us would claim:

1. the desirability of expensive life and health-saving investments.
2. that high profits are the cause of falling, or at least stagnant, working class living standards.

The first claim is a perfectly reasonable statement, one whose belief should logically lead the left to rejoice at the failure of the most dangerous and health-sapping parts of the steel industry.

The second claim, on the other hand,

is simply incorrect except perhaps for an exceptional, short-lived applicability. Most steel firms, for example, are not sufficiently profitable to risk undertaking the mammoth investment projects upon which secure employment depends. In steel, as in business generally, profit-gouging—profits at the expense of labor income—does not explain this period of flagging working class prosperity. Rather, the capitalists' inability to lay the groundwork for a sustained period of economic expansion explains *both* the crisis of capitalism and the failure of living standards to rise over the past decade.

Capitalists do not want workers to be poor. Living standards do not rise because workers take money from capitalists; they rise mainly because investment (capitalist or otherwise) produces the possibility of productivity gains, which in turn allow the goods and services that workers consume to be produced and sold more cheaply.

If the left is interested in the material well-being of the working class as a whole, it must break with the trade unionist myth that high wages are the cause of economic growth inasmuch as

they help capitalists to sell expensive products ("under-consumptionism"). The wages of direct producers of a product do not constitute more than a minute portion of the demand for it; hence, capitalists seek to minimize costs rather than maximize wages.

The left should be for maximizing wages. People of all social classes have a common interest in maintaining purchasing power, but only subject to a minimization of production costs and hence of labor time. All forces that stand in the way of a redistribution of resources from wage bundle-inflating (labor-wasting) sectors to wage bundle-cheapening (labor-saving) sectors are not only reactionary with respect to capitalist development but with respect to working class living standards and working conditions as well. Low wages allow labor-wasting firms to stay in business, using resources that could be adding to the overall standard of living for working people.

Unless we can begin to clarify these issues and to face the reality of contemporary economic life, we will not be able to develop an analysis and a program that can make sense to people. Without at least a fairly well-developed description of a non-alienated labor process, complete with a compelling link between ownership characteristics and social relations, workers will be unlikely to turn to the left for answers.

The task of the left, never before faced in the advanced capitalist world and never required in the less-developed world, is to examine and explain the most advanced nuances of capitalist production and social relations. We need to combine this with a description of a new set of social relations, whose evolution is already hinted at in current labor processes and popular culture, and whose full development is being visibly hindered by the existing distribution of political power. We can't do this by saving capitalism's bad apples. □

Letters

from page twenty

helped some publications to strengthen the always shaky financial base of independent journals. And they have exposed many people to magazines or newspapers that might otherwise have escaped their notice."

Then, she turns an about-face and attacks the whole idea. Media techniques "reinforce the tendency to presume that subscriptions are sold by 'Techniques' rather than by people. . . . This is due in part to a disturbing reliance on 'media' to get our message across." Watch out folks, the big bad media (a part of The System) is going to co-opt us! We'll all become pawns of the Capitalist Advertising Establishment!

Come on, Roberta! You say yourself, "Obviously, mass mailings are very valuable in building circulation." Now I assume you really do want to see **MOVING ON** and **NAM** grow. So why the hassle? You say, "But we need to keep in mind that people are the critical factor. Moving On won't really grow unless you, our readers, make it your personal responsibility to help sell subscriptions." But there is no contradiction! Using professional techniques like mass mailing and direct advertising won't stop or even harm people from engaging people in discussion of the problems like unemployment, racism, sexism, exploitation, alienation—caused by the rotten capitalist system, nor stop us from presenting practical socialist solutions. Direct mail has done an awful lot for such groups as NOW, in no way can it hurt us. We have to grow up, move with the times, and stop being amateur revolutionaries and become professionals, otherwise we are never going to bring a revolution off.

Donald F. Busky
Philadelphia, PA

Lynch responds:

I'm afraid Mr. Busky has really set up a straw woman on this one. I have absolutely nothing against direct mail techniques. In fact, we're working now on a direct mail promotion for **MOVING ON**.

My point was simply that I've met far too many people who assume that such techniques can be a substitute for more direct forms of political interaction. I don't think they can or should. But a complement. . . well, of course.

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The NAM Hiring Hall is for NAM members who want to be on-the-job activists. It's hard, often unglamorous work. We don't want anyone who just wants to try it out for a few months. We need people who can stick with it.

Every person placed through the NAM Hiring Hall will be working with a more experienced NAM member who is doing the same work. They'll help you get hired and work with you once you're on.

If you want to change your life and change others' lives, too, write the NAM Hiring Hall today: 3244 N. Clark St., Chicago, IL 60657.

We get letters...

Her own good

Deirdre English and I were pleased to see Judy MacLean's generally enthusiastic review of our book **FOR HER OWN GOOD**. (Anchor/Doubleday, '78), but we feel that her attempts to re-state the more theoretical themes of the book are hasty and confused.

Most strikingly, we did not, as MacLean infers, use the term "the Market" as a euphemism for "capitalism." We used "capitalism" when we meant capitalism, and "the Market" as shorthand for the system of exchange relationships which defines the capitalist economy. Of course, within capitalist society, the Market has grown to absorb more and more of human activity—but now I'm giving away part of the plot.

There is also some confusion about our distinction between patriarchal ideology and the sexual ideology which arises with capitalism (we call it "masculinism.") Most Marxist-feminists describe the present system as "patriarchy plus capitalism." We disagree: Capitalism undermined patriarchy. Our book is about the formulation of a specifically capitalist sexual ideology—how it has been dressed up as scientific "fact" and disseminated to several generations of women.

The last third of the review suggests that MacLean got so impatient when she failed to find all the conventional Marxist-feminist terms and formulations that she raced ahead to see if there was at least a happy socialist ending. Of course there isn't: NAM itself has never held up socialism as "the solution" to women's oppression.

As for MacLean's complaint that we failed to outline a socialist/feminist vision of society or explain "how we get from here to there": the same criticism could be made of most radical books. I wish I could say that we have all the answers in Volume II and are just checking over the galleys—but most people would be too smart to believe me if I did!

Barbara Ehrenreich
Syosset, NY

Congratulations

I just finished combing November's **MOVING ON**. My congratulations to the Editors and Staff for an excellent issue. Just about all the articles were well worth reading.

Judy MacLean's "Organizer's Notebook" was really useful. Alice Walker's piece on

Zora Hurston was delightful, instructive, personal and analytical. Poetry set to prose. And, as usual, Paul Garver caused me to sit back and think.

Each piece played its part in a finely balanced publication. I hope that you all can keep up the quality.

Richard John Kinane
Washington, D.C.

Busing Dilemmas

You asked for opinions on busing, so here goes.

It is not surprising that busing gains its greatest support from the Black middle class and from middle class white liberals. What is surprising is that so many radicals should be so uncritically in this camp.

The pro-bus-ers have abandoned the strategy of pressuring public school systems to live up to their professed ideal of serving the entire public fairly. Their strategy, instead, is one of allocating the students to the unequal resources, via busing, instead of allocating the resources fairly.

I find this a curious position for radicals to support. The following points bother me.

- 1) Funds for education are limited. Therefore, do not maximize the allocation of these funds to the teachers, to pedagogical equipment and to other assistance in the classroom. Instead, spend it on buses, gasoline and bus drivers!
- 2) "Everyone knows" that Black schools are inferior (and, by implication, Black teachers and administrators are too). Therefore, if Black kids are bussed to white schools, ipso facto they will receive a superior education! (One can thus be liberal and racist at the same time.)
- 3) The System wants a labor force that is rootless and fragmented, not one that upsets the Master Plans (made by the masters at a central headquarters) by insisting on decentralized initiative and defense of community. Therefore, bus the kids so that the little bastards learn real early that life consists in moving to wherever The Man says you should go.
- 4) There is too high a consumption of gasoline, too much congestion on the streets and highways, all resulting in too much pollution of the air. Therefore, bus as many kids as possible. Maximize the exposure of children to gas fumes and the hazards of urban transportation at as early an age as possible.

Regardless of intentions, the busing controversy has provided a field day for lawyers, journalists, social-scientists, and the makers of buses. It has strengthened the power of the State and lessened popular control of education. It has diminished career opportunities for Black educators (in Mississippi, for instance). It has, no doubt, put some people in the "racist" (anti-busing) camp who should not and need not be there.

The controversy has given the Right some good arguments. If you are for decentralization, you're against busing. If you are for energy conservation, you're against busing. If you are for parental involvement in education, you're against busing. (Parents are less likely to contact school authorities if the school is distant; minority parents and low-income parents are less likely to invade a neighborhood foreign to them, etc.)

The whole busing controversy constitutes a tragic diversion from the real problems: 1) race and class prejudice: busing is but one tactic in the struggle against these prejudices—is it effective or countereffective? and 2) effective education: a Black kid in a lousy white school is still in a lousy school. If kids were taught self-reliance. If they were taught history realistically, IF they really came out of high school able, not only to read and write and calculate, but also think for themselves, it would not matter whether they went to White or Black schools.

Busing has been a good way to stir up hatred and a good way to waste money. It has been marvelously effective for many people in many ways, but what has it done for the teachers or the kids?

Laurence G. Wolf
Cincinnati, OH

Amateur Revolutionaries?

One thing that never fails to amaze me is how the left beats itself with narrow-minded, amateurish ideas. Witness the never ending put down of using the media to get our message across. Man, I've been hearing it for years—"We can't use the media, it's a bourgeois tool"; or, "Using media is too impersonal, we need grassroots contact." We keep hearing these amateurish biases, and it's part of the reason we often go nowhere.

Take a close look at Roberta Lynch's column in the November **MOVING ON**. The illogic is astounding. First, she tells us how good the media can be: "Over the last several years, the left has learned a great deal from commercial direct mail houses about how to market its products. These techniques are very positive in many respects. They have

continued on page 19

NAM News&Views

Ah, organizational discipline. The socialists enter an arena of confused political debate, where many different opinions contend. By articulating a clear line, they sway the masses to a new understanding of the political situation. Right?

Wrong. Last fall, when I attended the National Organization for Women (NOW) convention, I was struck by the behavior of the Socialist Worker's Party (SWP). There were over 100 SWP members there, and they spoke with one voice. Every time one rose in a plenary or workshop, it was to make the same point.

Using such time-honored tactics, the SWP women managed to alienate everyone. By the end of the convention, even NOW members who agreed with some of the SWP's points were ready to vote against them because the NOW women felt harangued, harassed and manipulated.

Some NAM members long for the kind of organizational discipline that allows hundreds of members to speak with one voice. They don't like public disagreements. But much as we may yearn for unanimity, we don't want it at any price. We're not willing to get there by fiat or fissures. There's another element of our approach that is equally important to us. That's our commitment to a process in which every member learns to analyze situations and make political judgments.

That's the impulse behind our slogan for Political Education '79, "Every member a Marxist." Not every member a quotation-slugging dogmatist. Not every member a bookworm. But every member should be familiar enough with the framework of Marxist analysis to be able to use it along with other theories, such as feminist theory, and with contemporary experiences and information to make informed decisions about our political work. This doesn't mean every member sits down by him/herself to work out each problem. One of the best ways to work things through is in a democratic interaction with others.

This is essential because the basis of democracy is everyone having the capacity to think the situation through. If we want a truly democratic socialist society, we'll have to be committed to empowering people to analyze things politically. And though it is a small step, the place to start is our own organization now. And that means the kind of political education that teaches people to think, not just swallow.

It's not going to be easy. In a socialist movement built along these lines, there are bound to be moments of chaos. But it is a truer kind of organizational discipline to trust that if we all learn to analyze things politically, we'll all be able to act better politically, too. And we also need to carry this attitude over when we work with people who aren't socialists. That's what I like about the work of unionists Bill Perkins and Marty Freundt of Pittsburgh NAM (See *Moving On*,



Judy MacLean is Organizational Secretary of the New American Movement

Left turn

Democracy, discipline & collective action

November, 1978.)

They don't fear debate in their union, even if that means a lot of ideas that they see as wrong come out. They trust their participation in the democratic process and the people they work with to eventually produce the best decision. This was, in fact, one of the worst facets of SWP's approach at the NOW convention—they were so busy preaching that they didn't listen to some fine debates and sophisticated political analysis evolving there.

The kind of discipline where the Party brings a canned rap of Marxist truth to the masses doesn't work anymore, if it ever did. It's being questioned world-wide. For example, a member of the Spanish Communist Party told me that for years that party had one "correct line" on women. Now this party of hundreds of thousands of members, trying to transform itself into a feminist party, advises its women members to join any feminist group they choose. This has led to public disagreements by Spanish Communist Party women about whether the nuclear family should be abolished or preserved. "But it is better than the way things were before," says the party member.

Of course, the point of democracy is to enable us to act together. But we'll do it better if we've thought through why instead of because we are following someone's orders. And if the situation changes, we should have enough belief in the democratic process to tolerate diverse reactions at first, and not just follow the policy made by some leader until we can figure it all out.

In choosing to walk the path towards making all into political thinkers, we've chosen a difficult one. But we should stay on it. Sure, we will make mistakes, but it's the best chance for building a truly democratic socialist movement. And that's a chance well worth taking. □

All the news...

MOVING AND SHAKING

•Santa Cruz NAM member Mike Rotkin is running for city council. Chapter members believe Rotkin has a good chance to win if they can get out the vote and that a slate of socialist and liberal candidates can capture a majority on the council. If Rotkin wins the non-partisan race in March, he'll be the first elected official in NAM and the first socialist on the Santa Cruz city council . . . Eastbay NAM and Middlesex NAM are both helping coordinate stepped-up J.P. Stevens boycott activities. In Boston, the Middlesex chapter held pre-Christmas actions at Jordan Marsh department store. . . . Austin NAM held a demonstration December 7 on the campus of the University of Texas to protest U.S. efforts to interfere in Iran and Nicaragua. The theme was "No More Vietnams, Chiles or Hiroshimas". . . . Buffalo NAM members, working with Coalition for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse (CARASA), organized to stop an Akron-type abortion ordinance. The ordinance, passed by the county legislature, required a woman to get parental or spousal consent and to view pictures of fetuses. A court ruled the law unconstitutional a week later. . . . Karen Silkwood worked in a nuclear plant and died in a suspicious car accident on her way to a New York Times interview, where she was going to blow the whistle on her unsafe working conditions. Since then, the date of her death in November

has been commemorated with actions dramatizing the hazards of nuclear energy. Middlesex, St. Louis and Baltimore NAM all took part in Karen Silkwood memorials this year. . . . At large members in Missoula, Montana helped propel to victory an initiative requiring a referendum among the community involved before a nuclear power plant can be built. The little-noted November victory is the first statewide electoral one for anti-nuke forces.

WRITING AND SPEAKING

•Dorothy Healey of Los Angeles NAM and Peggy Dennis, author of *Autobiography of an American Communist* will speak in Berkeley, California on "The Old Left: Personal Accounts of the Communist Party USA". . . . Political Committee member Judy MacLean's article on National Organization for Women and the women's movement appears in February's *Progressive* magazine. . . . Eli Zaretsky spoke on "Capitalism and the Family" in Los Angeles on December 1.

NEW CHAPTER

•NAM's latest chapter has formed in Bellingham, Washington. Made up of workplace, community and feminist activists, Bellingham NAM plans activities to oppose violence against women

and to fight high electric rates. They also plan a series of forums giving a socialist perspective on current events. . . . Welcome.

GAY/LESBIAN

•NAM's Gay and Lesbian Task Force is a communication network for gay and lesbian activists within and close to NAM. The Task Force coordinated work against the California Briggs Initiative last fall and is currently preparing "Working Papers on Socialism and Gay/Lesbian Liberation" for the spring. Members also get reports from gay activists around the country. To contact the Task Force: Roger Hansen, 3215 N. Charles St., #603, Baltimore, MD 21218 or Christine Riddiough, c/o NAM, 3244 N. Clark St., Chicago, IL 60657.

RESOURCES

•The third edition of *Working Papers on Socialist-Feminism* has been published. It includes "Black Women and Feminism" by Michelle Russell, which first appeared in *Moving On* (Nov. 78). A revised version of *Socialist Working Papers on Energy* is also newly available. It contains strategy, tactics and analysis of the movements against the energy monopolies, around utility rates and nuclear power. Both are available for \$1.00 from NAM, 3244 N. Clark St., Chicago, IL 60657.

Evangelicals . . .

from page fourteen
two party system."

"Racism, poverty, sexism, classism and environmental destruction are pervasive in the U.S. and only fundamental structural change can correct that, writes editor John Alexander.

"My dream is that what happened in the nineteenth century can happen today," says Sider. Theologically conservative evangelicals were an important part of the abolitionist movement, and

formed its core in the Midwest. Sider believes a proper understanding of the experience of conversion can again bring social justice to the top of the evangelical agenda.

Will it? "Don't underestimate their witness, don't overestimate their power," says Martin Marty of the left evangelicals. Their influence is with a tiny, better-educated fraction of the evangelical grassroots, and ministers and students. The evangelical far right has a larger, but still small, fraction of the movement's base and the support of many "Christian businessmen." The

vast majority of the millions who have been born again don't look for political solutions; being born again is the solution.

For now, the evangelicals provide neither a bloc for the far right nor a springboard for a socially conscious left activism. Instead, with their dreams and passions focussed far away from politics by anyone's definition, they act as a kind of buffer against public anger at any government or business policy. Inward-seeking, individualistic, hoping for miracles, the new evangelicals are a huge force for the status quo. □

NAM in Brief

The New American Movement combines a Marxist analysis with careful attention to the current realities of American politics. It combines a deep commitment to its socialist principles with a tactical flexibility in its political approach. It combines a focus on the development of theory appropriate to our times with an activist orientation that stresses involvement in the crucial issues of the day. And it combines a vision of a socialist future based on democracy and human freedom with efforts to project

in our work elements of that future.

NAM has over 35 chapters involved in organizing for labor union democracy, against nuclear power, for abortion rights, against violence against women, for affirmative action, against apartheid in South Africa, and much more. Chapters also organize cultural and educational events that attempt to present a new and challenging socialist perspective on our world.

All of this work is informed and united by certain basic political ideas:

- NAM is committed to working toward a socialist society in which material resources and the decision-making process are democratically controlled by all people.

- We are committed to a socialism that has equality and respect for all people at its core—one that carefully balances the need for collective planning, ownership, and decision-making with a high regard for individual rights and freedom.

- The development of a movement for socialism in America will require the growth of socialist consciousness within the working class—all those who have to sell their labor power (even if they are not directly paid) in order to survive. For it is only a broad-based movement representative of the diversity of the American people that can fundamentally challenge the power of capital.

- American capitalism is a powerful and entrenched system. Yet it is also rife with contradictions. Organization is key to changing power relationships and exposing these contradictions. We are committed to the development of a socialist party that can carry out these tasks, as well as to the growth of the most strong and progressive possible popular organizations.

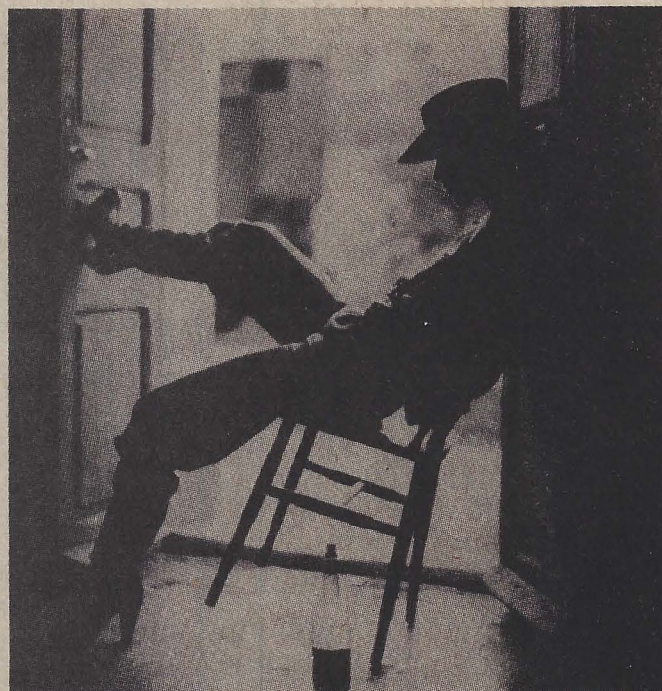
- Democracy is central to the process of building a movement for socialism. Only as working people become active, organized and begin to take control over their lives can a new society take shape.

- NAM sees the struggle for the liberation of women as integral to a socialist movement. We value the contributions of the women's movement in showing how revolutionary change must deal with all aspects of people's lives. And we defend now, and in the socialism we project, the liberation of gay women and men.

- Racism cripples national life—it denies the humanity of minorities and thwarts the potential of the working class as a whole. NAM is committed to fighting against racism and national oppression in all forms.

- The fate of socialism in the United States is tied to the rest of the world. We support struggles for national liberation and human freedom wherever they occur.

- NAM supports the positive achievements of the existing socialist countries. However, we are also critical of various aspects of their policies, and see no one of them as a model for our own efforts.



Just for the looking...

In memoriam

Kate Hyndman
1907-1978

Kate Hyndman, one of three stars of the film, **Union Maids**, died in Chicago, December 8, after a long illness. Hyndman, who organized unemployed people during the Depression, was 70 years old. An immigrant at age six, child of a strongly pro-union coal miner's family, a seamstress fired for fighting the lay-offs of others, Hyndman started neighborhood Unemployed Councils in Chicago and several Midwest states during the early 1930's.

Her efforts on behalf of families evicted from their homes are recalled in dramatic detail in the film **Union Maids**, made by NAM members, Julia Reichert and Jim Klein. The film also documents Hyndman's jailing during the McCarthy period. A Communist Party member since the mid-1920's, Hyndman later left the party and in recent years worked for recognition and friendship with China. Friends will hold a memorial service in the spring.

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