

JUNE, 1979

50 CENTS

Moving On

MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

*Child abuse—
not a family affair*



photo by Scott van Osdol

*Energy: Is small better?
From inside Israel
Gays and the churches*

Toward a socialist America

There are probably few more painful and perplexing international issues concerning the American public—and consequently the American left—today than that of the Middle East. The recent Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, personally mediated by Jimmy Carter has only served to intensify both the internal tension and international attention.

Almost from its inception NAM has held the view that the only real solution in the Middle East is a binational, secular state on that land that is now claimed by both the Israelis and the Palestinians.

However, over the past two years changing world events have stimulated an organization-wide discussion intended to deepen our collective understanding and to revise our position to take into account more recent developments. Many people feel that our present position is too vague and unrelated to current realities and possibilities.

Probably the major differences that now exist in our ranks center around whether Israel as a Zionist state is de facto a racist state and, related to that, whether we should actively support a two-state solution. There is wide agreement on the necessity to involve the Palestinians, in particular the PLO, in any Mid-East negotiations.

There has been substantial change within the PNC—in its willingness to at least consider a two state solution. There are also beginning to be signs of change and dissent within Israel. We have included the interview with Simha Flapan in this issue—despite the fact that some members of our organization would disagree with some of his views—because we think it is very important for all those concerned with this issue to be aware of changing realities.

Roberta Lynch

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The MIDEAST — from inside Israel

Editor's Note: The following is condensed from a live interview conducted by Dorothy Healey on her weekly KPFK radio show with Simha Flapan, editor of New Outlook magazine. Flapan is also a member of MAPAM, a socialist formation in Israel.

The New American Movement is presently engaged in an organization-

Dorothy Healey is a member of Los Angeles NAM and hosts a weekly radio show on radio station KPFA.

wide discussion to clarify our collective understanding of the Middle East conflict. We do not necessarily agree with all the views expressed by Flapan. However, we feel it is vital that more people become aware that there are differences of opinion within Israel and that the American left increase its dialogue with the Israeli left.

Healey: The American newspapers say the Camp David Accords are the most important step for lasting peace. What is your estimate?

Flapan: The treaty is a breakthrough in a seventy-year conflict. But it's only the first step. If the agreement is followed by a solution to the Palestinian problem, it will lead to a durable and comprehensive peace. If not, the agreement will lead to the danger of war not being eliminated, and no real peace will be secured. The real battle will start after the signing, when the Palestinian problem will be on the agenda.

Healey: This treaty has no statement on the Palestinians except for "autonomy." Begin defined it as autonomy for the people, but Israel would maintain control of the territory. Can there be a step forward that ignores the role of the Palestinians?

Flapan: No. The conflict started with the Palestinians and can end only with a solution of the confrontation between the Palestinians and Israelis. The agreement is important because it eliminates the option of war during negotiations on the Palestinian issue.

Healey: Why? It precludes war between Egypt and Israel, but what about other border states?

Flapan: Without the Egyptian army, the danger of war is greatly reduced. The balance of forces is such that the other Arab states have no chance of military victory or political achievement through war. The Camp David agreements provide formulas given to different interpretations between Begin and Sadat. Begin has made it clear the autonomy he's going to suggest will prevent the development of the West Bank and Gaza Strip into an independent Palestinian unity. Sadat will insist on Palestinian rights to self-determination. The agreement contains a built-in conflict. Egypt is as necessarily committed to the Palestinians as Israel is to the Soviet Jews. It cannot abandon them, though many Palestinians fear that.

Healey: Can there be any approach to the Palestinians that does not include the question of the PLO?

Flapan: No. Our magazine organized the only real debate between prominent Israelis and Palestinians. We emerged from it convinced it is impossible to



separate the West Bank from the rest of the Palestinian problem. The West Bank leaders have made it clear that they regard the PLO as their national leadership. They believe the PLO has brought them what the Zionist movement brought the Jewish people: an international recognition of their rights. There is no rival group that would challenge the leadership of the PLO.

The difficulty is that the PLO has not recognized Israel. Nor does Israel recognize the right of Palestinians to a separate state. If autonomy would provide Palestinians with a guarantee of the right to determine their future, under conditions of peace and with the recognition of Israel, they might regard it as a basis for negotiation. If autonomy is just personal and cultural, without free elections and self-determination at the end, I doubt if any Palestinian leader would engage in discussions.

Healey: It seems that what Sadat's visit did was allow channels in Israel for protest against settlement and the treatment of Palestinians within Israel.

Flapan: That is true. Before, the major argument in Israel was that peace was impossible because no Arab leader would talk with Israel, therefore military preparedness was forced on us externally. Sadat destroyed this myth. This had an enormous impact on the Israeli public; the proof is the spontaneous emergence of a movement called Peace Now, which was able to bring hundreds of people into the streets at critical moments during negotiations.

Healey: Sections of the left in the U.S. don't always understand that Arab states like Saudi Arabia as well as the Israeli government find a great weapon in curtailing domestic challenges to their policies by evoking the fear of the foreign enemy.

Flapan: The regime in Saudi Arabia is interested in stability. Therefore, it is interested in peace. But for the Saudi Arabian regime, the solution of the Palestinian problem is a necessary component of peace, simply because the Palestinians, dispersed as refugees throughout the Arab world, are a dangerous ferment. Palestinians live in great concentrations in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait; they are the most educated, intelligent and active element in the society. The Saudi Arabian regime has an interest in a solution to the Palestinian problem, so the Palestinians could occupy themselves with building their own state rather than inciting the Arab masses to changes within the socio-economic system. That's why the conservative regimes in the Persian Gulf support a Palestinian solution.

Healey: I have a feeling that if Americans would focus pressure on our own government to demand the recognition of the PLO as the legal and political expression of the Palestinians, the impact would be as enormous as what you describe as that of Sadat's visit to Israel, opening up the mass expression for peace that the Palestinians themselves want, but find no outlet for because of the constant denial of their right.

Flapan: That's true. The Palestinian

desire for dialog with America has increased considerably. We have the difficulty that sooner or later the Palestinians will have to declare openly whether they accept a solution which provides for security of all states, including Israel. We are trying to promote both a Palestinian-Israeli and a Palestinian-American dialog, in which all sides will adopt a position of mutual recognition.

Healey: The dominant Jewish leadership in the U.S. has been able to create an atmosphere ending any thoughtful discussion here of the Palestinians or the PLO. A distinguished leader of Israeli society, General Peled, holds the position that it is necessary to recognize the PLO. Yet American Jews are not allowed to hear him. They really crushed Breira, the American Jewish peace movement, by making clear to prominent Jewish spokesmen who had identified with it that if they continued they'd be cut off from their temples, etc..

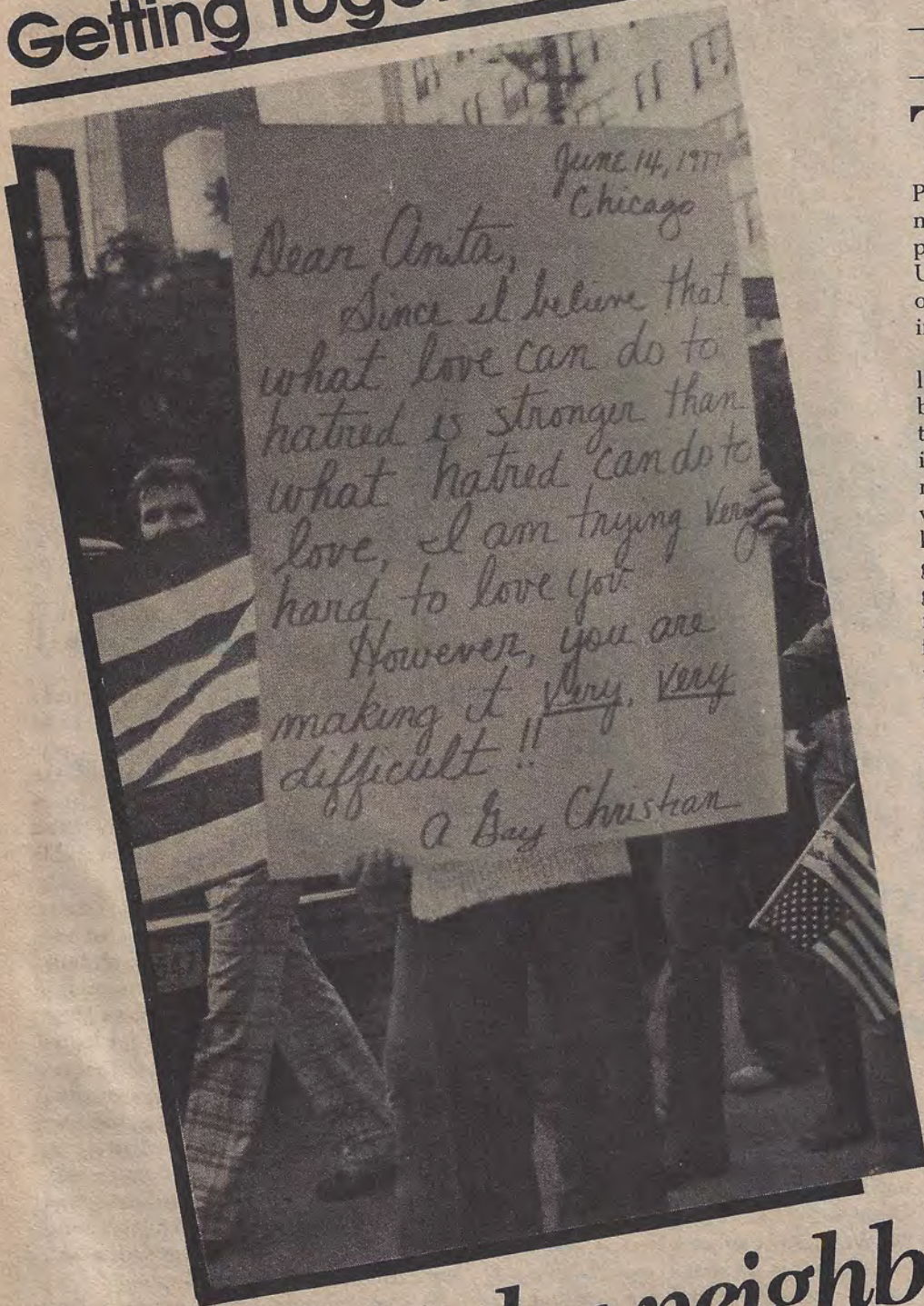
Flapan: I find this completely unjustified and not in the service of Israel and its future. Israel is a pluralistic society. It is true the demand for talks with the PLO and recognition of the right of Palestinian self-determination is still a minority view, but a very respectable minority, including members of the Knesset, intellectuals and political figures. While in the American Jewish community, the word, "PLO", makes people faint. Under the pretext of not intervening in internal Israeli affairs, American Jewry supports one political school in Israel.

This debate affects all Jews. Because if Israel is bent on indefinite occupation of the West Bank, meaning rule over another people, slowly but surely its image will become that of South Africa and Rhodesia. I'd like to know how American Jews who are involved in the fight for civil rights will feel if such a situation develops?

Healey: Will the recent events in Iran have an impact on developments elsewhere in the Middle East?

Flapan: They have far-reaching implications in the whole Middle East, not
continued on page thirteen

Getting Together



Love thy neighbor
—unless. . .

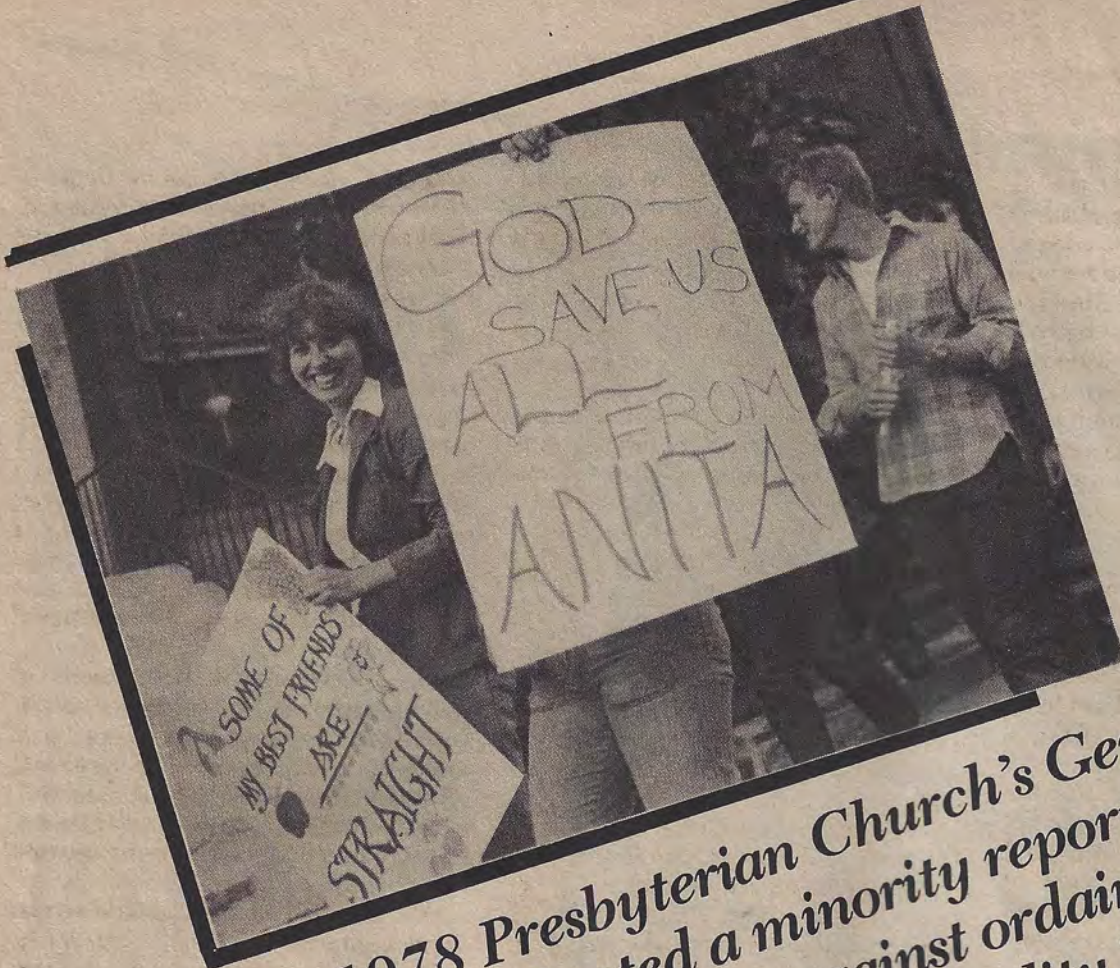
by Mary Hunt

THE EFFECTS OF ANTI-GAY SENTIMENT are probably nowhere more visible today than in the churches. Paradoxically, it is to the churches that many lesbians and gay men look for personal acceptance and social change. Unless this is an exercise in mass masochism, the phenomenon bears further investigation.

The well advertised Christian bottom line, "love God and love your neighbor as yourself", is contradicted at every turn. Scripture passages fly as the picture is drawn of heterosexual heaven. Slick religious magazines feature clonelike, white, affluent mom and dad with 2.5 kids in the station wagon brimming with groceries and a well-fed dog. Demographic statistics notwithstanding, there is little room in the churchspun picture for single parent families, Blacks, or working class public transit riders—much less homosexuals.

The churches, structured around the needs of the nuclear family, are in a unique position to perpetuate contradiction. On the one hand, they are treated as the founders and guardians of values. To reinforce such claims they profess to have a corner on the salvation market.

On the other hand, churches are largely exempt from civil restraints, so that due process and affirmative action guidelines are foreign invaders to be beaten back with a savagery left over



The 1978 Presbyterian Church's General Assembly adopted a minority report which included a statement against ordaining homosexuals since homosexuality "falls short of God's plan."

from the Crusades. This powerful combination of ultimate claims and exemption from commonly held civil procedures gives the churches a dangerously influential place in contemporary culture.

Recent gay setbacks in Wichita, Eugene and Dade County have been fueled not only by church money, but by the "in kind" contribution of church preaching. The noise of anti-gay sermons rang out from many pulpits while in many pews

sat confused, closeted gays, unable to square their life experience and faith commitment with the preachers' words. And Christian lobbying efforts are growing. A new evangelical anti-gay lobby, Christian Voice, is gearing up in Washington D.C. at the same time that plans are afoot for a national march on the capital by lesbians and gay men in the fall of 1979. The lobby claims a million dollars in campaign funds, and expects a million supporters by the end of the year. How much money and how many people will be supplied by local churches?

Even more telling in the church-gay

story are the in-house struggles which divert Christians from their professed path of love and justice. A national "Strategy Conference on Homophobia in the Churches" is planned for May 1979, aimed at stemming the tidal wave of gay oppression which has surfaced in denomination after denomination. The trend is so consistent that as a theologian my worst fantasy is of churches coming together to articulate their points of agreement and finding that the first point of ecumenical consensus is opposition to homosexuality!

In churches which have an ordained clerical caste, clergy are subject to ecclesiastical double jeopardy. The ministerial vocations of lesbians and gay men are thwarted without being tested. It is assumed that their presence would signal the churches' affirmation of

homosexuality, and not without reason.

I suspect that if currently closeted clergy were to come out, some congregations would find that the minister who comforted them in the face of illness or the priest who baptized their baby is also the dyke or faggot of their jokes and fears. Obviously not all clergy are gay, and not all gay clergy are competent ministers. But enough are both gay and competent to make an important statement.

Sacristy closets

It is a safe bet that all denominations have ordained homosexuals. In fact, it takes less than a short semester in seminary to realize that sacristy closets contain more than cassocks. William Johnson's ordination in the United Church of Christ in 1972 paved the way for that church's Council for Church and Ministry to state that "the issue should not be his/her homosexuality as such, but rather, the candidate's total view of human sexuality and his/her understanding of the morality of its expression." (Oct. 1973)

Few denominations have followed suit, though honest lesbians* have been ordained in both the United Church of Christ and the Episcopal Church. Lesbians are a little more acceptable than gay men, only because women are always taken less seriously and are always perceived to be less of a threat to the established order.

The Presbyterian Church's Task Force to Study Homosexuality reached a favorable conclusion on the ordination question. But the study, chaired by Virginia Davidson, was rejected at the 1978 General Assembly in favor of a minority report. The latter included a statement against ordaining homosexuals since homosexuality "falls short of God's plan"—which the writers had undoubtedly received in blueprint form!

The jury is still out in the Episcopal Church. On the heels of the ordination of women, including an honest lesbian, the 1976 General Convention commissioned a study of homosexuality and ordination. Hopes are not high among lesbian/gay Episcopalians because the

committee is made up of such luminaries as a psychiatrist who views homosexuality as a "symbolic confusion." Although the group has held forums around the country, soliciting grass roots input, it is widely feared that the results will simply force more young clerics into the closet.

United Methodist policy forbids the ordination of honest homosexuals. This policy has had repercussions at the seminary level. In May 1978 two gay men at Garrett Evangelical Theological Seminary were suspended, that is, denied a theological education, because the denomination would not ordain them upon graduation.

The Christian Church-Disciples of Christ will soon take up the ordination of gays. In Protestant churches it is the most controversial issue since the ordination of women.

The Roman Catholic Church, a notable holdout on women's ordination, has an equally unimpressive track record on homosexuality. This dual exclusion of women and gays from the ordained ministry makes clear the link between misogyny and homophobia. Woman, identified with body, is considered inferior to man, variously identified with mind and spirit. The flesh is to be overcome in favor of the spirit. Femaleness, the source of fleshly temptation, is to be domesticated in every form.

Weight of uneasiness

Homosexuality functions symbolically to bear the weight of uneasiness that such a society feels toward sexuality, or its female side. Hence, all homosexuals, both female and male, are feminized, that is, marginalized in the way of all women.

In the face of such clear oppression, Catholics can boast the first organization of gay people in any Christian denomination. Dignity, a Catholic gay group, was founded in 1969 for theological support and personal/communal acceptance within the Church. Catholics can also boast a recent study commissioned by the Catholic Theological Society on *Human Sexuality*. While unacceptable to many bishops, and not far

reaching enough for some theologians, the study is an impressive attempt to deal realistically and faithfully with the various aspects of homosexuality.

Many members of religious orders are beginning to come to grips with their own sexuality, particularly challenging within the context of a celibate commitment. Some are working effectively within the gay community.

Women in the Roman Catholic Church are leading the way out of Catholic gay oppression. This is undoubtedly due to women's identification with the experience of exclusion, as well as the fact that women do not have institutional church jobs to lose.

The Diocesan Sisters Council of Rochester, New York published an impressive statement encouraging "participation of persons of homosexual orientation in the life of the Church." (1977). SIGMA, Sisters in Gay Ministry Association, is a newly formed network for support and strategy.

The first nationally advertised retreat for lesbian sisters planned for this spring has drawn predictable protests from ecclesiastical homophobes, but planners proceed undaunted. The National Assembly of Women Religious published an issue of its newsletter on homosexuality, including an article on lesbian sisters. (*Probe*, March 1978). NAWR committed itself "to the struggle of people in sexual minorities who are discriminated against by society and alienated from the Church." These impressive demonstrations of support give new meaning to the slogan "sisterhood is powerful."

While women are taking courageous and creative steps to learn about lesbianism and homosexuality in Roman Catholic circles, the news is not as encouraging on the male side. Boston's "Street Priest" has been under diocesan attack for his work with gays. Men are all too frequently turned down for ordination because of sexual preference, celibacy notwithstanding.

Jesuit John McNeill wrote *The Church and the Homosexual* only to be silenced on the topic by Roman authorities. McNeill is connected with the same

order whose national magazine carried an editorial stating that "...to ordain an advocate of homosexual behavior to the priesthood is a contradiction of the truth the priest is called upon to teach." (*America*, Nov. 19, 1977).

However, gay rap groups and caucuses are beginning to form among male seminarians and male priests. The days of institutionalized homophobia may, happily, be numbered. Gay caucuses exist in almost every major denomination. In addition to the ones named above, all of which have gay groups, the Mormons, American Baptists, Seventh Day Adventists, Lutherans and Brethren-Mennonites have organizations and newsletters of some sort.

Prophetic acceptance

A few denominations have been prophetic in their acceptance of lesbians and gay men. The Quakers proved to be friends indeed by the publication of *Toward a Quaker View of Sex* (1963), long looked to as a religious document which makes sense of the issue. Unitarian-Universalists churches have been consistent advocates of equal rights for homosexuals. In fact, the prestigious First Unitarian-Universalist Church in San Francisco recently called an interim associate minister who happens to be gay. It was in that church that Rev. David Rankin preached his now classic sermon, "A Word for Love and Affection" (May 29, 1977). On the national level there is a Unitarian office for gay concerns, a bureaucratic innovation other denominations would do well to follow.

Some Church-related organizations are beginning to address the gay issue using their credibility and influence, not to mention resources. For example, New Ways Ministries, a Catholic group in Maryland, just received a sizable grant from the National Institute of Health for a two year study of the coming out process and coping strategies of lesbians. Similarly, the Center for Women and Religion at the Graduate Theological Union held a conference on the "Religious Implications of Feminism and Lesbianism" under Ford Grant sponsorship. These are first steps toward

the churches' reparations for damage done over centuries of homophobia.

Isolated instances of tolerance and even a few concerted efforts of welcome will not bring nor keep lesbians/gays in the churches. These women and men have been understandably alienated and many have found new ways to nurture their own spirituality and to develop their own communities beyond the confines of patriarchal, homophobic institutions. Backlash makes this necessary and good sense makes it advisable.

But I, along with many other lesbians and gay men, am unwilling to let the churches off the hook quite so easily. As our lesbian/gay movement becomes a social force to be reckoned with in legislatures and hiring halls, we intend to make it felt in the circles that promise love and justice but deliver hatred and inequality. All we are demanding of the churches is a little consistency, a house in order, given their ability to shape cultural symbols and public opinion, not to mention their claims about salvation!

Why should lesbians/gays men—much less those with socialist politics—bother with the churches at all? A number of reasons suggest themselves, ranging from the pointedly political to the pressingly personal. First, the churches have money and power. They have buildings, publications and resources which can be used for organizing and getting the word out, as well as for meeting basic needs like housing, food and jobs if the backlash really takes hold.

Second, they house already organized groups, many of national and international scope, which can be enlisted for gay lobbying, boycotts and consciousness raising. Church groups have worked with the Farm Workers and more recently on anti-nuclear issues, proving that they can form coalitions across age, race and denominational boundaries, and that they can make themselves heard.

Third, churches offer at least a working vocabulary for social change. That is, the Christian Gospel has a critical/self-critical dimension that can be turned in on itself; in short, Christians can be

held accountable for their actions, a lever that is missing in business and government. That lever is a vision of a just society that can be grounded historically and imaged futuristically.

Fourth, there is in Christianity a history of people struggling on other issues of social justice. Even in cases where the movements began as extremely unpopular and seemingly radical, they were eventually perceived as normative ways in which the Gospel is made manifest. For instance, Martin Luther King's efforts with Blacks and Dorothy Day's work with the poor are classic in the history of Christian turn-about: sinner becomes saint.

Finally, for some lesbians and gay men there is a deep personal commitment to the message of the Gospel, and an even deeper sense of being in a community of solidarity from which to go forth and *do* justice.

The churches need to hear that we have alternatives. Like women in the past ten years, "the best and the brightest" may be forced by personal integrity and structural immobility to put our money and our bodies, not to mention our souls, elsewhere. We may have to leave the churches to their own duplicity and get on with feeding the hungry and visiting the imprisoned without their aid.

The next five years will tell the tale as each denomination grapples anew with the homophobic beast within. In my most pleasant theological fantasy I envision homosexuality as the issue which brings church people and Leftists together in celebration of a struggle for love and justice which has been won. Maybe I'm dreaming.

Mary Hunt is a feminist theologian and a student at Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, CA.

**I prefer the traditionally revered term 'honest' to the usually dubious qualifiers 'avowed' and 'practicing' when referring to homosexuals. 'Avowed' has a religious ring to it which many gays abhor and 'practicing' sounds as if we were unsuccessful the first time around, something even the recent Masters and Johnson research refutes!*

A socialist project?

Dear Organizer's Notebook: What makes a project socialist? We've been fighting rising electricity rates for several years and recently began work in opposition to nuclear power. Some of us feel, though, that there's not enough socialist content to what we are doing. Any ideas? (Interestingly enough, the local power company seems to think our work is socialist—every time we do something they tell the newspapers we're a bunch of reds.)

— K.M.

Dear K.M.: No one project, in isolation, can be socialist. The two keys that distinguish what socialists do from what those who just want to reform capitalism do are strategy and organization.

"There are no socialist projects, there are only projects that are part of a socialist strategy," says Holly Graff, head of NAM's socialist-feminist commission. Many NAM chapters do the kind of organizing around energy you describe, as part of a larger strategy.

Organizing around electric rates

nuclear power can get people involved. A movement for socialism requires that people be active, trying to make changes, pushing capitalism to yield. We all need the experience of taking some control back over our lives before we can imagine restructuring our entire society.

Energy, too, is a crucial weak point of U.S. capitalists right now. They are counting on a high energy, high technology future with lots of export of nuclear reactors to restore and maintain America's role as number one world power. So, organizing around energy is, in a sense, going for the enemy's jugular vein.

A reform like curtailing nuclear power can also show that organized, popular opposition can work, which can give strength to building a movement that openly challenges capitalism.

To make sure the organizing goes in this direction, though, it must be combined with socialist education. Activism leads people to ask basic questions about the system. They won't find any socialist answers on TV or in the local newspaper. It's up to us to make sure a socialist analysis is available. That's why NAM chapters have activities like socialist schools, forums and publications like this one to complement their organizing.

Socialists know that to really change things we'll have to overcome tremendous existing divisions. In the energy movement, socialists have taken the lead in uniting labor and environmentalists around energy issues, instead of letting the energy companies play them off against each other.

Another important consideration is challenging racism. In Pittsburgh, NAM members are involved in building a multi-racial statewide alliance

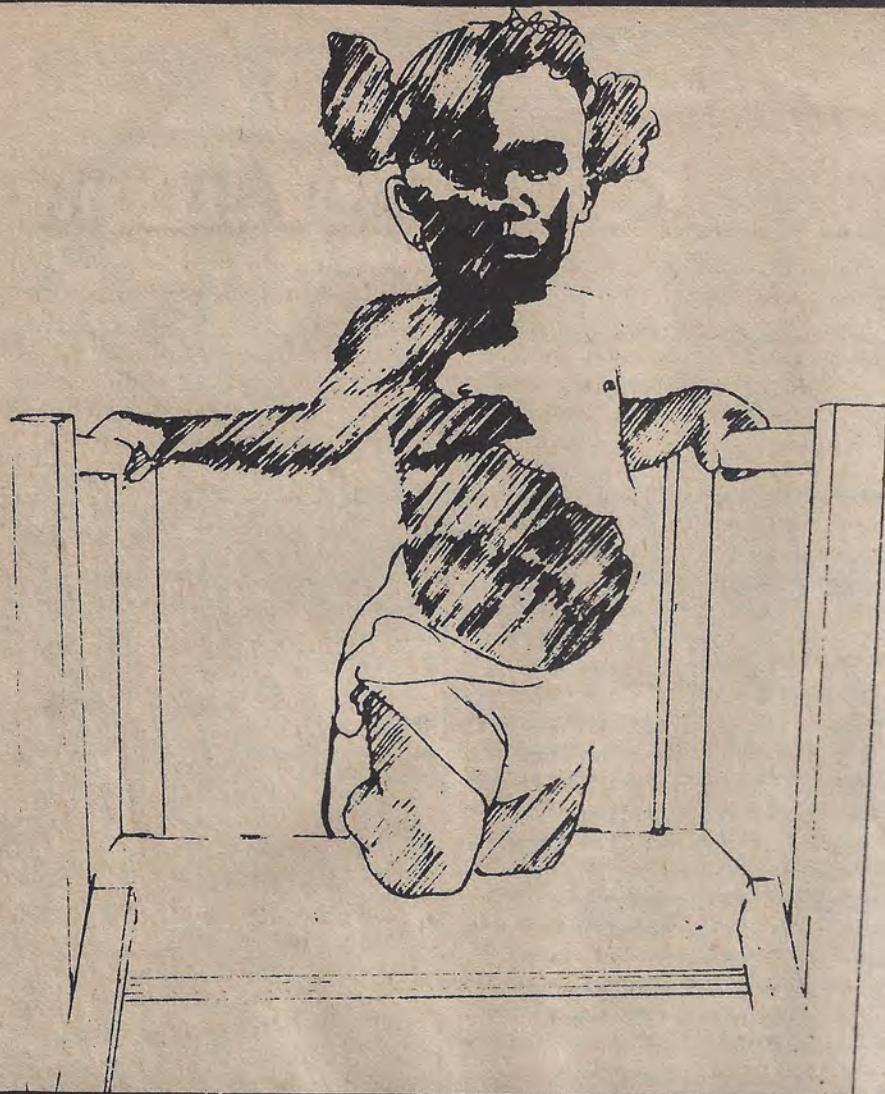
around energy issues. Even NAM's feminist politics are important on such an issue. A few years ago Ohio NAM members challenged the sexism within a statewide energy coalition, formed a women's caucus, and got more women into visible leadership positions.

"If you're not in a socialist organization, you're a socialist sympathizer, not a socialist," says Stanley Aronowitz, head of NAM's Labor Commission. Organization is the second key that distinguishes socialists from reformers.

Socialists need an organization that's open and public, so that when new people get interested in socialism they don't have to know someone personally in order to get involved. We need an organization that promotes study and internal debate. Especially in the U.S., we have a lot of catching up to do on understanding how to apply socialist theory to our country's conditions. We need organization to link us with other activists organizing around other issues, so that all our efforts go toward building a socialist movement. Changing our world is a big task—it doesn't make sense to try to do it in isolation or even in a small group.

Many fine local organizing projects have foundered on the impossible task of being socialist in and of themselves. No small project can do this, and expecting it leads to demoralization. What makes you socialist are the links—strategic and organizational—you are able to create.

Judy MacLean



Suffer the little children

by Connie Flanagan

CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT IS THE latest "sin of the poor" and social welfare discovery. Articles, studies, and treatment approaches abound. But violence against children is not peculiar to the present, or to one social class. Historically, practices of maltreatment, mutilation, and infanticide have been condoned for cultural, economic, and religious reasons. In some cultures infanticide has been used as a means of population control. Bare economic survival forced families to send their children to work at an early age and even to physically maim them so they would be more effective beggars.

While the physical maltreatment of children is no longer economically expedient or religiously condoned in developed countries, child abuse has survived into Twentieth Century America because two tenets remain strong.

The first is that children are their parents' property and have a "diminished capacity" as human beings. The second is that parents are *alone* responsible for the well-being of their children and should provide for them in self-sufficient families.

The very concept of "childhood" as a period of preparation for adult life developed in the fifteenth century when the child's contribution to family survival became less essential. Since that time, the popular attitude toward children has oscillated between viewing them as gifts of God or children of Satan. Proponents of the former recommend that the child's innocence be preserved from the chains imposed by society; those espousing the latter try to break the child's pernicious will, beating Original Sin from his/her soul.

License is still widely given to "beat badness out of children". Brandt Steele and Carl Pollock, two researchers in the

Connie Flanagan works with parents of abused children and is a member of NAM in Colorado Springs, CO.

Looking for America

area of child abuse, quote these consistent attitudes of parents in their studies:

"You have to teach kids to obey authority. I don't want my kids to grow up to be delinquent."

"If I give in to my kids, they'll be spoiled rotten."

Because most discipline occurs within the privacy of the family and because of the wide range of parental attitudes and practices, it is difficult to establish exactly what constitutes abuse and how often it occurs. National estimates range from 60,000 to one million individual cases per year.

It was only in the early '50's that "caretaker assault" began to be labelled as the responsible agent for the bone fractures accompanied by subdural hematomas with which children constantly turned up in hospital emergency rooms. Between 1962 (when Dr. Henry Kempe described the "battered child syndrome") and 1967 all fifty states enacted or refined their child abuse and neglect reporting statutes. These statutes all have a common focus on the reporting of suspected abuse and immunity from liability for those reporting.

Abuse of children occurs across class, race, sex, and age lines. Poor and working class people are more often "turned in"—either by neighbors who are not sworn to "mind their own business" or because they are public agency clients. It is impossible to minimize the instigating effects of unemployment, sickness, sole-responsibility parenting, or other stress. (It's no surprise that when the economy slows down, the number of

referrals of "families in trouble" increases dramatically.)

After a suspected case of parental assault on a child has been reported, the police or sheriff are typically empowered to enter a home, make a determination, and remove the child to protective custody if they determine that necessity. Justice is considered served when the child is placed in foster care to protect him/her from a parent who exhibits "deviant" behavior.

Abuse as disease

Child abuse is considered a disease. The treatment of choice is to isolate the child in foster care and court order the parent(s) to see a shrink and more. (I have worked with parents who never left home without their calendar of appointments—with the D.S.S. caseworker, with the Mental Health therapist, with the Parenting instructor, with the school principal and counsellor, with the foster parents, for food stamps, for the baby's immunizations at the County Health Dept., with Legal Aid, with their pastor, etc. They wanted their child back and they wanted to be "on time" for every appointment expected of them.)

There is no question that the state should act so that the safety and welfare of children is guaranteed. And, there are bizarre cases of beatings and murder of children (often sensationalized by the media) that require drastic action. But most parents do not choose to hurt their children. So why does the state wait until the child is a victim of his/her parent's inability to cope any longer?

Intervention by society that is "for the child" should not have to be "against the parent."

Title IV-B Section 425 of the Social Security Act defines child welfare as "public social services which supplement, or substitute for, parental care and supervision." With this jurisdiction the Child Welfare system has primarily provided substitute care for children rather than supportive and supplemental care for families. In 1975 there were 350,000 children in foster care—with only a fifty percent chance of the child returning to his natural family.

Foster care placement is, for the most part, abrupt, unsupported, and lacking in long term plans for the child. When the court awards physical custody to the state, a single county protective service worker is charged with finding a placement for the child, helping to rehabilitate the family, monitoring the child's progress in foster placement, reporting to the court, locating and authorizing any needed special services, and generally keeping track of the family's files. It should come as no surprise then that in a recent survey of 3300 county child protection departments, there was a 50 - 100% turnover in caseworkers each year.

David Gil, who has studied child abuse in the context of an abusive and violent society, calls most treatment programs "smokescreens." "That's our speciality in America—the ability to interpret any problem as an individual problem, responsive to individual treatment. That way we can continue to believe in our social system. You might say that rationale is unavoidable in a competitive, inegalitarian system."

Abuse of children is not an individual aberration. It is woven in the fabric of our social order—a society in which:

- 75% of the 1,700,000 mentally retarded children live in slums.
- 51.5% of the families headed by a woman are living below the poverty line.
- five million children suffer from malnutrition that contributes to perm-

It's impossible to minimize the effects of unemployment, sickness, single-parenting, or other stress, in understanding the causes of abuse.

anent brain and body damage.

- 1.8 million "latch-key" children (ages 6 - 13) have no after school care and 600,00 pre-school children care for themselves while their mothers work.
- 300 - 400 children die every year from lead poisoning and another 6000 suffer irreversible nerve damage and retardation.
- pregnant women on food stamps get less than two-thirds of the calories needed for normal fetal development.
- the top one-fifth of American families receives 48% of all family income and the bottom one-fifth receives under 4%.

In 1972, when 60,000 suspected cases of child abuse within families were reported, there were 58,000 children being held in jails or detention centers, an estimated 50,000 - 70,000 in homes for retarded, and 285,000 in state-sponsored foster care. The statutes of all fifty states require the reporting of suspected abuse by individual parents; not one mandates the reporting of institutional abuse.

Recently, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency estimated that 100,000 children/year who have not been convicted of any crime are held in detention centers or jails. When corporal punishment in schools is upheld by the Supreme Court, one shudders at the free reign of detention center discipline.

Hose pipes and dungeons

In *Our Children's Keepers* Larry Cole documents some of the abuse at these facilities established to "rehabilitate" youth. He observed runaway girls in a Colorado facility who were locked in solitary, sometimes up to eighty days. In a Louisiana state training school children were beaten with hose pipes, put in dungeons, and refused medical care. Boys placed there for sniffing glue were given Methedrine if they refused to work.

Many state institutions for retarded children run a close second to detention centers in the abuse of their residents. Despite an investigative report and a lawsuit by parents of children at the Willowbrook School on Staten Island



(where 5,000 children lived in space designed for 3,000), the judge ruled that while the retarded have a constitutional right to reasonable protection from harm, they have no right to treatment either independently or on due-process or equal protection grounds.

While there is an "open door" policy governing the investigation of suspected abuse in a family's home, only investigative reporters ever bring institutional abuse to our attention.

"When it is realized how difficult woman's present situation makes her

self-realization, how many desires, rebellious feelings, just claims she nurses in secret, one is frightened at the thought that defenseless infants are abandoned to her care." write Simone de Beauvoir in *The Second Sex*.

Can anything be done? Any person who's been a 24 hr./day 7 day/week parent knows that the line between discipline under frustration and abuse is very thin. (While women do the bulk of parenting in this country, it should be noted that they are no more highly represented in the statistics of child abuse than are men).

The most consistent and revealing finding of all the studies and treatment approaches is that parents who hurt their children are isolated from support. Convinced that they alone are responsible for their children's care, they see asking for help as a sign of personal failure. Child abuse is less common in families that have other relatives living with them.

Blow their cool

In 1970 a woman in southern California put this ad in her local paper: "Mothers Anonymous—for moms who blow their cool with their kids, call . . ." She received over 200 calls. Most major cities now have chapters of M.A. or P.A. (Parents Anonymous), as it is more frequently called. These groups provide mutual support and nurturance, especially in stressful times. The members care for each other's children and get together regularly in large family gatherings.

Another program at the N.Y. Foundling Hospital was designed to keep the family together by providing surrogate mothers, an in-resident facility for mothers and their children (like a safe house), and an out-patient program. Hot lines or lifelines, homemaker services, and drop-in child care centers in various cities provide parents with a contact in the "outside" world and some respite from the enervating effects of sole-responsibility child care.

All *Our Children*, the 1977 report by Kenneth Keniston and the Carnegie Council on Children, convinced that the self-sufficient family is a myth from the past, recommends that the nation develop a family policy as comprehensive as its defense policy—one in which the concept of "universal entitlement" replaces the current programs that require some social stigma for eligibility. They assert that a real public policy for the sake of children would include: full and fair employment with a decent minimum income level for all; a national health insurance plan to guarantee that all children get proper health care; more flexible working conditions and adequate day care.

But the walls around the rose garden of the "self-sufficient" family have not come tumbling down. In March the Cranston-Roybal bill to provide Federal funds for day care for low-income working mothers died under attack from the right. The Pro-Family Forum inundated the offices of Congress with flyers claiming that an international conspiracy of feminists, homosexuals, and socialists seek to control the minds of preschool children before parents have "brain-washed" them with beliefs in God, family, and country. The message to Congress went on: "Children are not a natural resource belonging to the people; nor do they belong to the government. they are God-given treasures entrusted to parents who are responsible for their development."

Almost one-third of the people in the U.S. are under 18. Ninety-eight percent of these children live in a family, whatever its definition, style, or shape. Those families are not germ-free bubbles, safe from societal influences. It is not that parents have abdicated responsibility; it is simply that they are increasingly forced to come face to face with the reality that their choices are circumscribed by conditions beyond their individual control—the hours of their work, the quality of available child care, the attitudes of obstetricians in town, the third grade teacher's racist attitude in teaching history, the Saturday cartoon ghetto and its sugar-coated commercials. (How do you think your basic mother compares to the Marvelous Magical Burger King who "can do most anything"?)

Parents, as a group, are guilty wherever they turn: why are they absent from work so often? why don't they discipline their kids? why do they scold the little dears so much? why do they bring their crying babies in public where they disturb others? how can they go to work and neglect their children? why don't they go to work and become fulfilled?

As long as the problem is seen in individual rather than social terms—both at the level of causes and the level

of solutions—it will not be eradicated.

A mother is quoted in Robert Coles' *Children of Crisis*: "My children have troubles. In school they tell them they need to have their eyes looked at, and their teeth, they say I'm not feeding them the right food. . . . I'm trying, I am. I'm going to do it; I'm going to get the children looked at someplace, in a hospital, and buy them the clothes that they need. All I lack is the money, then I can go and do those things they tell you to do: take the taxis, and visit the teachers, and go to the hospital, and demand your rights at the welfare office, and all that."

From inside Israel

from page four

because Iran will become an active factor in Middle East developments. Iran faces too many domestic problems now for that. But the example of a popular uprising which stood up against a powerful military machine will certainly stimulate other people in the Middle East who also have autocratic regimes. A number of Arab regimes in the Persian Gulf and in Jordan, too, they have great reason to fear, unless they come up with economic and social programs to meet the needs of their people.

Another lesson from Iran is that the people of the Middle East have no interest in playing the great power game. They want to use their national resources for their own development. This seems to be a very popular mood in the Middle East, even among conservative regimes.

Note: Subscriptions to New Outlook can be ordered from 8 Karl Netter St., Tel Aviv, Israel. Flapan is also the author of Zionism and the Palestinians, a new book published by Barnes and Noble.

SMALL IS BETTER

by Rhys Scholes

BIG BUSINESS SAYS BIGGER IS BETTER: environmentalists maintain that small is beautiful. What are the values and priorities represented by these positions? Does it make a difference whether the questions are answered for a socialist or a capitalist society?

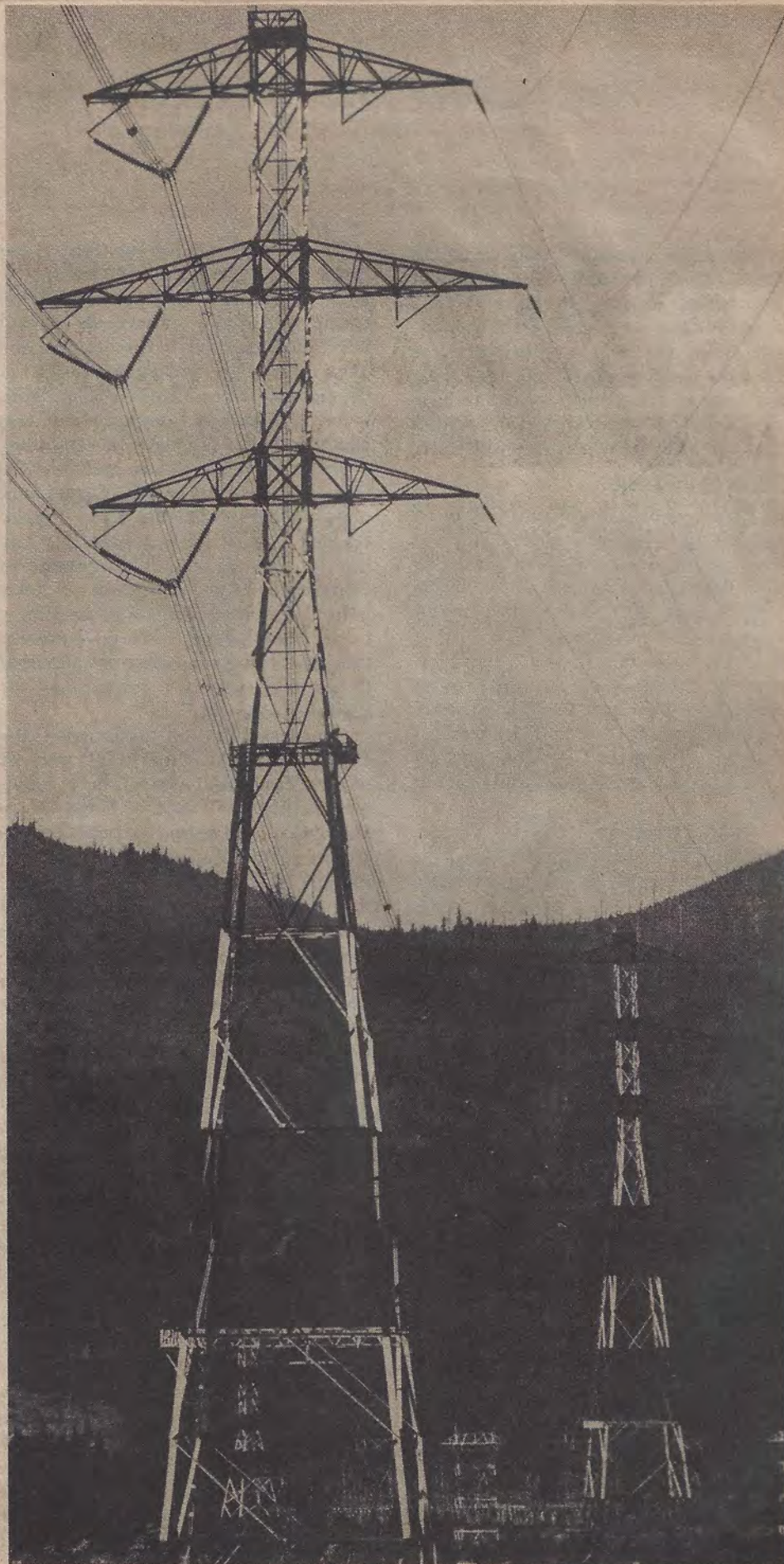
In my view the link between largeness, centralization, and efficiency is only inherent under capitalism, where profit and control must be maximized. Democracy and maximization of human potential is most often possible using small scale, decentralized production. In our socialist society we will have to evaluate each production need to determine where efficiency *and* democracy, as well as human health and safety, are *actually* served by large scale organization.

This discussion will concern the scale of units of production and how it relates to decision-making as well as efficiency. Energy production, distribution, and use are both issues and examples, since energy is subject to both centralized and decentralized patterns of organization, and increased energy use results from centralization in other industries.

When a business entity talks about efficiency, it is apt to use a term like "cost-effective". Simply put that means that the cost of materials, labor, and overhead for a specific production is less than the price that can be charged for the finished product. A more progressive approach would measure efficiency of a production method on two very different scales.

First, it would take account of the relative risks and benefits for the totality

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ENERGY

of ourselves and our environment, that is, the global ecosystem. Secondly, it would consider the effect on the freedom and growth of the individual workers involved.

In manufacturing, centralization has walked hand in hand with the substitution of machines for human labor. In some instances there are justifications for this, for instance removing people from work that is dangerous. But such considerations are seldom the motivation for capitalists.

This process of automation has two effects that concern us here: increased energy consumption and decreased employment. The increased use of energy has far reaching social ramifications that we will consider at some length. The problem of unemployment is easier to see; it is linked with crime, broken families and social decay in general.

In addition to these direct effects, the whole working class suffers a loss of political power as competition between workers for remaining jobs increases and demands of industry move more

continued on page eighteen

CHEAPEST IS BEST

by Dan Luria and Lee Price

SOLAR ENERGY IS BEING HAILED AS A panacea for many of the nation's ills: undue dependence on foreign oil, rising fossil fuel prices, environmental pollution, and unemployment.

SIZING UP THE FUTURE

While solar energy advocates are correct in predicting cost-competitive solar facilities in the U.S. within the next decade, their linking of solar energy development with job creation is politically retrogressive, logically flawed, and based on an inaccurate method of counting labor inputs.

The appeal of solar energy is obvious. First, the "feedstock" is inevitably public: international embargoes are impossible, and there are no supply-side pressures for a rising relative price. Second, solar energy appears to be far more environmentally benign than hydrocarbon-based energy sources, with the exception of natural gas.

It is important to note that no one disputes these facts; *everyone* is for increased use of solar energy. What is controversial are the sufficiency, the timetable, and the *forms* of solar power. This controversy is really about jobs and costs.

One prominent solar energy advocate opposes the increasing use of synthetics (e.g., plastics in place of leather) because "it favors industries with high labor

productivity—that is, those industries that use little labor relative to their output." Other solar proponents make the same argument, often presenting data, such as those below, alleged to show that industries built around conventional fuels are capital-intensive and hence do little to provide jobs:

Industry	Capital Investment Per Employee
Petroleum	
Petroleum	\$108,000
Public Utilities	
Petroleum	\$108,000
Public Utilities	105,500
Chemicals	41,000
Primary metals	31,000
Stone, clay, glass	24,000
All manufacturing	19,500
Food	18,000
Textiles	11,000
Wholesale & retail trade	11,000
Services	9,500
Apparel	5,000

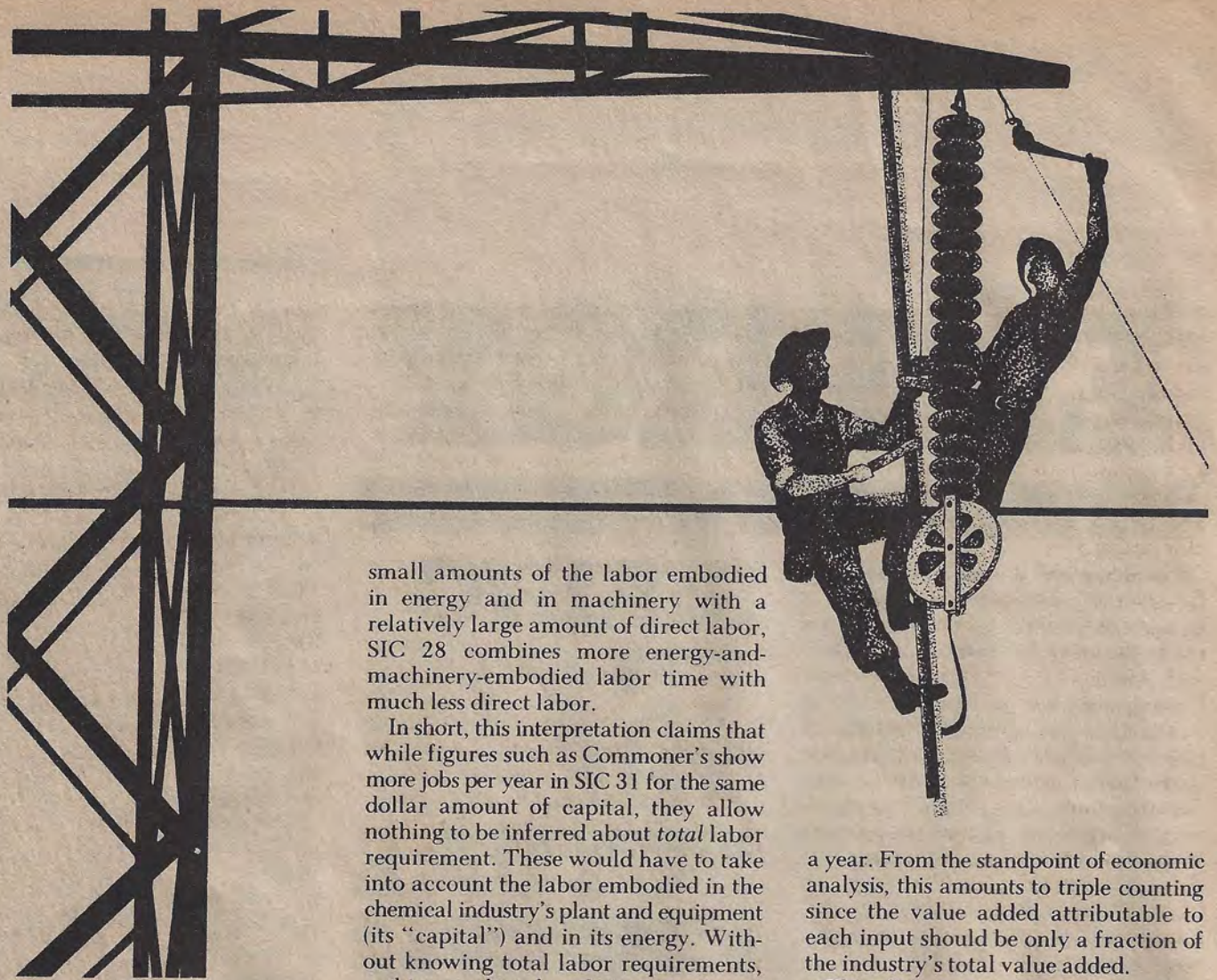
Source: *People & Energy*, 3:2 (1977).

People & Energy says: "It is clear from these figures that it takes about 21 times the amount of investment to create a job in the petroleum industry than it does to create a job in the apparel industry."

Two distinct points are being made here. First, labor-intensive industries produce more jobs (in those industries) per dollar of output. Second, advocates of labor-intensity are calling for the substitution of labor—seen as being in over-supply—for allegedly scarce energy and capital. Society, they say, should seek to direct investment to industries that have a high ratio of labor costs to total costs.

To explore these two points, consider the table below, presented by Barry Commoner as evidence that society

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should discourage substituting plastics for leather. (See Table 2).

Commoner concludes that "leather is much more efficient in converting energy and capital to value added, and less efficient in labor productivity." Where the chemicals industry squanders scarce energy and capital and creates few jobs, the leather industry provides many jobs while conserving energy and capital resources.

Another interpretation consistent with the table, however, is that the output of SIC 28 (Chemicals) embodies just as much labor time per dollar as SIC 31 (Leather), but that more of that labor time comes *earlier* in the production process. While SIC 31 mixes relatively

small amounts of the labor embodied in energy and in machinery with a relatively large amount of direct labor, SIC 28 combines more energy-and-machinery-embodied labor time with much less direct labor.

In short, this interpretation claims that while figures such as Commoner's show more jobs per year in SIC 31 for the same dollar amount of capital, they allow nothing to be inferred about *total* labor requirement. These would have to take into account the labor embodied in the chemical industry's plant and equipment (its "capital") and in its energy. Without knowing total labor requirements, nothing can be inferred about the "wage bill" (defined as the number of jobs—both current jobs and those past jobs embodied in plant and equipment—times average earnings per job).

Triple counting

Commoner's table does provide us a clue about wage rates. The \$27.75 entry in the Chemicals column was obtained by dividing the industry's annual value added by the number of work hours used in it over a year. Similarly, the \$6.25 figure in the Leather column represents that industry's value added-to-hours ratio. The other entries were derived in much the same way, by dividing value added by the value of "fixed capital" (plants and equipment) and by millions of BTUs of energy consumed in

a year. From the standpoint of economic analysis, this amounts to triple counting since the value added attributable to each input should be only a fraction of the industry's total value added.

This allows us to say something about wages. Since an industry's revenues must pay for labor power, capital goods inputs, and energy inputs—not to mention some that is siphoned off as profit—we know right away that the average wage rate in Leather cannot exceed \$6.25 per hour, and hence that hourly labor compensation in the Chemicals industry is probably higher than in Leather. In Leather we start at \$6.25 per hour and then must deduct value paid for capital goods and energy inputs; in Chemicals, we start at \$27.75 and thus more is likely to be left to pay out to labor.

In fact, average hourly wages in 1977 were about \$3.60 in Leather and \$6.30 in Chemicals. Adding fringe benefits brings the figures to about \$4.75 and \$9.50. The call for labor intensity, then, amounts to the statement that society is better off when more workers are in low-wage industries (and when fewer are making machines).

The basis of the solar advocates' claim of an employment bonanza is really a confusion about "capital." *There is no such thing as capital:* what

Table 2

Output (value added) in Chemicals Industry (SIC 28)	Input	Output (value added) in Leather Industry (SIC 31)
\$27.75	1 man-hour	\$ 6.25
0.80	\$1 of "fixed capital"	3.64
4.85	1,000,000 BTUs	62.04

is commonly called "fixed capital"—machines, tools, and plants—is simply *earlier* labor. The output of the chemicals industry embodies approximately the same amount of total labor per dollar as the output of the leather industry, the auto industry, the shoe industry, etc. It merely embodies less of the *most recently and locally expended* labor than the other industries.

The argument is similar for energy. Consider oil: like labor or plant and equipment (indirect labor), it is an input in the production process. Like labor and "capital," it is of economic importance because it is not free.

And it is not free precisely because in order to convert oil from a worthless underground mass into a useful productive input, "labor" and "capital" must be expended. The petroleum used in the production of goods and services, then, is essentially another form of labor. (Although its price often includes substantial "rents" that vary *inversely* with the amount of labor used to extract it).

With this in mind, it is worth asking just what is meant by the concepts of "capital shortage" and "energy shortage." What do solar advocates mean when they characterize capital and energy as scarce and labor as being in over-supply? Certainly, "capital shortage" can't mean not enough plants and machines: since 1945, an average of 20 percent of these have been idle at any given time. Similarly, "energy shortage" cannot mean an absolute dearth of potential BTUs: between hydrocarbons, sunlight, ocean water temperature differentials, and wind, there is more "energy" than can ever be used.

What the terms "capital shortage" and "energy shortage" really mean is that there is not enough labor—living workers, existing plants and equipment, and already-extracted energy—to make more plants and equipment and to extract more energy without a major reallocation of society's resources.

U.S. Government employment figures on the oil and gas extraction industry (SIC 13) bear out this view: from 1972

to 1978, domestic oil output declined 8.3 percent and domestic natural gas production fell 13.2 percent, but employment in these areas grew 52 percent.

The focus on labor and capital intensity *per se* is misplaced. Capital intensity tends to be associated with other characteristics of projects: more skilled and better paid labor, more machinery, and more debt. Projects should be evaluated on the basis of *these* characteristics, not on the poor correlate, "capital intensity."

Workers should not favor projects simply because they have a higher labor to output ratio. On the contrary, long-term increases in real wages stem directly from *reductions* in the amount of labor required for a given level of output.

Nor should the decentralization/centralization debate be confused (as it has been) with the issue of labor-and-capital-intensity. A solar panel on every roof is certainly a decentralized energy concept; but the amount of labor, required to build and install those collectors makes for huge capital expenses.

Squandering labor

As a *short-term* social policy to relieve severe unemployment, projects that use more labor may be temporarily preferable. However, formulation of *long-term* national energy policy should be concerned with *minimizing* labor requirements. A policy that aims to increase the ratio of total labor to output is tantamount to paying to have holes dug only to be filled up again. Rather than squandering labor by increasing the ratio of labor to output, long-term policies to create jobs should reduce the hours of labor per job and/or increase needed output.

The amount and distribution of required labor hours and output, as well as the distribution of income, must be decided politically not by energy sector "technical fixes." In addition, high living standards have to be understood to include more than high incomes from long work hours; non-working time and the potential for more and more of it over time are of no small importance. This

will be even more true in a socialist context: running a democratic society takes lots of unpaid time.

In the final analysis the least labor-wasting energy projects are preferable. Once costs are accurately enumerated, "cheapest is best."

What does this imply? First and foremost it implies that a variety of energy sources and technologies are needed if we are not to consign the use values of existing equipment and structures to premature obsolescence. It would be folly, for example, to throw away the U.S.'s \$51 billion natural gas pipeline system or to junk the country's even more expensive stock of electric machinery.

Electricity will continue to grow in importance, its share of total demand rising perhaps one percent faster each year than the total. Price pressures on oil and natural gas can be expected to swell the proportion of new homes heated/cooled electrically. In addition, even slow progress in battery technology can be expected to result in eventual substitution of a significant part of the fuel-burning auto stock by electric vehicles. Finally, increased use of solar energy, ironically, will significantly increase electricity demand. For at least the next several decades, solar energy will be relatively restricted to decentralized water-and-space-heating/cooling applications and, to the extent that it does not provide all of the heating/cooling required, it will have to be supplemented with back-up systems; and the economics favor electricity (probably more and more in the form of heat pumps).

Our insistence on least cost energy, and our interest in seeing the commercialization of environmentally benign sources such as solar, lead us to argue for the *desirability of further electrification*. In this, we oppose some, including most who subscribe to the so-called "soft path theories," who are against increased use of electricity based on opposition to the centralization of power implicit in large generating plants, the "thermodynamic overkill" implicit in (mis)matching the forms and end uses of energy. Besides being convinced that

further electric generating capacity will be needed, we see the form/end use issue as largely irrelevant: if it is *economically* more efficient to have a mismatch, thermodynamic overkill is not a problem. Finally, while electric utilities clearly did overbuild new capacity in the 1960s (at least, relative to 1960-1980 demand), this does not prove the anti-electricity camp's point. In fact, as hydro-carbon fuels grow scarcer and more costly, a premium should be placed on those forms of energy consumption that are not tied to a specific feedstock. That is, we may want to *encourage* greater electrification to increase flexibility.

From the foregoing, we can narrow our focus. While passive solar may be cheaper than electric heat in some parts of the U.S., and while coal-and biomass-derived methane may become a significant complement to "natural" natural gas, the fact remains that more electric generating capacity is going to be necessary in the future. Our approach to energy policy, therefore, must give careful consideration to the central question of how electricity should be generated and distributed.

Until solar photovoltaic systems can generate base load power at or below 6¢/kwh one can't choose solar *over* the non-renewables without eroding living standards. Nor can one appeal to the vision of a small scale all solar economy; the need to generate, store and distribute electricity in the pre-photovoltaic period does not allow such a utopian evasion of reality. In the real world we must face the task of regulating giant utilities and of eventually socializing large scale modern industry. Only in an illusory dream world is the solution to energy problems only a rooftop collector away.

SMALL IS BETTER

from page fifteen

towards employment for technicians and managers. Automation becomes an effective wedge to fracture the working class.

The replacement of many small workplaces with a few large ones increases the distance workers must travel. In addition to affecting energy consumption, this also has a direct effect on the workers. They must pay their own commuting cost, decreasing their real income, and commute on their own time, a form of unpaid labor. Thus centralization has the effect of increasing hours and decreasing pay.

Traffic jam paradox

Even worse, those unpaid commuting hours are often spent in traffic jams, each worker in an individual metal box, collectively obstructing each other as they pursue a common goal. For those of us who would like to argue that collective effort for a common goal is a positive thing, this paradox is scarcely worth encouraging.

The traffic jam is one good example of how centralization increases alienation and each workplace is filled with many more. Capitalist production methods have taken all sense of craft and worker participation in the labor product and relegated them to myths of corporate advertising. More and more, work is only for the sake of the paycheck with little concern for product and no sense of satisfaction. The rapidly creeping "personal growth" movement may be related to reduction in personal worth that centralization has brought to the workplace.

Alienation is not the only result of the deteriorating quality of life fostered by centralization. A California study of agricultural efficiency demonstrated that the large scale, agri-business approach is not consistently superior. While some crops, such as corn or wheat, are best cultivated on large farms of many thousand acres, other crops, like tomatoes, are most efficiently grown on much smaller "family" farms.

The impact of large scale mechanical tomato production is evident in the

produce sections of our supermarkets. The new hard square tomato is best suited to the large automated picking and storing equipment, but its taste and texture suggest that it is fortified with the same waste cellulose used in so many of the new high fiber breads and cereals.

The pulp tomato is one clear indication of how centralization affects each of us in subtle ways that we don't always recognize. The growth of energy consumption—and the way that growth is met—provides a far more direct and dramatic example.

Automation increases energy consumption because when more electricity is demanded, a new source of power generation is built. New generation is always more expensive than the current cost and the difference is often quite significant. Under most present utility pricing structures the new cost and the old cost are averaged out—and everybody's bill goes up.

It is ironic that the workers who are displaced by automation then find themselves called upon to share the cost of providing energy to run those machines. It is doubly ironic that while this unemployed worker is bemoaning this increased electric bill, she or he can turn on the television and see an industry ad proclaiming the need for nuclear power so that we can have cheap electricity and more jobs.

Since nuclear power is one of the capitalists' most "cost-effective", centralized methods of energy production, it is interesting to analyse it in terms of the two previously indicated progressive scales of efficiency and compare it to decentralized alternatives. This kind of analysis can demonstrate that its *apparent* efficiency, much touted by industry, is a result of judging it on a far too limited scale.

Subsidized nukes

When the nuclear industry talks about the low cost of nuclear power, it never mentions the hidden costs paid out of our tax money. Nuclear research and development have been extensively financed by taxes. The cost of fuel enrich-

ment is heavily subsidized and the ultimate cost of radioactive waste disposal will be borne in large measure by the taxpayers.

Perhaps the highest cost—which the capitalists don't consider and socialists must—is the effects of widespread radiation—cancer, premature aging, and genetic mutation. We cannot begin to assign a value in dollars and cents on this effect: we can't afford not to recognize it.

Nuclear power proponents argue there is no "cost-effective" alternative. Let's look at some of the less centralized energy alternatives and see how their efficiency compares.

Energy conservation and increased energy production are the two possible solutions to the problem of insuring that energy supply meets energy demand. The conservation solution is thoroughly decentralized, concerned with the widest variety of end uses, and depends on a myriad of individual and collective decisions. The option of producing more energy—resting with a few energy monopolies—is just the opposite.

If a nuclear plant is chosen to meet energy needs, a large number of workers will be required to come into an area for a short period of time to construct the plant. While many different trades are involved, much of the work is specialized and will be done by itinerant workers. These people will help create a "boom town" situation which can be highly destructive of social conditions. After the plant is constructed there will be jobs for only a very few local people,

The nuclear industry never mentions the hidden costs paid out of our tax money for nuclear research and development.

with most of the work going to imported nuclear scientists and technicians.

Conservation, on the other hand, provides stable employment. The capital investment required to become an insulating contractor, for instance, is relatively modest and within reach of many. The skills involved in doing this work are easily learned and can provide jobs for the least employable sectors of society.

Conservation has none of the hidden costs we have described for nuclear, so it is most efficient on the largest scale. And it enhances each person's freedom and choices, so it is also efficient on the smallest scale, that of the individual.

Decentralized alternatives

Solar and wind energy are among the decentralized production alternatives to centralized nuclear or coal power generation. They are widely held by the energy industry to fail the test of cost-effectiveness—which means they produce little profit. Solar energy is most appropriate for space and water heating of dwellings and we have the technology to use it now. The energy monopolies are opposed to this course. Decentralization threatens to break their previous stranglehold on our energy needs. Once the solar collector is in place, there is no fuel to buy for it, no rates to raise. Further, the technology is simple enough that lots of local enterprises can become involved in manufacturing and installing the units.

Because small scale entities potentially function more democratically, they are the most appropriate form for democratic socialism and the struggle for socialist-feminism.

First, small groups provide for trust. There is no substitute for working with people you know. Personal respect insures that even deeply held disagreements can be resolved rationally and beneficially.

Second, collective discussion is an invaluable tool for uncovering all the aspects of a problem and expanding the tools of thought and analysis. When we all share our opinions and pool our

knowledge we can make sense of things that would be beyond the grasp of any single individual. When this takes place in a task-oriented context, such as a work place, this democratic form can in and of itself result in increased efficiency.

Third, the small group work builds democracy because it builds a sense of empowerment in each individual. When good process is used, it becomes clear to all that each person is important to the work of the group. In a culture that has often made people feel that they are irrelevant to some grand scheme operating outside them, this assurance of personal worth is our best defense against alienation.

These theories have been and continue to be demonstrated in the practice of contemporary social action movements. Consciousness-raising in the women's movement provided an invaluable context for scores of women to realize for the first time that their thoughts and feelings had validity, in spite of years of cultural messages to the contrary. The use of small groups helped the movement develop non-hierarchical structures and promoted improved personal relationships.

Because many people with deeply held misgivings about the way things operate are isolated from others with similar feelings, they never consider the possibility that things can be changed. Anti-nuclear activists have sought to build organizational structures that fight alienation and encourage broad participation in decision making. The use of small group structures, such as affinity groups, has proved invaluable in organizing demonstrations and occupations that involve hundreds or thousands of people without the alienation that could easily occur.

Socialists should work for decentralized organization under capitalism to provide fertile ground for the seeds of a new social order. When we each learn that change is possible through collective action, we can begin to actualize our vision of a genuinely efficient and democratic society.

We get letters...

Other Considerations

I was pleased to see the article by Tony LeMay on "Bringing Back the Draft" (May, 1979), because it shows how international events and the state of the economy impinge on a "civil liberties" issue like the draft. LeMay provides a useful—and scary—description of how the military wants to use the draft to erode individual freedoms, militarize large sections of the society, and try to cover up the economic crisis our country faces. Nevertheless, there are important issues which he ignores or oversimplifies.

First, LeMay implies that the main reason the military does not think its present forces are adequate in size. I believe that much of the military's concern is that the armed forces are increasingly made up of minorities and poor people, with little formal education, who require more training to handle the military's sophisticated technology, and who may be less reliable in actually *fighting* for the U.S. if a war should come. I know this was a major concern a few years ago when intervention in Angola seemed like a real possibility.

Second, LeMay characterizes the Vietnam-era draft as discriminatory against working-class youth, because other young men could get student and other deferments. While that is true, the present army is also predominantly working class, made up of people who couldn't find other jobs or job training, or who are trying to escape from the boredom of their schools, jobs, or communities.

Third, the article does not even mention what we might call the "flip side" of antidraft organizing—organizing among soldiers themselves. Unlike LeMay, I have never been in the army, and I don't want to minimize the difficulties and grave personal risks such organizers face. Nevertheless, there is no question that radical activity in the armed forces played a major role in our government's defeat in Vietnam, not to mention its importance in the revolutionary upheavals in other countries.

After all, the fundamental contradiction which the army in a capitalist society faces is that the army is necessary to support the interests of the rulers, but they must usually force working-class and other oppressed youth to do their fighting. While soldiers may not be considered a priority for organizing by NAM now, we mustn't ignore the importance of such activity for our future.

Fourth, while LeMay mentions the participation of feminists in the antidraft movement in Oregon, he does not discuss the relation of the draft to the Equal Rights Amendment.

I, for one, would be interested in knowing how or whether these groups make the connection.

Finally, *Moving On* should explore the relationship of the draft in capitalist society to what we might want—or need—in a socialist-feminist society. It is clear that the U.S. army today defends a system that works against the interests of the majority of the world's people. In a socialist-feminist society, however, or even in a war against an out-and-out fascist power, would we defend a draft that would disrupt people's lives but that might be necessary for humanity's survival?

Even in terms of how we would allocate labor in a socialist-feminist society, could we conceive of a period of "national service" for young people—such as the Chinese have done in their "send-the-Youth-to-the-country-side" campaign, or as Edward Bellamy advocated in his classic socialist novel *Looking Backward*. I think that addressing such questions, even in a tentative way, would have helped in broadening the theoretical and practical terms of the anti-draft debates.

I present these somewhat diffuse reactions to LeMay's article with the hope that future *Moving On* articles should probe and analyze the issues they address more comprehensively than they often do now. (As positive examples of what I mean, I would cite the recent articles on Marxism and Christianity; popular psychology, and Mike Rotkin's campaign for city council.)

**Robert Shaffer
New Haven, CT**

Wrong direction

Goodwin and Trowbridge in a recent letter to *MO* (April, 1979) discuss how they view potential improvement for the magazine. They raise some important questions about political propaganda, but their answers are inadequate. In particular they look at Judy MacLean's article on *Mujeres Latinas en Accion* in the March issue. They also discuss layout and production.

They suggest MacLean's article is not socialist, but rather bourgeois feminist in orientation. They state that the articles in general must be more analytical and that "without greater political emphasis upon issues of class, race and sex, we cannot hope to help radicalize those who are not 'enlightened' white, and middle class college graduates." They suggest that the layout of

MO is like a third grade reader with too many pictures, white space and big letters. Finally they indicate that *MO* appears to have a hierarchical organization and that "the staff box implies neither dialectical materialism nor democracy."

I think they are basically wrong on all counts. The problem stems from a failure to identify the potential readership of *MO* (except in the sentence where they refer to people who are not enlightened college graduates.) In fact the picture one gets of the new *MO* is of a magazine with small type, more copy per inch and 'heavier' analytical articles—in fact, something like NAM's Discussion Bulletin.

I think that this is not what *MO* is for. My sense of the potential audience of *MO* is NAM members, other socialists, people involved or close to NAM's activities, and other political activists, who are not necessarily socialists. Given this the purpose of *MO* is then to give information on political issues and events and to analyze and discuss such information. Both of these functions are important since we can hardly analyze something we know nothing about.

Thus the criticism of MacLean's article is really unfounded. It does give us information about an organization probably few readers of *MO* are aware of or familiar with.

Their criticism of the layout is, I think, the most unfounded of any they make. *MO* has one of the best layouts of any left publication in the US. If we want to appeal to any but the already committed, we have to have an attractive magazine which *MO* is. Most left publications are just grim—lots of copy (which is mostly deadly dull), few pictures (mostly very dark) and an effort to cram as much print into each issue as possible. The layout of *MO* is such that people might actually want to read it.

Finally the criticism about hierarchy and democracy suggests that people are not being given credit for what they do for *MO*. My impression is that most of work done on *MO* (from soliciting articles to doing the layout) is done by the people listed in the staff box—there are not hordes of nameless workers out there. Also one does not make a project collective simply by not giving anyone titles. Not everybody needs or wants to do everything and being clear about who's responsible for what aspects of work can make a project work better.

All of this is not to say that *MO* is perfect. There is always a way to make something better. For example more people could contribute ideas for articles or articles themselves; help in production; and work on distribution. But the way to make *MO* better is not to make just another left magazine.

**Christine R. Riddlough
Chicago, IL**

NAM News & Views

Left turn

A friend sent me a clipping from the French newspaper *Le Monde* with a note attached: "This shows the French left takes New American Movement very seriously." The article was from a section called "Ideas" in the February 3, 1979 issue of France's most prestigious newspaper.

"A specter is haunting the United States, the specter of Eurocommunism," begins the article by commentator Jean Marabini. Marabini is reporting on the reactions of three recent Eurocommunist visitors to the U.S., Jean Ellenstein (French Communist Party), Manuel Azcarate (Spanish C.P.), and Sergio Segre (Italian C.P.).

Marabini's assessment of the American scene is more optimistic than mine or most American leftists'. But that doesn't mean we should dismiss it.

Could a massive force for socialism develop in the U.S.? Marabini thinks we should look not just at the relatively small number of Americans actually organized into socialist parties who have anti-establishment, or even Marxist ideas and activities.

In the U.S., "Marx is being revived among hundreds of (university) professors. One San Francisco newspaper signals this 'scarlet fever' which involves, as in Roosevelt's time, Hollywood artists, directors and technicians . . . many young writers, even Southerners, . . . young Arab students, a good number of feminist and trade union groups."

Quoting an estimate by a conservative observer, Marabini says the "resolute adversaries of the establishment" are no more than 5% of the U.S. population. Still, he points out, that's ten million people. The ten million wouldn't even all identify themselves as leftists, and are unpredictable, quiet now, yet "always ready to catch fire for the old principles of social justice."

Can Eurocommunism, posing new questions about world communist traditions, speak to this ten million? Maybe, and

maybe not, says Marabini. He points out that Ellenstein had the most success of the three visitors reaching out to Americans "due to his manner of not using the terminology habitual among the intellectuals of the French Communist Party." Jargon, he says, is not well assimilated by Yankee ears. He also reports the ideas of Santiago Carillo's Spanish Communist Party are more and more current in the Hispanic community, both north and south of the Mexican border. Lamentably, he says, the ideas of the Italian Communists have made no headway in the Italian-American community.

But he doubts that any imported ideology will really activate the ten million. And the organization he sees as the "true left flank of this mass of 5%" is—the New American Movement. He tells his French readers that NAM's "directors" are not saying that NAM is Eurocommunism's American branch. But he sees NAM's approach to issues and to the U.S. as part of the same broad stream of tentative new answers to the question: how can socialism come to an advanced capitalist country?

Marabini may be overly optimistic. Yet if the U.S. had a parliamentary system that encouraged small parties, as European countries do, the 5% he speaks of might well support a left party of some sort.

It's a compliment to NAM that Eurocommunist visitors single us out as the "true left flank." It's good to know that those more experienced with Marxist traditions are favorably impressed with NAM's approach of grassroots activism and talking socialism, American style.

But of course we won't be able to do it alone. There are many other leftists, organized and unorganized, who will have to be part of the process of building the left flank, and reaching the much more than 5% of the population necessary for a left alternative for the U.S.

—Judy MacLean, NAM Organizational Secretary

New American Movement National Convention

Milwaukee, Wisconsin
August 8-12

Debates:

Labor strategy, electoral politics

Workshops:

Feminism, culture, anti-racism, Third world liberation struggles,
health, gay liberation, community organizing

and much more . . .

Concert:

Kristin Lems and Tim Lear

Film Festival:

Newest releases in political films

I would like to register for the NAM Convention

Name _____
Address _____
Status: NAM member Observer

All the news...

EVENING OF HONOR

•**Detroit** NAM held a testimonial dinner honoring NAM member and longtime activist Saul Wellman on April 20. The event was co-sponsored by nearly every prominent political activist and drew an overflow crowd of 320 people.

Participants heard moving tributes to Saul's years as a Communist Party activist. He was a labor organizer, a valiant Spanish Civil War soldier, and a courageous Smith Act defendant. Wellman's departure from the Communist Party was based on his conviction that the party was no longer a viable vehicle for the American form of socialism to which he is so deeply committed.

His active participation in NAM attests to his continued vigor and commitment; the wide range of political tendencies present attests to his continued efforts to work against sectarianism on the left.

The dinner drew telegrams from around the country from Wellman's many friends who could not make it to Detroit, as well as a special award from the Detroit City Council. The sense of community that spanned generations and political lines was part of the heritage Wellman has given to all who know and work with him. A fitting tribute.

•NO NUKES

NAM chapters in **Philadelphia**, **St. Louis**, **Long Island** and other cities east of the Mississippi mobilized people to join the throng of 75,000 that demanded "No more Harrisburgs" in Washington, D.C., May 6. The demonstration, coming in the wake of the near-disaster at Three Mile Island, was organized in a few weeks and is a measure of the growth of anti-nuclear power sentiment in the U.S. . . . **Colorado** and **Wyoming** NAM members helped organize a demonstration of 12,000 April 28 at the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons facility near Denver. That demonstration stressed the higher cancer rates downwind from the plant, and demanded a halt to the manufacture

of nuclear weapons there. . . . Meanwhile, as contaminated wastes from Three Mile Island lumbered across the country's interstate highways in unmarked trucks, **Seattle** NAM members geared up to help stop the dumping of the wastes in their state. . . . **Buffalo** NAM helped put on a no-nukes demonstration at Marine Midland Bank's annual stockholders' meeting April 18. The bank has millions invested in nuclear power. Six hundred people picketed, and a demonstrator holding a stock proxy addressed the stockholders inside. . . . At large member Jay Jurie helped organize a demonstration of 200 against the construction of a nuclear reactor in north-eastern Mississippi March 24.

MOVING AND SHAKING

•**Baltimore** NAM members did some eleventh-hour lobbying to preserve state Medicaid funding for abortions in Maryland. The compromise finally struck provides funding if not having the abortion would have "an adverse effect on the woman's present or future mental health." While that's not free access to abortion, it's far less restrictive than the anti-abortion forces wanted. . . . **Dayton** NAM members are doing strike support for clerks at Peaches Records, a branch of a national chain that combines a "groovy" environment with exploitation wages. Peaches is refusing to bargain with its workers, who want to become part of the Retail Clerks International Union. **Dayton** NAM urges all NAM members and friends to boycott Peaches. . . . NAM members are part of an effort by an American Federation of Teachers local at Coast Community College District in Orange County, CA to prepare an alternative budget. The administration says the school needs \$64 million and cuts will be required. The local says \$57 million will do, and no staff cuts are necessary. The budget is based on wide input from those involved. . . . **Philadelphia** NAM is part of a coalition opposing the Weber case that includes many of the same groups

that combined to dump former Mayor Frank Rizzo last fall. Weber, a white male, alleges he was a victim of reverse discrimination in a steel plant because minorities hired after him received promotions before him under the company's affirmative action plan.

MAY DAY/CINCO DE MAYO

•**San Diego** NAM held a fiesta May 5, celebrating May Day and Cinco de Mayo. May Day is an international worker's holiday that originated in the U.S. and is celebrated by socialists the world over. Cinco de Mayo commemorates Mexican independence. . . . **Los Angeles** NAM's Socialist Community School also celebrated the two days with a program of singing and speeches in both languages. . . . A new chapter in **Champaign-Urbana**, IL sponsored May Week, a series of labor-related films and speakers. Present and past rank and file activists spoke of their work. Films shown included *With Babies and Banners* and *On the Waterfront*.

SUMMER SCHOOL

NAM will hold two leadership training schools in Milwaukee, WI August 4-8. One school will stress political discussion and all-round leadership development for chapter leaders. The other is for NAM labor activists, and will focus on in-depth discussion of experience and strategy.

LABOR STRATEGY

NAM's **Northeast Region** held a Labor Conference April 21. Over 150 labor activists exchanged information and debated strategy on issues such as building rank and file caucuses, organizing clerical workers, and reproductive rights at the workplace. The conference was part of year-long discussions on the role of socialists in the labor movement that NAM is conducting.

NEW CHAPTER

NAM welcomes a new chapter in Lexington, Kentucky, **Bluegrass NAM**. The members have been active in strike support for Brookside miners, housing issues, and the feminist movement in the past. They plan a project around housing, which is over priced and scarce in Lexington. Address: c/o Parsons, 454 S. Ashland Ext., Lexington, KY 40502.

RESOURCES

The summer '79 issue of *Health Activist Digest* focuses on "Medicine and the State." It features articles on "revolutionary unionism" and the state's role

in turning competitive enterprises into monopolies. The digest, published by **NAM's Health Commission** is available for \$1.00 (subscription \$3.00) from 19920 Lichfield, Detroit, MI 48221 . . . **NAM's Anti-racism commission** has just published the spring 1979 *Struggle Against Racism*. The issue focuses on repression, and has articles on minority women in prison, an overview of repressive trends, and more. Single copies 50c from NAM's national office.

REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS

•NAM is joining many local reproductive rights groups in a national campaign to stop the Hyde Amendment in 1979. The Hyde amendment denies Medicaid funding for abortion, forcing low income women to bear unwanted children or

come up with money they don't have to pay for an abortion. Already a dozen deaths of women who resorted to illegal abortion as a result of Hyde have been documented. Petitions and literature on this campaign are available through the NAM national office. Saturday, June 23, in Cincinnati, Ohio, the Reproductive Rights National Network and Abortion Rights Committee will co-sponsor a demonstration countering the national convention of the anti-abortion movement. Under the theme of "Reproductive Freedom is every woman's right," the demonstration will show there is grassroots sentiment for a woman's right to choose a safe, legal abortion. Buses will be leaving for the demonstration from many cities. NAM is a member of the sponsoring network.

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.

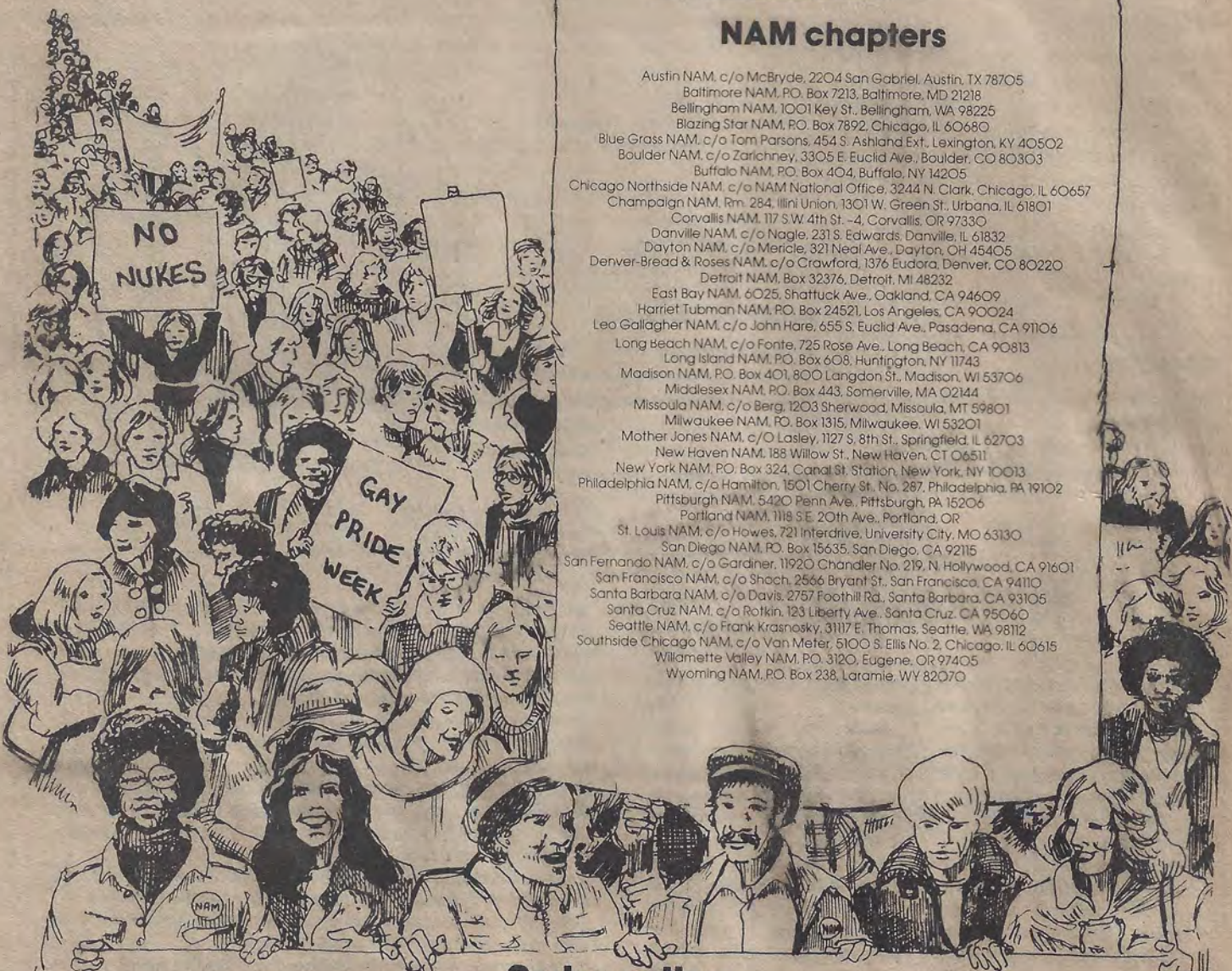
•Democracy is central to the process of building a movement for socialism. Only as working people become active, organized and begin to take control over their lives can a new society take shape.

•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.



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 Blazing Star NAM, P.O. Box 7892, Chicago, IL 60680
 Blue Grass NAM, c/o Tom Parsons, 454 S. Ashland Ext., Lexington, KY 40502
 Boulder NAM, c/o Zarichney, 3305 E. Euclid Ave., Boulder, CO 80303
 Buffalo NAM, P.O. Box 404, Buffalo, NY 14205
 Chicago Northside NAM, c/o NAM National Office, 3244 N. Clark, Chicago, IL 60657
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very few publications committed to democratic socialism and to activism. Because it can take an articulate stand on an issue while leaving open space for

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