

SCIENCE FOR THE PEOPLE

July-August 1977

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Are Sex Roles Biologically Determined?



**INFANT MALNUTRITION IN THE THIRD WORLD.
REPRESSION OF SCIENTISTS IN ARGENTINA
FIGHTING NUKES AT SEABROOK**

CHAPTERS AND CONTACTS

Science for the People is an organization of people involved or interested in science and technology-related issues, whose activities are directed at: 1) exposing the class control of science and technology, 2) organizing campaigns which criticize, challenge and propose alternatives to the present uses of science and technology, and 3) developing a political strategy by which people in the technical strata can ally with other progressive forces in society. SftP opposes the ideologies of sexism, racism, elitism and their practice, and holds an anti-imperialist world-view. Membership in SftP is defined as subscribing to the magazine and/or actively participating in local SftP activities.

ARKANSAS

Joe Neal, P.O. Box 1722, Fayetteville, AR 72701.

CALIFORNIA

Berkeley Chapter: SESPA, Box 4161, Berkeley, CA 94704.

L.A. Chapter: c/o Al Heubner, P.O. Box 368, Canoga Park, CA 91303. (213) 347-9992.

Shel Plotkin, 3318 Colbert Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90066. (213) 391-4223.

Santa Cruz Chapter: P.O. Bo 954, Santa Cruz, CA 95060.

Paulo Dice, Thimann Laboratories, U. Cal., Santa Cruz, CA 95064.

Davis Chapter: c/o P. Hardt, 318 J St., No. 40, Davis, CA

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Tracy McLellan, 2137 N. Pierce St., Apt. 2, Arlington, VA 22209. (703) 243-6982. Days (202) 632-5858.

CONNECTICUT

N. Sadanand, Dept. of Physics, University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT 06268.

Neal and Margie Rosen, 71 Stanley St., New Haven, CT 06511.

FLORIDA

Gainesville Research Collective, 630 NW 34th Place, Gainesville, FL 32601.

Tallahassee Chapter: c/o Progressive Technology, P.O. Box 20049, Tallahassee, FL 32304.

GEORGIA

Matthew C. Larsen, P.O. Box 13687, Skidaway Inst. of Oceanography, Savannah, GA 31406.

ILLINOIS

Urbana-Champaign Chapter: Tina and Bob Hall, 106 N. Gregory No. 10, Urbana, IL 61801.

INDIANA

Stephen Friend, T163 G.R.C., Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 46240. (812) 337-6862.

IOWA

Paul C. Nelson, 604 Hodge, Ames, IA 50010. (515) 232-2527.

MASSACHUSETTS

Amherst Chapter: P.O. Box 599, N. Amherst, MA 01059.

Marvin Kalkstein, University Without Walls, Wysocki House, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01002.

Boston Chapter: Science for the People, 897 Main St., Cambridge, MA 02139. (617) 547-0370.

MICHIGAN

Ann Arbor Chapter: John Vandermeer, 2431 Darrow St., Ann Arbor, MI 48104. (313) 971-1165.

MISSOURI

St. Louis Chapter: Ellen Irons c/o Dan Bolef, Dept. of Physics, Washington University, St. Louis, MO 63130.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Steve Cavrak, Environmental Studies Program, Franconia College, Franconia, NH 03580.

NEW YORK

New York City Chapter: Box 762, Fordham Univ., P.O. Station 37, Bronx, NY 10458. (212) 989-7518.

Stony Brook Chapter: c/o Ted Goldfarb, Chemistry Dept., SUNY, Stony Brook, NY 11790. (516) 246-5053.

Marvin Resnikoff, 174 West Ave., Buffalo, NY 14201. (716) 856-6587.

Ken Solomon, 5B Picturesque Parkway, Schenectady, NY 12303.

OHIO

Jenny Thie, 2147 Fulton Ave., Cincinnati, OH 45206. (513) 281-6149.

OREGON

Craig Newby, 920 SE 31st Ave., Portland, OR 97214. (503) 235-1277.

WASHINGTON

David Westman, 919 2nd Ave. W., Seattle, WA 98119. (206) 282-9971.

QUEBEC

Bob Cedergren, Dept. of Biochemistry, Univ. of Montreal, Montreal 101, Quebec, Canada.

Science Progressiste-Science for the People, c/o McGill Daily, 3480 McTavish St., Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

Chapters and Contacts Abroad

AUSTRALIA

Tony Dolk, 234 Bobbin Head Rd., North Turramurra, New South Wales, 2074 Australia.

BELGIUM

Gerard Valendue, Centre Galilee, B.P. Galilee 047, B-1348 Louvain-La Neuve, Belgium.

ENGLAND

Dave Hayes, 14 Goodwin Rd., Sheffield 8, Yorkshire, England.

British Society for Social Responsibility in Science, 9 Poland St., London, W1V3DG, England. 01-437-2728.

IRELAND

H.N. Dobbs, 8 Ailesbury Grove, Dublin 4, Eire.

INDIA

D.L. Surendra, 3B, Thandava Raya St., San Thome, Madras-4, India.

WEST INDIES

C. Raymond Mahadeo, Caroni Research Station, Carapichaima, Trinidad, West Indies.

A chapter consists of three or more people meeting regularly. If you want to help start a chapter or be a contact person for your area, please contact Science for the People, 897 Main St., Cambridge, MA 02139. Tel: (617) 547-0370.

Science for the People

897 Main Street
Cambridge, Mass. 02139

MAGAZINE COMMITTEES

Production

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Susan Barker
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about this issue

The stability of capitalism in the US depends a lot on the fact that many of our society's most serious problems are exported abroad. Labor unrest can be minimized by setting up unskilled labor industries in countries where wages are cheap and laws repressive. Pollution problems are postponed by building supersized oil refineries in places like Puerto Rico rather than on the mainland. The costs of energy and raw materials to industry here are lowered by propping up those Third World governments most willing to let their country's natural wealth flow freely into the hands of North American multinational corporations. The oppressive relationships created by neo-colonialism and imperialism have many aspects, some of which are detailed in two articles in this issue.

Leah Margulies, in "Exporting Infant Malnutrition," describes the marketing practices used by infant formula manufacturers looking for profits abroad, now that markets in "developed" countries are saturated. The unethical means used to push sales are especially damaging in countries of the Third World, where the product is not only unnecessary but critically endangers the health of the population.

The article on political repression in Argentina describes the extent to which a country's leadership will go to achieve total control over its people. This control is necessary in order to institute economic and social policies that are against the interests of most of the population and that favor a select grouping of the ruling and foreign multinationals. Whereas Western press makes much of the plight of dissident scientists in Soviet-bloc countries, little mention is made of repression of scientists and technical workers in client states of the US.

The article also points out that, while Argentina is part of the Third World, it is similar in several ways to the developed capitalist countries of Europe and North America. If the U.S. turns to fascism, it may happen in a manner similar to that described in the article: beginning with legal measures against workers' and leftist activity, combined with unofficial but state-supported right-wing terrorist actions, followed by the merging of legal and "illegal" repression, all of this assisted by sophisticated technology.

Several articles have appeared in recent issues of *Science for the People* focussing on the dangers of nuclear power and why it is being pushed as a solution to an "energy crisis." The November - December "Current Opinion" supported the aims and approach of the Clamshell Alliance. This past May, Clamshell organized a massive occupation of the site of a proposed nuclear reactor in Seabrook, New Hampshire. The strength and depth of people's opposition has been evidenced by the willingness of over 1,400 non-violent demonstrators to be arrested and spend two weeks in Meldrim Thomson's armories.

Among those arrested were several members of Science for the People. We asked them to write accounts of their experiences and feelings about events at Seabrook. These and other reports from New Hampshire suggest that the methods used by Clamshell to stop the nukes are a model, not only for protests by middle-class college students, but for efforts by all people interested in gaining and exercising control over our own lives. As was the case with the Vietnam War, the proliferation of nuclear power threatens, and can therefore unite, all Americans.

ERRORS

We would like to apologize to Pat Brennan and to our readers for an error in production of the last issue. The second and third paragraphs of her article were inadvertently reversed, obscuring the meaning of the piece.

We would also like to thank Ellen Shub for her fine photographs appearing in this and the last issue, and apologize for misspelling her name in the last issue.

letters

SEXISM AND RACISM IN SOCIOBIOLOGY

Dear SftP,

When I first read Gar Allen's letter in the November issue of *Science for the People* magazine, I literally shook with anger. Reading it suddenly brought forth submerged feelings of rage. How could a member of Science for the People make such statements in 1976? How could someone at the height of the women's movement so blatantly pit sexism against racism with statements like:

Racism bears within it an "ultimate political potential" for the ruling class which sexism has never displayed. Because even the ruling class is composed of both sexes in approximately equal numbers, sexism has never been used, and probably never will be used to the same extent as racism as a divisive tool. The profound divisions which racism is capable of creating seem always to have been greater than those which sexism can create.

Such statements are not only competitive but do a grave injustice to the understanding of both isms and their interaction. Indeed, suggesting that one has within it the "ultimate political potential" while the other may not, serves to perpetuate further the divisions that do exist between women and men, black and white. To me, these statements, despite incantations to the contrary, suggest that Allen feels that racism is inherently more important to confront than sexism.

Interestingly enough, this kind of thinking is not new. More than one hundred years ago in the days of the Abolitionist struggles, it was not at all unusual for staunch male abolitionists to be unable to recognize the importance of the women's suffrage movement and to even be down right against "their women" participating in this struggle. The history (not herstory) of these movements relates that some of the "most liberal of men found it impossible to understand what liberty meant for women" and that some who "eloquently advocated equality for the southern plantation could not tolerate it at their own fireside."* Have things really changed?

In today's political left, it again seems difficult for the male leadership to recognize the importance, seriousness, and the political potential of the women's movement. Somehow despite the fact that women's unpaid labor in the home and low payment on the job provides a primary buttress (maybe a foundation) for supporting capitalism, the struggle to change it is continually seen as subordinate to the primary struggles of class and race. Is this so because the left is dominated by privileged white male persons who personally benefit from the status quo?

Whatever the case may be, it angers me to see that Allen seems not to recognize either the "profound divisions" that already exist between women and men or to even conceive of the even more profound divisions that would arise if women were to abandon their unpaid labor

*Gornick, V., & Moran, Barbara, "Women's Liberation and Black Civil Rights" *Women in Sexist Society*, p. 625.

and their role as primary emotional nurturers of men and children in this society. For me, such a change would not only be profound, it would be revolutionary!

I believe that the time has come for the male Left to spend some time examining ideas about changing their personal lives and the kind of family and interpersonal relationships that will not be automatically discarded with a redistribution of wealth and power.

Sincerely,
Pat Brennan
Dorchester, MA

Dear SftP,

I have been reading with interest the series of letters beginning with Gar Allen's criticism of SftP's Sociobiology Study Group, and I'd like to throw my two cents into the debate.

To summarize: Gar Allen criticized the Sociobiology Group for not paying enough attention to how biological determinism (that is, that genes determine social behavior) helps justify racism as well as sexism. He makes the assertion that "racism bears within it an ultimate political potential for the ruling class which sexism has never displayed. . . sexism has never been used, and probably never will be used, to the same extent as racism as a divisive tool." Rita Arditti and Ruth Hubbard replied to this by upholding the importance of fighting against sexism. They point out that women's oppression predated capitalism and that male supremacy doesn't automatically end with the establishment of a socialist state.

Lorraine Roth, in agreement with Gar Allen, then replied saying that class struggle is the overriding issue of our time, that racism is central to capitalism, but that sexism is "one of many worsening social problems of a capitalist society in profound economic crisis." She argues against what she calls the "women's separate struggle" and fears that the feminism of Rita Arditti and Ruth Hubbard is divisive. She calls for an integrated approach to all problems, including racism and sexism. Following this, Ronnie Rom takes issue with Lorraine Roth's insinuation that feminism is inhibiting to the development of a socialist revolution and argues that integration can only come through a healthy inner struggle against sexism.

Whew! Well, I think that Gar Allen and Lorraine Roth take too narrow a view of sexism and the importance of struggling against it. This is based on their seeing sexism (and racism for that matter) as merely tools of the ruling class for dividing the working class, as Gar Allen suggests. I think it's more helpful to look at sexism as the systematic oppression of women. This leads to different conclusions, more in line with Rita Arditti, Ruth Hubbard, and Ronnie Rom.

Historically, due to the particular division of labor that was part of the particular development of society at particular times in various parts of the world, women have been forced into inferior positions with respect to men. The particulars that we have to deal with here in the U.S. are the particulars of U.S. imperialism. This is a system based on class exploitation and wage labor in which women's work has traditionally been to reproduce the labor force and to provide for its emotional and physical well being. Given the necessity of the system to expand to encompass more labor and larger markets, it has forced ever larger

numbers of women into wage labor in order to sell the mass-produced goods previously produced by women working at home.

What this system means, generally, is the super-exploitation of women as cheap labor and the additional continued enslavement of women to the material and emotional needs of the family (which includes men, of course). Women have been and still are denied such basic democratic rights as equality under the law and the right to control their own bodies. Sex and sexual relations have been commercialized to the extent that women's bodies are mere sexual objects — this is the total dehumanization of women. What all this amounts to is denying women their sense of self and their ability to determine their own history.

If this brief description of women's oppression is accurate, it means that sexism is not merely a set of attitudes nor simply economic discrimination, but a deeply rooted part of the imperialist system. Sexism is not just something that a ruling class can institute at will, but is a fundamental contradiction even within the ranks of the working class as a whole. It is not, as Gar Allen suggests, simply a tool used to divide a class or a struggle that would or could otherwise be unified. It is an inherent part of the system, as much so as is class oppression.

If we have this understanding of women's oppression, we can see that neither it nor class oppression can end without a common struggle against imperialism. For years the left has refused to take up the struggle against women's oppression, relegating it, as does Lorraine Roth, to a position of secondary importance. The result has been that working class struggle has been tremendously weakened.

For example, within the left, in spite of the many lessons of the feminist movement, sexist practices are common: women are not taken seriously by men; male forms of behavior abound — being domineering,

competitive, rigorously unemotional, self-centered; personal and political aspects of work are seen as separate unrelated entities; male chauvenism and anti-gay attitudes still go unchallenged.

If the left does not support the struggle against women's oppression as a crucial part of a working class movement, and if sexist practices in the political work and personal lives of the mostly white male left continue, then feminists will have little choice but to pursue a separate women's struggle. This is not *their* shortcoming as Lorraine Roth suggests, but that of the rest of the left.

By saying these things I don't mean to imply any smugness on my part. Whatever I understand about sexism I learned from women struggling with me.

One final point. I think racism must be analyzed in a similar fashion and the fact that this letter says nothing about the oppression of Third World people does not mean it is less important.

Al Weinrub
San Jose, California

P.S. Many of my friends here have really appreciated the articles recently on forced sterilization, the history of birth control, and the birth control clinic worker strike in Boston.

NUKES FOR THE PEOPLE

Science for the People:

A short time ago I subscribed to the magazine anticipating semi-technical articles with a viewpoint corresponding to the title. I was surprised, therefore, to find two pages devoted to the anti-nuclear tirades of the Clamshell Alliance. Here in California, I and millions of others heard and read Clamshell-type assertions for months and then voted

LETTERS, *continued on p. 40*

news notes

LEAD AND DISCRIMINATION

On March 15, the Occupational Health and Safety Administration opened hearings on setting a standard for an acceptable level of airborne lead in workplaces. Until this time, the lead industry has chosen to ignore the health hazards of airborne lead to male workers and children born to them. The industry has, however, used the danger as an excuse to exclude all women "with child-bearing potential." A woman who needs her job is virtually forced into sterilization.

Continued exposure to high levels of airborne lead damages the central nervous system, kidneys and the ability to manufacture blood. It has also been linked with high rates of miscarriage, stillbirth, birth defects and mental retardation. These increased rates were found among unexposed wives of lead workers as well as among mothers who had been exposed themselves. Changes in sperm and decreases in the number and motility of sperm have been found in men who work with lead. Mutagenic effects have appeared in exposed insects and male mice.

As long as the industry can use discriminatory practices to avoid the real problem, the health of lead workers and their families will be in jeopardy.

A standard which will protect workers and remove the basis of discrimination is a blood level of 30 micrograms of lead per 100 grams of blood. Write to the Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall, c/o Docket Officer, Docket #H-004, Room 3620, Department of Labor, Third & Constitution Avenues, N.W., Washington D.C. 20210.

—*Off Our Backs* April 1977

COSMETICS FOR CANCER

The cosmetics industry fears that a finding reported at the March meetings of the American Chemical Society in New Orleans may have "thalidomide scare-type potential."

NDELA (N-nitrosodiethanolamine), a common emulsifier in shampoos, lotions and makeup, has been shown to be a liver carcinogen in rats. It is countered that the studies are not valid because NDELA was given by ingestion, not absorption through the skin, as in cosmetics. However there is some uneasiness among cosmetics makers since NDELA is used industrially as a treatment for wood to increase penetration of organic liquids, and hence is rather likely to be absorbed across the skin.

Some leading products containing NDELA are Clairol's Herbal Essence shampoo and Johnson's Baby Lotion. These two products have NDELA concentrations of 260 and 100 parts per billion (ppb). The far-away winner, however, is Max Factor's Ultralucent Whipped Cream make-up with 48,000 ppb. Meanwhile, the industry is fighting labeling requirements and pre-market testing of products.

—*F-D-C Reports*, April 1977

THE LOW PRICE OF MURDER

More than five months after an explosion at the Phillips Petroleum plant in Kansas City killed two pipefitters, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) has concluded that the company was negligent, and has fined them the grand total of \$490.

—*In These Times* May 3-9, '77

STERILIZING OF NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN

More than one-fourth of all Native American women may have been sterilized by doctors from the U.S. Indian Health Service who have pressured them into the operations, the *National Catholic Reporter* says. Dr. Connie Uri of Los Angeles, a Choctaw-Cherokee Indian, told the newspaper in Kansas City that is her estimate after interviews with American Indian women and that there are only 100,000 Native women of child-bearing age who have not been sterilized.

—*Boston Globe* 5-22-77

VANDERBILT BUYS OSHA

The Vanderbilt Company, one of the nation's top producers of talc products, mines its industrial grade talc in upstate New York. Unfortunately, this talc was found to contain up to 70 percent tremolite, one of the six minerals defined by a 1972 OSHA standard as asbestos, and consequently subject to government regulation. Dr. Irving Selikoff of Mt. Sinai School of Medicine predicts that 40 percent of those who work regularly with asbestos will die of cancer in the next 50 years, and indeed a survey of up-state New York talc workers (largely Vanderbilt employees) shows lung cancer rates four times the national average. However, Vanderbilt feared the label "asbestos" on its talc would cause industrial customers to go looking for a safer talc, and so began to pressure OSHA to redefine asbestos, omitting tremolite from the definition. In 1973 OSHA rejected Vanderbilt's petition to change the asbestos standard, but shortly thereafter gave the company permission to certify to its customers that its talc contained no asbestos.

Vanderbilt, still fearful of financial ruin, enlisted the services of three senators and two congressmen from districts where the company does business and continued to apply pressure. In 1974, without the public comments, public hearings, and scientific justification required by law, OSHA illegally redefined asbestos to exclude tremolite. Two other government agencies, the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health and the National Bureau of Standards, cooperated in prolonging Vanderbilt's temporary exemption from the law. A copy of a report entitled: *OSHA Serves a Corporate Client: Ignoring Asbestos in Vanderbilt Industrial Talc*, which documents the above story, can be obtained by sending \$2 to Health Research Group, 2000 P Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

—Public Citizen, issue four, 1977

PHILIPPINES: CHEAP LABOR, EASY ENVIRONMENT

The world's third largest iron sintering plant (for processing iron ore) is being constructed in Mindanao, Philippines, by Japan's Kawasaki. At a well-attended university forum in Manila, the facts on this highly polluting project came out. Forced to close such a plant in Japan due to popular outrage against its poisons (25 people killed; another 500 affected) Kawasaki has turned to the Philippines, whose Marcos regime is eager to please any foreign capitalist looking to invest, and where labor is cheap and strikes non-existent, according to a Kawasaki official. The plant has already occupied over half a square mile of coastal land and displaced 100 families.

Meanwhile, environmental groups in Japan have charged the

project is an attack on Third World peoples and resources. At a Tokyo rally, 46 anti-pollution organizations declared: "We refuse to accommodate ourselves to the way of life built on the sacrifice of Third World people. We know this path is thorny but we are determined to fundamentally change this evil economic system that forces us to be exploiters of Third World nations."

—Philippines Liberation Courier
April 30, 1977

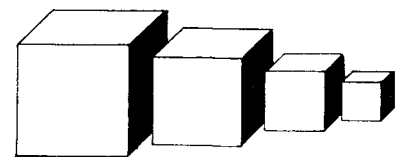
TESTING FUNGICIDE ON HUMANS

The fungicide EBDC causes cancer of the thyroid in animals, but does that mean for certain that it causes cancer in humans and therefore shouldn't be used? The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency wanted to test the effects of the fungicide on the human thyroid. To avoid the restrictions banning research on humans in the U.S., the EPA decided to test the chemical on patients at a hospital in Mexico City which (according to *Newsday*, which first reported the story) has a history of cooperating with large U.S. drug companies needing human guinea pigs. The EPA approved \$100,000 for the project. A last-minute administrative holdup, however, brought the experiment to the attention of an EPA attorney who blocked it. He described the proposal as "inhuman, completely scandalous."

The EPA has now been asked to investigate the project by Senators Magnuson and Stevenson, who say that even a consideration of the plan was "cause for worry."

—International Bulletin
May 23, 1977

Workbook/cpf



Exporting Infant Malnutrition

Leah Margulies

An economy based on consumption needs consumers. When the market is saturated at home, the solution — look abroad for new and untapped markets. This is exactly what has happened in the infant formula industry. With too few mouths to feed at home, the major manufacturers of baby foods have stepped up their promotion tactics over the last few years in Third World countries where population rates are still rapidly increasing. Massive sales campaigns presently encourage poor women around the world to abandon breast feeding for bottle feeding — a more expensive, complex, and less healthful method. The result: increasing infant malnutrition and mortality. There could be no more dramatic illustration of corporations, hungry for profit, manufacturing a need that wasn't there.

Infant Formula—A Poor Substitute

First of all, what kind of product is infant formula? It is a highly processed food which, in the finer products, is patterned after breast milk in fat content, protein and sugar source, although it does not have either the antibodies or the digestibility of the real thing. Sometimes the product is sold premixed but more often, especially in poor countries, it is sold as a powder that requires measured amounts of *pure* water for proper reconstitution. Clean bottles and nipples are also necessary.

Breast milk, on the other hand, has been described as the "original convenience food" in a pamphlet produced by the War on Want, a British advocacy group. Besides supplying the proper quantities of protein, fat, etc., it protects the infant from disease by providing antibodies important to the development of the immunization system.

For poor women in underdeveloped countries, who don't have refrigeration, access to pure water, easy measuring arrangements and the ability to read the instructions, infant formula is a dangerous convenience. They cannot use it properly. An investigation by the War on Want discovered a Nigerian mother who fed her baby mostly water — but with a bottle and nipple she had seen advertised on a billboard in town. It was not made clear to her that it's what's inside that counts.

This article is reprinted from *HealthRight*, a quarterly publication of the Women's Health Forum in New York. Subscriptions are \$5 a year, and their address is 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.



Other mothers have been known to fill bottles with mixtures of water and cornstarch in an attempt to imitate the appearance of the product.

This says nothing of the expense of infant formula to poor families. For many, the cost of feeding one child exclusively on formula can cost thirty percent or more of a family's income. Many mothers, then, dilute the powder to make it last longer. Several studies in the Caribbean, for example, showed that many women were stretching a four days' supply to last three weeks. Another study in Barbados also found that eighty-two percent of mothers surveyed were diluting the powder. What results is increased infant malnutrition and mortality at earlier and earlier ages among Third World children.

Earlier and More Severe Damage

There is plenty of evidence linking formula feeding with increased rates of infant mortality and malnutrition among children of poor countries. In a hospital survey in Sierra Leone, 713 of 717 children admitted for malnutrition had been bottle fed. In Chile in 1973, three times as many deaths occurred among infants who were

bottle fed before three months old than among wholly breast-fed infants. A research team inspecting feeding bottles there discovered a bacterial-contamination rate of eighty percent. In some African hospitals, babies suffering from malnutrition are in beds marked "Lactogen Syndrome" after Lactogen, a baby formula made by Nestlé.

Furthermore, physicians and nutritionists working in Third World countries report that babies are suffering from chronic diarrhea and other symptoms of extreme malnutrition much earlier than in the past. When breast feeding was widespread, malnutrition did not become severe until after weaning, usually in the second year of life. Now the average age of children suffering from malnutrition in some parts of the world is eight months. One dangerous result of this earlier malnutrition is often damage to the child's mental development. The earlier the malnutrition occurs and the longer it lasts, the greater the chances that the child's brain will be impaired.

Insidious Marketing by Multinationals

The corporations that sell infant formula abroad in the Third World run the gamut from prestigious American, Swiss, British and Japanese multinational corporations like Abbott, American Home Products, Bristol-Meyers, Nestlé and Cow and Gate — to local fly-by-night manufacturers trying to cash in. Sophisticated companies with resources and capital at their disposal are promoting their products to unsophisticated consumers who take what they see quite literally. When a Third World woman sees a fat, healthy baby nursing from a bottle on the wall of her health clinic, she believes it to be an endorsement.

Other influences are at work. She may have recently entered her country's burgeoning workforce and moved to a city where she is exposed to the synthetic images of glamor that characterize women in Western-style ads. She may be learning to be self-conscious about her body and breast feeding is not part of that self-image to which she is aspiring. Bottle feeding is in vogue. A consumer is born.

In the past few years there has been documentation of insidious marketing and promotional techniques employed by companies aggressively competing to expand their share in a fast-growing and, thus far, unsaturated market. Companies advertise on billboards, on radio, and even on TV. Because of the lack of strict controls on advertising in many Third World countries, claims are made about the advantages of bottle feeding which would not be allowed in Western countries. In hospitals throughout the Third World posters advertising a particular product are common. Some companies, primarily Nestlé, have milk banks in hospitals where they sell formula to mothers at discount prices.

Some companies give hospitals prescription blanks, printed up to look like hospital stationery with a list of the company's products underneath for the doctor to use when recommending one of these products. Some companies sponsor crawling contests and hire clowns and magicians to entertain parents and then advise them of the advantages of bottle feeding.

Most formula manufacturers hire nurses to promote their products through hospitals, doctors and maternity and postnatal clinics where they distribute free samples and speak to women individually. These milk nurses constitute what American companies call the "mothercraft personnel." These women may not actually be trained nurses. Or, they may be trained nurses lured by the higher salaries and fringe benefits, among them the use of a car, which American companies offer. These nurses often visit women in their homes and even make home deliveries of formula. They rarely tell mothers of the costs of bottle feeding.



Milk nurses are apparently influential in persuading women to bottle feed their infants: "Ninety-five percent of the [Nigerian] mothers who combined breast and bottle feeding said they had been advised to do so by medical personnel, mainly midwives and nurses. Milk company representatives who give talks on feeding appear to be identified as hospital and clinic staff."



Growing Public Concern . . .

Despite the fact that a handful of pediatricians have been voicing their concern for "bottle illness" for the past fifteen years, little was publicized until the Protein Advisory Group of the UN system issued two declarations concerning the issue. By 1974, the World Health Assembly (the governing body of the World Health Organization, WHO) unanimously adopted a resolution which identified misleading sales practices as a cause of declining breast feeding and urged nations to review and regulate the marketing of infant formula.

However, the problem only gained widespread interest when War on Want, a British charity organization, published the first major expose of the issue entitled "The Baby Killer" by the English journalist, Mike Muller. In April 1974, a Swiss group, the Arbeitsgruppe Dritte Welt, translated the booklet into German and retitled it "Nestlé Kills Babies." Nestlé is the second largest food company in the world, with subsidiaries in twenty-eight countries, and is the largest seller of baby foods in the Third World. Nestlé brought a libel suit against the group and last spring a judge ruled in favor of Nestlé on a technicality. It could not be proved, he said, that Nestlé deliberately set out to kill babies — as the pamphlet's title indicated. But, the judge declared while announcing his decision, "This is no acquittal."

In the United States, the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR), an ecumenical agency which plans the corporate-responsibility actions for approximately fifteen Protestant denominations and over 135 Roman Catholic orders, has put pressures on American baby formula companies who, along with Nestlé, dominate the market. For two years, shareholder resolutions have been filed which have asked management to disclose sales and marketing practices. One company, Bristol-Meyers, the makers of Enfamil, is now being sued by an ICCR member, the Sisters of the Precious Blood, for allegedly misleading shareholders in the company's 1976 proxy statement on the issue.

A LIST OF RESOURCES

The Baby Killer, by Mike Muller, War on Want, London, 1974.

"Formula for Malnutrition," by Consumers Union, *CIC Brief*, Corporate Information Center, Room 566, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10027.

Baby Formula Abuse Action Group of Philadelphia, PO Box 12913, Commerce Station, Philadelphia, PA 19108.

Earthwork, 1499 Potrero Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94110, (415) 648-2094.

Food Action Center, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 466-3726.

Food Day, 1757 S. Street. NW, Washington, DC, 20009, (202) 332-4250.

Infant Nutrition Group, 8th Day Center for Peace & Justice, 22 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, IL 60605.

Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10027.

Northern California Interfaith Committee on Corporate Responsibility, 870 Market Street, San Francisco, CA 94102, (415) 397-0484.

Southern California Interfaith Hunger Coalition, 1716 N. Wilton Place, Los Angeles, CA 90028, (213) 466-6504.

To get the film, *Bottle Babies*, contact: American Baptist Films, Valley Forge, PA 19481, (215) 768-2307. \$20. Order several months in advance.

Tricontinental Films, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, NY 10014, (212) 989-3330. \$30 plus \$5 shipping; \$300 to buy. Order a month in advance.

National Council of Churches, Audio Visuals, 476 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10027. \$95 to buy. Church affiliation needed.

. . . And Token Response

In response to criticism, the major manufacturers of infant formula have banded together in an attempt to regulate themselves. Last year, Abbott Laboratories, makers of Similac, joined with American Home Products, Nestlé and eight other companies in the International Council of Infant Food Industries in order to create an industry-wide Code of Marketing Ethics. Bristol-Meyers had refused to join, claiming the code might violate anti-monopoly laws. However, after months of negotiations, the remaining companies were not able to decide which "ethics" they will adhere to. There are now three separate codes, each with slightly different guidelines.

The codes are essentially more similar than different — especially in their shortcomings. All three codes fail to include any means of enforcement other than by the companies' own management. Equally important is that the codes, while appearing to keep the industry ethi-

cal, actually legitimize current unethical practices. For example, the codes continue to allow mothercraft personnel to distribute free samples and to wear nurses' uniforms, albeit with the company's insignia. Critics believe, however, that any commercial personnel who have a role in educating mothers need to be organized and trained by recognized local institutions and health authorities and must function to satisfy local needs. Trained nurses can perform their health care function only if the element of sales promotion is removed from their job description.



New York Times

Despite the obvious weaknesses of these codes, companies use them to divert criticism. Having a code appears responsible and humane. In fact, it only lets the companies off the hook. Infant formulas can be sold under carefully controlled and supervised conditions and still be misused because existing social and economic conditions make proper usage virtually impossible.

Third World Self-Determination

Some Third World governments are taking actions to protect their people. In Jamaica, the government has placed limitations on the import of baby milk products. The Malaysian authorities have initiated a nationwide breast feeding campaign. There are stricter controls on radio advertising in many countries and many hospitals are refusing to allow formula manufacturers to display posters. On the grassroots level there appears to be a determination among health workers to protect children from the dangers of bottle feeding. But, these are small gains seen against the backdrop of the power of the giant corporations' abilities to promote their products, even indirectly.

There is, moreover, a recognition on the part of Third World nutritionists of the need for a substitute for breast milk — for the less than five percent of women who cannot breast feed for physiological reasons and for the small but growing numbers who must work away from home. But, such substitutes must be designed to suit conditions in Third World countries — the less refrigeration and cooking needed, the better. Zambian nutritionists have developed an infant-weaning food made from local foodstuff. It is sold with strong warnings against its use by anyone who does not have the necessary clean water. Each can also strongly recommends breast feeding. Because it is locally made, this substitute is much cheaper than imported formulas.

Beyond the human tragedy involved, the sale of infant formula in the Third World is a perfect example of how the multinational corporations export inappropriate lifestyles and products to countries ill prepared to resist the penetration. They don't help countries decide their real priorities. They are all too ready to define what other countries need based on Western values, especially if it's good for profits.

Third World countries are beginning to act. In Western Europe the marketing of infant formula in the Third World has become a major humanitarian issue. In this country, various groups are beginning to act around this issue. (See box.) It will clearly take the coordinated efforts of individual governments, health care personnel and concerned groups to reverse the destructive marketing techniques that have wreaked such devastation on the infants of the Third World. □

Repression of Scientists in Argentina

Argentina today continues under the rule of a right-wing military junta that took power last March 24, 1976, and which is continuing its policy of repression against large segments of the working class and against many scientists and technical workers.

Last year's coup was just the continuation of a process started during the 1974-76 government of Isabel Perón, widow of Juan Perón. Under Isabel Perón the military did not operate in the open, but after the coup they took full control of the State apparatus and increased the level of repression to outright fascism. By destroying all possibility of dissent, the junta hopes to maintain indefinitely an untenable economic situation. It is clear from its economic and foreign policy that the junta seeks to relocate Argentina firmly within the sphere of US imperialism.

The military is waging the war against the people of Argentina on two fronts: economic and political. Economically, the agro-export sector is being developed, favoring the landed oligarchy that owns the farms and ranches on which cattle and grain are produced for export. The country's doors have been opened to the multinationals by denationalization of industries and banks, easing of restrictions and the reconstruction of a high rate of profit by a freeze on wages and establishment of free market prices.

This article was written by the Editorial Collective from materials provided by Argentinian scientists. Sources include materials from the Argentine Solidarity Committee (CAS), Ap. 19-052, Mexico 19, DF, Mexico, from AISC, PO Box 4388, Berkeley, CA 94704, and NACLA publications on Argentina, especially the Jan. 1977 issue.

As a result, Argentina's workers have had their real wages reduced by 60 percent in one year, to the lowest level in decades. The hours of daily labor required to meet the basic needs of a family have risen from six to eighteen. Unemployment is at a record high. The junta's policies benefit only the big foreign and domestic monopolies, many of the smaller and medium-sized firms owned by the middle class having been forced into bankruptcy.

Implementation of these economic policies has required repression of all sorts: restrictions on workers' assemblies and on strikes, reprisals against armed popular resistance by groups on the Left, and the dismissal, exile, or imprisonment of many union activists, professionals, scientists and technical workers.

Though the country cannot exist without the cooperation — voluntary or coerced — of the majority of the working class, the junta seems to think it can get along without a large segment of the class of professionals, scientists and educators who have been among those active in criticizing the junta. This is especially important in Argentina, which has (both relatively and in absolute numbers) more scientists, university professors, technical, educational and cultural workers than most other Latin American nations. The military hopes to achieve political stability by totally eradicating subversive ideology. This means striking out at the source of that ideology, Argentina's educators, scientists and professionals.



“Purifying” the Universities

In choosing the path of dependence to U.S. imperialism, the junta has called for an emphasis on “Christian and Western values” and has rejected the “Third Worldism” tendency of Juan Peron. The attitude that “anyone who is not Christian and occidental is subversive” has led the junta to try to establish a scientific and academic “discipline” in universities and laboratories that recalls elements of medieval times as well as of Nazi Germany. Searches, seizure and burnings of books and publications considered subversive to the “traditional spiritual and cultural values synthesized in God, country and home” have been conducted. In May 1976, the “deputation” of the University libraries of the National University of Cordoba was carried out by the Air Force, in which books by the “ideological criminals” Marx and Freud were seized.

At the Universidad Nacional de Cuvo, about ten thousand books were seized from the homes of professors and students of the University. Not only is the reading of Marx’s works a crime under the statutes of the Law of Repression and Terrorism, university policy now decrees that “the works of Freud, Piaget and others are prohibited from being used as assigned material or being included as bibliographical references.” In addition, the teaching of courses on psychiatry, psychology and psychoanalysis was prohibited.

A census of all the members of the University

community is being carried out, with everyone required to answer in writing detailed questions about their background, past addresses and reasons for moving. This data, presumably, will be added to the ultra-modern computer-based crime information system possessed by the repressive state apparatus. The Minister of Education stated in April 1976: “The National authorities are bent upon an exhaustive cleaning up of all the people who may produce ideological deformities. This is the reason why the teaching staff of the University is under close scrutiny: to detect and eradicate all forms of subversion that might still exist in the University.”

Great numbers of teaching personnel have lost their jobs and many of the available upper-level teaching positions have been filled by military officers. Other positions are filled by personnel nominated by military auditors. As a consequence of the “prescindibilidad” (dispensability) and security laws issued by the junta, more than 200 university employees and over 700 scientists in research institutions have been dismissed. Those dismissed under these laws find it impossible to find work in any government or private institution. Many students have also been expelled.

Physicists Decimated

Argentine physicists have been among the hardest hit segments of the professionals. At the National Institute for Physics and Technology at San Miguel, one

WOMEN POLITICAL PRISONERS’ ACCOUNT OF PRISON CONDITIONS

“The majority of the women are held at the disposition of the P.E.N. (executive power) and the rest are awaiting justice before course military or police processes. We arrive at the prison after the required stage of the torture chamber at the Federal Coordination Center, Police stations, military barracks, etc., located throughout the country: days or months submitted to tortures with the electric *picana* (prod), suffocation by immersion, raped by the torturers or by mechanical means, the introduction of rats and spiders into our vaginas, bitten by dogs, watching our relatives or our companions die by torture, losing the children in our wombs. Handcuffed, blindfolded, humiliated, we arrive at the Unit 2 to begin another stage of suffering. While under the Regime of Decree 2023/74, the illegality of our situation comes to such a point that we are not even allowed to read it, an aberration of justice. Thus our lives are ruled by a law which we are not allowed to read.

“This penitentiary is located in the heart of Buenos Aires, is the prison chosen to show the international commissions that fight for the respect of human rights. Nevertheless, this doesn’t prevent them from annihilating us who are found in it.”

of the most important centers in Latin America for applied physics, 70 researchers and technicians out of a total of 110 were dismissed on April 30, 1976. A military official assumed directorship of the institute. By October of that year, only 10 researchers remained at the Institute.

For many, losing their job is the least of their worries. Forced exile, arrest, imprisonment, torture and assassination at the hands of military and police forces and at the hands of paramilitary terrorist gangs have become common. For example, some of the physicists who have been kidnapped or assassinated include:

—Graciella Carabelli, a solid-state physicist kidnapped in the city of Cordoba with her three-year-old son shortly after the coup. Her body was later found.

—Manuel Tarchinsky, nuclear physicist and professor at the Southern National University, murdered in jail.

—Julia Huarque de Rabat, professor of physics at the University of Rosario, murdered.

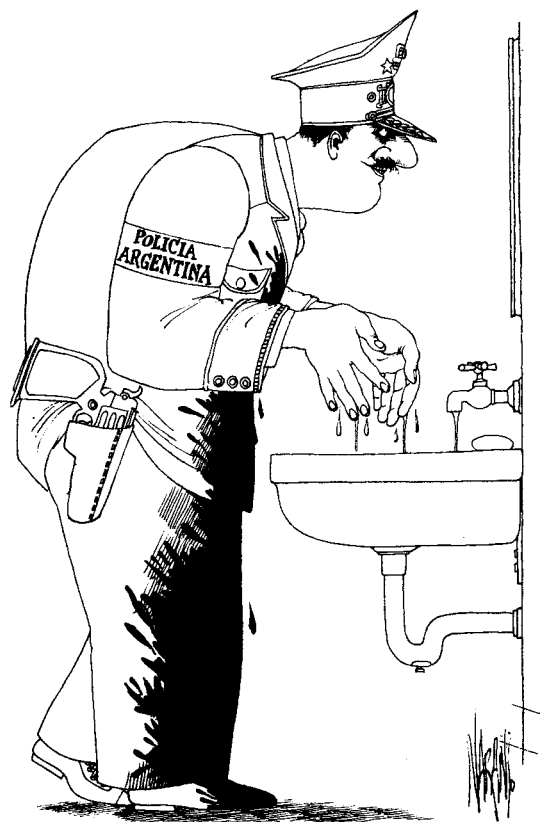
—Antonio Missetich, of the Argentine Atomic Energy Commission and formerly with MIT's National Magnet Laboratory, missing and presumed dead.

—Juan Carlos Gallardo, Director of the Institute of Mathematics, Astronomy and Physics of the National University of Cordoba, imprisoned without a charge since April 1976.

Other professions affected have been those of psychology, medicine and social work. Hundreds of psychologists, psychoanalysts, physicians and social workers have been fired from their positions in hospitals and mental health institutions. At the Finochietto Hospital in Avellanda, an industrial suburb of Buenos Aires, only two members out of sixty professional staff were not fired. Several "day" hospitals were closed down. The Assistance Center for Children with Learning Problems was closed due to the firing of the entire staff, approximately 140 specialists. Other scientists and technical workers who have been affected include chemists, agronomists, meteorologists, sociologists, biologists, technicians, architects, engineers and others.

Reasons for Fascist Terror

Under Isabel Perón's regime, repression had two forms: legal, and "dirty." "Dirty," or unofficial, repression was developed when it seemed that official actions by state security forces could not contain political struggle and popular resistance. Though officials denied any connection with the terrorist death squads responsible for the kidnappings and assassinations, it was well-known that these squads were organized, armed and staffed by various state personnel. One of the most infamous, the AAA Gang, was organized by the central figure of Isabel Perón's government, her Minister of Social Welfare Jose Lopez Rega. As the military began



to step into the foreground with the waning of Isabel Perón, the Army organized its own terrorist squad.

With the present junta, however, the distinction between "legal" and "dirty" is disappearing. What was once denied is now official policy. Argentine officials now admit the use of torture by police agencies, though the government is trying at the same time to avoid falling into the position of an isolated international pariah like the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile.

The reasons for terrorism and repression vary for each victim. Some victims are apolitical or respectable liberals. Those who express mild concern at the Junta's activities are usually just fired or sometimes arrested. For example, in an article in *La Opinion*, Horacio Encabo, vice-director of the Center for Neurological Study expressed worry for the future development of an Argentina whose scientific policy was guided by the criterion: "who is not occidental and Christian is subversive." He was dismissed five days later. The illegal behavior of seventeen professors arrested and thirty considered fugitives at the National University of the South consisted, according to those who accused them, of: having studied economics at the University of Buenos Aires, where "they were given the opportunity to study economics from a historical-political perspective"; having studied in foreign academic centers, among which are the National University of Mexico, the University of Colorado in the US, and

KIDNAP VICTIM'S ACCOUNT

Carlos Baro, a doctor, was abducted from his home on July 16, 1976, by a group of armed men:

"We entered a building where I was led up a staircase to the first floor. I was immediately stripped, beaten, laid on a bed and subjected to torture — the *picana* (electric prod) in particular, for about one and a half hours. During this savage torture, they questioned me about the possible whereabouts of arms, printing materials and about people I didn't know. I spent a day and night without any food or water. On Saturday 17 July about 3:00 pm I was taken back to the torture chamber. For an hour or an hour and a half, the electric prod was applied to the most sensitive parts of the body: testicles, thorax, mouth, etc.; after this, the savage mercenaries subjected me to what they called "Asian torture," which consisted of pitching me into drums of water while hanging by the legs. They did this four or five times until I lost consciousness. When I recovered, I was again tortured with the electric prod for another hour (approximately), but this time with three prods at the same time. I should also state that they injected me with some substance — possibly toxic or infectious — in the big toe of my right foot, in the testicles and right arm, as well as pulling out the nails of my big toes and slashing a toe, then persistently applying the electric prod to these places."

Grenoble University; and "using academic freedom as a means of ideological penetration."

Many of those imprisoned are used effectively as hostages against actions by armed resistance forces of the left. That is, after specific guerilla actions a number of prisoners are shot. For example, seventy prisoners were shot to death after the bomb in the federal police headquarters in July 1976, fifty-five after the bombing of the Ministry of Defense, forty after the death of an army security chief.

An open letter to the junta by the journalist Rodolfo Walsh, kidnapped days after sending this letter, says: "These victims of reprisal are used as hostages by the authorities. Many of them are trade unionists, intellectuals, relatives of known guerrillas, unarmed political dissidents, or simply suspicious in the eyes of those who detained them. They are the victims of a doctrine of collective guilt which long ago disappeared from the norms of justice in the civilised community. They are utterly incapable of influencing the political developments which give rise to the events for which they are murdered. They are killed to balance the number of dead on either side, in accordance with the body-count principle first employed by the Nazi Germans . . . and afterwards refined by the North American invaders in Vietnam."

The "statistical bones of this terror," according to Rodolfo Walsh, are "15,000 people missing without a

NACLA



(Argentine Information, Paris)

trace, 10,000 prisoners, 4,000 dead and tens of thousands of exiles." The ultimate fate of those imprisoned is still to be decided. According to the *Manchester Guardian*, however, "People who live in the vicinity of La Perla concentration camp, near Cordoba, complain about nasty odors — and soldiers say that crematorium ovens are being installed there."

The end result may be, in fact, the destruction of people and institutions in Argentina formed by decades of hard work, of the infrastructure necessary for the future social, cultural, and economic development of the country. A letter of support by Mexican physicists states "We believe that this savage persecution is not just an attack against Argentine culture but also against cultural development everywhere. Therefore, protesting this persecution is, for us, not just a moral question but a question of self-defense."

The main targets of right-wing terrorism, the armed units of revolutionary leftist organizations such as the Montoneros and the ERP-PRT (People's Revolutionary Army-Revolutionary Workers Party) thought not unscathed, continue their work on both political and military fronts. In fact, the Montoneros (formerly the Authentic Peronist Movement) have developed from a loosely defined radical wing of the Peronist Movement into a political party which is increasing its rank and file support in the industrial sector and which has intensified its attacks on the government.

What You Can Do to Help

While it is difficult for North Americans to actively aid the resistance to the Argentinian junta, it is important to try to save the many lives of those still imprisoned, missing, or in concentration camps. aid in the release of certain prisoners and demonstrate to the government that there is international concern about its actions. The president of Argentina is General Jorge Rafael Videla, Presidente de la Republica Argentina, Casa Rosada, Balcarce-50, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Letters can also be sent to the UN Secretary General, UNESCO, President Carter and members of the US Congress.

—The Argentine Solidarity Committee (CAS) publishes a regular bulletin. Send information requests and financial support to Comision Argentina de Solidaridad (CAS), Ap. 19-052, Mexico 19, DF, Mexico.

—In the U.S., the Argentine Information Service Center (AISC) publishes a newsletter called "Outreach". Their address is AISC, PO Box 4388, Berkeley, CA 94704.

—Take the initiative, through letter, demonstrations, and petitions to cut off all economic and military assistance to the Argentine government. This would include direct US aid, and the indirect aid through international banks and international organizations.

—Expose academics and scientists here in the US who work with or cooperate with the CIA and the military in designing the technologies of surveillance and urban counterinsurgency. □

US ROLE AND THE TECHNOLOGY OF REPRESSION

The economic policies that the junta is trying to defend through repression benefit a select group of multinational companies, such as ITT, Exxon and US Steel. There are direct and personal links between this spectrum of interests and Economy Minister Martinez de Hoz and his junior ministers. The details of these links were published by a journalist at Prensa Libre, Horacio Novillo, later murdered for that action.

A recent article in *Computer Decisions* magazine details the sale of modern computer systems by IBM and other North American manufacturers to the security and police agencies of Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Brazil. This equipment is used to store and make available information on large numbers of real and potential political dissidents. Data are exchanged among the security forces of the various governments of the Southern Cone in order to keep tabs on both domestic dissidents and exiled refugees.

The *Computer Decisions* article goes on to note that "In Buenos Aires, the Federal Police are using electronics so advanced that even the most modern (North) American police forces have no comparable gear." An example is the Digicom system, made by E-systems of

Garland, Texas. It is a communications system connecting patrol cars, dispatchers, and security database systems. Video terminals are located in each patrol car, which can display information from the database about possible suspects patrol officers may happen to pick up on the street. This system is the most advanced of its kind in the world. The manufacturer of this system is a company with gross revenues of \$250 million from military and police electronics sales, and its board of directors includes William Rayburn, a former high-level CIA officer.

Much of the computing technology and know-how was part of U.S. government aid to the countries of Latin America. Under the auspices of the CIA's proxy, the Agency for International Development (AID), South American police forces were provided, in the early 70's, with weapons, training and data processing equipment.

The government of Argentina continues to receive U.S. aid, taking in \$34.9 million in 1976 in military aid, as well as hundreds of millions from other U.S. agencies and international organizations in which the U.S. plays a leading role.

A Review of *Eat Your Heart Out: Food Profiteering in America*

by Jim Hightower (Crown Publishers, 1975). 294 pp. \$8.95. Reviewed by Cary Fowler.

A few years back, a number of public interest groups in Washington got together to launch a "Food Action Campaign" aimed at alerting citizens to the concentrated power of the food industry and its evils. The Campaign called on a few well-known people with particular credibility to travel around the country spreading information about the impact of the modern, monopolistic corporation — a Del Monte, for example. Bess Myerson had just resigned as New York City's consumer affairs director. The group decided to ask her to join them. The request went through her staff. Days passed. Finally the reply came that she would be unable to help in the campaign because (1) she didn't want to get involved in such projects at the time, and (2) she had never met anyone named "Adelle Monte." "With that," Hightower notes, "the Food Action Campaign realized that it had a long way to go to make people aware of corporate food power. Consumers were asleep at the switch."

Hightower's book is about "food profiteering in America" — no more, no less. It poses the question: If the free-enterprise system is working, why all the junk food and declining nutritional standards, why widespread hunger, why exorbitant profits and the insulting ads, why the decline of the family farmer? The answer in a word, is oligopoly, the term Hightower most often uses to describe the shared monopoly which dominates the food industry.

This review originally appeared in *Southern Exposure*, a quarterly publication of the Institute for Southern Studies. Subscriptions are \$8 a year, and their address is P.O. Box 230, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

Fifty corporations now account for about 60 percent of total food manufacturing assets. Certain food items are under the complete control of a single corporation. Other food lines are dominated by just three or four huge conglomerates who no longer compete against each other: it's more profitable to gouge *you* than a corporate rival. United Brands and Del Monte, for instance, control 85 percent of the North American banana market. Four corporations (including General Mills which owns the game, "Monopoly") account for over 90 percent of the breakfast food sales. Solid oligopolies (the four largest corporations) control over 50 percent of the market, half of this country's food industry.

Such "competition" results in comfortable profit margins. A 1966 Federal Trade Commission study found a 7.5 percent average net profit for corporations operating in the competitive sectors of the food industry. Those operating in the oligopolistic enclaves banked 14.2 percent.

The giant food corporations solidify their positions with tons of advertising hype. They create markets for their goods, and their goods sell. Precious supermarket shelf space is allotted not to the product that represents sensible eating or good nutrition, but to the product that moves fast. Sales and profit, not nutrition, determine shelf space...and America's dinner. If people demand nutrition, that's extra. (*Total cereal is nothing more than Wheaties with a penny's worth of vitamins added, but it costs a quarter more.*)

Increasingly, this unbridled power is reaching back to the farms, where

once-independent farmers are becoming hired hands for the corporations or emigrants to the cities. Approximately 78 percent of the vegetables now processed by the likes of Del Monte, Tenneco and Coke are grown under contract. The farmer agrees to produce a certain crop in a certain way according to given specifications for a stated price. If a potato farmer doesn't like Boeing's contract, for instance, he or she can look forward to a long winter of potato eating, as Hightower says, because often only one corporation will buy the produce. In 1974 A&P was found guilty of conspiring to fix prices paid to cattlemen. Safeway and Kroger were also named as defendants but had the sense to settle out of court. The federal jury found that the supermarket chains had carved out regions in which they had agreed not to compete with each other in buying fresh meat. Many sellers — one buyer.

This is power unaffected by the inefficiencies of giantism. The corporations are notoriously inefficient at everything but turning a profit. The story's the same down on the farm. Every USDA study to date has found that the "family" farm is more efficient than the big corporate farm. Nevertheless, the government regularly rewards the corporate growers, processors, and sellers at the expense of the private citizen. Hightower likes to say that when the small farmers drive up to Washington, they're ignored; when big business drives up, they get curb service.

One of the most interesting, though not most significant, areas of government aid to big business involves research. Federally financed research is a thinly disguised subsidy for the food corporations. When

FIGHTING NUKES AT SEABROOK

Following are two articles by SftP members who were among the 1,400 people arrested for occupying the site of the proposed nuclear reactor at Seabrook, N.H. this past May Day. Although all three were jailed in the same armory, their interpretations of the events significantly differ.

I. Lessons from Seabrook

by Tedd Judd and Betsy Walker

When we were asked to write about the Seabrook occupation we decided almost immediately to discuss our personal experiences and how they altered our political goals and attitudes. This is an important but neglected topic. It concerns the reasons that people join and leave our groups and actions and hence the very strength of our causes.

When we went to Seabrook we expected to stay for the weekend, get arrested, and return home by Monday. As it turned out we stayed two weeks at the expense of jobs and personal obligations. Why did we stay? Certainly the daily news reports showing our successes were important. But even more significant were the experiences which taught us about the relationship between the

Tedd Judd works in clinical and research neuropsychology in a Boston hospital. He is a member of the Sociobiology Group of SftP. He is a feminist with interest in human rights and the behavioral sciences.

Betsy Walker worked in neurobiology labs for several years. She is now becoming increasingly interested in nutrition issues, and is a member of the Food and Nutrition Group of SftP. She has also worked on the editorial committee of the magazine and on women's issues within the organization. Both Tedd and Betsy plan to continue their work with the Clamshell Alliance.

means and ends of a political action.

The proposed tactics for the occupation attracted us to participate because they clearly expressed our intentions. We wanted to stop nuclear power, so we sat on the construction site to prevent the building of a plant. This action provided a message for the press and the public which could not be misinterpreted. In addition, we wanted to dramatize to the larger public the need, the means, and the possibility of determining our own energy policy. As it happened, our action also allowed us to illustrate the government-industry alliance which resists public participation. The clarity of these statements made it personally rewarding to participate.

But it was the common daily experiences of the occupation which let us see more clearly how the personal is political. Two thousand of us came to Seabrook with one stated common goal, to stop nuclear power without using violence. Beyond that, each of us came with our own individual political goals. But we found as we worked together that these goals also often became common ones.

Our affinity group of sixteen people was typical of many. We first got together a week before the occupation for a five-hour session of non-violence training led by organizers of the occupation. A few of us knew each other, but most of us were strangers. We found at that

meeting and at the one other we had before the occupation that we had widely differing amounts of political experience. It was the first demonstration that some people had attended; it was the first arrest for most, including the two of us. Some of the people there were concerned primarily with the issue of nuclear power and its dangers, while others believed that nukes are just one more product of an elitist, profit-seeking system. By the end of the experience, all of us understood more clearly the ties between the nuclear power industry and the state. This awareness spurred on our attempts to evolve decision-making processes which are radically different from those of our capitalist society.

Nowhere were these attitudes better expressed than in the consensus process. Here votes came near the beginning of a discussion, rather than at the end as in a majority rules system. Minority opinions, caucused into alternative or additional proposals, sometimes significantly altered the majority proposal. Always the result was a compromise which *everyone* could accept. This method was used even when severe time pressures made the majority rules system extremely tempting. But sensitivity to individuals did not get in the way of our actions, and the resulting affirmation which came from sticking to the consensus procedure added immeasurably to our solidarity and spirit.

All positions of responsibility were rotated, often daily, including facilitators (chairpeople) of the



Photographs by Ellen Shub

The photos of Seabrook on this and the following pages were taken by Ellen Shub, a Boston-based freelance photographer who has been documenting people's movement struggles since 1973, particularly those involving feminism, health care, and environmental issues.

meetings, representatives to speak with the media, and affinity group spokespeople. These positions were open to all volunteers, although sometimes tempered by the decisions of a group: for instance, the media committee weighed carefully the democratic balance of press conference teams. Slowly, those with greater skill at a task learned to train those with less experience and to appreciate and seek their contributions.

Respect for individuals was a priority throughout, with a special effort to eliminate sexism. Women were well represented in the rotations of all positions. Usually the facilitator of a large meeting made a point of asking for opinions from people who had not yet spoken. When this failed to happen, the regular business of a meeting was often stopped by someone crying "Process!" and pointing out that a woman had been quietly holding up her hand for several minutes while more vocal men had been quickly called upon. Facilitators who found themselves unable to cope with both the content and the process of a meeting occasionally stepped down and let someone else facilitate for a while. In smaller groups, too, the less articulate were encouraged to



speak. Sometimes this brought out new alternatives, sometimes it cleared up misunderstandings. The elimination of sexism could not, of course, be accomplished in a few days, and women still sometimes felt the need to get support by forming groups for women only.

Our process was also helped out by an openness to criticism among both friends and strangers — we

came to offer, accept and seek comments on individual behavior in meetings. Criticism and self-criticism were also institutionalized: each person had a chance to comment on the meeting of a small group at the end without fear of rebuttal. In larger groups time was set aside for evaluation comments.

Our decision-making process was made much more personal, enjoy-

able and efficient by the frequent use of small groups. Most major decisions were first discussed by everyone in groups of 5-20. This gave all a chance to air their views, clear up misunderstandings and hear a variety of opinions. It refined and weeded out proposals and provided everyone with preliminary thinking which greatly sped the mass meetings. At first, this was done by affinity groups, but as arrest and arraignment broke up groups we found it first necessary and then desirable to form new groups.

Towards the end, arbitrary groups were formed for each discussion and this exposed us to fresh opinions, let us meet new people, and increased our feelings of unity with the whole group.

Our community in the Manchester Armory (also known as Personchester or New Freebrook) became remarkably self-reliant. We established a postal service among the five New Hampshire armories where occupiers were staying, a library, an information desk, and a barber shop. Vegetarians ate from an al-



ternative food table established from food we had brought in with us or that was donated by food coops. Health care workers set up a table and dispensed western medicine as well as herbal teas, Chinese Tiger Balm, and goldenseal ointment. A fine arts center with watercolors and scissors kept people busy for hours painting banners, pictures or faces. The large cardboard boxes our cots came in rapidly became kiosks, decorations, tables, and private spaces.

We made music at all times of the day with guitars, recorders, kazoos, and especially with our voices. We sang political songs, friendship songs, and songs written just for the occasion. Usually our daily town meetings started with singing, and when they got tense we sometimes broke the tension with music. Once we sang songs to drown out the loudspeaker as we resisted when they tried to take several of us to trial with inadequate time to prepare, and we celebrated that victory



with song. We had dances, talent shows or theater almost every night at which we spoofed our meals and meetings, our fears and frustrations. All of these things created a very real sense of togetherness and friendship among the people in the armory. From this sense came our confidence and our political strength.

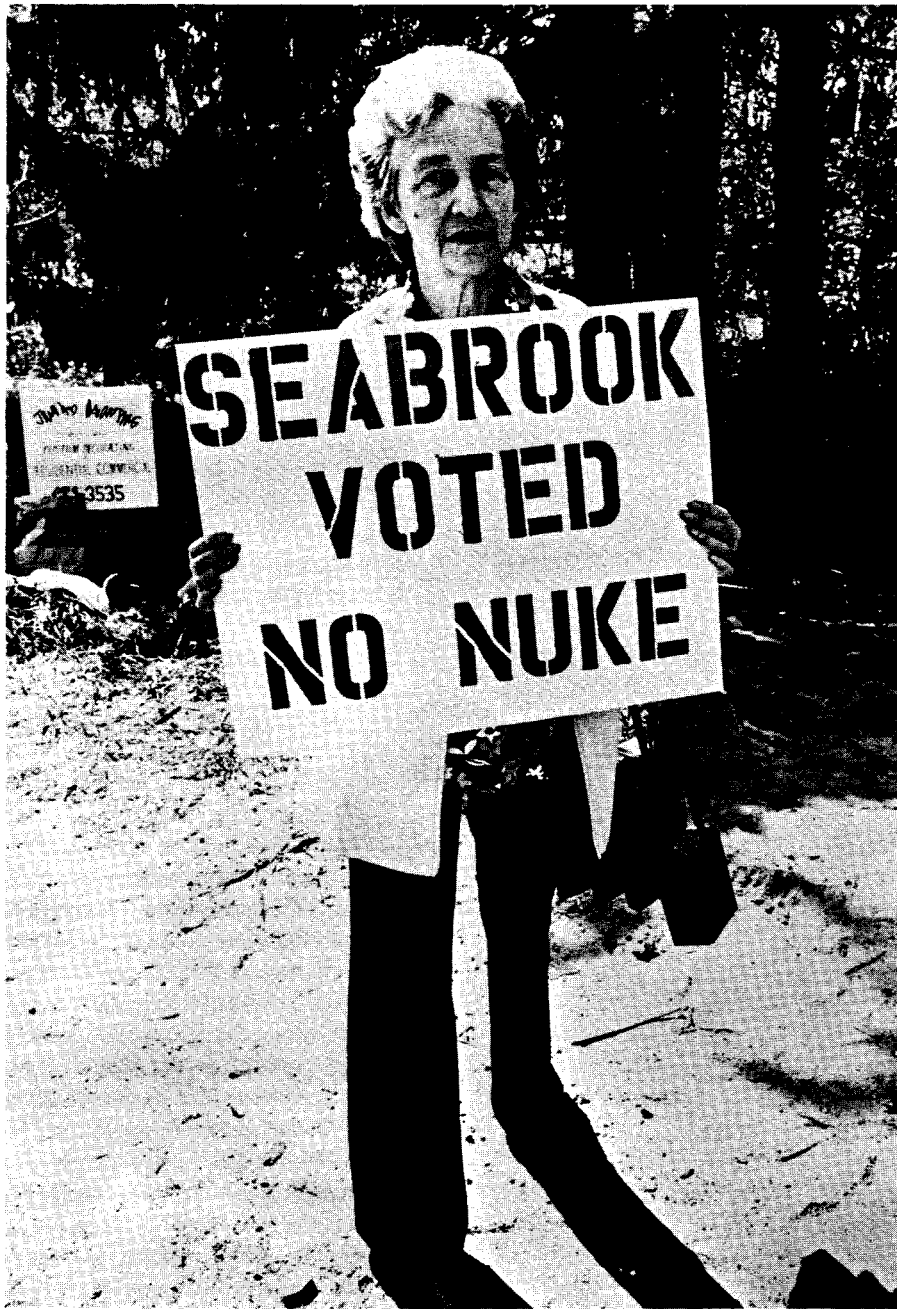
But life in the armory was by no means light and easy. There were times for all of us of fear, loneliness and frustration. Seven hundred people in one room can be fun, but the lack of power to leave the room and to find solitude and quiet produced a tension in all of us. Usually, however, we were unhappy at different times from our friends. People who had been strangers a week before gave us support, ears, hugs and an incredible amount of trust. When they needed it, we gave it back to them.

Every day a few people bailed out of the armory to get back to jobs, exams, family or other commitments. It was hard for them to leave

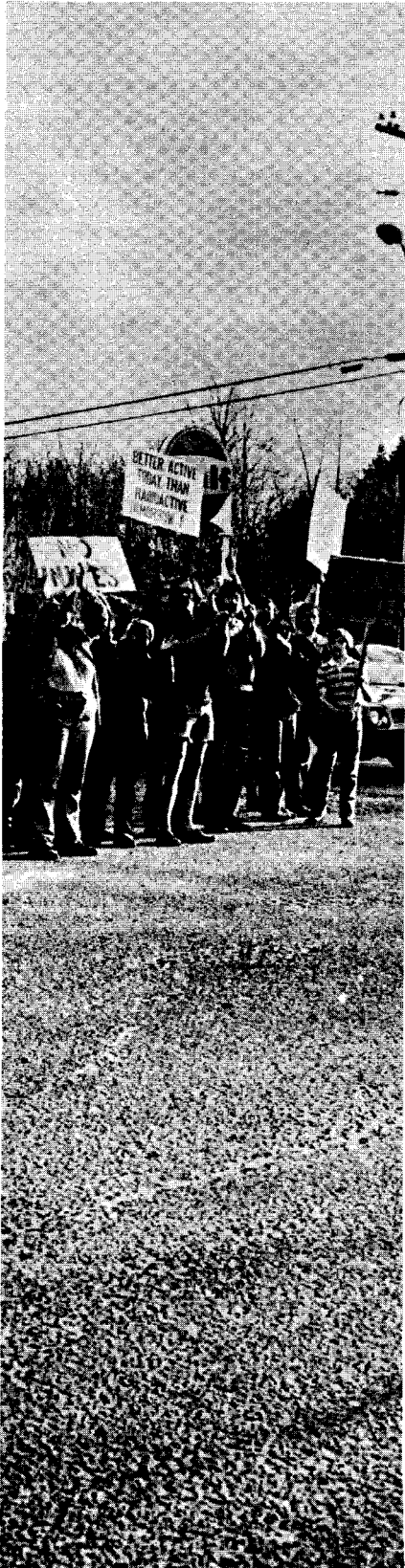
our community with the shared values and the trust we had built up in each other, and it was hard for us to watch them leave, returning to outside friends and freedoms. Whenever a person left, escorted to the door by her affinity group, everyone else stopped what they were doing to applaud the leaving one in thanks for what she had given.

We learned a lesson at Seabrook which is as vital to our political ef-

fectiveness as it is to our personal satisfaction: our goals for society ought to be reflected in the functioning of our political activities. By gaining experience in groups which are maximally responsive to all individuals, we are doing more than serving ourselves; we are providing an example and a precedent for a better organization of the workplace and of other social institutions. □



FIGHTING NUKES AT SEABROOK



II. Whither Clam?

by Frank Bove

I have been a member of the Boston Clamshell Alliance since March of this year. I was arrested at Seabrook, N.H., and spent ten days in the Manchester Armory. Being a socialist and a member of the Science for the People Energy Group (Boston), I had to grapple with the problem of working as a socialist in a reformist, "mass" organization. What follows are observations on Boston Clam's political strengths and weaknesses based on my work in Clam, my experience at the Seabrook site and in the Manchester Armory after the occupation.

Clamshell Alliance is for the most part a young, white, middle-class organization. Like the anti-war movement, there is a hodge-podge of political viewpoints. There are liberal environmentalists who are primarily worried about pollution. There are philosophical pacifists (eg. American Friends Service Committee and other Clam Quakers) who devoutly believe in passive, non-violent action, and who have marched on numerous occasions against war and the war industry. The Clam Quakers are for social change, but not all are explicitly anti-capitalist. They avoid such words as "socialism" and "working class." They also constitute the majority tendency in Clam right now.

Frank Bove, formerly the office coordinator for SftP, is an active member of the New American Movement, SftP and the Clamshell Alliance.

I am among the Clam members who are openly socialist. We have our disagreements, but we all agree that Clam must make an *all-out* attempt to reach out to unions and progressive community groups (e.g. tenant groups) in order to broaden its base and organize working people and minorities. Unlike some reformist organizations, Clam is not hostile to socialists. All socialists who oppose nuclear power and agree to participate non-violently in Clam actions are welcome. I am now working with Clam's Resource Committee preparing a pamphlet on jobs and energy. Clam supported my efforts to form a new committee to do outreach among unions and progressive community groups. Thus, my experience seems to indicate that socialists can play an active role in shaping Clam's direction as well as put forward an explicitly socialist analysis of nuclear power and energy issues in general.

The major problem for socialists in Clamshell is the organization's political passivity towards broad-based organizing. Specifically, our task is first, to convince others of the importance of broadening Clam's base and of linking up with other progressive struggles, and second, to push Clam to place *major emphasis* on actions and activities which will accomplish these aims.

The Politics of Example

Clamshell's strategy against nuclear power has been to occupy the site by nonviolent direct action or

civil disobedience. This strategy distinguishes Clam from other anti-nuke organizations in the U.S. who have fought nuclear power in the courts and at government regulatory hearings. Clam hopes to organize a grassroots movement by its direct action tactics. But there is, at present, a majority tendency in Clam which sees direct, non-violent action primarily as a way of "setting an example" and "expressing one's conscience." This "politics of example" has taken precedence over grassroots community organizing.

At Seabrook, we were all concerned with organizing ourselves and maintaining a non-violent occupation. It was true that we were to

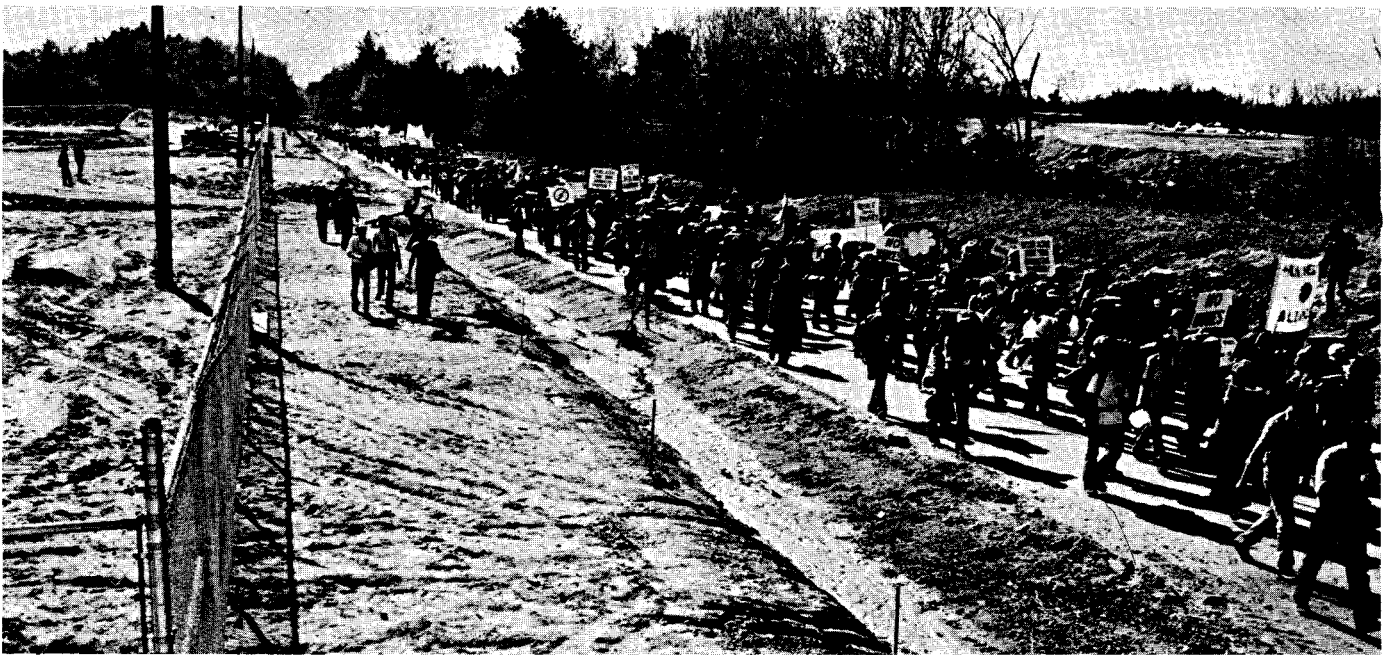
of the lack of political experience of most occupiers and the confusing situation in the armories.

First, Clam had done an excellent job of planning the occupation itself, and I believe the entire operation was for the most part *successful* in stimulating the anti-nuke movement. But, Clam was not really prepared for the long imprisonment. None of us really thought we would be in jail so long, nor did we expect that our rights as prisoners would be denied. We were confused, ill-prepared, and this led to our initial passivity. Hopefully, next time we will be ready to take action quickly to demand our rights.

Second, there was a general lack

to change the minds of Governor Thomson, the heads of GE, Westinghouse, the utilities, and other multinationals, the huge financial institutions, universities and think tanks which have all invested heavily in nuclear power.

Many thought that Thomson was the main enemy and that changing his mind would be enough to stop the Seabrook plant. They had all forgotten the defeated initiatives in other states, the massive media blitzes of the energy giants, and the Carter program which called for a nuclear speedup. They had little political sense of the forces against them, nor did they realize that without worker support, the movement



some degree cooperating with the legal authorities during the occupation, but we were also breaking the law. Once the arrests occurred, however, many of the occupiers transformed themselves into passive, obedient, self-denying Clams. I believe this transformation resulted from 1) lack of adequate planning by Clam, 2) the general political immaturity of many occupiers, and 3) subtle, and perhaps not deliberate, manipulation by Quaker Clams whose opinions prevailed in the face

of political understanding among the occupiers. The majority seemed to underestimate the power and determination of the nuclear conglomerate. They seemed to believe that setting an example by staying in the armories indefinitely, setting up a "model" community, and generally cooperating with the National Guard, would show our determination to stop nuclear power. They believed that this was the most important action we could take. I could not see how this "action" was supposed

against nuclear power will be soundly defeated.

A small group of us fought against this "Woodstock fever." Sure it was great to play music, work out our feelings, sing and dance together! But we argued that this community spirit had to be organized in our own neighborhoods. The most important action we could take was not to build a "model" community in the armory, but to get out of the armory and organize. Organizing a model community in the armory

was relatively easy. There was little cultural or class diversity. The *real test* is building model communities in the Boston and other metropolitan areas.

Confusion around the struggle for our legal rights hampered our efforts. Should we cooperate fully with the National Guard? Or should we force the state's hand by noncooperation? the majority was for *complete* cooperation. In the beginning, I was for limited cooperation, which meant that we should demand our rights, but not confront the guards. It soon became evident to me and others that this strategy would not succeed. We began to push for non-violent confrontation and non-cooperation to force the state to grant us our rights. We spoke out against the passivity which seemed to adhere to the

majority's notion of "non-violent action." Instead of worrying about being nice to the guards, we were more interested in linking our struggle with struggles in other prisons for prisoners' rights. Instead of hobnobbing with the General of the National Guard, we talked to one of the guards who was involved in a strike-boycott against a supermarket conglomerate and spread the word throughout the armory.

Finally, I want to make a stab at analyzing the role of the Quakers in giving Clamshell its tactical direction. The Quakers, in general, and a group called the Movement for a New Society (MNS), specifically, filled the leadership vacuum in the armory largely because they were more organized and experienced in non-violent action. They played an important role in maintaining

peace, and they were very sensitive to people's needs and anxieties. However, through a complex process, they also forced (consciously and unconsciously) their positions on the group, creating a stifling "solidarity."

Being one of the minority of dissidents I want to be self-critical also. We did not organize ourselves nor did we adequately caucus with other Clams to get our ideas across until too late. Instead, at the large meetings we expressed our anger and frustration because our positions were being rejected by the majority. This was our mistake.

The Quakers were primarily concerned with diffusing anger to prevent chaos from breaking out. But these tactics were also a good political move by them because they isolated the dissidents and made them look like "disrupters." Whether the Quakers were aware of this subtle manipulation or not, I don't know. It is important to be able to reduce tension at meetings in order to deal with the politics behind the tension. But what happened was that after the tension was relaxed, discussion about the issues which produced the tension did not take place or was inadequate. We were isolated; our anger was stifled, or it was considered illegitimate or even dangerous, and the passive tendency remained in control.

The majority, in this case, supported passive non-violent action as the best tactic against nuclear power because it allows one to express one's conscience and set an example for the world to see. But who conveys that message to the world? Can we trust the media? Obviously not! More importantly, is this type of political action capable of attracting worker support, or is it more likely to gain the support of students and "weekend warriors?" These are the questions which have come out of the spectacular success of the occupation. It is time for Clam to rise to a new level of struggle. □



Are Sex Roles Biologically Determined?

Freda Salzman

What Have Women Done?



Freda Salzman is a longtime member of SftP, and for the past year has been working with the Sociobiology Study Group of the Boston Chapter. She worked for a number of years with a group of women in the Women, Science and Social Control Collective. She teaches physics at the University of Massachusetts/Boston.

Acknowledgement: The analysis presented in this article is based in part on work done by the Women, Science and Social Control Collective. I am indebted to Marian Lowe for helpful discussions.

Re-emergence of "Biology is Destiny"

In the past ten years, a succession of highly publicized scientific works have purported to demonstrate that women's subordinate position in our society is due, in good part, to innate (genetic) differences between males and females, and not to external factors as claimed by the women's movement. These theories are simply new constructions of that old theme, "Biology is Destiny." Furthermore, these theories argue that sex roles are resistant to change and that dire consequences will result if we try to change them.

The current wave of theories about biological sex role differences took off in the mid-sixties with the beginning of a deluge of books of the "naked apery" genre.(1) By selectively using and misrepresenting the available data,(2) the proponents of the "naked apery" theory of human behavior claimed that male aggression, male dominance and war in our society were, and are, inevitable products of the genes which we share with the apes, the species evolutionarily closest to us. Other research reports seemed to confirm innate male aggressiveness by supposedly discovering that males with an additional Y chromosome commit violent crimes at a higher rate than do normal XY males. It was claimed that the Y chromosome contributes to aggressive tendencies in normal males, and that XYY "supermales" with two Y chromosomes are prone to "super-violence." (It is now known that there is no correlation of XYY males with higher rates of violent crime(3)—nor is there any credible evidence that normal males are innately more aggressive than females.(4))

In 1973, sociologist Steven Goldberg published *The Inevitability of Patriarchy*, which directly attacked the women's movement. The title of the book speaks for itself. Using highly questionable evidence,(4) Goldberg claimed that the subordination of women is an inevitable outcome of hormonal effects on males, which produce male aggression, genius and ability and which leads to male dominance. Finally, the attack on the women's movement — and on people in general who are seeking social change — escalated to a new and dangerous level with the publication in 1975 of E.O. Wilson's *Sociobiology: The New Synthesis*, a book which received the greatest acclaim of all in the current wave.

Sociobiology attempts to show that salient features of our present society are biologically determined. According to the theory, socially significant human traits are genetically based and have evolved under the influence of natural selection. Employing the same discredited methodology as the “naked apery” theory,(5) *Sociobiology* has at its heart the thesis that hierarchy and patriarchy are inevitable. The growing number of popularizations of the theory have particularly focused upon claims for innate male-female differences. The re-emergence of interest in sex-difference research is part of a general resurgence of biological determinist theories which try to demonstrate that our highly stratified society, based mainly on class, race and sex, is due to genetic differences between these groups and not to societal factors. Historically, biological determinism as a theory of the status quo has been widely publicized and encouraged during periods of considerable social unrest and questioning of societal institutions.

Clearly, the group which benefits most from such theories is an extremely small but wealthy and privileged class. This elite, through its extensive control of the media, education and funding institutions, can strongly influence public opinion and the direction of research. The elite finds it far easier to promote theories which undermine demands for equality than to spend money to eliminate inequality. For example, the main way in which women are discriminated against is through sex-stereotyped jobs. Women now comprise about forty percent of the wage labor force and are demanding equal pay for equal work. From the corporate managers’ point of view, it would be excessively expensive to create that many new well-paying jobs.

Sociobiology is clearly comparable, in principles, scope and framework, to Social Darwinism, the most widely held theory of biological determinism in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Social Darwinism, which applied the ideas of evolutionary biology to social development, strongly justified the established social order of the period — a fiercely and brutally competitive capitalist economic system and a stratified social structure, again based primarily on class, race and sex. In the U.S. Social Darwinism provided important support for the eugenics movement which led to sterilization laws in a number of states and the immigration law of 1924, which restricted immigration on the basis of national origin.

In the remainder of this article, I will focus on the study of the sexual differentiation of the brain, for two reasons. One is that the mechanism currently proposed by scientists to explain sex-differentiated behavior is the effect of sex hormones on the brain. Since this research is fairly sophisticated and sounds credible, I think we should know more about this work, the questions it asks, and the evidence it offers. Second, I hope to show

that the attempt to establish a genetic basis for social-sexual differences (or for inequalities based on class and race) in a society in which the sexes are differentially reared is “bad” science. Moreover, even if we could establish a genetic basis for sex differences in our society, this would tell us nothing about how plastic or resistant these traits would be to changes in the environment. The same criticisms have been leveled against attempts to establish a genetic basis for class and race differences. (This has been discussed with respect to the I.Q. controversy.)

“Sex in Brain”— Past

In *The Study of Sociology* (1873), Herbert Spencer ascribed women’s inferior mental capabilities to their “arrested” evolutionary development, which was required in order to save their “vital power to meet the cost of reproduction.” Furthermore, through “struggles for existence” in which the fittest women were those who survived against “aggressive, unscrupulous, intensely egoistic” stronger males, “women’s nature” evolved to please men, to disguise their own feelings, to rely on intuition, and to admire male power — and power in general. These supposedly innate feminine attributes obviously reflected the upper- and middle-class Victorian ideal of true Womanhood.

Sociobiology has at its heart the thesis that hierarchy and patriarchy are inevitable.

Scientists attempted to “verify” women’s mental inferiority and inferior “nature” by studying the size, weight, shape and fissural patterns of the brain. In 1887, a well-known New York neurologist and former United States Surgeon General claimed in an article in the *Popular Science Monthly* that the female brain was measurably inferior to that of a man. Incensed, Helen Hamilton Gardener (pen name of Alice Chenoweth Day, a prominent women’s suffrage leader)(6) took up the study of brain anatomy and in 1888 wrote a paper entitled, “Sex in Brain.” Assuming the data to be as alleged, she set out to prove that the brain mass of a woman was not demonstrably different from that of a man who grew up under the same conditions and with the same opportunity for development. As a result of her studies, she discovered that on the average, brain differences between persons of the same sex and achievements were much more marked than any that were known to exist between the sexes. Gardener willed her own brain to the famous Wilder Brain Collection at Cornell University. Examination of her brain was reported to reveal

high development in all regions and supposedly fewer sex differences than in other female brains. At the time, this was attributed to her being an exceptional woman.(7) The general effort, however, to correlate gross brain structure with intellectual achievements and personality traits was unsuccessful, and interest in this work tapered off.

At first women perversely came out ahead on what were considered to be crucial measurements: ratios of brain weight to body weight(8) and scores on the first Stanford-Binet IQ test in 1916.(9) These results were quietly put aside. Subsequent IQ tests were standardized so that males and females had equal averages.

Freud's theory of the psychology of women finally located a woman's crucial deficiency — she lacked a penis. From this indisputable anatomical fact, Freud constructed a whole theory — now known to be without substance(10) — which explained women's subordinate role in society, a theory based on the biological determinist notion that "Anatomy is Destiny." The selective use of Freudian ideas in this country helped to reinforce woman's traditional — and subordinate — role as wife and mother and to provide an ideology by which the increasing number of women who were entering the wage labor force failed to see themselves as real workers. Due to the predominant belief that the differential social and economic status of different groups in society was biologically determined, Freudian ideas were readily accepted *even by women*.

Current Research

There has been considerable effort in current research to demonstrate that supposed innate differences in male-female behavior are due to the effects of sex hormones on the brain. Extensive studies in rats have shown that in a critical period during the first week after birth, the testes of males secrete the male hormone testosterone which organizes or, as it descriptively put, "lays down the circuits for," a male brain. The male-organized brain is irreversible, leads to an essentially acyclic (male) pattern of sex hormone production, and determines characteristic stereotyped male behavior, which in rats is mounting and fighting. The brain of a rat which is not exposed to testosterone (or high levels of other sex hormones which are closely related) during the critical period develops an irreversible female-organized brain. This leads to a cyclic pattern of ovarian function and ovulation, with an estrus period ("heat"), when stereotypical female behavior is displayed. This behavior includes assuming the lordosis position (elevation of the rump) in the presence of mature males.

The part of the brain of the rat which is most involved in this sex-differentiated behavior is the hypothalamus and the limbic system (an "old" or "primitive" part of the mammalian brain in terms of evolu-

tionary development)." The hypothalamus-limbic system is concerned with the self-regulation of the various body functions such as eating, drinking, and mating behavior, as well as emotion and motivation. The hypothalamus both secretes and responds to hormones. The hypothalamus of the female rat has been shown to regulate, through its effect on the pituitary and the feedback influence of ovarian hormones, the cyclic pattern of ovulation. This mechanism appears to be the basic one for female cyclicality in all mammalian species.

Scientists are now trying to explain the differences in behavior between men and women by the effects before birth of sex hormones on the brain.

What do these results mean for human behavior? Biological determinists claim that the hypothalamus-limbic system is "wired" or "programmed" for instinctual behavior, as Wilson does in the opening paragraphs of *Sociobiology*:

The hypothalamus-limbic complex of a highly social species such as man [*sic*], "knows," or more precisely it has been programmed to perform as if it knows, that its underlying genes will be proliferated maximally only if it orchestrates behavioral responses that bring into play an efficient mixture of personal survival, reproduction, and altruism.(12)

Other biological determinists are less "deterministic" with respect to the role of sex hormones in establishing male-female differences. They realize that the diversity among individuals of one sex is greater than the average difference between males and females. Furthermore, there is tremendous cross-cultural variation concerning what is considered "male" and "female" behavior. These "limited" determinists acknowledge that the predominant influence in establishing gender differences is the social transmission of behavioral norms. Money and Ehrhardt, in their book *Man and Woman, Boy and Girl*, describe cases in which chromosomal XX females were successfully reared as males and chromosomal XY males as females. These cases indicate the overriding importance of social factors. Nevertheless, on the basis of sex hormone studies in animals and extremely limited studies of humans, Money and Ehrhardt emphasize throughout the book the effect of prenatal hormones in organizing male-female brains. They state that the presence or absence of male hormones establishes "certain patterns or organization in the brain, especially, by inference, in the hypothalamic pathways that will subsequently influence certain aspects of sexual behavior."(13) They claim that chromosomal females exposed

to excess prenatal androgens, the male hormones, are prone to be "tomboys," while chromosomal males exposed to insufficient prenatal androgens are prone to be "rather placid."(14) This theme is rapidly being picked up by others, who then argue that inequality of the sexes is due in good part to biological differences arising from hormonally produced, sexually differentiated propensities in behavior.(15) Thus, for example, anthropologist Patricia Draper speaks of the importance of fetal hormones in "pre-programming" the brain which causes the sexes to respond differentially to certain stimuli. Sociologist Alice Rossi adds a "bio-evolutionary perspective" to show how sexually-differentiated behavior evolved under the influence of natural selection, a purely speculative discussion once again made respectable by sociobiology.

What have actual studies in humans demonstrated? Needless to say, human females have not been observed to go into estrus during which time they present their rumps to mature males. In humans and in non-human primates, there does *not* seem to be a critical period for the irreversible differentiation of the brain with respect to the male or female pattern of hormonal production.(16) although some sex-differentiation is expected in the hypothalamus. The cyclic female pattern can occur after human (and non-human primate) females have been exposed to high levels of androgens before and after birth, and experiments on rhesus monkeys indicate the capacity for cyclical response remains totally intact in adult males. So even this "old" part of the brain, which one might expect to be the most "wired" or programmed with respect to this specific physiological function, appears to be far more plastic in humans — and non-human primates — than originally anticipated, and also *not* to be sexually differentiated.

The hypothalamus appears *not* to be sexually differentiated in humans and so is incapable of explaining sex differences in behavior.

In order to explore the effects of hormones on behavior, studies of the behavior of women with respect to hormonal change during the menstrual cycle have been carried out. These studies — clearly not done to help women — seek evidence of a "wired-in" response, that is, correlations between mood, sexuality and mating positions, and hormonal levels. At best we can say that these studies are inconclusive and provide evidence of the methodological problems with all such investigations. Hormones cause real, noticeable physiological changes, as women using birth control pills have found

Photo by Ellen Shub



out. The so-called premenstrual syndrome experienced by many women and characterized by heightened irritability and tensions may be due to physiological factors such as water retention, constipation, nausea and breast pains.(18) In particular, depression and water retention may be caused by sodium retention and potassium depletion in cells, due to the sharply dropping levels of progesterone (one of the hormones produced in the cycle) prior to the onset of the period. Inadequate diet and insufficient exercise may also contribute to the physiology of the syndrome. Socialization appears to be an important factor since a woman's attitude towards her oncoming period may influence her mood. In addition, the very definition of the premenstrual syndrome appears to be questionable.(19)

One of the most frequently cited human examples which is claimed to demonstrate the sexual differentiation of the brain (and which supports the contention that the results found in rats also apply to humans) is that of a small number of chromosomal XX females who were exposed while still in the womb to unusually high levels of androgens, the "male" hormone. These fetally androgenized females, as they are called, were actually born with male genitalia in various stages of development and later underwent corrective surgery. The subsequent behavior of a group of twenty-five fetally androgenized females, along with that of a control group, was studied by Money and colleagues and reported in *Man and Woman, Boy and Girl*. These fetally androgenized females were reported to engage in more "tomboyish" activities than the controls, but not to

such an extent as to make them conspicuously different from other girls. This whole effect can be explained plausibly by environmental differences, resulting from the parents' ambivalence toward their daughters born with male genitalia. Some of the females, in fact, were actually assigned the male sex at birth.

It is now clear that in humans and non-human primates, the cerebral cortex (the "new" brain) tends to dominate brain functions, and modifies the influence of the hypothalamus-limbic system on the expression and regulation of emotion. In humans, the cerebral cortex has primary control of all higher functions and is extremely plastic. A given physiological state in humans can have a variety of quite diverse behavioral expressions, depending on past learning experience and the social situation.(20)

The latest claims for a sex-differentiated brain are based on psychological tests of functions which involve the cerebral cortex. The brain is divided into two hemispheres, and a number of functions appear to be controlled in the left or right hemisphere. This is called left or right lateralization. Language and analytic abilities appear to be left lateralized; visual-spacial functions to be right lateralized. There are some reports that boys' and girls' brains may be lateralized differently with respect to certain tasks such as those involving visual-spacial ability. The hypothesis is now being put forward that these differences in lateralization are correlated with differences in performance.(21) This suggestion has been seized upon to explain women's supposedly inferior mental achievements — and, as usual, has gotten front-page publicity in the newspapers, as in an article entitled "Why there are few female geniuses," which appeared recently in a Boston newspaper.(22)

Rats from the same litter placed in different environments have measurable differences in brain anatomy and chemistry. Such a fact makes it difficult to attribute even differences in brain anatomy to genetic factors.

Differences in lateralization in boys' and girls' brains (if these results are correct) bring us back to the claims being made in the 1880's of innate male-female differences in gross brain anatomy and their correlation with intellectual achievement and personality traits. Helen Hamilton Gardener's objection to these claims is still valid today and is supported by other experiments which show that structural and functional differences in the brain may result from environmental influences.

General Critique

What conclusions can we draw from these studies? My various remarks give some of the basis for the statement, that there is at this time no credible scientific evidence that genetic basis exists for *any* socially significant human behavior trait (in the normal range) or for social forms in our society — and, of course, this includes male-female behavioral differences and sex-roles in our society. Claims to date of genetic bases for socially significant traits are either methodologically flawed or purely speculative.

It is simply not possible to divide behavior into separate genetic and environmental components and to discuss them separately.

One might still ask: What about sex-differentiation of the brain? As I indicated above, on the basis of experiments on rodents, it has been anticipated that there will be some biological differences between male and female brains at the level of the hypothalamus, although less than once believed. If differences in lateralization in boys' and girls' brains exist, they may well be accompanied by measurable differences in the brain anatomy. (Parenthetically, I must add at this point that differences in the average performance between any groups based on race, class or sex, are usually small compared to differences between individuals of a given group. Thus, there is usually considerably overlap in abilities. It is rather manipulative use of statistics to explain, for example, sex-roles as being due to average differences between males and females, since in almost all traits there are a good number of females who score higher than most males and this great diversity is not at all reflected by the positions which males and females have in our society.)

The question, then, is if biological differences exist, what is their significance? That is, to what extent are the differences due to genetic or to environmental determinants? In effect, we are back at the Nature-Nurture question which re-emerged with the claim made by Jensen and Herrnstein that the difference in mean IQ scores between races and classes was due to genetic factors. Some of the crucial data, that of Cyril Burt, on which Jensen and Herrnstein based their argument, has been shown to be fraudulent. But even if this were not the case, careful critiques show that the fundamental question which Jensen and Herrnstein raised is *strictly meaningless scientifically*.(23) It is simply not possible to divide behavior into separate genetic and environmental components and to discuss them separately.

The reason for this is that there is an extremely important part, called the genetic-environmental interaction, which makes such a division mathematically impossible. The following hypothetical example illustrates this point: Organism A with a particular set of genes (called genotype) performs better than organism B with a different genotype on some task in a particular environment. Let us assume that 80 percent of this difference is due to genetic factors. This does not mean that in

Reports that boys' and girls' brains may be lateralized differently have been seized upon to explain women's supposedly inferior achievements.

every conceivable environment A will perform better than B. In another environment, A may well perform worse than B. In humans, many genes are expected to contribute to the expression of any single trait. We have no basis for assuming that the performance of all genotypes will vary in the same way with environment. This means that even if we could establish that the difference between two groups in the performance of a particular task was partially due to genetic differences, this result would only be meaningful with respect to the particular environment studied. It would tell us nothing about how either group would perform in another environment.

We now come to the more immediate methodological problem in the nature-nurture question which we posed earlier: What can we say about biological differences if they exist between two groups in our society? This methodological problem is illustrated by studies of rats conducted by M. Rosenzweig and colleagues and described in an article "Brain Changes In Response to Experience."⁽²⁴⁾ Their experiments demonstrate that rats from the same litter, who are placed in environments which provide different experiences and stimulation, show measurable differences in brain anatomy and chemistry. The experimenters find, for example, that the rats in the "enriched" stimulative environment have thicker cerebral cortices than those from the "impoverished" environment. There are other changes as well, down to structural differences at the synaptic junctions where nerve cells make contact.

The conclusion is that it is impossible to say anything about the genetic basis for differences observed between any two groups raised in different environments. Discovery of biological differences in brain function or differences in performance between two groups reared in different environments cannot be attributed to genetic differences between groups. There is, moreover, a good body of evidence that indicates that environments for boys and girls differ from the time that social interactions begin following birth.

Just as in the case of the supposedly more biologically determinist theories which claim that differences in socially significant behavioral traits are genetically based, the suggestions that the fetal hormones organize the brain into male-female patterns which predispose the sexes to have certain "tendencies" or make them differentially sensitive to certain stimuli cannot be tested for humans. Under these circumstances, any attempt to perform these experiments is "bad" science. Moreover, all the observations for which this hypothesis has been invoked to explain can quite plausibly be explained by environmental factors, as critics of Money and Ehrhardt⁽⁴⁾ and Patricia Draper⁽¹⁵⁾ have pointed out.

Finally, we see that studying the genetic basis of human traits in any given environment tells us nothing about what the trait would be like in another environment — particularly, how plastic or resistant a trait will be to changes in the environment. We lack a general theory to make any predictions. Even though we do not have a general theory, however, there is very good evidence that we can proceed empirically to try to effect social change. In certain third world countries, the position of women has altered radically in the last few decades: in China, Cuba, and Vietnam, the position of women has improved dramatically; in parts of Africa, which are undergoing further penetration and development under the influence of Western capitalism, women's position has deteriorated.⁽²⁵⁾ Such rapid changes, some for the better and some for the worse, are difficult to explain by biological determinism, since genetic changes are extremely slow. These changes are clearly correlated with rapid economic, political and social changes. We have every reason to believe that the creation of a just and equal society is *humanly* possible. □

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SEX ROLES, *continued on p. 43*

Voluntown, 1977— SftP Conference

Photo by Robert Shapiro



Science for the People held its annual conference this past spring in Voluntown, Conn., on the weekend of April 15-17. Previous gatherings have been called "Northeast Regional Conferences." This one was billed as an "Eastern Regional Conference," but, with almost every active chapter in the country officially or unofficially represented, the focus of the gathering became national in scope.

The goal of the conference was to evaluate the past practice of SftP in order to define future directions for the organization; and then, it was hoped, to formulate a national program for SftP centered around specific issues, like nuclear power or recombinant DNA, selected by the conference participants.

The agenda, as planned, was:

Friday evening. Arrival, meeting people, a skit on political economy.

Saturday. A morning plenary (full session of all participants) on history and analysis of past chapter practice, composed of reports by all chapters of the previous year's work. Then, in the afternoon, small group discussions on specific issues, like the China trip or occupational health, examining the potential of these for a base for a national program. Finally, a plenary or full session on past national practice, which would include discussion of the magazine and AAAS activities. That evening: entertainment and partying.

Sunday. A morning plenary to derive organizational principles for SftP, and formulate a national program. In the afternoon, sessions to implement resolutions passed.

For various reasons, this agenda was transformed over the course of the weekend. At the request of all the women present, a full session was held on Saturday afternoon to discuss sexism and the problems of group process in the organization, which include elitism and racism as well. There was also a follow-up session that evening on the same topic. Other discussions, such as the workshops on specific issues, or the session on the magazine, either had their focus shifted, were postponed or were curtailed.

A potentially interminable discussion on how much national priority should be given to various issues was curtailed. Thus, no national program around specific topics was formulated. The task of defining or creating a national organizational structure different from the present loose federation of chapters was postponed. Instead, a two-part resolution was passed, which set an emphasis on building new chapters and improving communication among present chapters. The second part of that resolution detailed how these goals were to be implemented: writing of chapter histories, exchanging minutes, travel to new chapters, etc.

Rather than try to get a group of people to write a definitive, detailed and objective report on the conference in time for this issue, the Editorial Committee decided that it was more realistic to solicit personal accounts of the weekend from individual participants. We asked a number of people, and received the following accounts, one each from Tallahassee and Ann Arbor, and two from Boston.

—E.C.

ANN ARBOR

Finally, I had a chance to meet these people whose names appeared so anonymously in the magazine. It was an exciting prospect that kept me entertained throughout (at least part of) the sixteen-hour drive from Ann Arbor to Voluntown, and the reality of the conference certainly exceeded my fantasies. Despite the lack of sleep, I managed to concentrate on the business at hand and mingle, socially and intellectually, with the motley group of people there to our mutual benefit. Members from Berkeley, Tallahassee, Urbana, NYC, etc. exchanged their local experiences, the result being a feeling of unity with them and of the national scope of the work we've been trying to do in Ann Arbor.

The Saturday session was devoted to discussing sexism in SftP. The

necessity for such a discussion became painfully obvious while listening to some of the comments made. The fruits of that discussion were an increasing awareness of the pervasiveness and insidiousness of the problem. And a dedication to constructively apply our commitment to fighting sexism to our work within SftP. The openness of the discussion was really encouraging and I think it immensely improved the later sessions.

The endless talking was exhausting, but it was offset by the humorous skits Friday and Saturday nights, the idyllic surroundings of rural Connecticut, and the friendliness and warmth of all those attending.

A particular high point for me was the chance to exchange views and information with members of

the Boston Science Teaching Group and with the magazine staff. It added a personal flavor to my interactions with them that will make our work together in the future much more meaningful and fruitful.

As we drove back to Ann Arbor, I kept asking myself, "Why hadn't I come to these before?" and "When is the next one going to be?"

—Scott Schneider

BOSTON I.

What did you think of the regional conference?, they asked. I had to pause and think. Even now, two months later, my feelings about it are very mixed.

On a personal level, I was very glad to have participated in the conference, being as it was my first SftP conference. It was good to meet people from other chapters, especially after talking on the phone or corresponding by letter with many of them for several months. I had a much stronger sense of SftP as a national organization and began to understand how it has functioned through the years as a loosely knit federation of chapters. I particularly enjoyed meeting with women from other chapters. In sharing some of our experiences and reflections on SftP I think we deepened our understanding of the problems of both sexism and elitism with which we have struggled separately and created a solidarity and strength among us.

In more general terms, I was rather disappointed in the conference. The chapter reports Saturday morning tended to be too long, with little self-evaluation and little time as allowed for criticism and response. The early afternoon discussion of sexism (which pre-empted the scheduled agenda) was beneficial in some ways. I felt it was important that SftP seriously look at the issues of sexism and elitism and how these affect our internal process, not to



Photo by Robert Shapiro

mention the political work we do. For some people, the discussion was elucidating as women pointed out specific examples (like feeling intimidated by heavy academic jargon) of the problems and their subtleties. However, although I felt the discussion was good, I later felt that rather than talk about problems of sexism, we, the women, should have *acted*, taken political leadership and used our unity and strength to assert our vision of SftP. Well, at least it was an important political lesson for the future.

The small group discussions on specific topics later that afternoon seemed quite successful. It was easier to talk to exchange ideas and feelings. Another good lesson for future practice.

One major problem with the conference was that we seemed to have learned little from previous conferences and in fact many people did not even know what had taken place in the preceding years. There was a clear need for some sort of historical review. It seemed like we didn't really discuss anything new; the organization didn't grow.

The one resolution that was passed on chapter building and improving internal lateral organization and communication did seem to hold some promise for possible results because specific steps for implementation were included. Another lesson.

Although I have been fairly critical of the conference I feel good about it as I think I learned a lot from it. I hope the organization has learned from it too. I do feel that the chapters are committed to maintaining closer, better ties with each other, to working on improving group process, and to directing more energy towards taking science to the people, as opposed to just other academics and professionals.

—Kathy Greeley

Photo by Robert Shapiro



BOSTON II.

Caution: These are my recollections of the Regional Conference. If you're interested in what actually happened, please turn to another account.

Voluntown! My God, it's way beyond 128! Who knows what might be out there? Worked for weeks getting the car ready for a voyage beyond the known universe (see map). Should we take food? Do they use gasoline out there? At last it was time to tempt Fate and depart.

Friday night: Should have brought food. Great famine! CNVA staff gives friendly welcome and discourse on difficulties presented by vegetarianism. Assured them some of our best friends were vegetables. Seem to be mollified. Prospects for

Glenn Wargo has been active in SftP since 1972 and is now a member of the Computer Group and the Fuming Hoods guerilla theater group. He works as a computer person and has the energy of a dynamo and the brain of a vacuum tube. His first autobiography was about his car.

food tomorrow. Saw skit on Mark Twain's thoughts on political economy. Kathy was great. Glenn needs improvement.

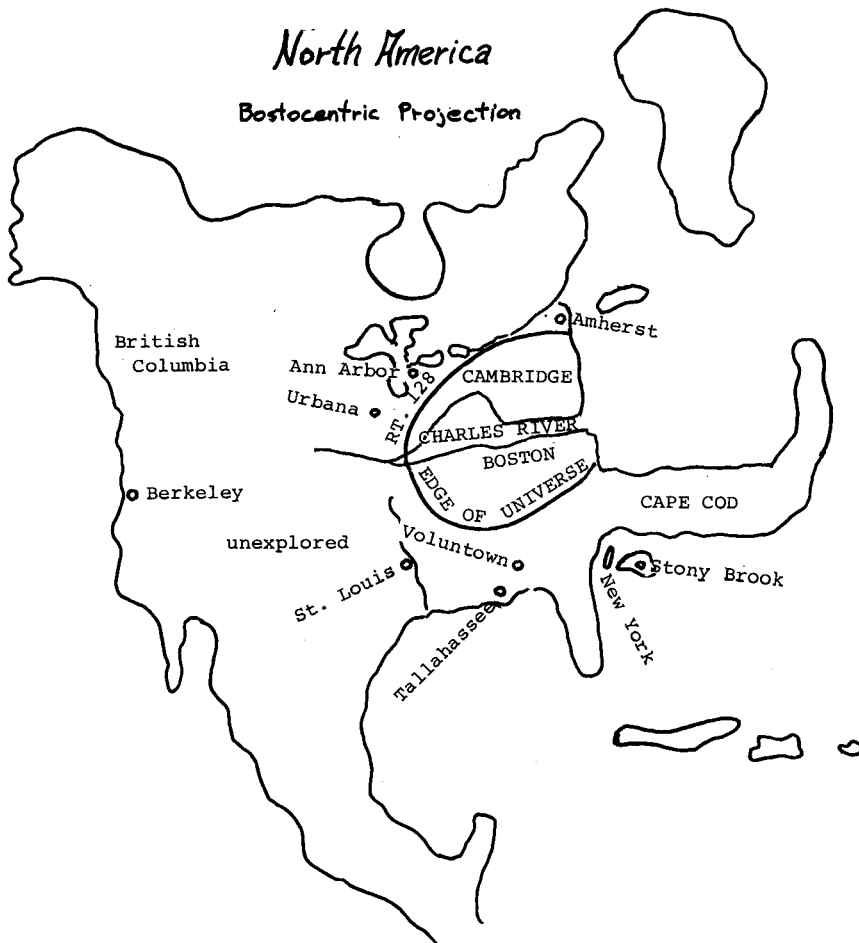
Saturday: Breakfast! Big meeting. Heard reports from many distant chapters, along with everything ever written in Boston. Good to know there are full-fledged chapters busily operating in so many places. Even a paragraph in British Columbia.

Break for lunch. Women call a separate meeting during lunch. Uh oh. Are we headed for Marx Brothers vs. Lenin Sisters?

Later: Storm hits. Women speak of alienation of themselves and new members; a lack of personal support in meetings, our failure to respond to what one another says, of rhetoric, of men talking in speeches. Substantial agreement. Several men tell why the ability to speak clearly in plain English is the *sine qua non* of political dialectic. Impossible to understand. Others seem to be doing better, as they are nodding. Or are they falling asleep?

Workshops. Women in Science. Much was shared, much to think about, there and in later plenary.

TALLAHASSEE



This is a report, a testimonial and a criticism from a non-northeastern perspective. Our trip North was a multipurpose event in that we had three main objectives:

First we traveled to New York City to meet with progressive students and a full time organizer from Dominica (a country in the West Indies). Our chapter has had a "Books for Dominica" program going for some time but all information exchange had been by mail. A people-to-people interview was very important (not to mention exciting) to insure that the books being sent would relate to the problems of their country. They met us at the airport and gave us a political tour of Harlem and Columbia University. Later they gave a two-hour interview about the various aspects of developmental science and technology in Dominica. This meeting alone would have made the trip North worthwhile, but there is much more.

Next, we caught a ride with the Stony Brook SftP folk to Voluntown. Since they also were in a China Study Group we did a lot of talking about China on the way there. The conference was a very inspiring scene... seeing that many science activists in one place is pretty heady stuff. But more about the conference later.

Lastly, after the conference we caught a ride with the Salzmans to Cambridge where we hung out at the SftP office for a couple of days going through their resource files, back issues of their exchange magazines, talking with SftP folk, etc. We learned a lot about the mechanics of SftP (i.e., what makes the movement move). It was here that a Tallahassee person got recruited to the editorial collective. We also got to visit Rita Arditti... one of Tallahassee SftP's favorite people. The hospitality of the Cambridge-Boston folk was astounding. We had a great time.

Perhaps we are really starting to come to grips with sexism. Later discussion of AAAS. Confusing. Agreement that AAAS is of primary importance, although secondary.

Saw two plays: Agribusiness crankie and "Laboratory!" Inspiring. Must go home and organize.

Sunday: Much talk of magazine and the need to spread effort and control beyond Boston. After lunch, National Support Group presents proposal to try to define politics and national program of the organization — a goal which seems to be defended by some kind of cosmic Dryden.* Observations fragmen-

tary, as it was my turn to work on dish crew. Apparently Aphrodite sided with NSG. Hera was opposed. Achilles undecided. Discord and her sister Stravinsky seen entering hall.

Frantic effort to finish up. Get volunteers for everything. Many decisions left to last minute. Should chapter contacts be in magazine or on separate sheet? What kind of paper? Two holes or three? Tension. Exhaustion. Finished.

Clean up and point homeward, nervously scanning horizon. Can you re-enter the universe at the point you left? Does leaving create a space warp? At last the safety of 128 and the skyline of Boston. Another conference relegated to the pages of history. By the way, was anybody taking minutes?

—Glenn Wargo

*Ken Dryden is goalie for the Montreal Canadiens hockey team. Almost impossible to score against. I was told that every article had to have at least one footnote.

But now back to the conference and our impressions of it. The chapter reports, activity group reports and workshops were very interesting and useful to us, we were reinforced positively. The conference was a people-to-people thing and we learned a lot about SftP that we could never have learned by reading the magazine, by letter writing, etc. The China Study Group meetings (seven hours of them) were very valuable to us. The meeting of the non-northeastern chapters was also an important event. We discussed ways of spurring local initiative so everything does not fall into the laps of the Boston-Cambridge folk. It was especially invigorating to talk with people from the newer chapters about the problems they have had starting and maintaining chapters in "isolated" territories. The entertainment at the conference was superb... the skits were both humorous and political. Good revolutionary culture to take back to the home folk. We observed (and took part in) an interesting technique of fighting sexism and elitism via the pre/post workshop sessions. The food, the housing, the meeting facility, etc. were terrific... the CNVA folk did a really great job. Voluntown is a great place to have a conference.

Now for a few constructive criticisms:

(1) The lack of emphasis on national minorities can only be interpreted as a criminal act. SftP should not be guilty of this sort of thing. Perhaps we should use some of the same tactics we are using to fight sexism and elitism to fight racism (i.e., an article in each issue of the magazine, direct confrontation within SftP, etc.).

(2) Name tags. They are essential if one wants to cater to the new people who will be coming from new chapters. There are just too many new names and faces to keep straight at first. Dammit, this is important, it's not a bourgeois request.

(3) Ordering of events. Priorities were reflected in the ordering of ev-

ents in that the last items on the list were not covered well due to a lack of time. Even on the first day, chapter reports from the "outlying areas" were given last and had to be rushed through if we were to be finished on time. Mostly these were the new chapters... the ones we can learn the most from as regards learning how new chapters get started. But the biggest bummer was the fact that the issue of chapter initiation growth was brought up on the afternoon of the last day of the conference. People were wiped out by then. Many of the people who could have contributed the most had to leave by this time because they had to travel the farthest to get back home. Next year chapter initiation and building should be very early on the agenda.

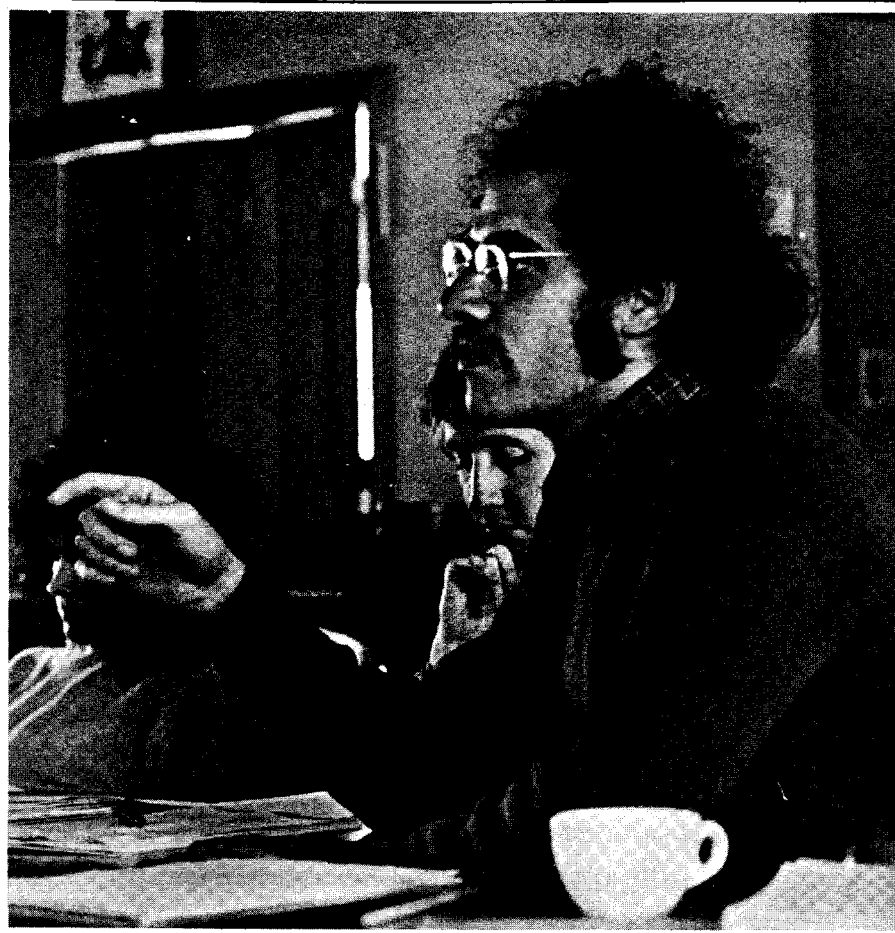
(4) A hand-out should be prepared with a glossary of terms used in implementing the rules of proced-

ure for those not well versed in parliamentary procedure (i.e, what is a "friendly amendment", etc.).

(5) Not enough time was spent talking about the magazine and the direction it is taking. This also was scheduled for the last day. Our claim is that the magazine is *the most important tool* for locating and sparking local initiative to start new chapters, more important even than sending an organizer.

(6) Not enough time was spent talking about our relationship with other groups, issues of national scope, etc. This sort of thing should be talked about more... if not at the conference then more should be done in the magazine (or in the IDB). This sort of thing is important as an outreach procedure. Without more outreach we will stagnate. We need two, three,... many new chapters.

—Tallahassee Delegation



Inequality and Schools: A Conference

March 19, 1977—Coordinated by the Boston SftP Science Teaching Group

The Boston Chapter Science Teaching Group has been working since 1971 to expose the social and political content of science in both secondary school and college classrooms. Over the years we have: prepared critiques of existing curricular materials; developed some of our own classroom materials (e.g., "Genetic Engineering," *Feed, Need, Greed*); attended local and national teachers' conferences — to intervene in scheduled sessions and to offer our own workshops; held two of our own conferences; and provided a speakers' list for local high schools.

During the last several years as the crisis over busing and desegregation in the Boston schools has inten-

sified, we have occasionally sought to find ways in which we, as a group of radical science teachers, could respond. Finally, last spring, we decided to educate ourselves about the issues and considered coordinating a conference around the theme of "Busing and Racism." After reading a number of articles on the busing crisis and an article by Bowles and Gintis, "IQ in the US Class Structure" (*Social Policy*, Nov.-Dec., 1972) we began to contact local radical groups (e.g., Union of Radical Political Economists) and community groups and other teachers' groups, (e.g., the educational caucus of the Boston Teachers' Union) to see if they would join our effort.

While there was a great deal of interest in such a conference, they were not ready, at that time, to expend the time and energy to co-sponsor it. Meanwhile, we decided to expand the scope of the conference to include issues of class and sex. We felt it was important to describe the connections, similarities and differences among the various forms of oppression.

We floundered for several months about the scope, nature and audience of the conference. In particular we were unclear if our goals were to organize for change in the Boston schools or to raise consciousness. Eventually we narrowed to mainly the latter, feeling organizing wasn't realistic in view of our

having only one member in the Boston schools, and the lack of energy or time to commit ourselves to long-range efforts in Boston. Eventually we expanded our topic and narrowed our audience and goals until we had something which seemed feasible and useful: we would aim primarily at teachers and attempt to tie together through political analysis the many forms of inequality, putting busing in that broader perspective.

Then began the nitty-gritty work. In the fall of 1976, we sent a questionnaire out to a large number of teachers in the Boston school system (list obtained from the teachers' caucus), to names of teachers obtained from our previous conference, to a variety of community groups and to other contacts. The flyer announced the conference and included a large list of possible workshop topics. We received responses from a number of teachers indicating their workshop preferences. As much as possible, we organized workshops on the basis of their preferences.

After choosing a date (Saturday, March 19) and setting up speakers for a panel session, we sent out final announcements of the conference, now named "Inequality and Schools" to our mailing list, about a month before the conference day. The speakers covered the following topics: "Sexism in Schools and Texts," "An Historical Perspective on Schools and Social Inequality,"





and "Ethnicity, Race and Religion in Boston." And the scheduled workshops were: "Sexism in Schools and Texts," "Teaching Towards Change in the Workplace," "The History of Ethnic Groups in Boston and the United States," "Bilingual-Bicultural Education: Is it Really Happening?" "Biology and our Ideas about Inequality," and "Questions of Culture and Inequality." Most of the workshop leaders were not members of Science for the People, but were found through various contacts and personal acquaintances. The conference was held in a University of Massachusetts building in central Boston.

Our hopes for attracting people were dampened by a late winter snowstorm beginning the evening before the conference, and the discovery that another group had organized a conference on "The Crisis in Boston" for the same day. To our surprise, however, we drew about 100 people, mostly teachers, who braved the snow and cold to attend the conference. Despite major disasters, like the very late arrival of the coffee urn, the conference proceeded smoothly and was considered a great success by most of the participants, and by us. The workshops, for the most part, consisted of short

presentations followed by general discussion. Discussions were lively, and most people were frustrated that the discussions had to end. Materials were handed out at most workshops.

We were all surprised at the number of people attending, and at the degree of interest shown by participants. We had been unsure of our ability to coordinate a conference that reached so far outside the boundaries of radical *science* teaching. In addition, the number of teachers who had already developed a radical or class analysis was more than we had expected. Clearly, despite the many months of floundering around in our uncertainty, we had touched on a need felt by teachers in the area. Some teachers said that it was the best conference they had ever been to.

On response sheets handed out during the workshops, most teachers expressed interest in some sort of follow-up activity. We are now considering the following possibilities:

- repeating workshops at particular schools or group meetings
- developing classroom materials
- compiling resource lists of people and materials
- starting study groups

We hope that most of these activities will be self-generating and we plan only to help them get started. The conference raised many questions about the relationship between our work as teachers of *science* and our work as radicals who are committed to social change in the broadest sense. Should we concentrate on particular issues which are more familiar to us as scientists? Or should we strengthen our ties with people working for radical change around more traditionally "economic" and "political" issues? Whatever we decide, this conference was a valuable education, both about issues of inequality and education, and about organizing for change. □

WRITE FOR SCIENCE FOR THE PEOPLE!

If you're interested in a certain topic or field and have been thinking about writing something (or have something already on paper), please send us your idea, outline, or draft. If you have friends immersed in a certain issue that might interest our readership, encourage them to get in touch with us. Examples of topics we've covered are found in the back issues ad below. What other topics would you like to see in this magazine?

A USEFUL RESOURCE

Science for the People back issues provide information and analysis on a wide range of topics. Send one dollar per copy to StP, 897 Main St., Cambridge, MA 02139.

May-June 1977: Brown Lung Blues, Nukes in NYC, Abortion Clinic Strike, Sack Saccharin, more.

March-April 1977: Community Organizing Against Institutional Expansion, Birth Control and the Eugenists, Human Experimentation, Clamshell Alliance Declaration, Chemical Industry Exhibit, more.

Jan-Feb 1977: History of the Birth Control Movement, Fighting Sterilization Abuse, US Research Abroad, more.

Nov.-Dec. 1976: MD's in the Drug Industry's Pocket, Economics and Population Control, Workers Demand Socially Useful Production, more.

Sept.-Oct. 1976: Three views on Alternative Technology, Cancer Research and Sexism, Nuclear Power Debate, Women's Health Literature, more.

Back issues before 1976 are available for fifty cents each. Send for our index.

by 2 to 1 to reject them and to get on with nuclear plant construction. The Clamshell viewpoints were also tried out on voters in six other states who also rejected them. I object, therefore, to your granting so much space to such a discredited philosophy, one that is clearly not that "of the people." If you take your title seriously then you should publish articles describing the safety, economic and environmental benefits of nuclear power plants relative to our country's other energy options. Twenty percent of this country's voters have approved nuclear plants with their feet and with their ballots. If this vote is disregarded then the title of the publication should be changed to some appropriate elitist designation so that subscribers would not be misled. If the membership of the Clamshell Alliance were seriously concerned about radiation exposure they would have demonstrated against the atmospheric nuclear bomb testing in China and the accompanying world wide fallout.

Bernard Rubin
Palo Alto, CA

MAY ISSUE

Dear SftP,

Just a note to say how much I liked the May-June issue. Living in the South, it's good to see more about the brown lung problem and J.P. Stevens.

Especially appreciated Pat Brennan's "Thoughts" since several of them apply to other groups on the left as well. Hope to see more written about all that.

In struggle,
Charles P. Finn
Charlottesville, VA

AGGRESSIVENESS IN CHILDREN

Dear SftP,

I've been reading your magazine for a year now and I'm really impressed by its consciousness, quality and continual improvement. This kind of magazine is so important yet so rare, that I want to express my one-hundred-percent support of you.

Also I'd like to add some observations to Barbara Chasin's excellent article in the last issue "Sociobiology: A Sexist Synthesis."

Even if it were true that in all U.S. nursery schools, boys tended to be more aggressive in the sense of wildness, physical fighting and tumbling than girls, that wouldn't mean there are biologically given differences between the sexes in aggressiveness. The following facts have been demonstrated in several studies, some of which are summarized in Juanita William's new book *The Psychology of Women*:

—parents tend to be stricter with children of their own sex

—both parents tend to hit boys more frequently and harder than girls

—at least in rats, pain can *cause* aggressive behavior.

Thus, in our society little boys on average experience more aggression than little girls and they apparently experience it more often than girls from their male parent role-model. Aside from personal experience of course, they grow up seeing male models display aggressive behavior constantly on T.V. and in books and it is usually rewarded. According to Al Bandura, little girls learn the same behavior but don't exhibit it as much because it isn't encouraged.

Parents encourage different amounts of aggression in subtle ways. They say they don't like aggression in boys or girls but they give the boy a batman cloak and the girl a tea set to play with. If the children engage in appropriate play

with these toys, there will appear to be a difference in aggressiveness.

Because of these sexist aspects of socialization I would expect to find boys in our society more aggressive than girls. But, wanting to make sure that my expectations weren't biasing my observations or interpretation of real children's play, I did a careful research project on the quality of play of thirty young children.

To my surprise, the variation within each sex was greater than the variation between sexes. In fact, there was no significant difference between the sexes in the aggressiveness of play.

My subjects were not typical three to five year olds. They came from enlightened homes that explicitly (at least verbally) rejected the ideology of sexism and they were in an extremely non-sexist children's program. But I think my results demonstrate that good parenting and educating can successfully counteract other cultural influences that reinforce aggressiveness in boys. They also suggest that whether or not there are biological differences between the sexes in potential for aggressiveness, the impact of socialization is the crucial mediator between that and behavior.

Sincerely,
Julie Greenberg
Washington, DC

IN THE DRUG INDUSTRY'S POCKET AGAIN

Dear Friends,

I enjoyed reading your article "M.D.'s in the Drug Industry's Pocket" *SftP* Vol. 6, No. 6). I found it informative and consistent with my experience. Particularly interesting were the references made to the industry's role and influence in medical education and its influence over medical students. What I would like to share here is my experience with the drug industry's role in the education of pharmacy students and in pharmacy practice.

As a currently enrolled student at the School of Pharmacy of the University of the Pacific, I am continually bombarded with industry propaganda. Films, booklets, teaching aids, and handy little gifts that were mentioned in the article also appear daily in schools of pharmacy. Each either directly advertises the products of a particular firm or reinforces the "brand name syndrome" that is ever-present. Pharmacy students are taught to associate a particular brand name with each generic drug discussed and teaching labs stock only brand-name products (generic equivalents are conspicuously absent). This is true for prescription drugs as well as those sold over-the-counter (OTC).

We are often taught to reinforce the industry's advertising campaigns for OTC drugs and to increase patient acceptance of products which are usually of little or no value. What is worse is that we are taught that, although these products are useless, we as pharmacists should reinforce what the patient-customer thinks (s)he knows about them because (s)he will probably use them anyway. The industry sponsors scholarships, awards, and tours of manufacturing facilities in its attempt to bring pharmacy students into the fold.

These practices continue after graduation in all phases of pharmacy practice. Like medical journals, pharmacy journals (widely read by most practitioners) are filled with attractive advertising for brand name products, and seemingly "factual" articles are often based on data collected by the drug industry. Detailmen are daily visitors in nearly every pharmacy, where they distribute the same goodies and propaganda that were spoken of in the article in connection with doctors. Continuing education programs, which are becoming more popular among pharmacists, are often sponsored by drug companies. At these gatherings, the companies continue the same line that they gave us in pharmacy school.

The significance of these practices is becoming more important all the time. Physicians are relying more on the pharmacist for prescribing ad-

vice as the drug arsenal grows. The physicians' knowledge of drugs is at a pitifully low level and the advice of pharmacists is critical in prescription patterns. Even more significant though is the growing trend toward the acceptance of substitution on the part of the pharmacist. Several states now require the pharmacist to substitute one drug product for another equivalent product when substitution will result in cost savings for the patient. It is expected that this trend will continue until all states have adopted similar legislation. Once such laws are adopted, the pharmacists' power to substitute could be grossly manipulated by industry propaganda unless an effort is made to eliminate industry influence from pharmacy education and practice.

Sincerely,
Larry Chodoff

VIEW FROM INSIDE

Dear SftP,

I am an inmate in the Stateville Penitentiary at Joliet, Illinois. I recently had the uncommonly good fortune to read the Nov.-Dec. 1976 issue of your magazine. In all candor, I must admit that it left me all choked-up. In the first place, I had very nearly given up all hope of finding a group of people whose primary concern still seems to be for "The People". In the contemporary social chaos where "rip-off" is the new idol for so many individuals now as well as the usual international cartels, corporate cut-throats, and the government; it is refreshing indeed to find a group whose motto could well be: I am my brother's watchmate.

In the second place, I was delighted to read views expressed which coincide so closely with my own. For even though, in my saner moments, I must acknowledge the fact that the institutional community in which I live is not ye olde average community. And at those times, can console myself with the thought that possibly everyone in this world IS

crazy except me. Still, that is a position not easily sustained without an occasional reaffirmation from another source. Your magazine has provided that much needed reaffirmation!

I would like very much to become a subscriber to Science For The People. Although, I must point out that I don't have the necessary funds to pay for a subscription. But, luckily, I see that you have a category in your subscription format for impoverished people such as myself. Thus, I would very much appreciate your considering me for a subscription on that basis.

Please accept, in advance, my sincere appreciation for your generous gesture.

In the struggle,
Victor Hubbard
Joliet, IL

SOCIOBIOLOGY SPEAKERS

Science for the People can offer speakers on sociobiology and, in some cases, a showing of the film "Sociobiology, Doing What Comes Naturally." For speakers, contact either Jon Beckwith, Department of Microbiology and Molecular Genetics, Harvard Medical School, Boston, MA 02115, or Ann Arbor Science for the People, 2431 Darrow St., Ann Arbor, MI 48104, (313) 971-1165.

USEFUL PUBLICATIONS

Periodicals that Progressive Scientists Should Know About is a listing of the names and addresses of over 250 scientific, technical and political publications of interest to progressive scientists everywhere. Covered are fields from energy, women's health, and ecology to computers, architecture, and Third World technology. The June 1977 edition of this listing is now available free with self-addressed stamped envelope from Tallahassee SftP, c/o Progressive Technology, P.O. Box 20049, Tallahassee, FL 32304.

chapter reports

AMHERST CHAPTER

The Amherst group initially met last spring during the Bioethics Conference at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst. About seventy people came to the meeting and expressed interest in the formation of a chapter. A second meeting about two weeks later drew about twenty people. Since the second meeting, the chapter has had a core of five or six regulars, swelling on occasion to ten or twelve.

At the second meeting, four subgroups were formed: one dealing with alternative technology, another with agriculture, a third with occupational health and safety, and a fourth with health issues.

The alternative technology group met several times thereafter and held a workshop-discussion at the Toward Tomorrow Fair in June.

The occupational safety group and the health group dissipated by summertime.

Towards the end of June, the Amherst group, along with the Boston chapter, participated in the Toward Tomorrow Fair. According to its sponsors the fair was to be a showplace of alternative forms of energy and "new-age" lifestyles and options. We set up a literature table and sponsored several workshops. A repeat performance is in the works for this coming summer.

Later in the spring, we learned of a National Science Foundation summer program in math to be conducted at Hampshire College. The program, for "exceptional" high school students, was perceived by us to function as a tracking program for future scientists. A group of us got together and requested to participate in the program as provocateurs, trying to raise the issue of the political social implications of science as a profession. Our presentation at the program went well.

Since last summer, our chapter has functioned primarily as a discussion study group, with little outside activity. Meetings were held at 2-3 week intervals throughout the fall, using various readings (including the magazine) as a focus for discussion.

At present, a group of us are working around the Recombinant DNA issue. We are preparing to push, in the Amherst Town Meeting, for the formation of a citizens' Biohazards Committee (similar to the one in Cambridge) to propose regulations of recombinant work in Amherst. We hope to stimulate further citizen input into science policy decisions posing potential hazards to the community, such as nuclear waste.

Also in the works is a project investigating sources of research funding at the University.

The group thus far has been primarily student-oriented, with the University and the academic community as its center of activity. Relations with the local community have been lacking, but the current Recombinant DNA Project has potential for establishing ties there.

TALLAHASSEE CHAPTER

Though we have been active (and meeting weekly) for well over two years we have never sent a chapter report to the magazine. We fully intend to change all of that and as a starter we will tell about a few post-Eastern Regional Conference events that have happened alone and beyond the regular meetings.

Earthday 77. Earthday is an annual event here at Florida State University. A mish-mash of campus and community groups participate . . . it draws several hundred people. We participated by setting up a display and a recruitment table. The key-

note speaker for this year was Sam Lovejoy of the Clamshell Alliance . . . he spent most of the day behind our table.

Energy Group. Our Energy folk have been busily preparing for an upcoming TV program on energy. Three weeks ago Pierre Nagel represented our chapter at a symposium on Carter's Energy Plan. Of the participants, his presentation was easily the most political. We feel that this type of action is good for our image locally.

Cuba Study Group. This group has just started and will be doing research and ground work for an activist trip to Cuba. If any other chapters are thinking along these lines please do get in touch. The contact person is Hartmut Ramm.

Books for Dominica. Still hanging in there . . . and sending 50 lbs. per week. Hot items for this project are books relating to tropical agriculture and civil engineering. Please get in touch with us if you have easy access to these sorts of things.

Reading Lists Group. "Science in Germany Under Hitler" is the most recent product of this group. Many more are being worked on . . . do get in touch if you are hot on producing or exchanging reading lists.

E.O. Wilson. He was here to give a lecture entitled "Sociobiology and Human Nature." It was sponsored by the Biological Sciences Department and it drew well over 1000 people. We had a critical article in the school newspaper on the day of the event and we handed out a leaflet and reading list at the lecture. The leaflet announced that on the following night SftP would have a meeting to discuss the lecture. It was well attended, showing that even E.O. Wilson can be used as a tool for chapter building.

Toward a Science for the People,
Tallahassee SftP

SEX ROLES, continued from p. 32

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8. J.S. Haller and R.M. Haller, *The Physician and Sexuality in Victorian America* (Urbana, Ill., 1974) p. 50.
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21. D. Kimura, "The Asymmetry of the Human Brain," *Scientific American*, March 1973.
22. "Why There Are Few Female Geniuses," *Boston Herald American*, February 23, 1977, Front page.
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25. E. Boserup, *Woman's Role in Economic Development* (St. Martin's, 1970), Chapt. 3 "Loss of Status under European Rule," p.53; R.R. Leavitt "Women in Other Cultures" in *Woman in Sexist Society*, p. 393; B. Deckard, *op. cit.*, Chapt. 9 "Women in Capitalist and Socialist Societies" p. 199.

SCIENCE FOR THE PEOPLE:

the magazine

SftP is published bimonthly and is intended not only for members, but also for a broad readership within the technical strata and for all others interested in a progressive-radical view on science and technology. The goals of *SftP* are to elucidate the role of science and technology in society, to enrich the political consciousness of readers, and to stimulate participation in concrete political activities.

The subscriber circulation of *SftP* is about 1,500, the total circulation about 4,000. The content of *SftP* derives largely from the experiences and interests of people who read the magazine. In seeking to "rely on the people", we urge everyone both to contribute to the magazine themselves and to encourage others to do the same. We are particularly interested in having articles written, discussed, or at least reviewed, collectively, when circumstances permit.

1. **Operations:** *SftP* is published through the activities of the Editorial, Production and Distribution Committees under the direction of the Magazine Coordinating Committee (whose members are drawn from the other committees). All committee members (part-time, unpaid and serving 6-12 months) and the Magazine Coordinator (part-time, paid) are from the Boston area except for some members of the Editorial Committee who are from other cities. All committees are accountable to the general membership by way of 1) the annual Northeast Regional Conference (the most regular and widely attended conference of *SftP*) which reviews the magazine and makes general policy, 2) the different chapters of the Northeast Region through the Northeast Regional Coordinating Committee, and 3) local chapters through selection, review and direction of their participants on the Editorial Committee. Nationwide representation on the Editorial Committee by active *SftP* members is encouraged.

2. **Material for Publication:** To be in accord with established guidelines, material for publication 1) should deal with issues of science and technology, from a radical perspective, 2) should raise the political awareness and involvement of the general readership, and 3) should stimulate activities of individual persons and groups and the formation of chapters, but should not generally have the character of an "organizing manual."

3. **Kinds of Contributions: Articles.** Good articles can evolve from our work and from community-based or other, political, investigation and activity. Topics may reflect research, teaching or other interests, and can take the form of book reviews, reports of events, or analytical articles. Writing done for another purpose often can be adapted for *SftP* and is welcome.

Procedure: 1) articles written for another purpose and roughly conforming to above guidelines: submit 3 copies along with a letter describing the article's origin, how it might be adapted, and whether the author(s) are willing to do so. 2) new articles: if convenient, send an outline of a proposed article so that the Editorial Committee can point out possible conflict with the guidelines and make suggestions concerning content, resource material, emphasis and magazine context. In this way, some assurance can be given that an article will be used. Writing articles collectively is encouraged. Submit articles in 3 copies. In attempting to give authors constructive criticism and support, the Editorial Committee expends considerable effort in reviewing articles and discussing them with authors. Final substantive editorial changes are cleared with authors. In discussing the magazine's content, in the "About This Issue" column, the Editorial Committee may point out unexplored questions, describe the range of opinion within *SftP* on a particular issue and draw some additional political interpretations of its own from the articles.

Current Opinion. Short, tightly argued positions on timely subjects are required for the Current Opinion feature. These contributions, including an occasional one from the Editorial Committee, should rely on facts and analysis generally accepted by the membership. It is the responsibility of the Editorial Committee to try to select those which best clarify the debate; this will include discussing changes with authors. Contributions should be 500 words or less, in 3 copies.

Other Contributions: Letters: contributions for continuing debate, commenting on previous magazine content, initiating new discussion, etc. News Notes: news items illustrating the social and political role of science and technology, especially reporting people's actions on these kinds of issues (300 words or less). Chapter Reports and *SftP* Activities: brief summaries having essentially assured publication, with editing. Graphics: all kinds, including cartoons, designs, photographs, etc., not necessarily original but with credits.

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