The URPE Steering Committee met on April 1st in Ann Arbor and came to the following decisions about the 1972 Summer Conference:

1. The site will be Camp Caesar in Webster Springs, W.Va., the only camp with a large enough capacity and low enough price. The Conference will be in late August, probably beginning August 26 and running six days.

2. Members from west of Denver will not be charged a fee.

3. Child care will be provided; a professional child-care worker will be hired; general participation in child-care is expected.

4. Reservations will be cut off at 400. Please reserve early. (Reservation forms will be mailed early in the summer.)

5. The camp has a pool, a lake with rowboats, playing fields, 30 showers and 60 toilets. We will be given permission to help plan the menus; more information is forthcoming.

6. The Conference:
   (a) Prices will be similar to last year.
   (b) The first full day will be left uncluttered to allow people to get into each other, talk, and get loose.
   (c) Name tags will be available to help purge anonymity.
   (d) Nine tentative topics were suggested by the Steering Committee, and people were given responsibility for coordinating the work of testing interest, getting participants, etc. Those interested in giving papers or talking in discussion groups on topics should write to the coordinator responsible for that (those) sessions. The coordinator is not the chairperson, but only someone responsible for arranging the session if people seem interested.
   (e) ANYONE WHO WISHES TO TALK OR PRESENT SOMETHING WILL BE GIVEN TIME. Slots of free time have been allotted to guarantee this.
   (f) People interested in participating in topics not listed should write to the "AD HOC & WORKSHOPS" coordinator, who also needs information about which sessions people feel should not overlap.

(See page 6)
Editors' Notes

This issue was jointly edited by Lawrence Tharp who is retiring as Newsletter editor and by Bill Tabb who is picking up the chore. Material for the Newsletter should now be sent to Tabb, Dept. of Economics, Queens College, Flushing, N.Y. 11367. Those who have worked with Lawrence have some idea of the time and energy he has put in. We are all thankful.

It is hoped that we can extend the principle of collective responsibility for the Newsletter. In the past a group of URPE members and friends have worked on the Newsletter. We would like to expand this group to include more New York area URPErs in Sunday brunch sessions of bagels and lox, donuts and coffee, good talk and work on the Newsletter. If you want to join in please tell us. We could use more help and besides its alot of fun.

Note that this is also the first issue of the Newsletter to carry paid ads. Business arrangements are handled through Ann Arbor; publishing arrangements through us. This is a potentially important source of funds. URPE people who do books should have their publishers advertise with us. There is also that informational function of advertising they say is so useful.

Finally, this is your Newsletter. Send us: what is going on where you are; thought pieces like the ones by Derek Shearer and Jim O'Connor; reading lists; course outlines. We would especially like a volunteer to do us an article on radical political economy programs around the country: A.U., New School etc. This would be a guide for URPE members and a way of helping people looking for grad schools. Will some URPE member(s) please write to do such an article? We have some info for you to start.
URPE Review Issue on Women

405 Troy Road
Ithaca, New York 14850

Our green mailbox has been happily stuffed full of manila envelopes from URPE women and friends this month. We ought to congratulate ourselves not only upon being such competent, interesting human beings, but also upon being notably lacking in ego hangups! Every contributor so far has been most reasonable about the range of editing problems inherent in a non-heirarchical editing arrangement.

We owe thanks to Renee Blakkan of the Guardian who noted our Women's issue and the deadline and to the Monthly Review which did the same. If anyone sees us mysteriously appearing in other movement media, please let me know, or write the Newsletter.

We are asking that reading lists include a paragraph or two of personal comment on the experience of teaching feminist perspectives in economics, history etc. Since we don't meet together too often this kind of advice and notice of pitfalls can be helpful and sustaining in developing real feminist scholarship and a cohesive movement.

One of our few shortages turns out to be book reviews, of all things! They can be short, but we should be able to review at least the most commonly read and used works on the political economics of women. If necessary I can survey the reading lists and garner those books which appear most frequently across disciplinary lines . . . but do send in reviews of your favorite or most hated items.

There is no set policy on accepting work from men relevant to the issue. Such contributions will be shared out and accepted or rejected on an equal opportunity basis. Since the issue is the "political economy of women" we expect and urge women to submit the bulk of material but if URPE men feel that they have a feminist perspective we certainly will be delighted to read the work and use it or no.

If all goes well we can have an issue by the Summer Conference and I think we can hope for a very wide circulation if the letters received from feminist organizations and publications are any guide to our audience. Hurrah for Us!

Sarah Diamant

A Political Action Caucus?

URPE was founded as a movement organization at a time when the academic community appeared to be getting increasingly involved in political activity. The last year or two has seen a national reversal of this trend, a reversal which has been reflected in the concerns of URPE as well. The URPE flier states that "URPE provides a vehicle for our members and chapters to experiment with new ideas and new forms of action which
will enable us as political economists to effect fundamental social and institutional change." In fact, URPE to date has done no such thing. If an organization is defined by what it does, then URPE today is little more than a radical academic publishing and professional organization—a left version of the AEA. In actual fact, the economics profession which advises governmental agencies the foundations and business has a far better claim to be combining theory and practice than do most members of URPE.

The Summer Conference offers an opportunity for all members of URPE who make or want to make political activity an integral part of their lives and their practice of economics to form a political caucus within URPE. The Conference Scheduling Committee is being asked to set aside time to discuss the formation of such a caucus. To give some idea of the issues involved, I tentatively propose the following agenda:

1. What various URPE members are doing politically. To date virtually nothing has been done within URPE to share our political experiences and to learn from our mistakes. Most URPE members have a very poor idea of what activities other members are actually involved in.

2. In addition to encouraging and assisting local political activity should the caucus attempt to sponsor national projects and activities, such as Derek Shearer proposes in this issue of the Newsletter?

3. Establish some structure to keep members of the caucus in contact with each other and informed of projects members are involved in throughout the year. The Newsletter had this as one of its original purposes, but has not been used in this way. Whatever form of communication we choose, we should share our ideas not only with each other, but with other members of URPE as well.

4. To ensure that the national organization assists us in our activities the caucus should demand representation on the URPE National Committee, as the Women's Caucus has done.

5. At this point the task before us is to get the politically mixed members of URPE together, not to attempt to transform the organization itself. It is not necessary to charge URPE into becoming a movement organization to enable members interested in movement activity to use URPE as a point of coordination and neutral assistance.

I would appreciate hearing other ideas from URPE members before the Summer Conference, and also from members who will not be attending the Conference.

Lawrence Tharp
314 W. 100 St., Apt. 75
New York, NY 10025
Suggested Topics for Summer Conference

URPE Friends: I wanted to mention some possible topics for workshops and group discussion at the summer conference in advance, so that people might start thinking about these proposals and subjects, and so that people would be sure to bring materials that might be relevant and useful.

In general, my suggestions are aimed at making URPE more "political", i.e., involved in political struggle—and at getting out URPE information, analysis, and possibly programs to more people, especially non-economists.

(1) Creation of URPE Council of Economic Advisors

Such a council could be established on a regional basis, as well as nationally. The idea is to have a counter—CEA or People's CEA to issue statements, reports, give testimony, etc. I would serve a number of functions: Most basic would be its "gimmick" propaganda value and its ability to receive national and local press coverage. URPE would be able to respond to economic situations, other economists, etc., with quick, hard-hitting statements. It could also issue short periodic reports on unemployment, utility rate hikes, particular corporate practices, strikes, etc., which would provide a radical perspective.

(2) Transitional Political Economic Programs

We need to discuss how URPE relates to and is involved in political organizing. We need to formulate "non-reformable reforms" as concrete economic programs and demands which appeal to the needs of the majority of American citizens.

Have any chapters or members been working on these problems? What sorts of programs have people come up with? Perhaps an entire issue of the review could be devoted to the subject. What research needs to be done? (For example, is TVA a model for other areas of the country? What is the argument for public-ownership of utilities? What is a radical tax program? What are alternate uses of specific military firms, if profit were not a consideration? Is land reform an issue? What kinds of demands can be made around housing and transportation needs?)

What is URPE's response to Nader's Public Interest Research Groups which have been forming on campuses? Are there political possibilities in such groups? Can students do research for courses which is of political use outside the classroom?

What does it mean when Staughton Lynd says that "socialism must be put on the agenda for the seventies"? How will URPE contribute?

(3) Solidarity Programs

URPE should offer to send a delegation to North Vietnam and to assist the country in its economic recovery from U.S. war-inflicted damage in whatever ways the Vietnamese think useful—even something as simple as sending economics texts or criticizing U.S. government plans for the Mekong.

We should also write to the People's Republic of China and invite a delegation of Chinese planners, economists, industrial workers, commune representatives, etc. to visit the U.S. URPE chapters around the country could arrange housing and programs. Similar offers might also be made to Cuba and Chile.

In addition, URPE members who have visited socialist countries might compile brief descriptions of their experiences and names of contacts in those countries for other URPE members who might wish to do some educational traveling.

(4) Summer Conference Speakers

I would find it interesting if, during one day of the conference, it were possible to have some talks by relatively young representatives of some of the more militant union locals in the country—for example, the UAW local at Lordstown or certain UE locals—about the labor movement in the U.S. and how they feel URPE might be useful.
1972 SUMMER CONFERENCE
COORDINATING ADDRESSES

WOMEN & THE ECONOMY:
  Grace Horowitz, 5 Walker St, Somerville, Mass 02144
WHICH WAY URPE?:
  Steve Rose, 161 Prospect St, E, Orange, NJ 07017
LATIN AMERICA:
  John Pool, Dept Econ, Wright State U, Dayton, Ohio 45431
TEACHING ECONOMICS:
  Ross Thomson, 140 Fortsea St, New Haven, Conn 06510
RADICAL THEORY:
  Bill Behn, PO Box 6887, Stanford, Cal 94305
URBAN & COMMUNITY ECON:
  John Jones, 801 City-County Bldg, Detroit, Mich 48226
N.E.P.:
  Dave Burstein, 170 W. 81st St, NYC 10024
UNIONIZATION:
  Bill Bachmann, 328 Catherine, Ann Arbor, Mich 48108
COURSE FOR NON-ECONOMISTS:
  Matt Edel, E52-262-C, M.I.T., Cambridge, Mass 02139
AD HOC TOPICS & WORKSHOPS:
  Louis Hunt, 215 Dayton St apt 3, Yellow Spr, Ohio 45387
EQUIPMENT:
DAY CARE incl HIRING:
  Matt Edel, E52-262-C, M.I.T., Cambridge, Mass 02139
ENTERTAINMENT:
  Jerry Peabody, Urban Inst, 2100 M St NW, Wash DC 20037

FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE . . .

1. Local URPE collectives are urged to nominate people for the URPE Steering Committee for the next term, and nominations should be sent to the regional Steering Committee member in their area for presentation at the Summer Conference. This is in order to guard against non-representation of those who cannot attend the Conference. It is also consistent with the spirit of recent discussions on proposed changes in the function and composition of the Steering Committee, a matter to be decided at the Conference.

2. URPE intends to set up a permanent job clearinghouse mechanism. The plan is to have one person to whom people seeking jobs send their names and a nominal fee of $1.00/year for postage costs. That is, there will be a list of job-seekers; institutions offering jobs will send notices of openings to the person in charge. Those on the job-seeker list will receive a monthly list of job openings. URPE needs a member to volunteer to keep the job-seeker list and mail out a monthly list of openings to those on the list. Those interested should contact the URPE National Office in Ann Arbor.
MORRIS FIRED FOR BUCKING GRADE SYSTEM

Jeffrey Morris, an URPE member who had some difficulty getting a job at the University of Washington, Seattle, presumably because he organized and taught an undergraduate political economy course while a graduate student at Berkeley has now been fired from U.W. The immediate cause of dismissal seems clearly to be his giving A's to all of his 675 introductory students. His contract which he understood was for three years has been declared a one year contract by the University and Jeff is committed to $2-3,000 in legal expenses. A campus rally raised some funds, much more is needed. Send contributions or ask for further information from Jeff at the Economics Department (Seattle zip 98105). The other side of the story is presumably available from Douglass North, dept. chairman.

Tuesday, March 7, 1972

from: University of Washington Daily

WHAT I ALWAYS FELT ABOUT GRADES BUT WAS NEVER ASKED

When students, teaching assistants and I were in the midst of deciding how to grade in economics 200A fall quarter, a friend said to me, "You know they'll try to fire you if you give blanket A's. Why do you want to risk a job which only requires that you be in the classroom 6 hours a week and pays you $67 for each of these hours? Surely not for students, since most don't want to work hard enough to learn anything difficult anyway!"

All the students in economics 200A got A's, and I got fired. The answer to my friend's question has been coming all my life.

When I was still on the dark side of the teacher's desk, I learned to be good at taking exams and getting high grades. Multiple choice was a snap; but real life choices were prefabricated while following the directions at the top of the page, keeping spontaneity safely buttoned up. My educational experience as a student confirmed what all those academic studies claim - grade point is determined by conformity and memorization, not by creativity and inquisitiveness.

Still, those of us with equal amounts of conformity and memorization had different grade points. Maybe these differences represented various levels in learning the material covered in our classes. But no teacher ever gave us an exam at the beginning of a course; apparently there was not much interest in measuring what we actually learned, by comparing what we knew at the beginning with what we knew at the end. Rather the intent was to certify who could do best on final exams. Even then, it is questionable whether that procedure measured what we knew about a subject (regardless of whether we learned it in the class). The more exams I took, the more I came to understand that that procedure measured only exam-taking ability, not achievement in the cognitive skills covered by the course content.
The first part of my answer to my friend's question then was that exams (the conventional grading tool) are an exceedingly inaccurate and usually misleading measure of whether new cognitive skills are learned in a course. The problem remained that in a class of 675 students there did not seem to be any other standardized, relatively objective device for measuring achievement that I could use. But had there been such an instrument, I would have been reluctant to use it for reasons that constituted the second part of my answer.

In a political economic society that distributes its resources competitively, there has to be some institution that carefully indoctrinates young people to believe that what I have you don't have, and that material reward rather than intrinsic pleasure is the main reason for going to work each day. What better way to do this than to have schools run so that the joy of learning is subordinated to the fear of getting a bad grade and students are made to compete for the necessarily limited number of good grades given out in each course. Everyday reluctance to help each other is the normal response of students to the dictate that a teacher must grade according to some normal distribution. Student suicide because of low grades is the abnormal response which symbolizes the ultimate human cost of externalizing personal identity in a scarce resource.

So, prostituted and prostrate before the promise of capitalism's plastic cornucopia, schools channel and repress rather than teach and liberate. 675 A's was my way of saying that I would try not to aid and abet the repression of people in classes which I taught.

But college students have had over 12 years of school to learn the lesson that high grades, not learning, are what count for making it in our society. Removing grade pressure in my class, then, did not insure that learning would take place.

The final part of my answer to my friend's question was based on my experience on the teacher's side of the desk. A teacher has to be a good cop to detect all the forms of cheating which go on. There are the professional exam-takers who show up in large classes to take the final for someone who can afford to pay for a guaranteed high grade. There are the fraternity and sorority files to provide term papers for the member who doesn't want to waste time writing on an assigned topic. There are countless ways to bring notes into an exam room.

It's a somewhat interesting challenge to figure out how to stop these practices. But I do not enjoy being a cop, so I decided before I came to teach here that I would minimize grading pressure in my classes. I did that when I first taught a large class in introductory economics last spring. Yet minimum grading pressure is greater than zero, especially in a required course, so the cheating still went on. It seemed natural to conclude that eliminating grading completely would prevent students from cheating themselves and me.
That was my answer to my friend’s question last quarter. Since then I’ve learned that giving all A’s in one class made manifest a more subtle form of cheating that does incredibly greater damage. It happens whenever a student feigns interest in a course or a teacher in order to make a favorable impression on that teacher; for the teacher’s perception of interest can make a difference between a C and an A. So the teacher becomes a grade object to be used in any manner necessary to get a high grade.

In my case the objectification was made manifest because I now have the reputation of giving all A’s; all that a student needed to do was to convince me of his or her interest in my course. Just as sex is not the answer to being a sex object or a society in which men view sex as a consumption and status good, so free grades are not the solution to being a grade object in schools in which grades provide the only reason for attending. It’s hard to believe how often and cleverly I have been asked to put out. The resultant paranoia has at times even caused me to put off people who actually were interested in what I was trying to teach. Worse, my paranoia is now inevitable as long as most students and faculty continue to accept the present classroom and grade structure as inevitable. The day to begin to change those structures goes by every day.

SINCERELY
JEFF MORRIS

LITERATURE CLEARING HOUSE New-Listing:

1. Richard England, "Ecology and the Third World," 11 pages. (This article deals with Third World economic development, and its environmental side effects. The developed countries can be charged with the great masses of pollution, the mythology of pollution, taxes and emission standards. And, the environmentally sane development of the Chinese Model.)


3. George Lee, "The Political Economy of Complicity," 11 pages. (Vietnam remains still the most intensive area of conflict between the revolutionary forces of the Third World and imperialist capitalism. This paper shows how much the Vietnam "prism" can reveal of the relations between the U.S. and Britain by means of a single case study, Rolls Royce.)

4. Special !!! Organizing aid: "URPE: What’s it all about." This is a packet of seven articles which have been written about URPE. It includes:
   d. "Radicals Re-Write the Book," from Business Week.
   g. URPE Organizing Guide from 1970 Summer Conference.
Call For Populist Economics

"All Power to the Imagination" - a slogan written on the walls of Paris during the French student-worker uprising of 1968.

All too often imagination is what is lacking in the political activities of URPE members. Those committed to a more democratic and humane political economy have not as yet proposed programs which meet the needs of the majority of Americans or fire their imagination as to the possibilities of the country's productive capacity.

The anti-war and ecology movements, as well as Ralph Nader and colleagues -- not to mention URPE -- have provided damning critiques of American society, but they have been less successful in suggesting transitional steps to a better society - one community-based socialism.

In the past year, liberal groups have been busy proposing alternative budgets for the country. The Brookings Institute published a study of budget alternatives and the National Urban Coalition came out with Counterbudget-A Blueprint for Changing National Priorities. Neither of these documents is tremendously inspiring.

It is not surprising that the Coalition's proposals -- which include national health insurance, public service employment, a discharge-fee system to curb pollution, cash assistance for the poor, aid to education, and other New Deal-type programs -- are supported by such powerful businessmen as James M. Roche, David Rockefeller, Andrew Heiskell and Sol Lénowitz. Some of the Coalition's proposals may become planks in the platform of the Democratic Party in this year's Presidential election.

Liberal counter proposals to Nixon's NEP have been equally unimaginative. The only serious suggestion seems to be economist Melville Ulmer's proposal that instead of wage-and-price controls, the government should increase employment in the public works sector.

The futility of Ralph Nader's belief that corporate power can be curbed by Federal chartering of corporations and stricter anti-trust action is recognized by most radical economists.

The problem, of course, is that real alternatives involve changes in the distribution of power in the society. It is time that radical economists began to propose concrete policy alternatives to the present political economy. There are certainly enough critiques of imperialism and capitalism in print -- what we need is a vision of new societal arrangements around which political activity can be focused.

Murray Bookchin, in his essay "Toward a Liberating Technology" which appears in Post-Scarcity Anarchism (Ramparts Press, 1971), points out that modern technology makes possible the conditions for a truly liberated society. Bookchin's message is that utopian is really to be realistic: the U.S. economy, if it were not organized for private profit, would be incredibly more productive -- and at the same time, allow for greater decentralization of economic activity and political decision-making.
Automated factories would increasingly diminish the need for demeaning labor; computers would help communities plan local and regional economies on a more ecologically sound basis.

Bookchin's essays should stimulate radical economists, planners, and organizers to come up with programs and demands which illustrate the revolutionary potential of technology freed from the context of corporate capitalism.

Gar Alperovitz at the Cambridge Institute is completing work on a multi-volume study of decentralized socialism for America. Alperovitz suggests that matters which transcend a local area -- such as power production -- can be organized on a regional level through the federation of local government units, rather than calling on the central government.

We need to formulate proposals for publicly-controlled regional cooperation. For example, in the New England region where power prices are very high, a single power grid organized by a public power company (perhaps couple to a TVA-type project in Maine) could drastically lower electric bills.

At a conference in Davenport, Iowa, over Thanksgiving, a meeting of radicals called The New American Movement (NAM) discussed "putting socialism on the agenda for the seventies". Staughton Lynd and other members of NAM are developing proposals for people's control of the economy (see Lynd's statement in the February, 1972 issue of Ramparts), which include workers' control of the factories. A transitional demand for workers' control might be a demand for rank-and-file control over health and safety regulations.

Putting socialism on the agenda means, in practice, that radicals must create programs which make the socialist vision real -- not just a media abstraction associated with Russia or Third World countries such as China and Cuba. For example, in the field of planning, Robert Goodman of MIT suggests in his new book After the Planners (Simon and Schuster, 1972):

Design opportunities can be used as a way of explaining the advantages of community ownership and management of all income producing ventures -- the factories, the housing and the shopping places. The design of housing in particular could expose people to the possibilities of designing for themselves, and to more communal patterns of living together. A communal building, where people share facilities and spaces, would present an alternative to the present single-family house or apartment 'unit' -- an environmental condition based on the duplication of facilities which in turn induces maximum consumption. The communal or shared environment embodies a cultural change inherently antagonistic to the capitalist tendency to expand consumer markets.

It is vital for URPE members to begin to develop specific economic programs and demands in their communities and regions. For example: write tax initiatives demanding a fair and equal tax system; describe how public ownership of utilities -- the phone co., electric co., gas co. -- would improve service and lower costs; catalogue war contractors in a region and specify what these plants could produce that would meet public needs; work out a detailed plan for workers' councils in a particular factory or corporation; calculate the number of people engaged in useless economic activity -- insurance, advertising, etc. -- in a community; describe how a system of free, community-based medical care might operate. These are but a few of the possibilities.
We also need to look critically at the TVA experience and consider proposing TVA-type public institutions in other fields besides power production. For example, in 1945, Walter Reuther proposed that government-built war factories be turned into TVA-type organizations, controlled by workers, to produce low-cost housing and high-speed rail transportation. Such proposals can be resurrected and improved.

With such concrete programs and demands, URPE members could contribute to community organizing groups and to state and local elections and initiatives, by raising "Utopian" issues with a socialist content. (No doubt some URPE members are engaged in such political struggle; it would be interesting to see an issue of the journal devoted to a discussion of URPE members' political organizing experiences and to see examples of concrete radical economic programs.)

One of the most important points made by both Ernest Mandel and Murray Bookchin is that socialism in an advanced country will be more democratic, more productive, more drudgery-free, and more humane than capitalism. It is time for URPE to create transitional programs which bring this vision to the majority of Americans.

--Derek Shearer
Boston Chapter of URPE

The Capitalist System:
A Radical Analysis of American Society

By Richard C. Edwards, Michael Reich and Thomas E. Weisskopf—All of Harvard University

The first comprehensive treatment of radical economics, this book first establishes a theoretical framework for the analysis of capitalism—a framework which draws heavily upon the basic critique of capitalism contained in Marx's ECONOMIC AND PHILOSOPHIC MANUSCRIPTS as updated by such modern Marxists as Maurice Dobb, Andre Gorz, Herbert Gintis, Samuel Bowles, Paul Sweezy, and others.

The book then applies this theory to the analyses of inequality, alienation, racism, sexism, irrationality, and imperialism. The concluding chapters discuss the possibility of fundamental institutional change in American society and the ways in which a "more decent society might be structured." January 1972, 539 pp., paper, (11364-7)

From Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N. J. 07632

Liberation

Liberation is a radical monthly magazine publishing articles by people involved in the struggle to achieve a more fully human society. It provides reliable reporting and comprehensive analysis, as well as a forum for commentary and debate within the movement. Our rates are $7 for one year, $13 for two years, and $18 for three years. Sample copies are available upon request for 25 cents each.

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notes on "utopian" economics

I. Utopian economics means socialist economics. Socialism means social control over social production, including the process of work, techniques of production, organization of work, relations between workers, products produced, distribution of products, etc. All these factors are presently controlled by the owners of the means of production and their management. Socialism subjects them to social control. To put it another way, socialism means the socialization of the instrument of production, as opposed to the nationalization of the means of production. Socialization implies democratic control of production. Nationalization historically has meant either state capitalism or state socialism. Socialized enterprises are managed in accordance with the self-defined needs of the producers themselves. Nationalized enterprises everywhere are managed in accordance either with the dictates of the market (whether they are located in socialist Yugoslavia or in capitalist Britain) or with the dictates of the bureaucrat technicians or the central planning board (as in the Soviet Union).

Bourgeois economists claim that mankind faces the Hobson's choice of either a market-controlled economy or centrally planned economy. Economists rightly argue that mankind can no longer organize itself according to tradition and custom, and allocate economic resources on the basis of habitual patterns of production and distribution. The traditional allocation of resources is possible only in an economy using primitive instruments of production and distribution, where technology is relatively fixed, and thus where needs are unchanging. Bringing in new instruments of production means not only new objects, but also new needs, which must be fulfilled on some basis other than what is customary.

Bourgeois economists thus present the options of the market or central planning, or a "judicious" mixture of both. We are told that in no event is it possible for the masses of people to exercise control of their own destiny. On the one hand, in a market economy (including "market socialism") the economy controls the people, the people do not control the economy. On the other hand, in a centrally planned economy, a handful of strong men or experts control the economy, and the people, as well.

Bourgeois economists forget that there is an alternative mode of economic organization - the allocation of resources on the basis of affection and (with luck) love. This constitutes the mode of organization in a happy family where there is neither competition for scarce resources (e.g., the distribution of sugar at the breakfast table) nor allocation of these resources on the basis of material incentives (e.g., children are not bribed to take out the garbage), nor central planning (i.e., sexism, the unilateral determination of resource use by the dominant male). On the contrary, these categories have no concrete meaning; there is only affection and love. I produce something because someone needs it; I must therefore be sensitive to others and care for others; to care for others I must know myself and care for myself.
I must know myself not only in the sense of being aware of my feelings - being "together" - but also in the historical sense of knowing that my existence depends on others (e.g., the expenditure of labor power by Brazilian workers and peasants makes possible compulsive coffee drinking).

In this sense, socialism is impossible until a sensitive and rational man and woman are developed, and develops himself or herself.

This raises two problems: first, the scientific problem of immediate political relevance. In what sense, if any, is advanced capitalism producing a sensitive/rational human being, one capable of exercising social control over social production? If there is a sense in which this is happening, what is the process through which sensitive/rational humans are negating capitalist relations of production (i.e., what is reform and what is revolution)? And given the process of negation, what are the appropriate forms of political struggle?

Second, there is the utopian (not immediately relevant) problem of how sensitive/rational human beings can organize themselves as free human beings. Not under conditions of their own choosing, but under conditions of relative scarcity. Relative scarcity means that resources are scarce relative to human wants and needs. This is the trivial meaning of relative scarcity, the one used by bourgeois economists. There is another meaning a more profound one. Free human beings can define their needs in more than one way; they can define scarcity autonomously. For example, it is trivial to say that transportation resources are scarce because there are competing claims on these resources. It is less trivial to say that transportation resources are scarce because human beings in capitalist society do not have the opportunity to decide whether or not they want to have the specific needs that are satisfied by transportation resources. Thus, for example the reintegration of work and play may very well reduce the demand for transportation resources as a whole.

Bourgeois economists consider this problem to be a false one. They reason that in the last analysis "tastes" are subjective - even though they are formed socially. Central planning is bad because it substitutes one person's judgement of another person's needs for the judgement of the person himself. This is why the argument continues - centrally planned economies are moving toward the market, substituting market relations for planned production (e.g., the new stress on the autonomously managed and financed firm in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe). The market is good because everyone (within the limits of their budget) can exercise free choice, and acquire use values on the basis of their own evaluations of goods.

But formally, bourgeois economists claim that it is not possible to make inter-personal comparisons of utility - that one person's poison might be another person's meat. In effect, the argument is that it is impossible to develop a community based on capitalist relations of production, which is true. But what is forgotten is that there is a large concrete element in the individual demand for objects; that is, that there are social needs that manifest themselves in the individual demand for objects. For example, although cars are owned by individuals the need for cars is social; everyone doesn't need a particular type of car (yet everyone needs a car-or the equivalent fast ground transportation). Now, it is possible to locate the concrete element not only via a central planning board (or in the person of a remarkable man with his ears close to the ground, a man
such as Fidel), but also through mutual self-discovery of individuals, each caring intelligently about the other. This is the process through which the concrete element in life is identified in group therapy sessions; not only the pathological concrete element, but also the healthy one. Thus, under socialism my task is not to interpret your needs for you (even though I may know them better than you), but to help you discover them, and then help to fulfill them.

Fidel says, "Every man a legislator!" We say, "Every man and woman a guide, an educator!"

IV In the underdeveloped poles of the world capitalist system—the Third World—"utopian economics" is the economics of industrialization and economic integration. Most of the underdeveloped economies lack both a base of heavy industry and integration of agriculture and industry. The problem therefore is a) the reallocation of economic surplus from luxury consumption, middleman profits, usurer profits, profits appropriated by foreign capital, and other wasteful and destructive expenditures to productive investment in both physical capacity and education, health and other social investments and b) the development of new branches of agriculture and industry which buy from and sell to each other—that is, which form part of a whole integrated economy. "What needs to be done" from a strictly economic standpoint requires little or no debate. The economic model of development is already available in the form of the industrialization experiences of the advanced capitalist countries and the industrialized socialist countries.

The main debate turns on the "how"—material incentives vs. moral incentives; labor-saving vs. capital-saving techniques; in agriculture, local specialization and national diversification vs. local diversification, etc. The example of Cuba is instructive; from the standpoint of needed technical economic changes there was almost no difference between the official economic development program of Batista and the program of Fidel's 26th of July Movement. Fidel distinguished himself from Batista in that he took the program seriously, and was willing to risk the political consequences of introducing specific economic changes that everyone agreed were needed (it goes without saying that the old ruling class merely gave lip service to the island's official development program).

In the developed capitalist countries—which enjoy a base of heavy industry and which are generally well-integrated, the problem of "utopian economics" presents itself in a very different light. The problem is not the accumulation of capital in branches of industry that are indispensable for regional or national development. The problem is rather the reallocation of existing capital and other resources with the aim of producing for use, not profit.

In the Third World the problem is to lay the groundwork for reducing socially necessary labor (and thus increasing opportunities for the development of freedom) by substituting an efficient mode of production for an inefficient mode. Economically, this requires the substitution of dead labor for living labor (machines for men); sociologically, this requires the general technical upgrading of the entire work force. Thus, the process of industrialization simultaneously creates both the material and social preconditions for freedom.

In the developed countries the problem is to eliminate socially unnecessary labor (the production of built in obsolescence, model changes and styling dictated by marketing requirements
strictly speaking, useless packaging, advertising, and last but not least, military production) and to redefine socially necessary labor.

In theory, the first problem is simple. Utopian economics consists of input-output matrix specifying the flow and utilization of waste production throughout the economy. Popular councils (putting aside consideration of the form of the councils' lines of authority, etc.) debate the subject of desired forms of transportation, extent of desirable individual transport, type of vehicle (e.g., designed to be used for short distances or long), etc., and place an order for a specific output mix. Presumably, the waste component of the output mix will be minimal; thus, the auto-industry will require less steel; steel will require less coal; coal will require less steel; steel will require fewer autos; etc. In theory, such a matrix could be constructed for economy as a whole.

The second problem is the hard one. At present, the working class in advanced capitalist societies does not have any opportunity to define socially necessary labor - or, to put it another way, to decide what it wants to need. For example, everyone needs a car today, these needs are formed in production (i.e., separation of places of work, residence, and recreation, which produces the need for fast ground transportation), yet no one consciously decided that this particular need was desired. If decisions regarding industrial location, patterns of residence, location of recreational facilities, etc. were subject to popular control, many people might decide that they don't want to need a car. They might agree to reallocate capital (and socially necessary labor) in forms that integrate work, play, and residence in the form of popular courses in economic planning given at the place of work, abolition of the school and university systems as autonomous units, popular control swimming lessons on the job, etc. To take another example, given popular control of production, would anyone really want to need eye drops (that at present help to "solve" the problem of pollution)? Production for use oriented by ecological consciousness could eliminate the need for eye drops etc. - a need that is produced simultaneously with the objects that satisfy the need.

The redefinition of socially necessary labor is in the last analysis the redefinition of social relations, not merely methods of production, types of outputs, forms of distribution, etc. For example, women agitating for free client-controlled day care centers are in the process of redefining their relations with men (or vice versa). If it is true that revolution in advanced capitalist countries consists of a long process of de-alienation (blacks refusing to be submissive to whites, women refusing to be submissive to men, etc., and, finally, workers refusing to submit to "managerial prerogatives"), then it follows that the revolution creates new needs and expectations in the people-specifically, the need for non-instrumental, open, intimate, spontaneous, joyful relations between people. We are referring to a new man and a new woman, produced by capitalist society in its later stages, requiring social control of production for "final" realization. If it is true that revolution means more than the transfer of juridical title of the instruments of production from private owners to the state, together with the reallocation of resources to meet the needs of people- needs that are not satisfied - under capitalism- then it follows that the demand for popular, democratic control not only means an equitable income distribution, provision of basic services free of charge, etc.
but also non-authoritarian, non-bureaucratic relations of produc-
tion relations and relations outside of production. It may
mean the end of the distinction between primary institutions
(production, distribution) and secondary institutions (school,
home, etc.). If the meaning of alienation at root is the fragment-
ation of personality into various pre-defined roles, the self-
definition of a person in these pre-defined roles, and thus a
set of pre-defined social relations, then it follows that dealien-
ation means the elimination of all stereotypes, both self and
externally-defined. In other words, we are talking about a society
that does not predefine anyone's potentialities for freedom.

This means that in those processes through which mankind
reproduces its material existence the criteria guiding performance
can not be "efficiency" as presently understood, but rather a
different set altogether. The problem for the economy is not to
maximize production, or even equality in distribution, or even
a combination of maximum production with minimum socially neces-
sary labor. As Girhis shows, the real criteria consist of how well
production and distribution afford the opportunity for the individual
to realize his potential development.

The problem is not to abolish (necessarily) the assembly-
line or freeway, but rather redefine its use. The assembly-line
is not an object that of necessity is operated at a certain
rhythm for certain number of hours per day, utilized by a cer-
tain number of workers engaged in certain pre-established tasks.
The assembly-line becomes not only an instrument of production,
but also a plaything, a place to get to know other human beings,
a religious symbol, etc. The rhythm of machine-production at
present does not determine the rhythm of work - that is the
fetishistic idea of bourgeois social scientists. At present, the
rhythm of work determines the rhythm of the machine. Given
private property in the means of production, competition, and the
private accumulation of capital, the owners and managers of the
instruments of production must use time "efficiently" and
compel non-owners to use time "efficiently" as well. Establish
a different conception of time, a different rhythm of work, then
there will be a different machine rhythm.

V. The importance of utopian economics is this: the working
class will never take power in its own name until it has a clear
idea of what it wants to use power for. This requires mass
discussions and debates over the question - what do we want to
need? Without clear answers to this question - superficially
a utopian question - the working class will never feel the need
for power. But the movement today tries to organize itself around
the idea and practice of dealienation - anti-racism, anti-chauvin-
ism, etc. There is a growing need for unity and collective
activity "within the ranks" and a growing need to end the domin-
ation of the oppressor. Thus, the movement may redefine power
to mean the power to determine the kinds and qualities of human
relations the people have with each other. It is conceivable
that questions of production strictly defined will for the first
time in history become secondary, not because there ceases to exist
scarcity as presently defined, but because the people redefine
scarcity. In a nut shell, what is scarce in mainstream America
today are not commodities but use values and human social relations,
inside and outside production.

James O'Connor
San Jose State College
WELFARE FOR THE RICH

(CPS) The news media and politicians give a lot of attention to the high cost of "public welfare programs." They never point out that the most expensive government payments aren't made to "welfare recipients," but to giant corporations and to millionaires. When did you ever read about these programs?

In December, as part of the New Economic Policy, Congress passed a total of $7.5 billion in new tax breaks to corporations. More than half of this is the 7% investment tax credit; businesses can avoid paying part of their regular taxes each time they make a new investment. $2.9 billion worth allows them to pretend that machinery and equipment are getting used up 20% faster than they actually are. Both will encourage companies to buy new automated machinery, and put more people on the other welfare rolls.

Three thousand families making over $1 million a year receive a total of $2.2 billion in tax relief. A total of $11 billion in tax welfare goes to all families making over $100,000. That's how much more the federal treasury would have if these families couldn't take advantage of special exemptions and other loopholes written into the federal tax law, tax auditor Philip M. Stern testified before Congress in January.

If the millionaires' tax rebates were issued as daily welfare checks instead of being subtracted from the tax bill, these 3000 welfare families would be getting $2000 a day. These rolls are increasing too. For instance, the number of families making $1 million or more a year and paying no taxes at all has tripled since 1966, from 18 to 56. The number with incomes above $200,000 paying no taxes has doubled, from 154 to 301.

The legally-established loopholes that make all this possible include lower tax rates on income from sale of stocks, ability to write off as "losses" investments in housing and agriculture, freedom from any taxes at all on income from municipal bonds, and many others.

Every year, some $4 billion in cash grants is given to farmers. Though thousands of small farmers sell out every year because they can't break even, almost all of these subsidies go to huge farming companies, or "agribusinesses."

Many of these are giant national corporations, for whom farming is just one of many businesses. Tenneco Corporation, one of the ten biggest "farmers" on this welfare program, is also one of the ten biggest defense contractors. Much of this money is paid for the big farmers not to grow food, in order to make food scarcer and keep prices up.

One of these welfare farmers is Senator James Eastland of Mississippi--third ranking member of the Senate Agriculture Committee. He gets a yearly payment of $130,000 for his 5800 acre plantation. Southern sugar and cotton growers are particularly well-represented on Congressional committees and on the farm welfare rolls.

Oil companies get two kinds of welfare. They get a special super-tax-welfare, by which they pay lower tax rates than individuals in the lowest tax brackets. And the government helps them to take money directly out of people's pockets by import regulations designed to keep prices high.

U.S. Oil Week, an oil industry publication, reports that in 1970, Gulf paid a total of 1.2% of its profits in taxes; Atlantic paid 4.1%, Standard Oil of California paid 5%, and Texaco paid 6.4%. Standard Oil of Ohio, with a net income of $66 million, paid no federal taxes at all, but instead received a 10% credit which it can apply to future bills.

These special tax rates are called the "oil depletion allowance." The logic is, with each gallon of oil a company extracts from the earth, the company comes closer to using up "its" oil and reaching bankruptcy. Therefore it needs a break.

The other part of the welfare program places legal limits on the amount of foreign oil that can be imported each year. So every year we get, for instance, a heating oil "shortage," which "forces" prices up.
U.S. ASSOCIATIONS AND PERIODICALS INVOLVED IN RADICAL CRITICAL RESEARCH, THEORY AND ACTION

THE ACTIVIST, 27 1/2 W. College St., Oberlin, Ohio, 44074

AFRICA RESEARCH GROUP, P.O. Box 213, Cambridge, Mass. 02138, U.S.A. (They publish material on U.S. domination in Africa).


AMERICAN PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION-RADICAL CAUCUS, c/o Saul Wasserman, 1141 Cedar Street, Palo Alto, Calif. 94301, U.S.A.

AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGISTS FOR SOCIAL ACTION, 133 West 72nd St., Room 402, New York, N.Y. 10023, U.S.A. (Federation of groups of radical psychologists. They publish a monthly newsletter (Social Action) for $3.00 a year).

BAY AREA INSTITUTE, 9 Sutter St., Suite 300, San Francisco 94104, U.S.A. (Research on U.S. imperialism by young scholars).

BAY AREA RADICAL EDUCATION PROJECT, P.O. Box 40159, San Francisco, California 94140, U.S.A. (Distributors of radical reprints).

BAY AREA REVOLUTIONARY UNION, Box 291, 1230 San Francisco, Calif. 94133, U.S.A. (This group publishes the Red Paper series).

BERKELEY JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY. Dept. of Sociology, Univ. of California, Berkeley, Calif. 94720, U.S.A. (A critical journal of sociology published by Berkeley graduate students).

BLACK AND RED, Box 9546, Detroit, Michigan 48202. ($10 to libraries, institutions, people w/money. Contribution to other people).

BLACK ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE c/o AME Zion Church, 806 Quincy St., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11221. (Black Manifesto).

BLACK PANTHER, Box 2967, Custom House, San Francisco 94126, U.S.A. (Weekly newspaper of the B.P. Party).

BLACK SCHOLAR, Box 31245, San Francisco, Calif. 94131, U.S.A. (Scholarly journal edited by Nathan Hare and others).

THE BODY POLITIC, 1951 Turk St., San Francisco, Calif. 94115, U.S.A. (Monthly journal published by radical doctors. $7/yr.)


BULLETIN OF CONCERNED ASIAN SCHOLARS, 9 Sutter Street, Room 300, San Francisco 94114, U.S.A. (Newsletter of radical Asian scholars).

CAMBRIDGE INSTITUTE, 56 Boylston St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138, U.S.A. (Works with Praxis Institute, 341 Bloor West, Box 8, Toronto, Canada and Parallel Institute, P.O. Box Station "B", Montreal 104, Quebec, on community and workers control).
CATALYST, Box 92, Norton Union, State Univ. of New York, Buffalo, New York. (Critical sociology journal).


CENTER FOR EDUCATIONAL REFORM, 2115 S. Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008, U.S.A. (They publish ECENTRIC, a newsletter on changes in education).

Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, 475 Riverside Drive, New York City 10027.

Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, (CCAS) 1737 Cambridge Street, Room 305, Cambridge, Mass. (Publishes a regular journal and holds meetings and conferences)

COMMITTEE OF RETURNED VOLUNTEERS' Box 380, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003, U.S.A. (Ex-volunteers from Peace Corps and other agencies. The Committee is devoted to radical structural changes in U.S. relations with the third World).

COMMUNITY CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, c/o Mordecai Brienderg, P.S.A. Dept. Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, B.C., Canada. (Radical scholars serving the needs of oppressed groups).

COMMUNITY MARKET, Voluntown, CT 06384, U.S.A. (A directory of people who promote radical change through funds obtained by the sale of their products).

CURRENT WOMEN'S LIBERATION MATERIAL NEWSLETTER' Isure X (Murro) 2325 Oak St., Berkeley, Calif., 94708, U.S.A. $1.00 a copy).

COMPUTER PROFESSIONALS FOR PEACE, P.O. Box 1597, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11202, U.S.A. (They publish INTERRUPT, a newsletter for radical rapping and organizing).


EL MALCRIADO - The Voice of the Farm Worker, P.O. Box 130, Delano, CA 93215 ($3.50/yr.)

EPISCOPAL PEACE FELLOWSHIP, 229 East 59th St., New York City.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILATION' Box 271, Nyack, N.Y., U.S.A. (Center for Peace, Justice and Radical Change).

FILMS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE, 5122 Waterman Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 63108, U.S.A.; (Produces and directs films on black power, war, ecology and the counterculture).

Forum International, 1246 Hearst Avenue, Berkeley, California 94702.

FREE CHURCH PUBLICATIONS, P.O. Box 9177, Berkeley, Calif. 94709, U.S.A. (They publish WIN WITH LOVE, a directory of the LIBERATED CHURCHES IN AMERICA).

Freedom Information Service, Box 120, Tougaloo, Mississippi 39174.

GUARDIAN, 32 West 22nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10003, U.S.A. (Independent radical newsweekly).

Highlander Research and Education Center, 1625 Riverside Drive, Knoxville, Tennessee 37915.

HOTCHBOT, P.O. Box 2492, Cleveland, Ohio 44112, U.S.A. (Newspaper with socialist perspective for social welfare organizers).

"Inner-City Voice", League of Revolutionary Black Workers, 8824 Ferkell, Detroit 48238 ($5, 12 issues).
(Think-tank of the Left)

The Insurgent Sociologist, c/o Al Szymanski, Dept. of Sociology, Univ. of Oregon, Eugene, 
Oregon.  (Monthly publication of radical sociologists from Union of Radical 
Sociologists, Sociology Liberation Movement and New University Conference)

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS, P.O. Box 121, Berkeley, Calif. 94701, U.S.A.  (They publish 
INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, from 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003)

LIBERATED GUARDIAN, Workers' Collective, 14 Cooper Square, New York, N.Y. 10003, U.S.A.

LIBERATION, 339 Lafayette St., New York, New York 10012.  ($7)

LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE, 160 Clairemont Ave., New York, New York 10027 ($240.00 a year 
for twice weekly packets)  (News distributors to movement media).

MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, 1520 Naudain Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19146, U.S.A., 
(They publish HEALTH RIGHTS NEWS, a periodical for health professionals 
concerned with radical social change).


MONTHLY REVIEW, 116 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011, U.S.A.  (Independent socialist 
journal which is translated in various languages).

THE MOVEMENT, 330 Grove St., San Francisco, Calif., U.S.A.  (Monthly Analytical 
Newspaper-type Publication).

NATIONAL ACTION/RESEARCH ON THE MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX, 160 N. 15th St., Philadelphia, 
Pa., 19102, U.S.A.  (Narmic does research for non-violent projects).

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD, 5 Beekman St., New York, N.Y. 10038, U.S.A.  (Lawyers who provide 
legal support for the movement).

National Mobilization Committee, 5 Beekman St., New York City 10038.

NATIONAL TENANTS ORGANIZATION, 711, 14th St., N.W., Washington D.C. 20004, U.S.A., 
(Fights for decent low-income housing for the poor).

NATIONAL WELFARE RIGHTS ORGANIZATION, 1419 H. Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005, U.S.A., 
(Resource group for welfare recipients).

EL GRITO DEL NORTE, Box 466, Fairview Station, Espanola, NM 87532 ($4 per year)

NEW ENGLAND FREE PRESS, 791 Tremont St., Boston, Mass. 02118 (Prints pamphlets on 
Women's Lib.).


NEW LEFT REVIEW, c/o B. de Boer, 188 High St., Nutley, New Jersey 07110.

New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (New Mobe), 1029 Vermont Ave., N.W., 
Washington D.C.  (Provides information on the war, and conducts research on 
the military activities of major U.S. corporations).

NEW POLITICS, 507 Fifth Ave, New York, N.Y. 10017, U.S.A.

NEW UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE, 622 W. Diversy, Room 403, Chicago, Ill. 60614, U.S.A. (Organization of socialist-oriented faculty. They publish THE RADICAL TEACHER)

NORTH AMERICAN CONGRESS ON LATIN AMERICA, P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Station, New York 10025, U.S.A. ($5 a year newsletter on U.S. imperialism in Latin America)

OFF OUR BACKS, 2318 Ashmead Place, N.W., Washington 20009, U.S.A. (Bi-weekly women's liberation periodical, $6.00 a year).

PACIFIC STUDIES CENTER, 1963 University Ave., Palo Alto, Calif. 94303, U.S.A. (They publish PACIFIC RESEARCH WORLD EMPIRE TELEGRAM, at $5.00 for 12 issues a year).

THE PEACE RESEARCH LABORATORY, 5937 Enright Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63112.

PEOPLE AGAINST RACISM, 7105 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Michigan 48202 (H.Q. for research and action on anti-racist programs).

People's Church Councils, 521 W. 126th St., New York 10027.


RADICAL AMERICA, 1237 Spaight St., Madison, Wisconsin 53703, U.S.A., (One of the best movement journal).


RADICAL EDUCATION PROJECT, Box 561A, Detroit, Michigan 48232, U.S.A., (They reprint movement articles and pamphlets).

THE RADICAL THERAPIST, P.O. Box 1215, Minot, North Dakota 58701, U.S.A., (Bi-monthly Journal that focuses on how therapy could serve the movement instead of the status quo. $6.00 a year).

RADICAL RESEARCH CENTER, c/o Bob Stigler, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. 55057, U.S.A. (They publish ALTERNATIVE PRESS INDEX, a reader guide to underground press).

RADIO FREE PEOPLE, 133 Mercer St., New York, N.Y. 10012, U.S.A., (Radio material on revolutionary social change)

RAMPARTS, P.O. Box 452, San Francisco, Calif. 94101, U.S.A., (Mackracking journal with radical orientation).

THE RED BOOK, 91 River Street, Cambridge, Mass. (Radical bookstore and center).

RESEARCH URBANIZING COLLECTIVE, 2504 Jackson St., San Francisco, Calif. 94133, U.S.A.

RESIST NEWSLETTER, 763 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02139 (support group for all types of resistance)

ROOT AND BRANCH, 235 River St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139, U.S.A.

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY, 30 East 20th St., New York, N.Y. 10003 (An independent journal of Marxism).

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, c/o Agenda Publishing Co., 1445 Stockton Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94132, U.S.A., ($3.50 a year) (Successor to STUDIES ON THE LEFT)

Underground Press Syndicate, Box 26, Village P.O., New York, N.Y. 10027.

UNION OF CONCERNED SCIENTISTS, P.O. Box 289, M.I.T. Branch Station, Cambridge, Mass. 02139, U.S.A. (Scientists interested in social change).


SOCIAL THEORY AND PRACTICE, Editor, Dept. of Philosophy, The Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida 32306.

Student Action Co-ordinating Committee, SACC Office, M.I.T., Cambridge, Mass. (Groups of young scientists that publish a newspaper and pamphlets on weapons research).

Support Our Soldiers (SOS), P.O. Box 3061, Oakland, Calif. 94609.

T.A.R., Box 3393 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 06520, U.S.A. (Group of radical architects).

TEACHERS INCORPORATED, 35 Market St., New York, N.Y. 10002, (Trains teachers to stimulate radical change).

TELOS, Philosophy Dept., SUNY at Buffalo, 4244 Ridge Lea Rd., Amherst, N.Y. 14226. (Radical philosophy journal, oriented towards critical Marxist Thought).

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The first twelve chapters of this text are available separately... PROPERTY AND PROPHETS: THE EVOLUTION OF ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS AND IDEOLOGIES by E. K. Hunt. Paper. Tentative: 256 pp.; $3.95. April, 1972.

HARPER & ROW, PUBLISHERS, INC.
49 E. 33d Street, New York 10016
For more information write Dept. 275(M).
A number of movement publications have asked us to run ads for them. We will try and keep Newsletter readers up on existence of articles which are of URPISH interest. For example, the current issue of Liberation has the first English translation of Wilhelm Reich's "What is Class-Consciousness?" which a number of collectives in N.Y. and we presume elsewhere are using as a basis for group discussions. The issue is 75¢ each, 60¢ if 10 or more, from Liberation, 339 Lafayette St., N.Y., N.Y. 10012.

The Insurgent Sociologist, put out by the NUC-Radical Sociology Caucus (c/o Dept. of Sociology, U. of Oregon, Eugene, Ore., 97403; $5 a year; low income $3) in its current issue has: William Domhoff, "Some Friendly Answers to Radical Critics", Richard Flacks, "Towards A Socialist Society"; Marlene Dixon, "Academic Poles and Functions".

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