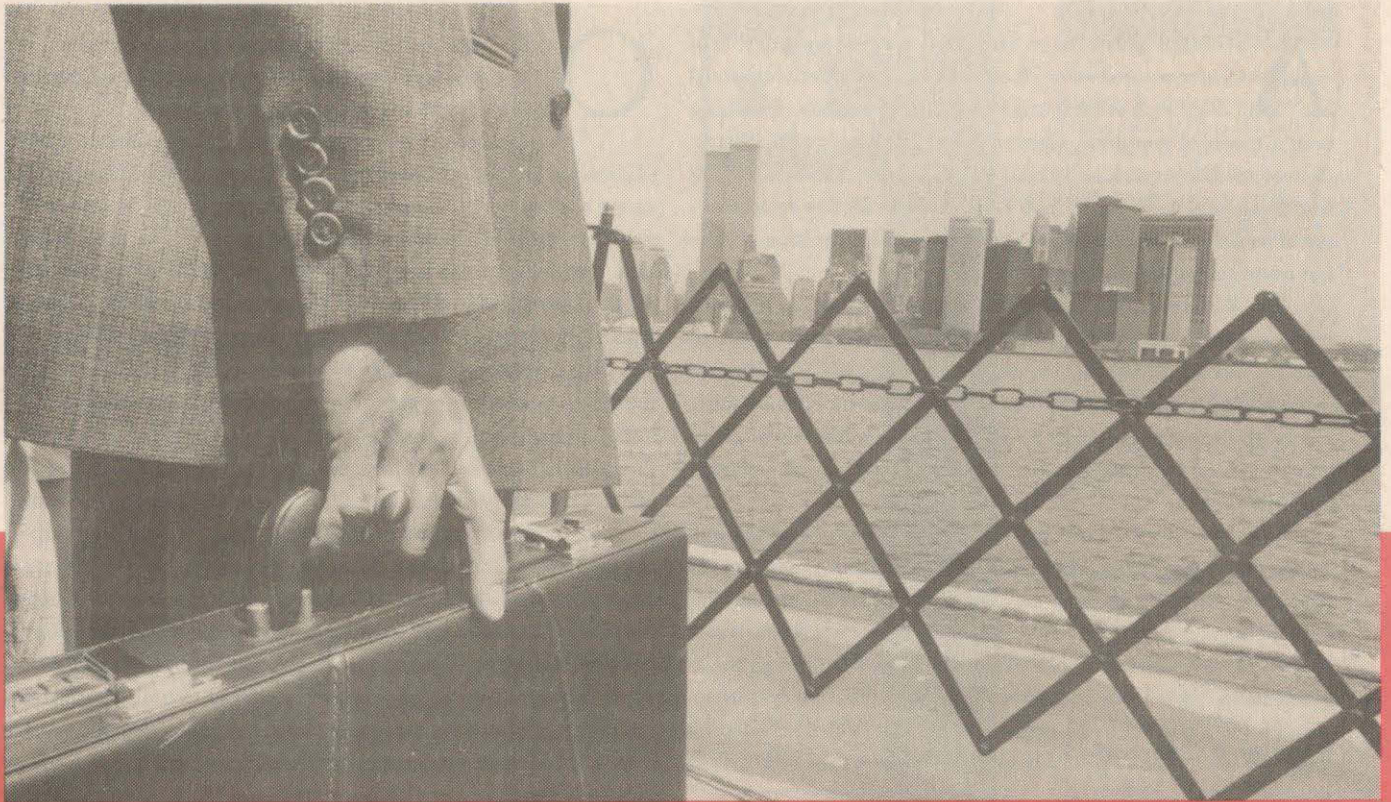


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Metropolis vs. Suburbia

Peter Dreier on the Struggle for America's Cities

**Dream Fortresses:
The Rise of Covenanted
Communities**

**Minimum Wage Battle
in CA**

Detroit Acropolis?

**Boston DSA
Rocks the Cradle of
Revolution**

**Editorial:
The Road Ahead in
'96**

**and
more...**

Left Alone, Again

BY HAROLD MEYERSON

At some point over the past several months, Bill Clinton and the Republican presidential field passed each other going in opposite directions. Shunning even a touch of populism, Clinton is campaigning on an affirmation of Middle-American values. The Republicans—at least Pat Buchanan, and sporadically Bob Dole—have decided to raise the issue of working-class interests, though having raised the issue, they're not quite sure what to do about it.

Buchanan, who suffers from the delusion that he's a Republican, is staking out a position as a distinct third force in American politics. Always aligned with the traditionalist wing of Catholicism on social issues (though he's far to the Church's right on capital punishment and immigrant rights), he's now becoming more and more an apostle of the Church's traditionalist antipathy to the market and its excesses.

At its essence, Buchanan's economics acknowledges the widening gap between classes, and posits largely nationalist solutions. For the crisis of declining incomes, he offers not a higher minimum wage but a tightening of the labor market—to be achieved not through governmentally-planned full employment, of course, but through a governmentally-constructed wall on the border. His trade policy—particularly his call for social tariffs against nations that deliberately depress their workers' wages—is probably more progressive than he is willing to acknowledge; inadvertently, he is advocating an upward levelling of global incomes. More generally, he is as mistrustful of global capital as any leftist, but the notion of any global government to counterbalance the power of transnationals is anathema to him and his followers; he directs even more fire against the UN and the World Court than he does against Chase Manhattan and AT&T.

The Buchanan campaign has brought American conservatism to a fork in the road. Increasingly, his stump speech includes condemnations of Newt Gingrich's infatuation with the new economic order; his audiences have taken to booing any mention of Rush Limbaugh, whose sided with the Newtster against Pat. Historically, American conservatism has always been more capitalist than traditionalist. Buchanan seems bent on forcing the question, and it is not clear that the Republican Party can ultimately bridge this widening gap.

It is harder to discuss the philosophical core of the Dole campaign than it is Buchanan's. You don't have to be a term-limit supporter to find it distressing that after 36 years in Congress, Dole seems incapable of articulating any ideas. The contest that seems to be shaping up for November may well pit an incumbent who can eloquently support virtually any position against a challenger who seems most comfortable supporting virtually none.

On the Democratic side, there have been two winners in this year's presidential contest. The first is the Anti-Gingrich Clinton. The second is Dick Morris's Clinton.

By the time the winter's budget follies had ground to a halt, Clinton had established himself as the one thing that stood between the nation and wall-to-wall Gingrichism. That was enough, he calculated, to hold the left and win the center; and so far the polls are proving him right. He also seemed to be guided by the old truism that the American public is ideologically conservative but operationally liberal. He has repudiated the core tenets of liberal ideology—the legacy of both the 30's ("big government") and the 60's (calling for school uniforms and the V-chip means shifting the party to the side of traditional authority in the cultural conflicts that have been with us since that decade.) At the same time, he has fought for specific programs that are widely popular—Medicare and Medicaid, clean air and water, affordable college loans.

In the second instance, the Dick Morris Clinton has emerged the victor—for now, at least—over the Carville/Greenberg/Stephanopoulos/Ickes/Reich Clinton. Morris is the values-matter-most guy, the bipartisan consultant who believes the road to re-election is paved with V-chips. The others are urging Clinton to take a more populist line—at least to take the teeny-weensy step of favoring tax benefits to corporations that acknowledge a responsibility not just to shareholders but to workers and communities as well. This is not a step that Clinton is as yet willing to take.

For those on the left who will feel compelled to support the Anti-Gingrich Clinton this November, the question remains as to how to move Clinton leftward. The one thing that's certain is that he will not so move absent a left that effectively can pressure both him and the Congress—and there was no such left in evidence during Clinton's first term. Which is to say, beyond the battle for the White House and the Capitol, there are two even more crucial struggles the left should undertake. The first is to provide all possible assistance to the efforts to jump-start the labor movement. The second is to involve itself in the campaigns around saving affirmative action, raising the minimum wage, establishing the rights of HMO patients, and the like, that will be appearing on some states' ballots this November. Taking the government away from the Gingrichites will be a major achievement, but it only returns us to ground zero. It's also up to us to create the space for a new, non-Gingrichite government to actually do something positive.

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cover: Commuters from Staten Island ride the ferry to work. S.I. tried to secede from the rest of NYC despite dependence on Manhattan for employment. Photo by Robert Fox/Impact Visuals.

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Metropolis vs. Suburbia

The Struggle for Our Cities

BY PETER DREIER

For years, community leaders, mayors and other urban advocates warned that cities were ticking time bombs. When the Los Angeles riots erupted in April 1992 – the worst civil disorder in American history – many hoped that it would catalyze a major national commitment to revitalize the cities – an urban Marshall Plan.

The timing seemed perfect. The Los Angeles riots coincided with the end of the Cold War. When the Berlin Wall fell, and the Soviet Union collapsed, there was much public discussion about the prospects for a “peace dividend” to reorder national priorities and address long unmet domestic needs. Moreover, the riots occurred in the midst of a national election for president and Congress. Indeed, for a few weeks following the riots, America’s urban crisis became a hot topic. It was the subject of Congressional debate, discussed on television talk shows and featured in newsmagazine cover stories. President Bush and his Democratic rivals visited LA to demonstrate their concern. But soon the journalists left L.A., Congress passed a meager quick-fix emergency urban aid package, and the candidates for President turned their attention to other issues. The plight of America’s cities returned to political obscurity. Why?

Many progressive activists hoped that Bill Clinton’s victory in November 1992 would usher in a new era of hope for the nation’s cities. His victory was viewed as a mandate for a more activist government. But Clinton was elected with only 43% of the overall vote. His own party, while capturing a majority of seats in Congress, was deeply divided, with many members closely linked to big business interests who oppose progressive taxation, Keynesian pump-priming, and social spending. The Republican takeover of Con-

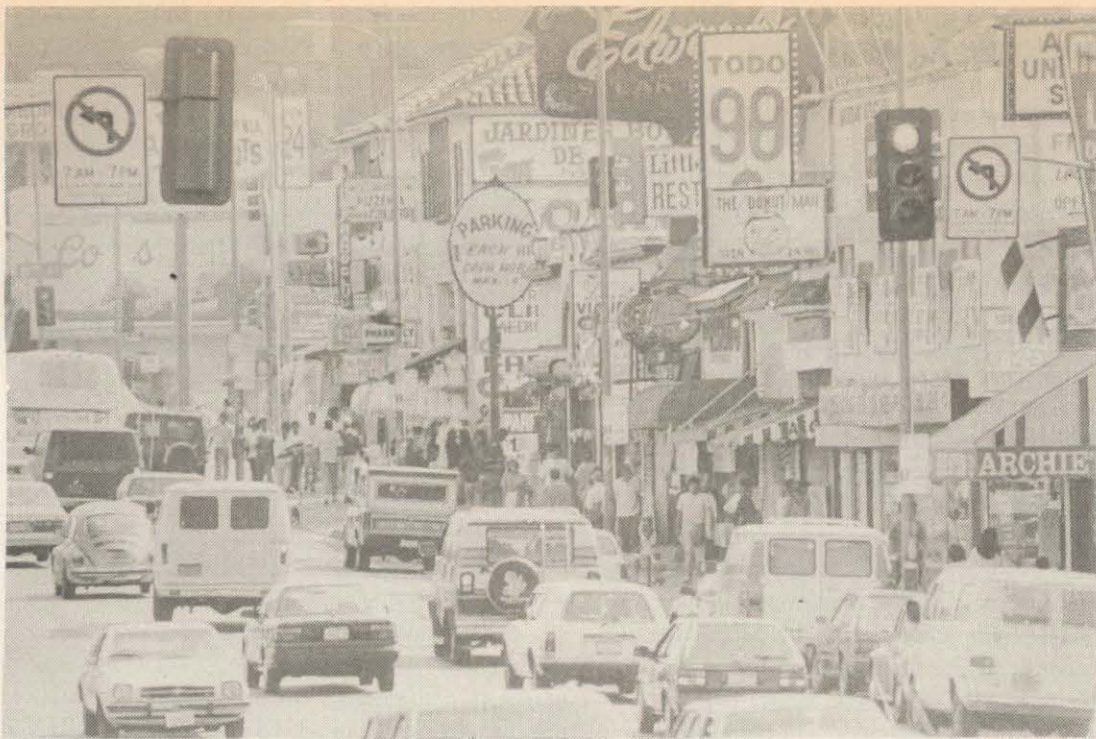
gress in November 1994 then exacerbated the political isolation of cities, symbolized by Clinton’s proposals a month later to dramatically cut the budget for the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

If progressives want to address America’s urban crisis, they must be clear-eyed about the basic causes of our cities’ plight as well as the political obstacles as we try to move urban American closer to the top of the nation’s agenda.

No other major industrial nation has allowed its cities to face the type of fiscal and social troubles confronting America’s cities. The widening gap between rich and poor in America is reflected in where we live. Our nation’s cities have become increasingly populated by the poor, while the affluent wall themselves off in gated communities or affluent suburbs. Other “middle-class” Americans find themselves trapped in older inner-ring suburbs that look more and more like troubled cities. They face many of the same problems: crime and violence, infant mortality, crumbling infrastructure, inadequate housing, and chronic fiscal crises.

Poverty and racism are the most fundamental problems facing our cities. Most of America’s 38 million poor people dwell in our cities and they are increasingly concentrated in ghettos and barrios. Their poverty stems from both unemployment and low-wage work. But their concentration results from racial discrimination. Sixty-two percent of non-Hispanic blacks live in blocks that are 60% or more black. Forty percent of the Hispanic population live in blocks that are 60% or more Hispanic. At least two

The widening gap between rich and poor in America is reflected in where we live.



Alvarado & 7th Streets, Los Angeles, CA. Denser in population than Manhattan, this section of LA is populated mainly by Latino immigrants.

Ted SoquillImpact Visuals

out of every three white Americans live in essentially all-white neighborhoods.

As local governments "downsize" their operations to avert fiscal collapse, the poor and working-class residents of America's cities are pitted against each other for shrinking resources. This leads to heightened social and racial tensions. It also makes it more and more difficult for local officials to govern effectively.

Compared with a generation ago, fewer people now live, work, or shop in our cities. Yet even in their reduced state, cities play at least three critical economic functions in metropolitan economies. First, they are the location of most metropolitan area jobs, including the best-paying jobs, and the nucleus of key industries—what economists call the advantages of "agglomeration." Second, these city-based firms and industries spin off jobs that are located in the suburbs, but depend on the central city for their sustenance. Third, cities remain the hub of the metropolitan region's civic life, where the major cultural, educational, medical, sports, governmental, and other institutions are located.

Four major economic trends have undermined the economic, social, and political health of cities.

CORPORATE FLIGHT & ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING

The electronics revolution has hastened the development of a global economy and footloose multinational corporations. Since the early 1970s, there has been a tremendous flight of previously high-wage

(primarily manufacturing) industries from U.S. cities to locations with more "favorable" business conditions—low wages, weak or nonexistent unions, and lax environmental laws—found mainly in suburbs, rural areas, and Third World countries. The U.S. government promoted this flight with national tax policies that encouraged business to relocate to new sites (rather than modernizing and expanding their plants and equipment in cities) and with foreign policies that propped up Third World governments that suppress dissent.

Many blue-collar jobs that once constituted the economic backbone of cities and provided the employment opportunities for their poorly educated residents have either vanished or moved. These jobs have been replaced, at least in part, by knowledge-intensive white-collar jobs with educational requirements that exclude many with substandard educations. Between 1978 and 1982 alone, Los Angeles lost about 70,000 high-paying manufacturing jobs, much of it concentrated in the predominantly black neighborhoods of South Central L.A. Firms like General Motors and Bethlehem Steel relocated or closed their plants. Textile sweatshops, employing undocumented immigrants at below-minimum wages, represent the only growth in the manufacturing sector in cities like New York and Los Angeles.

In a global economy, cities have little control over local economic conditions, but in the absence of any federal effort to help cities, American cities have to compete with each other for tax revenue. This has led to an unhealthy bidding war to attract private capital investment, allowing multinational firms to pit cities against

cities, states against states, and even the U.S. against other countries to bring jobs and tax base revenue. In many cases, local efforts to improve the local "business climate" often mean lowering wages, health and safety standards, and environmental safeguards.

To cope with disinvestment and fiscal crises, many city development officials became "entrepreneurs," competing with other cities for corporate investment. Some cities sought to lure businesses with tax breaks and other subsidies (such as the \$100 million tax abatement granted Trump Tower in New York and Los Angeles' recent \$75 million tax break for Steven Spielberg's new DreamWorks film studio.) Critics of such tactics believe corporations are often bluffing when they threaten to move or demand tax breaks or regulatory relief to invest, but city officials rarely call their bluffs.

Even those cities that *did* successfully revitalize their downtown economies have not stemmed the growing tide of poverty only blocks away from the glittering glass and steel. Not surprisingly, the percentage of America's poor living in cities grew from 30% in 1968 to 37% in 1979 to 43% in 1990. The service economy is predominantly a low-wage economy. The exodus of many jobs, particularly entry-level jobs, to suburban locations only exacerbated the problem.

SURBURBAN EXODUS

America is now a suburban country.

Since World War II, the United States has witnessed one of the most dramatic population shifts in its history—the movement of Americans from cities to suburbs. Some historians have concluded that America's postwar suburban migration in so short a period was a "natural" evolution, a result of millions of separate decisions by individual consumers seeking a single-family home, improved public schools, and a better life for their families. It is often described as "white flight" or "suburban exodus" of consumers anxious to leave troubled neighborhoods for greener pastures.

In reality, the power brokers in America's corporate board rooms and developers' suites, and their allies in the White House and Congress, played a critical role in this suburbanization. As historian Kenneth Jackson describes in *Crabgrass Frontier*, these consumer choices were shaped (in fact, subsidized) by federal government policies that both pushed people out of cities and pulled them into suburbs. These included highway-building policies that opened up the hinterland to speculation and development; housing policies that offered government-insured mortgages to whites in suburbia (but *not* in cities); and bulldozer urban renewal policies that destroyed working-class neighborhoods, scattering their residents to blue-collar suburbs, to make way for downtown business development.

Today, more than three-quarters of all Ameri-

cans live in metropolitan areas, but two-thirds of them—in other words, about half the nation's population—live in suburbs. Moreover, in every region of the country—even where city populations are increasing—the fastest-growing parts of the metropolitan areas are the surrounding suburbs. During the 1980s, for example, Los Angeles grew by 17.4%, while its suburbs grew by 29.5%.

As a result, America's cities now face a shrinking tax base and fiscal traumas. In 1960, the per capita income of cities was 5% greater than their surrounding suburbs. In 1980, the ratio had fallen well *below* the suburbs'; by 1989, to 84%.

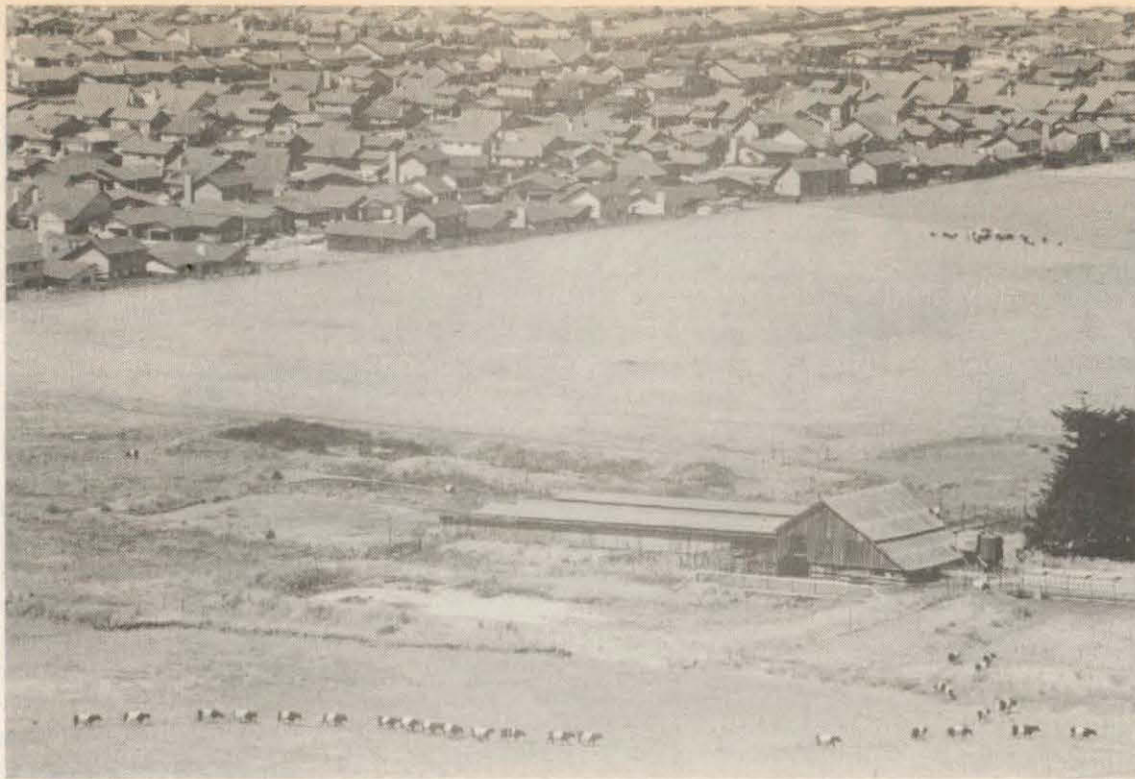
But we need to rethink our old notions of "city" and "suburb." The stereotype of the affluent lily-white bedroom suburb no longer fits, if it ever did. Although most suburbanites now commute to work in other suburbs, not central cities, they still "use" the city in many ways—work, culture, entertainment, sporting events, health care, universities, etc.

Many localities that the Census and media term "suburbs" are themselves small or medium-size cities, with considerable unemployment, poverty, crime, fiscal trauma, and related symptoms of decay. In 1990, 42.4% of the poverty population lived in central cities, 30.5% lived in suburbs, and 27% lived in non-metropolitan areas. An increasing number of Blacks, Latinos and Asians live in suburbia, although African-Americans tend to live in racially segregated areas.

THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

The Pentagon has played a critical role in the flight of business, jobs, and people from cities. During the postwar period, military spending has accounted for the largest part of the federal budget. The production of weapons and the undertaking of military research and development have spawned new industries and new fields, but in doing so, much of the nation's resources and scientific expertise have been diverted from civilian production and research. Likewise, military production and research and the siting of facilities has helped some areas and drained others. Most military installations are in rural (or once-rural) areas, while the vast majority of production and research dollars are concentrated in a few metropolitan locations. Rather than employing research and development funds to help modernize the nation's basic manufacturing industries, such as the steel and automobile industries, or developing new civilian industries to make the U.S. more competitive internationally, for example, high speed rail; the Pentagon's priorities helped undermine key industrial sectors and the cities where they were located.

A study by Employment Research Associates for the Boston Redevelopment Authority analyzed all of the money coming into each city through military contracts and salaries. It then compared this sum to



Even Johnson/Impact Visuals

Suburban housing projects swallow farmland in Sonoma County, one of California's fastest-growing regions.

the amount drained out of the city by federal taxes going to the Pentagon. The sums lost are enormous. New York City loses \$8.4 billion a year; Los Angeles, \$3.3 billion; Chicago, \$3.1 billion; Houston, \$1.7 billion; Dallas, \$731 million; and Detroit, over \$900 million.

The employment impact of this drain-off of funds is equally dramatic. Money going out means jobs lost. New York loses approximately 250,000 full-time jobs annually; Los Angeles and Chicago each lose about 100,000 jobs; Houston, over 50,000 jobs; Detroit, about 30,000 jobs; and Dallas, 22,000 jobs. The biggest losers have been the nation's industrial heartland, the areas surrounding the Great Lakes.

REDLINING

Redlining by banks and insurance companies leads to a self-fulfilling prophecy of urban neighborhood decline. Under pressure by the banking industry, both the White House and Congress looked the other way while America's banks redlined cities, denying loans to home buyers and small business entrepreneurs, while (thanks to deregulation) engaging in an orgy of speculation that led to the savings and loan crisis. Insurance company policies—such as minimum policy requirements for homeowner or retail insurance—discriminate against cities and, in particular, minority areas.

Residential redlining, compounded by commercial redlining, makes it even more difficult for small businesses to open or expand in inner city areas. For

example, Los Angeles County had 1,068 supermarkets in 1970, but only 694 in 1990; most of the boarded-up markets are in the city's minority areas. There is one supermarket for every 40,646 residents in South Central Los Angeles, compared with one supermarket for every 23,224 residents in the county.

Redlining by insurance companies, in terms of both residential and commercial policies, also exacerbates the problem of urban disinvestment. As *The New York Times* noted: "A lack of property insurance can strangle a neighborhood's economy. Banks usually refuse to give mortgages on uninsured property, and small businesses find it next to impossible to lease equipment or order goods on consignment if they are unprotected against fire, theft or civil disturbances."

Two of the Clinton Administration's early priorities—a major public investment program and health care reform—would have had a significant impact on the problems facing the cities. But Clinton was thwarted by a Democrat-controlled Congress. His two major urban initiatives were relatively small-scale efforts: the empowerment zone program and the crime bill. However, the Earned Income Tax Credit probably had a bigger impact on cities than any other Clinton initiative.

The barriers to developing a national urban policy go beyond the Clinton administration's strategic errors or lack of vision. Indeed, Clinton's inability



Members of the Concerned Citizens Coalition working on a Saturday neighborhood clean-up in the Petworth area of Washington, DC.

to enact even his moderate social and economic agenda reflects a much larger dilemma in our political economy.

Proponents of progressive urban policy face two major obstacles. First, for the past three decades social and economic conditions in our cities have deteriorated. As a result, many Americans think that we have tried to save our cities, but that the cities resist being saved. Many Americans believe that even if there were ample money, we would not know what to do with it, or at least could not guarantee that it would be spent wisely or efficiently to solve the nation's urban problems.

Second, in that same period the political influence of cities has steadily waned. Observing the 1992 election campaign, both political analyst William Schneider and *Washington Post* writer Tom Edsell noted that it was the first Presidential election in history in which an absolute majority of voters came from suburbs.

Even more important, the number of Congressmembers who represent cities is declining, while the number who represent suburbs is increasing. Members of Congress who represent "suburban" areas may have some personal sympathy, but less political motivation, to vote to spend their constituents' tax dollars to alleviate urban problems. Congressional redistricting (gerrymandering) and lower voter turnout among city voters also plays a part in the declining political clout of cities. Congressional loyalties have shifted from urban political machines to national corporate campaign contributors. While the nation's major corporations have no single political agenda, powerful sectors within the business community in-

fluence government decisions regarding tax, spending, and regulatory policies in ways that undermine healthy cities. Thus, marshalling a Congressional majority for an urban agenda has become increasingly difficult.

Indeed, over the past three decades, cities have become increasingly isolated in national politics. According to a study by political scientist

Todd Swanstrom, the late 1940s represented the peak year of city electoral dominance. In the 1948 presidential election, New York City had 50% of the total votes cast in New York state. Chicago had 46.5% of Illinois' turnout. Los Angeles and San Francisco combined for 51.3% of the California vote, while Philadelphia and Pittsburgh had 30.7% of Pennsylvania's electorate. By 1992, New York City represented only 30.9% of the votes cast for President. The share of statewide voters in Chicago (22.3%), Los Angeles and San Francisco (12.9%), and Philadelphia and Pittsburgh (16.1%) also showed dramatic declines.

The strong political coalitions of the New Deal and the Great Society, including the labor movement and big-city mayors, have been shattered. The most recent effort to build an urban-centered electoral coalition, the National Rainbow Coalition, was marginalized after the Democrats' 1988 presidential defeat.

The truth is that during the entire postwar period, cities have only had a major voice in national politics either when business leaders wanted to improve the commercial climate of downtowns or when disenfranchised people disrupted business as usual with protests or riots. When urban mayors and political machines helped deliver the vote for presidents and congressional candidates, they had greater access than they do now. But the proof of urban clout is in the way federal policies help or hurt cities, and, as described below, most federal policies during the entire postwar era—housing, transportation, defense, and others—have

promoted the *suburbanization* of residents and business.

No one was surprised when Presidents Reagan and Bush began slashing federal urban programs, but few expected the Clinton administration to continue the trend. It cut three kinds of programs: direct grants to local governments, loans and grants to private and nonprofit groups for economic development and housing, and programs to help individuals cope with (or lift themselves out of) poverty. In addition, the federal government (and some states) imposed a large number of mandates on cities, costing these cities billions of dollars without providing additional funds, further exacerbating local fiscal crises. In 1980, federal dollars accounted for 14.3% of city budgets. By 1992, it was less than 5%. Washington's "fend-for-yourself federalism" simply meant that financially strapped localities had to cut programs and services during a time of growing needs.

Progressive Urban Activism

During the 1970s and 1980s, many activists from the civil rights and anti-war movements got involved in municipal politics, hoping that a combination of community organizing and electoral work could create a growing progressive presence that would somehow jell into a national network.

Their grassroots organizing included forming tenant unions, building community development corporations, working on redlining, challenging police abuses, fighting against environmental and health problems, and mobilizing against plant closings and lay-offs. A growing number of these community activists began building electoral coalitions to win a stronger voice in local government decision-making. Groups like the Connecticut Citizen Action Group, BUILD in Baltimore, Ohio Citizen Action, housing activists in Chicago, Jobs with Peace in Milwaukee, Massachusetts Fair Share, the New Jersey Tenants Organization, and ACORN in many cities, reflect the work of thousands of groups working across the country during the past two decades.

In doing so, they faced a major dilemma: businesses can move, but politicians usually stay in one place. If local public officials move too aggressively to tax or regulate the private sector, business can threaten to pull up stakes and take their jobs and tax base with them. They can also mobilize a sustained political assault (often with the aid of the local media) against the incumbent for being unfair to business. Few politicians want to be stuck with the reputation that because they lost the "confidence" of the business community, they drove away jobs, and undermined the tax base.

Moreover, America's federal system—especially the fragmentation of political boundaries and authority, and the uneven level of fiscal resources—makes

it easier to businesses to play "Russian roulette" with local communities. If the United States had uniform rules and laws—regarding tax rates, environmental regulations, labor-management relations, and other conditions—it would be much more difficult for businesses to play cities, states, and regions against each other.

In his book *City Limits*, Harvard political scientist Paul Peterson argued that local governments have little room for maneuver to adopt progressive policies—including housing strategies—that redistribute wealth, income, and political power. Progressive redistributive policies hurt cities because they entail increased taxes and/or reduced services for those residents and businesses that contribute most to the city's tax base and economic well-being. According to Peterson, only the federal government can promote redistributive social welfare policies.

Even so, a major difference between conservative, liberal and progressive city governments is their willingness to constantly test how far government can go before business acts on its threats to leave, cut back, expand elsewhere, or organize political opposition. If progressive elected officials are to challenge business prerogatives, they need to have a strong political constituency that will support them despite the potential threats of businesses. They also have to know when and how to compromise. Progressive city officials, in other words, must have a clear sense of economics (when the threats of business are real and when they are not) as well as a strong political base. Of course, much depends on the nature of the particular business or industry, the relative mobility of the firms, and the overall health of the local and regional economy at the time.

Just how much room exists, however, is rarely tested. Indeed, what's missing from these grim analyses is the potential of political organizing, political skills, and political entrepreneurship in forging an alternative vision and agenda.

Beginning in the mid-1970s, in fact, progressive grassroots movements have gained a stronger foothold in running local governments. In a few cases, they have actually taken power. Most of these progressive regimes took root in smaller cities, mostly based in university settings, such as Cambridge (Mass.), Madison (Wisc.), and Berkeley, Santa Cruz, and Santa Monica (California), and Burlington, Vt., where current Representative Bernie Sanders served as Mayor and helped forge a progressive coalition that is still in power. Among America's major urban centers, only in Cleveland, San Francisco, Chicago, and Boston did progressive activists achieve electoral success and seek to utilize local government to promote an agenda of economic and social reform.

However, in Cleveland, Mayor Dennis Kucinich, elected in 1977, was defeated after only a single two-year term. In San Francisco, Mayor George Moscone, who was elected 1975, was murdered three years later,

along with his ally, Supervisor Harvey Milk. Upon Moscone's death, Board of Supervisors President Dianne Feinstein, a moderate on issues of economic reform and development, became mayor and was elected in 1979 and re-elected in 1983. Her successor, state legislator Art Agnos, was elected in 1987 on a progressive housing platform and with the support of housing activists, but he lasted only one four-year term, defeated in part by voter frustration about the city's persistent homeless problem. In Chicago, Congressman Harold Washington was catapulted to the mayor's office in 1983 by an energized neighborhood-based coalition rooted in the Black community. Like Kucinich, Moscone, and Agnos, Washington did battle with the city council, the business community, and moderate voters, which limited his ability to govern and carry out his progressive agenda. Still, the Washington regime tilted City Hall policies toward progressive neighborhood-oriented reforms and helped him win re-election in 1987. Unfortunately, Washington died of a heart attack a few months later. The political coalition that brought him to power soon fragmented.

In contrast to these short-term experiments, a progressive regime, led by Mayor Raymond L. Flynn, endured in office for nine years. First elected in 1983, Flynn was re-elected to successive four-year terms in 1987 and 1991. He left office in July 1993 (in the middle of his third term), to serve as President Clinton's Ambassador to the Vatican. Flynn had enough time to carry out much of his agenda. In doing so, the Flynn regime demonstrated that, despite major political and economic obstacles, local government can be progressive and humane. Contrary to the gloomy views of many academic observers and media pundits, the Flynn coalition showed that it is not imperative for big-city mayors to play to racial fears (like Ed Koch or Coleman Young), or to embrace the growth-at-all-costs downtown development agenda, to be politically successful.

In New York City, Ruth Messinger, now Manhattan Borough President, is gearing up to run for Mayor against Republican Rudy Gulliani, while Mark Green serves as the city's consumer affairs commissioner and may also run for Mayor. In Los Angeles, two progressive activists, Mark Ridley-Thomas and Jackie Goldberg, serve on the City Council. In a few other cities—Milwaukee, Portland (Oregon), and elsewhere—progressives are making some headway, but are still a distinct minority in the local political structures.

The lessons of the past two decades of local activism are ambiguous. When progressive community activists forge partnerships with progressives in local government, they can clearly make a difference. They can put pressure on banks to stop redlining and force landlords to fix up slum buildings and stop rent gouging. They can provide support to union organizing campaigns and restore confidence in government by doing an efficient job of "civic housekeeping"—picking up snow and garbage,

recycling waste, fixing potholes. They can shift spending priorities to discourage gentrification and promote rebuilding of poor neighborhoods by community-based groups. They can add more women and minorities in public employment and push private employers to do likewise. They can restrict police abuses and even get local police departments to work more closely with neighborhood groups.

In doing these things, progressive activists can gain a foothold in government and create models of successful public policies. But, ultimately, cities cannot, on their own, solve the urban crisis.

A growing number of progressive activists are trying to forge political coalitions between cities and inner-ring suburbs. Among the most successful is Myron Orfield, a Minnesota legislator, who sponsored legislation to create a tax-base sharing plan to reduce property-tax disparities among municipalities in the region so that inner-ring suburbs and the two major cities (Minneapolis and St. Paul) had a stake in regional cooperation plans. His legislation also created an elected metropolitan council with the authority to establish "fair share" housing goals for each municipality. David Rusk's *Cities Without Suburbs* and Neil Pearce's *Citistates* also make the case for regional approaches to addressing economic development, environmental, transportation, and other problems. But the recent history of metropolitan-wide solutions is not promising. Suburbanites generally resist such attempts, preferring to go it alone rather than share decision-making and tax bases with central cities. Also, during the past several decades, as African-Americans and Latinos gain power in City Halls, they too resist diluting their newly-found power over public patronage with suburbanites.

Policy wonks like to debate urban policy prescriptions. Should we try to rebuild the ghettos or help ghetto residents move to suburbs? Should we tear down high-rise public housing projects and give the poor vouchers? Should we force suburbs to "open up" to the poor by ending snob zoning requirements? Should we decentralize urban schools by giving parents, teachers and principals more authority? Should we give businesses tax breaks to entice them to invest in inner cities or should we provide the poor with "reverse commuting" transportation plans to help them get to suburban jobs? Should we change the official definition of poverty to keep pace with inflation, which would increase federal funds to cities? Should federal urban funds go to city governments, community organizations, or poor people?

These debates are irrelevant so long as we lack the political will to address the urban crisis. The reason that cities have long been off the policy agenda is not because urban policy experts have lacked good ideas

for programs and policies. It is because cities—where most poor, working class and minority people live—lack political power. Their interests are overwhelmed by those of special interests and business groups who oppose Keynesian and redistributive policies. Reforms that would put cities back on the political agenda have little to do with urban policy per se. They are fundamentally political. The bottom line is that we need to create a Congressional majority to address the problems of cities. We need strategies to develop an electoral and governing majority to help America's cities, such as:

Military Conversion. Our reliance on defense spending has made it difficult for members of Congress—even those who favor cutting military spending—to vote for cutbacks if it means base closings and lay-offs in their districts. Without a conversion plan to turn the war economy into a civilian economy—and to protect workers, communities, and firms that have relied on military spending—there will be few resources to address America's urban crisis and domestic problems in general.

Expanding the Urban Electorate. Cities generally have much lower voter participation than suburban counterparts. Urban interest groups were a key force in the successful campaign to pass the federal "motor voter" law, designed to remove obstacles to voter registration and to expand the electorate. State governments were required to start implementing it in January 1995, a mandate upheld by the Supreme Court over the resistance of some Republican governors. Since poor and minority (i.e. urban) citizens have low levels of voter registration and turn-out, motor voter advocates assumed that increasing registration will expand political participation among these groups, thus helping tilt the political balance toward the poor and minorities and, thus, cities. The success of the motor voter law for urban concerns will depend on whether the mayors, community and labor organizations, and the Democratic Party seek to mobilize potential voters around issues. These groups have shown little will or capacity for doing so. In recent presidential elections, Republicans actually outspent the Democrats in terms of registering new voters and mobilizing Republican registrants to get to the polls.

Congressional Redistricting. Civil rights groups have adopted a strategy based on congressional redistricting. The main thrust of these efforts has been to reshape congressional districts that will give African-American, Asian, and Latino voters a stronger voice—and will increase the odds of electing persons of color to legislative bodies. Given the concentration of minority groups in cities, this typically means that more urban districts will be represented by minorities. But some critics argue that in doing so, these African-American and Latino legislators and their caucuses will



Leah Melnick/Impact Visuals

At play in the North Central Bronx.

find themselves increasingly isolated. By carving out sure-thing minority districts, this approach also carves out a larger number of sure-thing all-suburban districts that are more likely to elect conservatives and Republicans—who have no urban constituency and little concern for urban problems. Some observers believe this approach undermines potential coalition-building between urban and working-class suburban constituencies in Congress. Instead, the goal of "progressive gerrymandering" should be to create districts that straddle central cities and inner-ring suburbs, so that congressmembers have a stake in building bridges among poor and working-class constituents.

Campaign Finance Reform. Political demographics and Congressional redistricting alone don't explain the reluctance of our national leaders to push an urban agenda. Even those members of Congress who represent cities have weaker ties to organized voters. The skyrocketing costs of elections have profoundly shaped the way elected officials behave. The demise of urban political machines is clearly linked to the emergence of big money in politics. During the first half of this century, urban political machines played an important role in national political life, particularly as the electoral foundation of the Democratic party. Big-city mayors traded jobs for votes, a formula which helped enfranchise several generations of immigrants. Starting in the 1970s, national corporate campaign contributors, and national political

action committees, began to dominate campaign fundraising. Their financial backing increasingly influenced the priorities and votes of our elected officials in Washington. We need to remove the legalized bribery system that currently makes it impossible to deal constructively with urban problems.

Labor Law Reform. When she fought for public housing in the 1930's, Catharine Bauer recognized that public housing was as much a jobs program as a social program. The backbone of the Public Housing Act of 1937 was the American labor movement, which at the time included about 35% of American workers. Since then, and especially during the last twelve years, the working people of the United States have been disenfranchised by the federal government's cold war against labor unions. As a result, the United States has some of the most regressive labor laws among advanced democracies. Only 11% of the private sector workforce (and 16% of all workers) are union members. Cities and inner-ring suburbs have increasingly become the location of low-wage service-sector employment, the vast majority of which is not unionized. A key goal of urban policy should be to increase the incomes of the growing sector of the "working poor" concentrated in central cities and inner suburbs. Labor law reform, and the municipal living wage bills DSA locals support, will help level the playing field between America's working people and business.

It's been almost 30 years since the Kerner Commission, formed by President Johnson to recommend ways to address the nation's urban crisis, warned of America splitting into "two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." Our cities are worse now than they were then, not because government policy has failed, but because it has been half-hearted and/or misguided. We are a suburban nation, but we cannot prosper if our cities are decaying.

The more serious and responsible city and suburban leaders—from the business, government, labor, community and religious sectors—recognize that cities and suburbs are in the same boat. If one end of the boat springs a leak and starts filling up with water, pretty soon the other end will, too, and, sooner or later, the whole vessel and its passengers will drown.

Around the world—in South Africa, Germany, Northern Ireland, and the Middle East—walls that have long separated people are coming down. The invisible walls that separate cities and suburbs in the United States also need to come down. Our nation's future depends on how well, and how soon, it tears down these walls and replaces them with bridges of cooperation.

Peter Dreier is professor of politics and director of the public policy program at Occidental College in Los Angeles. From 1984-1992 he served as Boston's Director of Housing and Senior Advisor to Mayor Ray Flynn.

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Detroit, American Acropolis?

BY RON ARONSON

Imagine downtown Detroit's empty buildings as a theme park, celebrating the ruins of American industrial civilization. Preposterous, an insult to those struggling to rebuild the city? Too depressing to contemplate? Dangerous and unworkable? A final abandonment of the old city core, solving the problem of what to do with its buildings by letting them slide into the past?

This is what I thought when I first heard about Camilio Vergara's Acropolis proposal. Driving north on Woodward from Jefferson evokes a by-now dull and wordless pain on seeing the empty Kern block, Hudson's shuttered and haunted, the seedy and mostly empty storefronts, the people-less streets, Hazen Pingree imposing his progressive vision on no one at Grand Circus Park. And then, under the mostly empty People Mover, the brief moment passing the "Theater District": glorious restored buildings, the State, the Fox, Second City and then, crossing the freeway old Motown, the empty and deteriorated block after block until Orchestra Hall and the Medical Center. No matter if it's a hundred times or a thousand times, there is no passing by these places of a city's past without an ache. In Detroit, the present simply won't come together as long as all of this remains vacant, weed-infested, falling apart, unresolved, continuing to deteriorate.

As with the central core and the main arteries, so with the neighborhoods. Emptiness provoking wonder: how will these spaces ever be filled, given racial and demographic and economic realities? Redevelop downtown or the neighborhoods? The old conflict is irrelevant; each will always be a visible sign of what is happening to the other. It doesn't matter whether you travel along Grand River or Gratiot, whether you go to the East Side or along Rosa Parks Boulevard, or walk virtually any random street any-

where: vacant lots, empty stores, no-longer-used spaces are everywhere, a now-aimless emptiness housing "the nation's highest" in one after another index of unemployment, crime, poverty. Seen this way it is no place for people to live, to hope, to try. And yet what happens if we stop the car, get out, walk around, go in someplace? It turns out that there are people here, everywhere. The city is not dead. Downtown's buildings are not vacant, not even half empty. The city itself still has a million people living in it. Against all odds and statistics, people hope and try.

And get angry when they hear what people have written who breeze in for a few days every now and then to issue the latest bulletin about the terminal patient's condition: Detroit is going back to nature, a ruin, unsalvageable, a rotted hulk, a dying city, even dead. Vergara says he was asked repeatedly not to "make the city look grotesque." But he did so just the same: his expensive coffee-table book, *The New American Ghetto*, is a detailed look at black and Hispanic ghettos of Gary, Chicago, the South Bronx, Newark, and Los Angeles, concluding with two chapters on Detroit. Throughout we are moved to ask what can be done about these blighted cities and neighborhoods, and then at the end we are moved to ask what can ever be done about the ruins of this city of two million that now is infinitely poorer and has half as many people spread around the same 140 square miles? What will ever be done about its vacant spaces, its abandoned buildings?

Vergara's book occasioned a major article in *The New York Times* in December by saying that downtown Detroit, the world's "third largest concentration of pre-Depression skyscrapers in the world after Manhattan and Chicago," should become a ruins park commemorating the "wealth, gentility, and boundless ambition" of capitalist civilization.

Here is his proposal:

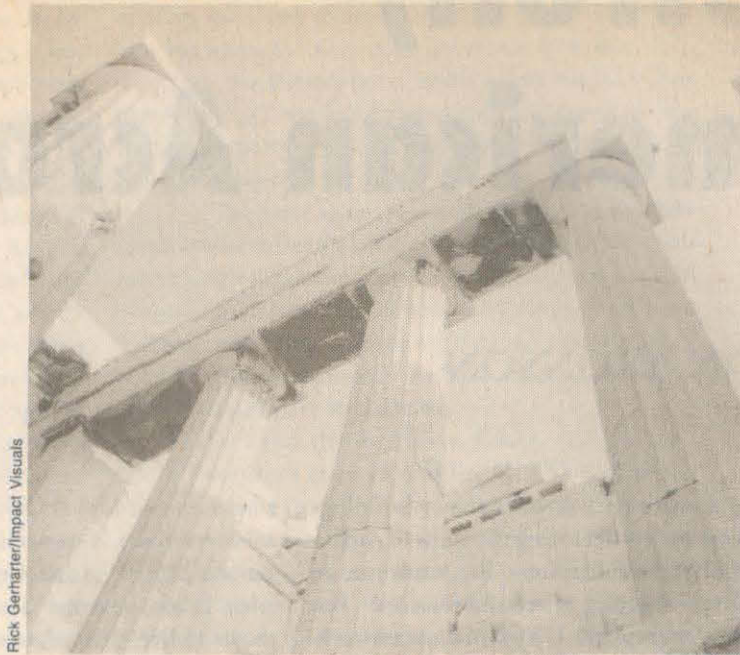
"A starting point would be to place a moratorium on the razing of skyscrapers, our most sublime ruins, and instead to stabilize them. For the cost of repairs needed to avoid accidents from falling fragments, we could transform the nearly one hundred troubled buildings into a grand national historic park of play and wonder, an urban Monument Valley. The People Mover could carry visitors around this precious space. . . . Why not secure the blocks with the tallest and most notable structures, those around Grand Circus Park, along Woodward Avenue, Griswold Street, and Washington Boulevard, and transform the space into a memorial to our throwaway cities?"

The stabilized ruins of Downtown Detroit would become "a memorial to a disappearing urban civilization."

After the furor over Devil's Night, and example after example of Detroit's bad press, the Acropolis proposal touches a raw nerve in the city. Oddly enough, Vergara was disturbed that no one he interviewed agreed with him. *The New York Times* headline was: "A Tribute to Ruin Irks Detroit." No wonder, when Detroit boosters count every positive development, every new factory and neighborhood project and downtown proposal. They cheer the idea of a new performing arts high school by Orchestra Hall, the new housing at Wayne State, new neighborhood developments, building along the riverfront, even a downtown baseball stadium. But not the Acropolis project.

This is not because Detroiters ignore the reality Vergara talks about. The empty spaces are just too vast, the buildings just too many, the reconfiguration of the region into a vast network of coreless suburban cities just too far gone—the population of Detroit and the need and demand to live in the city just too limited—to realistically propose how it might be filled once again, to conceive uses for all its space, and more specifically, to figure out how to rehabilitate all of these buildings and make downtown thrive again.

But what is the solution? Vergara, who elsewhere in his book seems so committed to the people of the ghettos and to social justice, in his treatment of Detroit gets carried away by his love for its buildings, ignoring the people. At the time of Detroit's glory, what did its towers mean to their black and immigrant



Rick Gerhart/Impact Visuals

janitors and cleaning ladies? To the workers at Ford Rouge? What did the world's largest department store, Hudson's, mean to blacks who could shop but not eat there? Whose aspirations and visions of power and success did these buildings reflect? In point of fact these structures fell into ruin precisely when middle-class African Americans finally had full access to the buildings and political rule over the spaces leading to them. Which is to say that in a peculiar twist of fate, the ruins of industrial America's cities have been abandoned to blacks, and, today, in the present, have become their problem. Vergara's get-famous-quick idea is to tell them to give up hope of remaking these into liveable spaces, to accept abandonment, and to find a way to cash in on it. The past glory of some, the patient dreams of others—or more precisely, the still-unresolved present—will become a theme park.

Yet what else is to be done? Isn't it a cruel mirage to imagine anything will ever be done to recycle downtown? And isn't this no less futile than the thought of filling the empty spaces of the neighborhoods? On the other hand, if the buildings are torn down, the fields will be as demoralizing tomorrow as the ruins are today. These big questions are left for the black mayors of such cities, who cannot help having to focus on more urgent and immediate issues, such as unemployment, crime, poverty, and homelessness. Still, the question will not go away: What is to be done with the ghettos and downtowns of Detroit, Gary, and Newark, the neighborhoods of the South Bronx, and Chicago's South Side?

tening today. First, they did not get that way by accident. If slavery was essential to how America developed in the 18th and 19th centuries, so do the "new American ghettos" structurally belong to 20th- and soon, 21st-century America. Just as no European country has our ghettos or our ruins, we are unique in our combination of racism and unwillingness to provide resources to remove its heritage, free and unrestricted movement of capital without any community controls, federal policies concentrating the poor in decaying urban areas, virtually private local school systems, and lack of societal responsibility for areas left behind.

There has never been a serious and systematic Federal policy to revive and renovate old urban areas. Such an approach need not only involve spending: tax policy can steer commercial investment, homebuilding, job creation, distribution of the poor throughout a region. But this requires a sense of national community and political will that, if difficult enough to conceive in the 1950s, 60s, and 70s, has seemed to disappear entirely in the 80s and 90s.

Today the ruins of Detroit seem to be a problem without a solution, which is what Vergara highlights. Don't blame Vergara for this: it is precisely what is happening at the level of government policy. Detroit and other basket-case cities have been cut loose, except for a handful of underfunded "empowerment zone" projects that fail to address real problems. Like suburbanites who "never go into the city" the rest of the society has moved on. It's now someone else's problem—the same "they" who abuse welfare, commit crime, and demand preferential hiring. How strange that the effective outrage today is on the right, in the suburbs, about taxes and government and affirmative action. Rather, where is the outrage about the daily attacks on body, mind, and spirit imposed by the urban wasteland, the ghettos that some of our people are forced to live in, and the devastation of the buildings that are our collective heritage?

Detroit's ghettos and empty buildings have effectively been put out of sight and out of mind, except in terms of violent consequences that are presented more and more hysterically. It is truly the perfect crime: racism and capital flight destroy an area, then offer virtually no help at all to revive it, then the victims left behind are blamed for the devastation they've inherited. The resulting offenders against law and order are pursued and locked up. The social priorities and values to blame escape notice completely, and policing and punishing the designated offenders becomes the chief social concern. And now an outsider comes along and advocates, as a next step, that we should convert the remaining skyscrapers into a ruins theme park!

What makes Vergara an outsider is not that he doesn't live within the city limits of Detroit. Neither do I, neither do hundreds of thousands of people whose heart and soul move with the city's ups and downs. It turns out that he's an outsider to the sense of pain and suffering that are part and parcel of decaying, deteriorating Detroit. He's an outsider to the still-hopeful efforts to turn it all around. Above all, he's another glib outsider who takes us outside of the problem: he pitches his solution at the end of a book whose pictures and text inspire outrage by capturing something horribly wrong with our society.

But what if we drive by the ruined neighborhoods and the deteriorating downtown and stop and look around? If we don't distance ourselves from them, seeing them in some sense as ours, all of ours? First, we'll notice how much is happening. People just won't give up. The wonderful Detroit Summer project keeps on, making a difference. For every problem a new effort pops up: a SOSAD to combat violence, a Heidelberg Project to decorate some empty lots, a massive organizing effort to stop Devil's Night fires; plans to recycle Hudson's; work on saving Harmonie Park. These don't al-

*Capital may
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America's rulers
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but down in the
city people keep
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ways succeed, but they keep on coming. How many theater groups were there at last count? How many hundreds of thousands of people, white and black, flock downtown when given a reason, for example, by the Detroit-Montreux Jazz Festival? Next to the empty spaces are lived-in spaces, houses well taken care of. People are inside. Capital may desert, and America's rulers may turn away, but down in the city people keep on trying.

Still, a real solution will take a revolutionary transformation in how we think of our society, each other, ourselves. Revolutionary, that is for today—but not at all foreign to American consciousness or the American past. After all, it's a matter of seeing ourselves as belonging to a community again. In the meantime, we are all probably better off remaining depressed and haunted by Detroit's buildings, even to feel outrage without a solution, than to allow a boundary to be drawn around them and conclude, "This is the way it was."

After all, the Acropolis flourished 2400 years ago, Detroit only 40 years ago. Drive around and look around, but keep on looking: five million people still make their lives in this international metropolitan area, in the industrial capitalist civilization to which Detroit made such a vital contribution. It and its problems are still with us, every day of our lives. To put it in the past is the wrong solution; the idea is so bizarre and yet, in the present context, seems so reasonable, that it must be discussed. Perhaps, then, Vergara's proposal may get some of us talking about the real issues again?

Ron Aronson teaches at Wayne State University in Detroit. He coordinates the Center for Democratic Values, a project of DSA and the Institute for Democratic Socialism.

Mr. Blandings Builds His Dream...Fortress?

The rise of covenanted communities

BY JEFFREY GOLD

Socialists once used the term "common interest" to define needs, rights, and programs for all citizens. Now that same term has been turned on its putatively collective head and plunked down on a green field site down the road. Common Interest Developments (CIDs) are the latest guarded, gated, and exclusionary suburban fortresses produced by developers to keep the world at bay. More than 32 million Americans—over eleven percent of the population, now live in them, and the numbers are growing.

If the right's delegitimation of public action leads Americans to private solutions, a house or a condo in a community in which almost all services—roads, recreation, shopping, education, are privately provided—for a price—makes much sense. But it may be a citizenship of, by, and for the market.

This latest elaboration of a long trend towards suburbanized class and race separation in the United States has profound implications for politics, and the physical landscape. These common interest developments have contributed a significant portion of the growth of private security guards, who now exceed in number public police officers in America. CID residents have less interest in general provision of all public goods: parks, transport, public schools and the like, with structural and economic incentives to keep taxes for those kinds of services as low as possible. One extreme example is seen in the private, pay-as-you-go fire department in a Paradise Valley, AZ CID. If you don't subscribe, the roofs of your paying neighbors get doused with water, and your house can burn down to the ground.

These "Rainbow Acres," "Whispering Pines," or "Frog's Hollow" adspeak evocations of pastoral security usually require large amounts of land. CID's exacerbate post-war, federal mortgage and highway subsidized deconcentration of cities and inner ring suburbs. Some use cluster housing as a marketing tool to sell "communal" open space within developments,

while making the region ever more dependent on the automobile and further disconnected from the urban core. Few counties, San Diego being a partial exception, do any overall coordination to insure mass transit or employment access between old and new centers.

Evan McKenzie, an academic observer of these common interest developments, views them as the norm for much new housing, particularly in the fast-growing sunbelt: "In California, nearly all new residential development is within the jurisdiction of residential community associations. As older housing is replaced by new CID housing, consumer choice will be restricted, since most homebuyers will be living under the rule of these private governments, regardless of their preferences." Currently, 36% of these developments are in the West, 33% in the South, 21% in the Northeast and 10% in the West.

Even conservative Charles Murray sees the growth of these private caste enclaves as "total social separation of the rich from the rest of society. Cities will come to be viewed as internal Indian reservations—places of deprivation and dysfunction for which they have no responsibility." The logical outcome of Robert Reich's "Secession of the Successful."

Clarence Stone, a political scientist, notes the political advantages these private associations have in possessing ready channels of political mobilization. Most residents are united in protection of the common investment, and can be reached through association newsletters or their own cable tv systems. Outside forces are restricted in gaining door-to-door political access to these developments, and the courts have not yet ruled that there is a general right to access as they have in the case of shopping centers—although that is being challenged.

CID's have emerged as significant forces in state and local politics, and have a strong Washington lobby. Which is not to say these communities have recreated the New England town meeting internally; most decision-making is left to professional property managers employed by the association. However, association office-holding

by homeowners has become a visible path of recruitment for public office in some states.

While CIDs, the post-modern equivalents of medieval walled towns, are mostly in sub- and ex-urbia; although center city America now has its rough counterpart: Business Improvement Districts (BIDs). These quasi-public entities have the authority to tax area businesses to privately provide what a municipality or state is seen as no longer capable of delivering: police, sanitation, maintenance, sometimes even transport. There is little public input into these cities-within-cities, and most are run by corporate representatives of those capitalists unable to decamp for greener, or non-union, or low-tax, pastures; often large real estate operators with immobile assets.

The same corporations that lobbied furiously for the tax cuts and absolute freedom of movement that has resulted in dying inner cities are major instigators of BIDs. One New York City BID, the Grand Central Partnership, was accused of empire building and got in trouble for "exceeding" its "statutory" authority in taxing unwilling small businesses—which frequently have only somewhat greater one dollar/one vote input than the general public. And for moving "undesirable elements," homeless people for instance, into adjacent neighborhoods—thus conveniently dispatching the unsightly and achieving the desired result within the BID area of interest. Another triumph for private initiative. This is the distorted, downtown version of nineteenth century arcadian town advocate Ebenezer Howard's government by a corporate technocracy—although Howard's Garden City movement at least made noises about democratic control.

In a late 1970's *New Yorker* essay, Michael Harrington predicted that DisneyWorld in Florida (itself a sponsor of many residential communities and presently taking control of the redevelopment of part of New York's Times Square) might be the undemocratic land baron/corporate urb of the near future. Beyond



M. Gold

Above right and bottom left: Scenes from gated communities in Florida. Over 32 million Americans dwell in such enclaves.

the high-tech amusement parks, Harrington noted that the country surrounding the complex was in the corporate thrall of Disney Corp., and the local Congressman very responsive to the Giant Rodent's wishes. He saw the Disney statelet as gaining more actual "statutory" power than the surrounding county. And so it has.

I recently attempted to take a bike ride around an aunt's aesthetically micromanaged, Disneyesque Florida CID, Lake Hills (no lakes, no hills) where I was an invited guest. I couldn't. Even though the development covers over 2,300 acres of private bike paths and elaborate recreation facilities, I, as a visitor, have no status. I don't own, therefore I don't exist. Guarded gates, patrolling sentries, walls and toll booth-style barriers prevent a casual ride around this former wetland. I have to carry special I.D. issued on weekly passes so that I don't get tossed out altogether. Since the development is 100% elderly, and closely stratified by class, I'm often stopped and questioned by the property's gendarmes since I'm non-elderly and don't carry golf clubs.

Even ownership in these communities forces accession to many Mao-like rules. Aunt Sylvia's petition to the Lake Hills Uniform Environmental Standards Board (exactly what it's called), to paint her house off-white instead of regulation beige, was summarily denied. Easy to be a radical in this private land of the free.



M. Gold

Jeffrey Gold is a DSA activist who lives in New York City.

Traced and Grounded

The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History.
By Dolores Hayden. MIT Press 1995.

REVIEWED BY SASKIA SASSEN

How people invest in places—materially, politically, symbolically—matters. It can empower. One necessary ingredient for this empowerment is the collective representation of the practices and memories that went into that investment. In communities all over the world people construct this collective history through their gatherings, rituals, memories, stories, and markings of the places they inhabit and use. Every now and then one or another of these collective histories is recorded by an historian, an anthropologist, a traveller. In her new book, Dolores Hayden does this for many of the communities of Los Angeles. And Hayden does so much more: she and her colleagues launched multiple place-making projects in various communities over a period of eight years, and these are at the heart of the book.

The *Power of Place* was a small nonprofit corporation Hayden launched in 1994 to situate women's history and ethnic history in downtown Los Angeles. Hayden, currently at Yale University, was for many years Professor of Urban Planning at the University of California at Los Angeles; and it was in this period that she launched *The Power of Place*. Several questions guided the organization's projects: How can the social history of urban space lead to public history and public art? How can it enlarge the practice of urban preservation? How can it influence the writing of urban history?

One place-making project concerned the urban homestead built by Bidley Mason in the 1880s, now covered by an asphalt parking lot with no trace of the history beneath. An attempt by Mason's son in 1905 to create a community center for African American youths had failed; so had an attempt in the 1970s to commemorate Bidley Mason's help in founding the Los Angeles African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1872. After a somewhat tortuous trajectory *The Power of Place* succeeded in celebrating the public history of Mason's homestead: inclusion in a downtown walking tour; building up archival materials about the homestead and about Bidley Mason's life and her importance to the entire city; several installations by artists and exhibits of artworks and documents. The project and celebrations stretched over years and included artists, designers, planners, members of the African American community, Bidley Mason's descendants, the National Endowment for the Arts, various government agencies, and other funders. One must read the account to gain a full sense of the significance of placemaking in this instance.

Central to the book is the effort to connect peoples' lives and livelihoods to the urban landscape as it changes over time and to examine how communities and professionals can tap the power embedded in those connections. Public meetings, walking tours, books by artists, pub-

lic sculpture and the collaborative efforts of historians, artists, planners, and designers—all were part of the effort to establish these connections between peoples' lives and the urban landscape. The book contributes a new history, and a celebration of how African American, Latino and Asian American men, women, and children have experienced and constituted the urban landscape. Hayden finds that there is a broad movement in cities across the United States to accept American diversity at the heart of the vernacular landscape. The richness of the book lies in the details of the events and places it examines.

It is doubly important to recover the ongoing centrality of place at a time when the master images in mainstream culture and debates are about the neutralization of place. Economic globalization, the new telecommunications and information technologies, and the hypermobility of capital are all seen as making place irrelevant. While Hayden's book does not engage those debates, it does represent a countervailing voice. Similarly, while not concerned with processes of international integration as such, the book's examination of peoples' connections to the urban landscape includes portrayals of what I think of as "localizing the global." An example of this is the re-territorializing of immigrant cultures, more precisely, of economic, social, and cultural practices brought from countries of origin. When

embedded in our urban landscape they are transformed and in turn transform that landscape, producing a new outcome-immigrant urban landscapes, with their own claim to being public history.

As a political economist concerned with recovering the centrality of place and the variety of work cultures in the leading industries of today's global economy, I miss the connection between what is experienced as a local history/landscape and the wider context. What appears as "local" may well be part of a global industry's work process. For instance, the financial industry in Manhattan—certainly one of the leading sectors in the global economy—can be looked at in terms of the whole range of jobs that constitute

it: we would then recover such "local" landscapes and cultures as the Dominican community in Washington Heights in northern Manhattan, where many of the janitors of Wall Street live and the white working class neighborhoods in Queens where many of the secretaries live. These neighborhoods, and the work cultures embedded in them, are not marked as being part of international finance. But they are. Recovering place is not just nostalgia, it is also a way of valorizing these types of workers and work cultures, of valorizing and therewith empowering urban spaces and work cultures marked or coded as "ethnic" or as "traditional" or belonging to a past era, when they are actually integral parts of today's most advanced economic sectors. It would also entail ex-

panding the analytic terrain within which we situate the "global information economy." Yes, Washington Heights is part of it. What is missing in Hayden's book is this connection of the localities she describes and their localized cultures to larger dynamics. But this would be another book and hence it is understandable that it is not a topic addressed in Hayden's otherwise extraordinary accomplishment.

Saskia Sassen is Professor of Urban Planning at Columbia University. Her latest book is Cities in a World Economy, Pine Forest/Sage Publishers, 1994.

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Rocking the Cradle of Revolution:

Boston DSA's Public Hearing On Economic Insecurity Draws 1,000

BY MICHELE ROSSI

An overflow crowd packed historic Faneuil Hall in Boston on January 28 for the latest in a nationwide series of public hearings on economic insecurity sponsored by DSA. For nearly three hours an audience of close to one thousand people; including a panel featuring Senator John F. Kerry, Congressmembers Barney Frank, John Olver, Martin Meehan, J. Joseph Moakley, and Joseph P. Kennedy II; listened intently as fellow citizens recounted personal stories of downsizing, dwindling wages, disappearing benefits, and fruitless job searches. As witness after witness attested, in the global economy the treasured notion that education and hard work will be rewarded with at least a modest measure of security is simply a mirage.

Ellen Frank of the Center for Popular Economics briefly sketched contemporary economic trends. As Frank observed, the news is not all bad—not if you belong to the most affluent one percent of the population, a class whose members saw their after-tax income double during the 1980's. Or if you are the CEO of a public corporation—with productivity up and wages down, corporate profits increased more than 50% in the last two years.

But for the rest of us, the picture is grim. Nearly a fifth of full-time jobs today pay less than poverty-level wages. Five percent or more of the US workforce want full-time work yet can find only part-time jobs. Companies are scrapping paid holidays, vacations and sick-time in favor of flexible scheduling, and the number of Americans without health coverage is soaring—in Massachusetts alone the ranks of the uninsured swelled more than 40% in six years. Americans today work longer hours, take fewer vacations, spend less time with their families, and worry more about the stability of their jobs and the security of their future.

Frank pointed out that the solutions being dangled in front of the public by political and business leaders, such as job training to make workers "more competitive," a balanced federal budget, tax reform, and welfare reform won't remedy the problems. She testified, "Even the most highly-skilled and well-educated workers, from nurses to programmers, are being downsized, rightsized, merged and restructured out of

a job. Do our political representatives really expect harried and underpaid workers to spend their shrinking leisure time continuously retraining for jobs that will likely be eliminated in five years anyway? Will welfare reform restore lost health insurance and pensions? Will tax reform shorten the work week, raise wages or do anything at all to improve the prospects of those Americans who must work for a living? Not likely."

Instead, according to Frank, we need to ask how businesses can better serve the needs of our society. "The problem is not to retrain ourselves for a shrinking pool of high-wage jobs, but to ensure that all jobs pay a living wage. The issue is not to cut public services, the better to attract new jobs, but to retain the jobs we have and insist that corporations be answerable to their workers and their communities."

Witness Laurie Taymor-Berry had another suggestion. Taymor-Berry was downsized out of her job with the Massachusetts Department of Social Services in 1991. After applying for thousands of positions, and exhausting her unemployment benefits and her retirement pension, she turned in desperation to Massachusetts' Two-Parent Workfare Program. Assigned to work as a cook in a recently privatized mental health drop-in center, she found herself toiling alongside another workfare program participant, a laid-off union machinist assigned to wash windows, vacuum floors, and clean toilets. Noted Taymor-Berry, who holds a Master's degree, "We were replacing workers who once earned \$6 to \$8 an hour for our 'volunteer' work. There was no attempt to place displaced workers in workfare jobs that might utilize our skills or provide re-entry into the mainstream job market." And the "pay" for her workfare? A grant 55% below the poverty line, 10 days of food stamps, and Medicaid.

With controlled anger, Taymor-Berry turned to the assembled panel of legislators and urged the adoption of a guaranteed minimum income program. "Having experienced the bankruptcy of both the Department of Welfare's Workfare and MassJobs Programs, I am concerned, not only for the 22,000 women with minimal skills and little training, expected to go out and find jobs in a jobless economy, but for the uncertain future facing thousands of us who have been dumped out of our jobs after the age of forty and unable to find full-time work."

Later witnesses testified about age discrimination encountered in the job search process; callous betray-



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Senator John Kerry and Congressman Joseph Moakley listening to testimony.

als by the health insurance industry; and tax evasion through exploitation of contingent workers in the building trades. Witnesses also addressed the need to preserve Medicare; the effects of current economic policies on housing and homelessness; conditions among immigrant workers in the service sector and barriers to their efforts to organize unions, and the devastating consequences of downsizing and mergers in the health care and telecommunications industries.

The hearing drew participation and endorsements from over 40 groups, including Massachusetts NOW, ACORN, and the Massachusetts AFL-CIO. Representatives from Boston's religious communities were on hand to contradict the notion that the Divine Being is a zealous advocate of free-market principles. Edward F. Boyle, S.J., chaplain of the Labor Guild of the Archdiocese of Boston, noted, "The policy of progressive taxation and the corollary of taxing the wealthy to provide assistance to those presently burdened by the poor economy is part of Catholic social thought. The abuse of this assistance by some does not validate its elimination from all." Ruy O. Costa of the Massachusetts Council of Churches urged legislators to consider the

benefits of a shorter work week—not only as a way to lower unemployment, but to give overworked people more time to spend with family and to engage in civic activities.

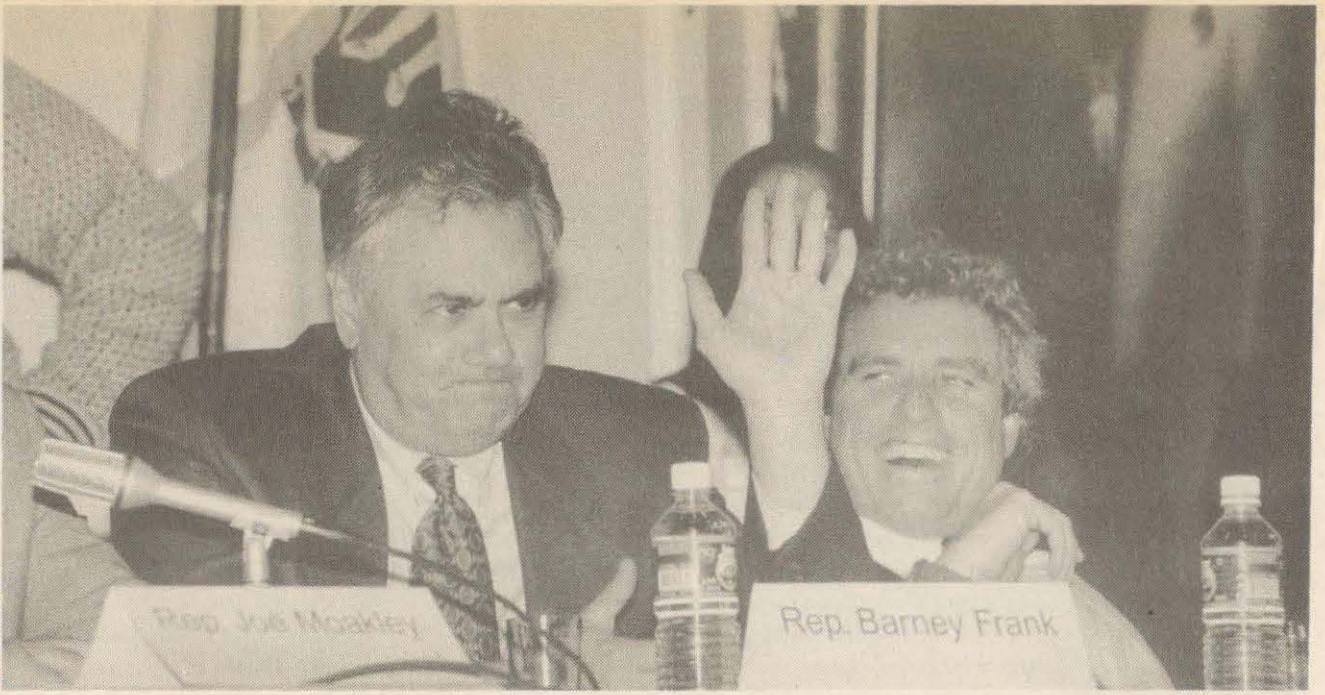
Boston DSA's witness John Cort, testifying in support of H.R. 1050 (the Living Wage, Jobs for All Act) provoked laughter from the audience and sheepish grins from the legislators with the candid observation, "Taxes on the very rich used to be 70 percent under Republican presidents Eisenhower, Nixon, and Ford. If you get them back there, reduce defense spending to a sensible level, and cut corporate welfare, you can balance the budget in FIVE years, put the welfare mothers to work at decent wages, get both black and white youth off the mean streets, save the soul of the Democratic Party, and, just incidentally, save the jobs of Democratic Representatives and Senators like yourselves."

Indeed, despite their anger and frustration, the crowd assembled in Faneuil Hall maintained good spirits, with two notable exceptions:

When Chuck Collins of Share the Wealth asked the legislators point blank whether or not they would co-sponsor H.R. 2534, the Corporate Responsibility Act; and H.R. 620, the Income Equity Act; the panel blinked, like confused deer caught in the headlights of an oncoming truck, and remained silent. Angry shouts of "Roll call! Roll call!" from the audience eventually forced a few smiles and a thumbs-up from Representatives Joe Kennedy and Marty Meehan. The audience clearly remained unsatisfied, prompting moderators Elaine Bernard, of the Harvard Trade Union Program, and Joe Faherty, President of the Massachusetts AFL-CIO, to assure the crowd they would get their chance to hold their elected officials accountable at the end of the program, when the legislators would be given the opportunity to respond individually.

Likewise, when the moderators interrupted the proceedings to take up a collection to defray the cost of the event, hoots of "Let Kerry pay for it! Make the Senator pay!" burst from the balconies. (Senator Kerry is reputedly the richest

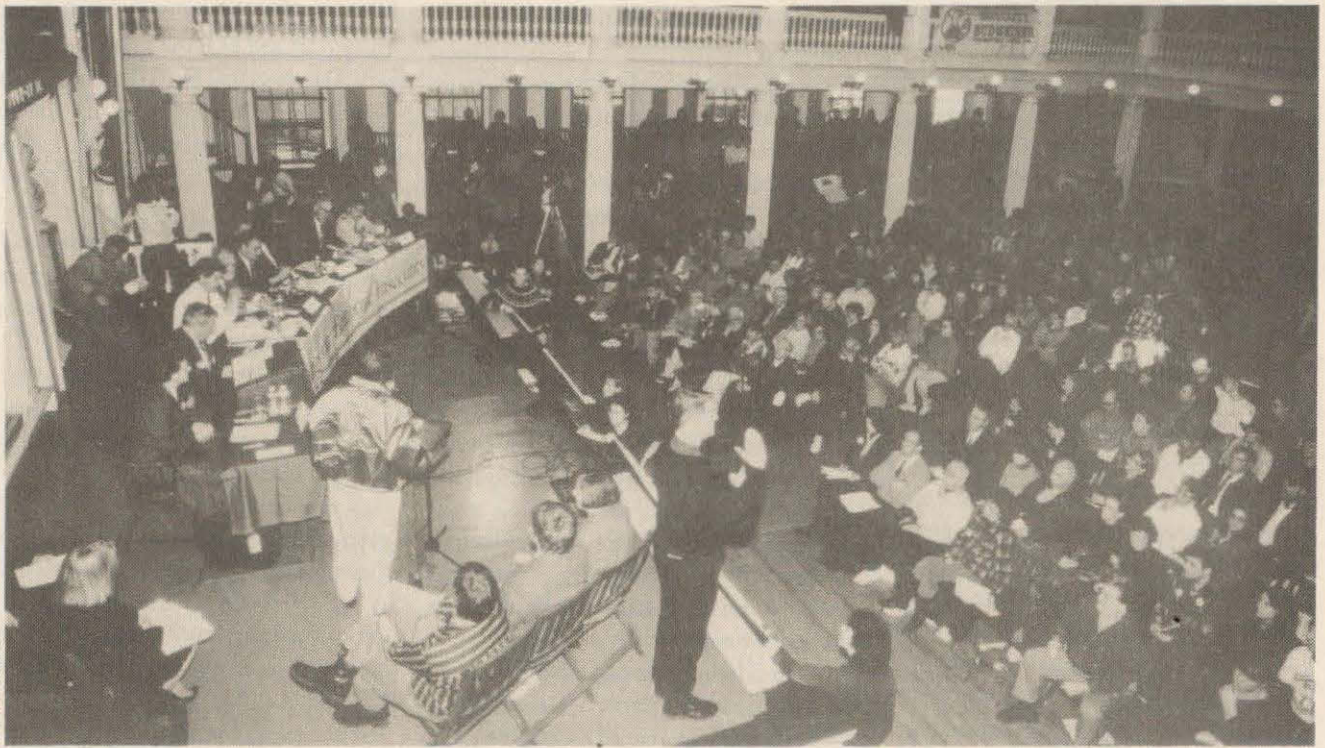
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Above: Congressmembers Barney Frank and Joe Kennedy during one of the hearing's lighter moments. Frank was the first legislator to throw his support behind the Boston event.

Below: Packing Faneuil Hall ("The Cradle of the Revolution") to the rafters. Many who wanted to attend had to be turned away at the door due to lack of space.

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man in the Senate thanks to his recent marriage to Theresa Heinz, of Heinz condiment fame.) Anonymous DSA sources report that passing the hat to the legislators on stage netted an additional fifteen bucks.

At the conclusion of the official testimony, Ronnie Dugger of the National Alliance took the stage. He exhorted those present to take back their liberty, to take control of our democracy and our government away from the billionaires and large corporations and restore it to its rightful place in the hands of the people. The floor was then opened for brief comments from the audience. Those who took the microphone in the limited time available stressed hearty support for campaign finance reform, health care reform, raising the minimum wage, and ending corporate welfare.

Finally, it was the legislators' turn.

Many reiterated the need for voters to translate anger over economic insecurity into progressive political mobilization, and to challenge racist scapegoating. Said Representative Frank, "We need to continue to move politics in the directions we've talked about today. We have to go after the delegitimation of

unions. And we've got to turn out those who have been victimized—we've got to take advantage of the National Voter Registration Act (a.k.a. 'motor voter')." Urged Kerry, "We need a Democratic rebellion that's prepared to take these issues to the polls."

When it came down to specifics, virtually everyone voiced support for raising the minimum wage. Senator Kerry emphasized the need for meaningful campaign finance reform, as did Representative Meehan. Representative John Olver stated once more his commitment to single-payer health care. All expressed gratitude to the witnesses for eloquently sharing their pain over economic insecurity and corporate greed, and to the hearing organizers for putting together such an extraordinary and important event. Remarked Representative Kennedy, "We have not heard testimony anything like the testimony this afternoon since Gingrich and Dole took over. Believe me, it's good to hear it!"

Michele Rossi is on the staff of DSA's national office.

Economic Insecurity:

What's Happening Now?

The Boston hearing on Economic Insecurity is the latest in a string of successful public hearings planned by DSA locals, but it's not the last. Los Angeles DSA is working with a coalition of groups in its area to set up a hearing for late April and Chicago DSA is looking to hold a hearing in May. In both cases the locals have begun to build local coalitions to make the events happen and are working to involve members of the Congressional Progressive Caucus. Other locals around the country are exploring hearings and other activities to raise economic insecurity issues in their communities.

Meanwhile, the success of DSA's Economic Insecurity Hearings has sparked others on the left to jump into the debate. The Progressive Caucus has decided to hold a series of monthly hearings on Capitol Hill and in Congressional Districts using the theme, "The Silent Depression—The Collapse of the American Middle-Class." The first of these hearings, held in Washington, DC, on March 8, focused on the question, "If Wall

Street, the White House and the TV news tell us the economy is so good, why am I worse off?" Invited witnesses included working people who have been laid off by corporate giants such as Bell Atlantic and AT&T.

Remarked Progressive Caucus chair Bernard Sanders (I-VT), in calling for the hearings, "The most important economic issue facing our country is that 90% of the American people since 1973 have seen their standard of living stagnate or decline. The reality is that the average American, whether white-collar manager or blue-collar factory foreman, today is working longer hours for lower pay and in constant fear of a sudden pink slip. Meanwhile, the richest people in America have never had it so good."

Future hearings will be held around the country and will address issues ranging from whether we need a new national jobs policy and how to offset the impact of corporate downsizing to the creation of jobs that pay a living wage. Later in the year, the hearings will provide an opportunity to explore untried ideas for retaining and creating well-paying American jobs, and for achieving greater economic justice and security in the context of sustainable economic development.

On February 21, the AFL-CIO announced it, too, was planning a series of hearings or town hall meetings on economic insecurity issues as part of their campaign, "America Needs a Raise." The purpose of these hearings, to be held in targeted Congressional Districts, is to raise these issues in the context of the 1996 election.

Hearings are not the only tactic being used by groups concerned about the issues. On April 14, the National Organization for Women is sponsoring a "Fight the Right" march in the San Francisco bay area. They are also working with the Council of Presidents of Washington progressive organizations to organize a speak-out on income inequality. The event will focus on full employment and minimum wage issues.

California DSA Joins Labor In Struggle to Raise Minimum Wage

California labor activists have launched a campaign to raise the state's minimum wage. California DSA has joined forces with Labor to Neighbor, labor councils, and other progressive organizations to gather the 750,000 signatures needed to place the minimum wage initiative, known as the Living Wage Act, on the ballot this fall.

Presently, over 1.8 million Californians toil at the minimum wage. Because of inflation, those who earn the minimum wage can buy less today than at any time in the last 40 years. The Living Wage Act proclaims, "At \$4.25 per hour the current minimum wage punishes hard work. It is so low that workers often make less than people on welfare. Because well-paying jobs are becoming so hard to find, it is more important than ever that California have a living minimum wage." If successful, the Living Wage Act would boost the minimum wage in California to \$5.00 per hour in 1997 and to \$5.75 per hour in 1998.

The campaign to raise the minimum wage has been endorsed by Secretary of Labor Robert Reich and by AFL-CIO President (and DSA member) John Sweeney. The California campaign is being spearheaded by the Livable Wage Coalition, which includes the state AFL-CIO, the Consumer Federation, the Congress of California Seniors, and the California Council of Churches, among others. Richard Holober, secretary of the Livable Wage Coalition, promises, "We are going to bring a very meaningful improvement to the lives of 1.8 million working people in California who are making poverty wages."

Sacramento and Bay Area unions will coordinate their efforts through Labor to Neighbor organizations. Individual unions have set goals for collecting signatures from members, union families, and neighbors while building potentially powerful Labor to Neighbor networks.

Compared to current and past electoral campaigns, such as the health care initiative (Proposition 186), the minimum wage initiative has several distinct advantages. Because labor has an existing apparatus for carrying out political work, a new organization does not have to be created for the campaign. Labor can devote staff time and make use of well-established political connections. And labor has its own media. Even at its weakest labor is organizationally stronger than most temporary, volunteer-driven advocacy groups pressing for social change.

The southern California campaign was initiated February 3, at a meeting held at UNITE headquarters in Los Angeles. DSA members participated in the early planning and Sacramento DSA committed to producing 400 signatures to help get the measure on the ballot. One reason the campaign is so important is that it offers a cru-

cial opportunity to renew cooperative work between organized labor and civil rights communities, and this is one reason why DSA is strongly committed to it.

California DSA is joining labor in this project because the initiative offers a clear, class-based campaign with a message that is simple to understand and difficult to distort. If the initiative passes, it will aid 1.8 million working people immediately, most of them not members of unions. Moreover, working to qualify the living wage initiative goes hand-in-hand with California DSA's other major project—organizing to defeat the Republican-inspired (and misleadingly named) California Civil Rights Initiative.

The CCRI (renamed the California Civil Wrongs Initiative by progressive activists) is an effort to forge a wedge issue around affirmative action. By dividing poor people, pitting race against race, the CCRI diverts attention from the real causes of economic insecurity. This strategy worked well with the anti-immigrant campaign of 1994, helping to re-elect a previously widely unpopular governor, Pete Wilson. Little surprise then that Governor Wilson and the Republican Party poured funds and workers into the campaign to qualify the CCRI for the ballot. The Republican Party mailed petitions to qualify the CCRI to over 400,000 activists, and paid signature gatherers pounded the pavement. On February 21, the Republican party announced it had accumulated over one million signatures, well over the number necessary to get the initiative on the ballot. Meanwhile, second wave anti-immigrant initiatives (Save Our State II) are being circulated in order to keep the anti-immigrant fervor alive and its funding sources flowing. Both the CCRI and the anti-immigrant efforts are useful for dividing and distracting an anxious electorate, and increasing the conservative voter turnout in November.

California DSA activists have combined the minimum wage campaign with the campaign to defeat the CCRI. Just as California DSA has joined with labor to collect signatures to qualify the Living Wage initiative, it has asked labor to work with them against the CCRI. Both leaders and activists in labor have responded positively to efforts to build a working coalition to counter the well-organized right-wing assault on working people and people of color. This summer, California DSA plans to join with the AFL-CIO for a "Solidarity Summer" of electoral work and a possible demonstration at the Republican National Convention in San Diego.

DSA plays a critical educational role in these campaigns, since many students and new activists in civil rights groups are not aware of the traditional alliance and mutual support between labor and civil rights struggles. Few people realize that the California Teachers Association was the major provider of funds in the unsuccessful effort to defeat Proposition 187, the anti-immigrant initiative, in 1994. At the same time, DSA activists bring a valuable pro-civil rights agenda to unions and labor councils.

Progressive members of labor recognize the need for the two groups to work together. An activist DSA can play a major role in the step-by-step, issue-by-issue task of rebuilding the cooperation between labor and civil rights communities. By pooling our strength, experience, and resources we gain an edge in present struggles and pave the way for future successes.

The campaign to fight right-wing wedge issues has invigorated California DSA and renewed its electoral activism. On February 22, over 50 representatives of civil rights, senior citizens, student and women's groups joined California DSA to create a coa-

lition committed to social change on behalf of working people. California DSA has opened offices in Los Angeles and Sacramento and has hired two staffpeople to work on these campaigns.

Your support (financial and volunteer) is greatly appreciated and urgently needed. To get involved contact Javier Sepulveda, Northern California Regional Coordinator at 916/484-3484 or Tim Parks, Southern California Regional Coordinator at 213/951-1960. Donations for northern California should be mailed to DSA, P.O. Box 162394, Sacramento, CA 95816. Send donations for southern California to DSA, P.O. Box 291864, Los Angeles, CA 90029. Make all checks payable to DSA.

--Duane Campbell

Duane Campbell is chair of the Sacramento local of DSA and DSA's Anti-Racism Commission. He also serves as political action chair of his union local and as a delegate to the General Assembly of the California Faculty Association (SEIU 1000) and the Sacramento Labor Council.

POSITION AVAILABLE: DSA YOUTH SECTION FIELD COORDINATOR

The Youth Section of the Democratic Socialists of America is looking for an activist-oriented, progressive individual for the position of Field Coordinator of the Youth Section. This position is based in New York City but extensive travel throughout the year is required. We are looking for someone who possesses experience with campus, community, labor and other types of progressive organizing.

The Field Coordinator's responsibilities will include:

◆ Support and services to over fifty DSA Youth Section chapters and contacts across the country and the Coordinating Committee, the nationally elected leadership of the Youth Section.

◆ Campus visits to colleges and universities nationwide for speaking engagements, meeting with and developing current chapter membership, and providing insight and strategies for organizing and skills building.

◆ Coordination of the National Youth Section outreach conference and an internally-focused conference for Youth Section activists.

Starting salary is \$19,000 with health benefits. Women and people of color are encouraged to apply. Please send resumes and cover letters to:

Alan Charney
DSA National Director
180 Varick Street FL 12
New York, NY 10014
fax: 212.727.8616

Fighting Capital in the Nation's Capital:

DSA Opens D.C. Office

BY CHRISTINE R. RIDDIOUGH

At a time when campaigns to empower the rich masquerade as fiscal responsibility, when ordinary Americans fear their livelihoods are under constant threat from corporate downsizing and government cutbacks, and when liberalism stands speechless in the face of massive assaults on the public good, left organizations have a special duty to organize and fight back. DSA is fighting back through our Action Agenda and a new, long-term presence in Washington, DC.

At the 1995 DSA National Convention, we adopted a five-point action agenda:

- Work on economic insecurity issues, following up on the work begun last year
- Work on international labor rights and global justice issues
- Work on affirmative action, particularly focusing on the initiative in CA
- Targeted work in Congressional elections where DSA can make a difference for Progressives; and
- Assisting locals in developing local strategies and communicating with one another.

As DSA Political Director, the primary focus of my work in Washington is to ensure that our action agenda is implemented. Our goals in this work are to develop a political presence for DSA in Washington, to provide DSA locals and activists with a na-

tional political focus and to work with the communications coordinator to develop a media strategy and contacts for DSA with the media in Washington.

We need your input to make this work successful. As the 1996 election starts to take shape, information from activists and locals about Congressional races in your region will prove highly valuable. Is there a progressive candidate running for an open seat or a race where a conservative Republican seems vulnerable? Send information about elections in your area to:

DSA/DC
5123 5th Street NW
Washington, DC 20011-4040
(V) 202.829.6167
(F) 202.722.7557
(E) criddiough@igc.apc.org

Christine R. Riddiough, a vice-chair of DSA, served as North American Vice-President of Socialist International Women and as a member of DSA's National Political Committee prior to assuming the position of DSA Political Director.

DAVID M. GORDON, In Memorium

David Gordon, progressive economist, activist and teacher, DSA member and friend and mentor to workers in the trenches, died at age 51 while awaiting a heart transplant. David was on the verge of a national tour coinciding with the publication of his latest book, *Fat and Mean* (The Free Press). This book analyzes the reasons for declining wages and working conditions, and makes cogent economic and political suggestions for challenging that state of affairs.

The scion of a family of prominent economists, David Gordon was a well-beloved professor to many DSAers at the New School for Social Research, a comrade in his work for unionists and unions at the Labor Institute, which he co-founded, and at the Union for Radical Political Economics, where he conducted numerous train-

ing sessions for young activists. He was at home as an academic economist tackling econometrics in *The American Economic Review*, supervising graduate students, teaching political economy evening classes to line workers in New Jersey, or rolling up his sleeves to build the infrastructure of a viable democratic left by fundraising, organizing, and broadcasting on the radio. It is with deep sadness that we mark his passing.

Contributions may be sent to:

*David M. Gordon Fund for Graduate Fellows
of the Center for Economic Policy Analysis
c/o Professor John Eatwell
Economics Department
New School for Social Research
65 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10003*

MIDWEST LABOR/ACTIVIST CONFERENCE

Sponsored by DSA & the DSA Labor Commission

Saturday, May 4, 1996
Roosevelt University
430 South Michigan
Chicago, Illinois

Registration \$5

Some housing is available at the Congress Hotel across the street and with local activists, but you must contact us at least one week in advance. If you wish to attend the annual Chicago DSA Debs/Thomas/Harrington Dinner to be held at the Congress Hotel on Friday, May 3, there is an additional cost of \$40. Call DSA at 212/727-8610 or 202/829-6167 for more info.

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| 8:30 AM | Registration (Room 232) |
| 9:00 AM | Opening Plenary: Labor Today |
| 10:30 AM | Workshop Session I <ul style="list-style-type: none">• DSA's Agenda: Economic Insecurity• Labor Organizing• International/Globalization |
| 12 NOON | LUNCH |
| 1:30 PM | Workshop Session II <ul style="list-style-type: none">• DSA's Agenda: Elections '96• Immigration, Labor, & Politics• Labor, Youth, & Diversity |
| 3:00 PM | Mini-plenaries/Meetings <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Labor Commission• Midwest Activists |
| 4:30 PM | Closing Speaker/Panel |



by Harry Fleishman

CALIFORNIA

San Diego DSA hosted a screening and discussion of *Breaking Bread: Building Multi-racial Alliances for Economic and Social Justice with Cornel West & Barbara Ehrenreich*. This videotape from the DSA National Convention held last November in Washington, DC featured dialogue between West, Ehrenreich, and Activists Clarence Lusane, Mari Matsuda, and Roland Roebuck on the difficulties we face in keeping open the links between our communities.

COLORADO

Colorado DSA has kicked off a letter-writing campaign to ask Congressional Representative Pat Schroeder to co-sponsor the Corporate Responsibility Act (H.R. 2534) and the Living Wage Act (H.R. 1050). On May 1, they will take Denver by storm with a rally and a theatrical production of musical chairs designed by Share the Wealth to illustrate inequality in America. The group is planning to hold hearings on economic insecurity in early September.

ILLINOIS

University of Chicago DSA sponsored a highly successful forum on economic insecurity, featuring noted sociologist William Julius Wilson, among others. Over 350 people attended the event, which attracted not only students but several community residents. The chapter will use the event's success to build momentum for a full-fledged public hearing on economic insecurity to be held sometime in May.

INDIANA

Members of Central Indiana DSA are working with a local environmental council and Indianapolis bus riders to form a Transit Riders' Union to improve the abysmal state of the transit system. Local members are also involved in a struggle against a large manufacturing concern that is attempting to have a lower-middle class, fairly rural residential area of the city reclassified as an industrial/commercial zone.

Nancy Naan and Rob Pedersen of Central Indiana DSA recently addressed the Lawrence Township Democratic Club on the topics of welfare and tax subsidies for the "middle class." Enlightenment, one step at a time...

PENNSYLVANIA

As a member of the Coalition for a Newt-Free America, Philadelphia DSA will participate in a public trial of Newt Gingrich on April 1. For more details contact Kathy Quinn at 215/702-9739.

WASHINGTON

Seattle DSA remains active in the push for single-payer health care. Single-payer advocates in WA hope to hold an activist conference in late spring or early summer. The conference would hone participants' knowledge of health care policy in the age of corporate medicine and prepare them to organize for the 1996 election season. Contact Craig Salins at 206/784-9695 for more info.

NEW YORK

New York City DSA continued its Economic Insecurity project by hosting a Youth Speak Out on March 23 in West Harlem. Panels composed primarily of young people discussed

how budget cuts and tuition hikes limit access to education; the exploitation of youth on the job, particularly in sweatshop industries; and the impact of workfare programs and other proposed cuts to the safety net. The event was chaired by State Assemblymember Ed Sullivan (who chairs the State Assembly Education Committee) and C. Virginia Fields, a member of the City Council Youth Services Committee.

On a different note, the NYC local, in conjunction with CUNY-TV and *Dissent* magazine, broadcast "Bosnia Today: Is the US/NATO Intervention Desirable?" The show, aired repeatedly on February 21 and February 25, featured an illuminating if contentious round-table discussion between DSA Honorary Chair Bogdan Denitch; Tom Harrison of the Campaign for Peace and Democracy and *New Politics* magazine; *Z Magazine* contributor and CPD activist Steven Shalom; and *Dissent* co-editor Michael Walzer. NY DSA would like to distribute tapes of this and future programs to DSA activists nationally. If interested contact Jeff Gold at 212/249-8481 for more info.

RELIGION & SOCIALISM COMMISSION ELECTS NEW CHAIR

Congratulations to Jeff Geary, the newly-elected chair of DSA's Religion & Socialism Commission. Jeff, formerly of Central NJ DSA, is the pastor of a Presbyterian church on Long Island. One of his goals to increase the participation and visibility of people of faith in DSA's activist projects. To get involved, or to request more information on DSA's Religion & Socialism Commission, contact Jeff at 516/751.7051 or write to him at 17 Dyke Road, Setauket, NY 11733.

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Passing It On:

The 1996 DSA Youth Section Winter Retreat

Over seventy youth section activists from across the country descended upon Oberlin, OH the weekend of February 16 for the DSA Youth Section Winter Retreat held at Oberlin College. In attendance were students and youth representing Miami University, University of Chicago, New College in Florida, Hamilton College, Oberlin College, New York University, Hartford Conservatory, Harvard University, Bryn Mawr College, Ohio University, Cleveland Institute of Music, and Slippery Rock University, among others.

DSA activists opened the Winter Retreat with silly fun and games, like "Revolutionary Red Rover, so that participants could get acquainted. Saturday morning started with a warm welcome from Youth Section Field Coordinator, Carmen Mitchell. She expressed some of the purposes of the Winter Retreat: chapter building and networking with other DSA activists across the country, correlating the work of the Youth Section with that of the National DSA, and heightening DSA chapters' participation and cooperation in the larger progressive student movement. Youth Section Co-Chair Daraka Larimore-Hall ushered in the the first plenary of the day, *What is Democratic Socialism? What is DSA?* Joining Larimore-Hall was long-time DSA activist and National Political Committee member Joseph Schwartz. The plenary was followed by informal small group sessions that discussed what it means to be a democratic socialist today.

The first round of workshop sessions at the Winter Retreat included *Youth Culture and the Youth Section* organized by Oscar Owens (NYU) and Daraka Larimore-Hall (U of Chicago), *Student and Labor Solidarity* with Bruce Bostick, Grievance Committee Chairman of USWA 1104, Gretchen Primack of the AFL-CIO Organizing Institute, and Susannah Davis of the

United Electrical Workers. *Some Theory and Praxis* was facilitated by Bill Dixon (U of Chicago) of the Revolutionary Pedagogy Committee of the DSA Youth Section.

A discussion of electoral politics with Alan Charney, National DSA Director and Chris Howell, Professor of Politics at Oberlin College, ensued. The evening agenda concluded with a gathering of the Women's Caucus. Critical issues such as the participation of other folks in the Winter Retreat and a more conscious effort to act upon and bring into dialogue socialist-feminist process and politics were emphasized.

That night, DSA folks gathered at Tank Hall for the much awaited Youth Section brouhaha. This included a stint from local Oberlin College bands and *The Adjusters*, a ska band featuring DSA members Daraka Larimore-Hall and Fernando Rochaix (U of Chicago). The fun and festivities ended with a break dance showdown starring Harvard DSAer Eliot "Bam-Bam" Ratzman.

Activities continued on Sunday with a panel on *DSA YS Through the Years*, with 1978 Youth Section Organizer Joe Schwartz; and Dom Chan, 1993 Youth Section Coordinating Committee member. Final workshop sessions featured *Alphabet Soup Internationalism* with Bill Dixon and Daraka Larimore-Hall and *Towards a New Port Huron* with Oscar Owens of the Coalitions Committee.

The Winter Retreat concluded in the afternoon with Strategy Plenary Sessions. Participants focused on the role of the DSA Youth Section and the new leadership in the AFL-CIO labor movement. There was also a discussion of the Days of Action for Immigrant Rights and Affirmative Action. Tentative plans were made to hold the next DSA Youth Section Conference in Washington, D.C. in October. Look for more details in upcoming issues of *Democratic Left*.

Eyes on the Economy

San Francisco Hearing on H.R. 1050 Draws 200

BY TOM GALLAGHER

Ron Dellums filed the bill and Bert Gross wrote it. So their roles in last November's San Francisco hearing on H.R. 1050, the Living Wage, Jobs For All Act, might give that event claim to the title of first among equals of all the DSA-initiated hearings on economic insecurity held across the country.

Dellums, who shared the gavel with Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi of San Francisco, a cosponsor of H.R. 1050, opened the hearing by raising the question of why 200 people should gather to listen to testimony on a bill that the Republican-controlled Congress would not even grant a hearing.

"Is this some kind of pie in the sky?" he asked. "Well, let me refer you to the Dellums amendment on apartheid. When we started we didn't have a chance, but on a particular day we became a spokesperson for new movement. If you can end apartheid in South Africa you can end this insanity in the United States and provide full employment at a living wage."

Bertram Gross, the gray eminence of the full employment movement, was first to offer testimony. Gross, most widely known as the author of *Friendly Fascism: The New Face of Power in America*, is also the author of all of the major full employment legislation in Congress over the last half century.

Framing the full employment question as one of "how can global capitalism be civilized" he discussed how "51 years ago FDR tried to humanize American capital in order to get away from the ups and downs" through support for the 1944 Full Employment Bill which ultimately led to the Full Employment Act of 1946.

This "first wave" full employment legislation was followed by the Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1978 (more familiar as "Humphrey-Hawkins".) H.R. 1050 therefore represents the full employment effort's "third wave." Gross explained that the bill proceeds from the idea that an economic

policy should be established by law.

"We should campaign for 150 million decent jobs rather than the 123 million we have now." He also addressed the irony of the lack of work juxtaposed with the millions of others overworked with two jobs, observing that "had we not reduced the work week earlier this century we would currently have twice the number of people unemployed."

"If you can end apartheid in South Africa you can provide full employment at a living wage in the United States."

*-- Congressman
Ron Dellums*

Aileen Hernandez of the Coalition for Economic Equality recounted the story of Henry Ford telling Walter Reuther that the machines they were inspecting on a tour of a newly automated plant "won't pay union dues. Replied Reuther, "Neither will they buy your cars." Observed Hernandez, "And today you have to think that if we could get a few more economists unemployed we might get them to understand these things and start talking about unemployment."

Walter Johnson, Secretary-Treasurer of the San Francisco Labor Council spoke of the need to "touch America's conscience." Ann Fagan Ginger of the Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute addressed the issue of employ-

ment rights guaranteed in international agreements signed by the United States. Steve Arcelona, Director of the San Francisco Private Industry Council, raised the issue of the need to preserve employment and training funds as well as infrastructure. Erica Etleson of the National Lawyers Guild testified about the inadequacies of the current unemployment insurance system serving but one third of today's unemployed, often leaving the rest no choice but welfare. Commented Etleson, "It should be easier to find consensus to improve unemployment insurance than welfare."

Then-Assemblyman Willie Brown remarked that efforts like the event will "hopefully build a mighty wave that will roll over Washington in clearly defining the responsibility of the government in employment." Responding to a question from Bertram Gross, the Mayor-to-be committed himself to organizing the first convention of international trade unionists in San Francisco.

Additional testimony was offered by Wilson Riles of the American Friends Service Committee; Sue Hodges of the Mayor of Oakland's Commission on Disabled Persons; Abby Snay of Jewish Vocational and Career Counseling Services; Brenda Cochrane, San Francisco State Labor Studies Program; Gloria Erodriego, Jobs and Equality; Sandra Monk, Temporary Workers Union; Bruce Allen, Center for Economic Conversion; and Karen Talbot, International Center for Peace and Justice. Panelists included Assemblywoman Barbara Lee of Oakland, San Francisco Supervisor Sue Bierman and Berkeley City Councilor Maudelle Shirek.

A discussion following the hearing led to the decision to ask U.S. Senator Barbara Boxer to file a Senate version of H.R. 1050.

Tom Gallagher is a long-time DSA activist who resides in San Francisco.

Dear Margie

Letters, real and imagined, to
DSA Membership Services Coordinator Margie Burns

Dear Margie,

Though I am really enjoying my campus crusade for social justice, and I'm getting an A+ in Advanced Class Struggle, my dad says I should drop this socialist stuff because I'll never find a job. Is this true, Margie? What happens to young socialists after graduation? Am I gonna have to trade my radical values for the pleasure of regular meals?

Signed,

A Paling Pinko In Pittsburgh

Dear Paling,

I posed your dilemma to a group of DSAers, all of whom faced the transition from campus activism to the "working world" within the last five years. I think you'll find what they had to say helpful.

*Bread & Roses,
Margie*

Prone to politics from a tender age, **Jeff Lacher** was an organizer waiting to happen. With the help of professor and veteran DSAer Nancy Kleniewski, he revived the DSA chapter at SUNY Geneseo. After graduation he headed to graduate school because, "I figured it was the only way I would be able to find a job. But I wasn't the wealthiest person in the world, and I knew I could only go to school if I was offered an assistantship." The much-coveted assistantship arrived, and Lacher moved on to SUNY Albany only to find that he couldn't get by on the puny wages. "I couldn't really pay the rent or pay for books, and was very disappointed with how I was being treated as a grad student." He became so disillusioned he quit school and began working full-time for the Graduate School Employees Union (GSU). Eventually, his union organizing experiences led to work with the Communication Workers of America (CWA).

Javier Sepulveda joined DSA at Sacramento

State University after meeting DSA Latino Commission Chair Duane Campbell, and attending a "Freedom School" run by Campbell and four other professors. Sepulveda recently assumed the position of Activist Coordinator for DSA's Northern California region, where he focuses on fighting the California Civil Rights Initiative, a right-wing attempt to do away with affirmative action. He also coordinates the petition drive to get an initiative aimed at raising the minimum wage on the ballot.

DSA opened **Janet Wilder's** eyes during her third year at Oberlin. "DSA was active in everything that was happening on campus," she recalls, "from trying to make sure people were getting student loans, to securing reproductive rights, and even intervention in Central America." By the middle of her senior year she'd changed her mind about pursuing sociological research. She wanted to do some form of organizing, "a completely foreign notion to me at the time." She headed to Boston, working as a technical writer for a software magazine before organizing office workers at Harvard. Today she works as an organizer for a new union at the University of Massachusetts Medical Center.

While a student at Princeton Seminary, **Jeffrey Geary** was always on the lookout for some outlet for his activism because, "I wasn't getting it in the churches I was working in. As a student I was too limited." He came across an issue of Dissent in the local Barnes & Nobel, saw an advertisement for DSA, joined, and spent a year as a paper member.

Facing graduation without strong employment prospects, he threw his energy into reviving the Central NJ DSA local, organizing around campaign finance reform. He now works as a pastor at a Presbyterian church on Long Island.

Tom Mestnik's involvement with DSA began when a handful of students at Metro State College in Denver felt the need to form a club on campus to compete with the College Republicans. Professor Charles Angeletti, whom Mestnik described as "a card-carrying DSAer who taught a history course using a Howard Zinn book" suggested starting a DSA chapter, and so they did. Though there were never more than a handful of really active members, the group "immediately made a big splash doing protests against the Gulf War, with daily vigils around the flagpole and organizing consciousness-raising events around national health care." Upon graduation Mestnik accepted a position with the Denver Justice and Peace Committee which strives for social and economic justice in solidarity with the peoples of Central America.

DM: Has your activist experience in DSA helped you in your work?

Lacher: Everything I did in the union, I learned through my activism in DSA. The planning, strategizing, and talking persuasively to people about politics and the importance of getting involved. Carrying out an organizing drive means talking to each individual about why a union is a good thing, and how through collective bargaining workers can get health insurance and other benefits.

It's not an easy task, considering the strong reservations and false impressions people have about starting up a union local. There's the old stereotype about corruption in unions and the pessimistic notion that if you have a union there will be layoffs. And many people have a fear about making decisions in their own lives.

Sepulveda: Through DSA I learned the ABC's of organizing, from phone banking and collecting signatures to doing massive mailings, but more importantly, I learned how the economy relates to working people and people of color. It's amazing how positively people react, when they get past the term "Socialism" and are confronted with real issues, such as healthcare and unemployment. Becoming involved in DSA seemed a natural progression for me, when you consider the things that have happened in my life and the situation of my people.

Wilder: I think that learning to see how economics affects people's lives, making the connections between issues, and seeing the big picture are all very valuable skills. Ideas you can get out of a book, but learning to build an organization really comes

from doing it, and talking to others about your experiences while you are doing it.

The organizing that I do today is about building connections between people and building an organization one person at a time. An organization's strength comes from the strengths of the relationships between the workers, and working with people who care about equality, and each person having a voice in an organization.

Geary: There is an activist's mentality, or an activist's training, that comes with involvement in DSA which the church just doesn't provide.

The church I'm working for now has an activist history, but most churches don't, so I am trying to bring that to the church. Because it is one thing to be able to talk about being involved socially, but it is quite another to know what to do. Through DSA's Religion and Socialism Commission I'm in touch with a number of pastors who are doing work similar to mine, and we get to share ideas. And it's inspiring!

Currently, I'm working with a group of junior high and high school students, discussing racism in society and the violence it provokes. What we're doing is practicing everything from how to mediate conflict, how to practice peace, and how to name and identify violence at different levels, to ways to confront the prejudice and oppression that we see in our everyday lives.

DM: What advice do you have for radical students today, in terms of looking for work after graduation?

Mestnik: I feel that if people are willing to do fundraising, they can always get a job at a non-profit organization. You may not make a lot of money, but anyone who has a gift in this area will have no trouble finding a job on the Left.

Lacher: One answer has got to be working for unions, because there are so many jobs available in unions. I have more jobs than applicants. In a few months, at least 1,000 internships/jobs will be open as part of a project called "Union Summer." These internships will take place in 20 cities across the country. They pay \$210 per week plus living expenses.

The coolest thing about all of this is that it's not just about union organizing, it's about discussing important issues. These people will not be just union organizers, they'll be organizers around broader political campaigns. It's about getting groups of people together to talk about improving the workplace, raising the minimum wage, and

having safe and healthy working conditions for everybody.

Wilder: In college I tried to decide which kind of work would change the world the most, and that is certainly a worthwhile question, but there are other questions, like what is going to make me happy, especially if I am going to make a career out of it.

I think the best advice I could give would be, don't feel like you have to find the answer right away. I feel like I have the perfect job, but it took me ten years to find it, and along the way I learned an incredible amount.

Geary: The socially active friends I have who are coming out of college, are very narrow in their ideas about

work after graduation, and the means to get there. They need to adopt an open-mindedness regarding their ideas about finding job, as well as towards the people they work with. In my experiences at the church, I have learned an awful lot about people, many of whom I have misjudged or underestimated on numerous occasions.

Sepulveda: Most of the people I work with are Chicanos, from Mexico, whose parents were farm workers and have struggled all of their lives. Their children have had the opportunity to attend college and are devoted to getting that education, returning to their communities as lawyers, teachers and doctors, and opening the doors of opportunity for others. My advice is to stay positive and don't try to change the world overnight, because it's a lifelong struggle, and every person counts.

ORGANIZER WANTED: Midwest Region

DSA is looking for a progressive, committed individual to staff our Midwest Region from our Chicago office. Responsibilities will include:

- **Developing & organizing political campaigns**
- **Working with DSA locals & at-large members**
- **Producing a regional newsletter & other communications**
- **Supervising an annual fund drive**

**This is a new position. The Midwest organizer has a unique opportunity to help shape the political direction of the region. We seek a socially-conscious individual who has been active in grassroots- and issue-organizing. Professional training and supervision will be provided. Starting salary is \$19,000 with benefits. Send resume and cover letter to: Alan Charney, DSA National Director, 180 Varick Street Fl 12, New York, NY 10014. Fax: 212.727.8616
E-Mail: dsa@igc.apc.org**

THE DSA WEBSITE HAS MIGRATED!

Websurfers can check out DSA's webpage at its new location:

<http://www.dsausa.org/dsa>

CLASSIFIEDS

At last, a picture book for DSAers! **IMAGES OF AMERICAN RADICALISM** by Paul Buhle and Edmund Sullivan with more than 700 illustrations of all kinds, and 72 color pages. Among those depicted: Michael Harrington, Cornel West, Tracy Chapman, Tillie Olsen, Holly Near, Ralph Nader, Bernie Sanders, Ed Asner, Marge Piercy, Herbert Marcuse, Maggie Kuhn, Joan Baez, Pete Seeger, Julian Bond, Phil Ochs, Johnny Appleseed, John Muir, Fanny Wrigth, Emma Goldman, etc. Paintings, photos, and cartoons by Ben Karchor, Art Spiegelman, Yolanda Lopez, Mike Alewitz, Robert Minor, Mike Konopacki, Ansel Adams, Diego Rivera, etc. Preface by Howard Fast. 520pp, \$65ppd. Christopher Publishing House, 24 Rockland Street, Hanover, MA 02339. Call 617.826.7474 for more info.

PRESENT PROGRESSIVE

BY DSA NATIONAL DIRECTOR ALAN CHARNEY

It was just about a year ago that DSA began its economic insecurity project. Our premise was very simple. The reactionary Right has succeeded in gaining control of Congress through a well-orchestrated campaign of government bashing and scapegoating. But, their program—the infamous Contract “on” America—was patently a program for corporate America and the top 20% of income-earners. We were convinced that sooner, rather than later, the majority of wage-earners would see through the pseudo-populist rhetoric of Gingrich and company and recognize that the attack on universal social programs, like Medicare, school lunch, and student loans, was detrimental to their own welfare. We also knew that this same majority was, to a great extent, susceptible to government bashing and scapegoating because of their growing economic anxiety, but that once we could shift the political terrain and focus directly on issues of economic justice, the right-wing tide could be turned.

So, a year ago, when almost every progressive organization and assaulted constituency was fighting a defensive battle—as they absolutely needed to—we looked beyond the immediate horizon and began to lay out a pro-active campaign to regain the high ground in the long-term. Economic insecurity was the key, of course. It had been the driving force behind Clinton’s victory in 1992, behind the broad support for health care reform, and the massive opposition to NAFTA. In effect the Right has been manipulating the anger and anxiety driven by our issues—the growing economic injustice in America—for their own pro-business agenda. Once the focus could be directed on class-based issues of declining wages and living conditions, then the possibility of

rebuilding a broad-based progressive movement would be greatly advanced. Our role as a socialist organization was to be one step ahead in pointing out the tactical and programmatic direction for the progressive movement as a whole.

Obviously, DSA does not, at this time, have the credibility or the capacity to affect public opinion at the national level. Certainly, we cannot influence the majority of Americans on any major political issue of the day. But, we can influence the opinions and actions of progressives. And, this is exactly what we have done with our economic insecurity project. Our public hearings—particularly

We need to do all we can to make sure the 1996 elections are defined by class-based issues.

the impressive one held in Boston in January—demonstrated that a serious coalition could be brought together around issues of economic insecurity; that Democratic elected officials could be convinced to speak about this issues; and that there was immediate legislation—such as raising the minimum wage and cutting corporate welfare—that could gain broad support. It’s no accident that shortly after the Boston hearing both the Congressional Progressive Caucus announced that it would hold monthly hearings and the AFL-CIO de-

cidated to put on thirty town hall meetings in the Spring on the theme, “America Needs a Raise.” Moreover, DSA has been instrumental in bringing together an economic insecurity working group in Washington with the Progressive Caucus and such organizations as NOW and the Coalition on Human Needs (a national coalition of social service and advocacy groups).

Today, you can’t pick up a newspaper or turn the TV dial without hearing some report about economic insecurity. The terrain is now increasing favorable for a progressive advance. The shift of the political spectrum to the right has been halted. The program of the reactionary Republicans has been stalled. The anti-government mood of a year ago is now challenged by a growing anti-corporate sentiment, even in the Republican primaries. President Clinton has clearly benefited from this changed political situation although he did little to bring it about. The growing support that Clinton has today is a popular reaction to the excesses of the right wing. It is more and more likely that this popular reaction will spill over into the congressional elections. The Republican majority in the House can be brought down. Some even believe that turning the Senate around is a possibility. However, this optimistic scenario can only unfold if economic insecurity is its driving force. We need to do all we can to make sure that the 1996 elections are defined by these class-based issues. And then, we need to be prepared with a progressive program to take into the next Congress—a program that can both begin to reverse the economic decline of the vast majority of Americans and can be the basis for rebuilding a dynamic progressive movement for the 21st century.

Janie Higgins Reports

—as told to Steve Max



REPUBLICANS BASHING BIG BUSINESS

"Fiery populists who savage Wall Street and Washington alike." That's How *Business Week* put it. Said the Associated Press, "...the Street has been portrayed as an isolated boom town..." The AP even attributed a 65-point market drop to jitters over Republican anti-corporate statements. Don't expect to see CEOs leaving for Canada just yet. As the 1920's German industrialists learned, right-wingers and would-be fascists have as much need for cash as anyone, and are quickly brought (or bought) into line. The President, meanwhile, continues not to get it. As the results of free market ideology grow apparent here and abroad, anti-corporate politics, unthinkable a few years ago, now make sense to millions of people. Says *Business Week*, "A pin-striped Clinton tries to keep Wall Street happy while Republicans pull on overalls."

WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY?

The corporate community is frantic with fears that Republicans, particularly Buchanan, will provoke support for import restrictions. Warning that economic anxiety could encourage unionism and regulation, *Business Week* calls for a "new social contract," a long-standing DSA idea. *Business Week's* version is pathetic by our standards, but the basic point is right—when corporations increase profits by 38% and refuse to share it, there will be a reaction. As corporations scramble to improve their image and calm the situation, between now and the election the climate may be better for highly visible union drives and workplace initiatives.

RUSSIAN WORKERS PAID WITH BRAS

Cash-strapped Russian managers are meeting payroll with whatever goods they can barter.

The AP Moscow Bureau reports that workers at one plant received Chinese bras instead of paychecks. Other workers are getting vodka, candy, cement, and women's coats. To guarantee continuation of the very free market measures that led to this state of affairs in the first place, the International Monetary Fund has agreed to loan Russia over \$10 billion. The IMF denies that this is to aid Yeltsin's reelection, but \$4 billion will arrive in the next crucial year. According to *The New York Times*, the monthly payments are pegged to a strict schedule of free market reforms including some that will raise consumer costs 10% to 15% by eliminating "artificially low energy prices." Maybe there is a way to make everyone happy. Why don't the Russians export their artificially low energy prices to the United States?

GREENSPAN STAYS ON: EXPECT LOW GROWTH & UNEMPLOYMENT

No longer can President Clinton say he is saddled with a Reagan holdover as head of the Federal Reserve Board. He has now reappointed Alan Greenspan to a fourth year term. After the Senate shot down the more independent Felix Rohatyn for the Fed's number two spot, both of Clinton's other appointees are expected to follow the Greenspan policy of lowering economic growth whenever the pace of employment picks up. Many DSA members have argued that both the public and politicians pay too little attention to the Fed, which as the *Times* puts it, "has more to say about the health of the economy than any other institution." Claiming that rising wages will push up prices, Greenspan blocks full employment in the name of fighting inflation. His policy dooms millions to lives of poverty and welfare. Noted the *Times*, "Mr. Clinton said he thought his appointment would foster the kind of debate he would like to see." Why didn't he foster the debate before making his appointment?

AT&T CHIEF IN THE MONEY

Provided that his restructuring plan pleases Wall Street, American Telephone & Telegraph Chairman, Robert Allen, stands to make nearly \$10 million from recently awarded stock options. An AT&T spokesperson told the Associated Press, "This is not a board deciding to reward Mr. Allen for laying off 40,000 people. We all understand that force reductions are very painful." Painful? Take \$10 million with a glass of water, and go straight to bed.