

DEMOCRATIC

EFT

the magazine of the
**Democratic
Socialists
of America**

www.dsausa.org



Vol. XL, No. 2

Fall 2012

LABOR DAY IS



HUCK/KONOPACKI LABOR CARTOONS
WWW.SOLIDARITY.COM/HKCARTOONS - AUG

UNION MADE IN U.S.A.

The LABOR Issue

**Can the Unions
Survive?**

**Can the Left Have
a Voice?**

By Nelson Lichtenstein
page 3

**Triple Jeopardy:
Women Lose Public
Sector Services, Jobs,
and Union Rights**

By Mimi Abramovitz
page 5

**We Can Do Better:
Organizing for
Single-Payer in the
Age of ACA**

By Michael Lighty
page 6

Labor in Its Labyrinth

by Chris Maisano

After the failed campaign to recall Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker, the journals, websites, and blogs of the labor Left were filled with wailing and gnashing of teeth, and not a little interecine sniping. Radical critics of the labor movement berated it for morphing from a social movement into a special interest group. In high dudgeon, their more pragmatic brethren denounced them as “anti-labor Leftists,” the useful idiots of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Right To Work Committee.

I was temperamentally predisposed to side with the radical critics. I shared their deep sense of despair over the latest gut punch to the fortunes of the working class. But something about the debate put me off. It generated plenty of heat, but precious little light. So I decided to take a step back from the immediate situation and crack open my long-neglected copy of *The New Men of Power*, a prescient book about labor leaders that C. Wright Mills wrote in the late 1940s.

As one might expect from a book published seven decades ago, there’s much there that’s of little more than historical interest. The central thesis of the work – that a postwar slump might compel U.S. labor leaders to join forces with radical intellectuals to fundamentally reshape our political economy – was quickly dashed. Still, Mills offered a number of crucial insights that we would do well to remember in these difficult times.

Two stand out as particularly relevant today. First, the de-radicalization and complacency of many labor leaders is a direct consequence of the failure of Left political movements in the U.S. Without a layer of radical activists causing trouble both inside and outside the unions, the “labor leader’s transit from ideas to politics” – in the most narrow sense of the term – is assured.

Second, the tens of millions of workers outside the labor movement remain very much up for grabs politically. But they will be won to the cause of labor only if the movement “shows its strength in vigorous, adequate action, publicly attached to issues of wider community importance,” not just immediate struggles over wages or the defense of collective bargaining.

In recent years, the unions have spent billions of dollars in members’ dues money on electioneering, the bulk of it for politicians who are happy to pocket labor’s money with one hand and slap it in the face with the other. Diverting even a fraction of those sums to a permanent campaign for universal health care, to radical political education for members and non-members alike, and to independent political activity beyond supporting Democratic candidates would be an excellent place to start.

Until that happens, the labor movement will remain trapped in its labyrinth: far removed from the heroic victories of its youth, stuck in its regional and sectoral strongholds, unable to broaden its base or protect its current members from the anti-labor offensive. It’s up to us to help it find its way out of the maze. ♦

Chris Maisano is co-editor of Democratic Left and the chair of the New York City local of Democratic Socialists of America.



Chris Maisano

Democratic Left
(ISSN 1643207) is published quarterly at 75 Maiden Lane, Suite 505, New York, NY 10038. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY (Publication No. 701-960). Subscriptions: \$10 regular, \$15 institutional. Postmaster: Send address changes to 75 Maiden Lane, Suite 505, New York, NY 10038. Democratic Left is published by the Democratic Socialists of America, 75 Maiden Lane, Suite 505, New York, NY 10038. (212) 727-8610. Signed articles express the opinions of the authors and not necessarily those of the organization.

Editorial Committee:
Chris Maisano, Michael Baker, Duane Campbell, Jeffrey Gold, Michael Hirsch, Barbara Joye, Frank Llewellyn, Mark Schaeffer, Jason Schulman, Joe Schwartz, John Strauss, Corey Walker, Simone Morgen, Maria Svart.
Production: Barbara Segal

Founding Editor
Michael Harrington (1928-1989)

Democratic Socialists of America share a vision of a humane international social order based on equitable distribution of resources, meaningful work, a healthy environment, sustainable growth, gender and racial equality, and non-oppressive relationships. Equality, solidarity, and democracy can only be achieved through international political and social cooperation aimed at ensuring that economic institutions benefit all people. We are dedicated to building truly international social movements – of unionists, environmentalists, feminists, and people of color – which together can elevate global justice over brutalizing global competition.

DSA NATIONAL OFFICE
75 Maiden Lane, Suite 505, New York, NY 10038 212-727-8610
www.dsausa.org

Contents

Labor in Its Labyrinth2

Can the Unions Survive? Can the Left Have a Voice?3

Triple Jeopardy: Women Lose Public Sector Services, Jobs, and Union Rights.....5

We Can Do Better: Organizing for Single-Payer in the Age of ACA6

Bread and Roses - or Dust and Ashes? 10

Gripes of Wrath 11

“Democracy Endangered: DSA’s Strategy for the 2012 Elections and Beyond” The National Political Committee of Democratic Socialists of America 14

Can the Unions Survive? Can the Left Have a Voice?

By Nelson Lichtenstein

President Obama will win this November. Despite levels of unemployment and anemic economic growth that would normally doom an incumbent, America's first African-American president is going to occupy the White House for another four years. And he will do so not because he fulfilled his most resonant campaign promise of 2008 – to end partisan gridlock and red/blue antagonism – but because that very polarization now works just enough in Obama's favor to keep him in office. Given the radicalism of the Republican Right, the intense political divisions have generated an electorate that is largely frozen in place, but with enough on the Obama side to enable the president to squeak home.

None of this offers the Left much to cheer about. Obamacare will finally get a chance to demonstrate its fiscal and medical effectiveness and the vision it offers of a more humane society. But the reality of this election season is that American conservatism remains on the offensive and that even in the aftermath of an Obama victory, there seems little space, ideologically or organizationally, for the Left and labor to offer the kind of visions that once seemed on our agenda. Putting them there is the prime task of radicals and socialists, especially in the aftermath of the election. We will not have quite the opportunity of four years ago, but we will have a chance once again.

The unions spent at least \$300 million to elect President Obama, and in states like Ohio and Pennsylvania their ground-level mobilization of members and friends played a decisive role in these swing state victories. The grand logic of a progressive renaissance was this: enact a health care law, which would make bargaining easier, and then push through the Employee Free Choice Act, which would enable unions to capitalize upon the somewhat more benign organizing climate created when thousands of employers in the service and retail sectors found that the federal government, through its expansion of Medicaid and through subsidies to low-wage workers, had relieved them of a substantial proportion of their labor costs.

But this scenario collapsed with stunning rapidity, and with a familiarity that has become all too depressing. For half a century, labor has gotten an opportunity to reform the labor law and strengthen its own institutional power about once every dozen years or so, during those all too rare electoral moments when the Democrats controlled both houses of Congress and the presidency. Whatever the details, a certain political logic seems to have become embedded: during those brief windows of liberal legislative opportunity, organized la-

bor often plays a key role in electing Democrats and in advancing social democratic reforms, such as financial regulation, a more progressive tax regime, and health care innovations, including Obamacare, that nudge the polity in a social democratic direction. But on the federal level labor has repeatedly failed to win any legislation that strengthens organized labor's institutional capacity for growth or for the exercise of what economic and political leverage it still commands.

Politically, all this leaves labor exceedingly vulnerable, which became manifest immediately following the 2010 Republican electoral sweep. Why did so many Republican governors and legislators, in once solidly labor states like Ohio, New Jersey, Michigan, Indiana, and Wisconsin, seek new legislation that would cripple public sector unions and marginalize labor's remaining political clout? The proximate cause was the fiscal crisis that has gripped most states in recent years. But their decision to attack the entire institution of public sector collective bargaining arose from a peculiar configuration of union weakness that offered opportunistic politicians, including some Democrats, a target they could not resist.

At first blush, labor's weakness looks like strength. Public sector workers now compose more than half of all unionized workers in the United States. Their union density stands at some 37 percent nationwide, but in states with public sector collective bargaining laws, it rises to well above 60 percent. But this relative success among public sector workers in Northern and Western states has been accompanied by an absolute collapse of private sector unionism and, perhaps even more important, the equally dramatic disintegration of the private sector social safety net that non-union workers could once rely upon.

Right-wing populists want public employees to become just as miserable and insecure as the rest of the working population. As Wisconsin governor Scott Walker argued during the battle in Madison, "My brother is a banquet waiter and occasional bartender at a hotel. He pays nearly \$800 a month for his family's health insurance and can put away only a little bit toward his 401(k). He would love the plan I'm offering to public employees." The point, concluded Walker, is that "we



Nelson Lichtenstein

Continued on page 4

can no longer live in a society where the public employees are the haves and taxpayers who foot the bills are the have-nots.” Walker’s victory in the June recall had many sources, but his capacity to mobilize this sort of populist resentment was undoubtedly decisive.

One reason that such sentiments have gained traction arises out of the dramatic decline of private sector unionism and the distortion it has generated in the political landscape. As a result, the American labor movement is now, in terms of both sheer numbers and social dynamism, one of public sector workers. But public employees are different. Union or not, they have more education, are more engaged in civic life, and already vote at levels well above their private sector counterparts. When these workers are unionized the probability that they will vote increases by less than 2.5 percent. They are a Democratic Party constituency, but unionism per se has had relatively little to do with it. However, for private sector workers the unionization dividend is almost three times larger. These workers become far more politically engaged when represented by a union, after which they are also more likely to vote Democratic. And then when they are represented by a powerful national trade union, the bottom half of the working class has a voice that can be heard in Congress.

The collapse of private sector unionism may well have had as great an impact on the Republican Party as on the Democrats. Liberal Republicanism arose in the late Depression years, when GOP politicians realized that trade unionism had become a potent fact of political life. These were the “sophisticated conservatives,” as C. Wright Mills defined them, who wanted the union impulse confined to the realm of apolitical collective bargaining. Thus the auto executive – and moderate Republican – George Romney declared Walter Reuther “the most dangerous man in Detroit” because, unlike the original Jimmy Hoffa or other business unionists with whom the elder Romney bargained, the UAW sought not just better contracts, but also an influential political role for labor’s millions. So the liberal Republicans are dead, not just because of the culture wars, but because there are so few union workers to whom they feel constrained to appeal.

The rightward lurch of the Republicans has also been manifest in the way the libertarian assault on government itself has transformed and hardened their opposition to unionism in the public sector. For decades, the chief conservative critique of public sector unionism arose from fears that the exercise of workers’ strike power would challenge the sovereignty of the state. But in recent years, this charge has been turned on its head. Public sector unions are ostensibly too powerful because they sustain a strong state, not because they subvert it. Indeed, with public sector strikes (like all strikes) virtually non-existent, Tea Party Republicans now claim that these unions are the chief obstacle to the dismantling of what remains of the New Deal state. Indeed, to many conservatives, public sector collective bargaining constitutes a conspiracy against the public,

an institutionalized source of corruption that unnecessarily increases the demand for government services.

The Supreme Court’s Citizens United decision has certainly opened the floodgates for even more Right-wing campaign spending. But more important is door-to-door voter mobilization, and the Court’s ruling makes it possible for labor to directly spend dues income to influence the general public without going through the Democratic Party. Indeed, national Democrats are fearful that labor will spend more on local and state races, which seem even more crucial than national politics when it comes to the specific issues that engage public sector workers.

The national implications are two-fold. First, the 2012 election will resemble that of 2004 far more than that of 2008. The search for and persuasion of undecided voters will be relatively less important to an Obama victory this time around. The mobilization of the Democratic base is crucial, and the trade unions will play a crucial role in those Midwestern states that have become so decisive in recent years. Moreover, Obama will campaign as a social democrat and an economic populist. This election will be about class fairness and the legitimacy of government as regulator of the economy and guarantor of the welfare state.

But a defense of trade unionism will not figure prominently in the Obama appeal, regardless of its mobilizing potential. And from the perspective of the national Democrats, there is a very good reason for this. More than half of all union members in the nation are concentrated in just seven states. But there are also crucial states in which unionists are few and the political culture rabidly anti-union. In Virginia, North Carolina, Arizona and Florida, where Obama and the Democrats hope to lock down a national victory, union density rises no higher than seven and a half percent. Here, unionism is an alien concept with virtually no public advocates, even in the Democratic Party. Labor and the Democrats will undoubtedly mobilize thousands of staffers and pour millions of dollars into these swing states, but unionism itself will not receive legitimization.

The Left needs its own voice! I was not a fan of the Occupy movement. Despite its somewhat successful effort to return the stark inequalities in American society to the policy agenda, the Occupiers remained ideologically incoherent and programmatically vacuous. But whatever the shortcomings, a huge swath of liberal opinion greeted the Occupy impulse with the same sort of gratitude found in those desert travelers who finally reach fresh water. The unions did everything they reasonably could to keep Occupy going, but there is a huge vacuum that an activist Left can fill. The time for such a mobilization will come just as much after the re-election of Barack Obama as before. ♦

With Elizabeth Shermer, Nelson Lichtenstein is the editor of The Right and American Labor: Politics, Ideology, and Imagination (2012). He teaches history at the University of California, Santa Barbara where he also directs the Center for the Study of Work, Labor, and Democracy.

Triple Jeopardy: Women Lose Public Sector Services, Jobs, and Union Rights

By Mimi Abramovitz

The current effort to dismantle the public sector is the latest round in the rancorous debate about the role of so-called “big government” that has shaped public policy since the mid-1970s. Initially targeted at program users, the attack subsequently took aim at public sector employees and union members. Since most scholars and activists focus on one group or another they miss the whole story and the strategy’s wider impact. Lacking the gender lens needed to bring women into view, they also missed that women comprise the majority in each group. Until the 2012 presidential campaign turned women’s reproductive health services into a hot political item, few seemed aware of this decades-long “war on women.”

Origins: Thirty Years of Neo-Liberalism

Since the onset of the economic crisis in the mid 1970s U.S. leaders have pursued a neoliberal agenda designed to redistribute income upwards and downsize the state. Its contours are familiar: tax cuts, retrenchment, privatization, deregulation, devolution, and weaker social movements. Meanwhile, the Right sought a restoration of family values and a color-blind social order. To win public support for these unpopular ideas their advocates resorted to what Naomi Klein called the “shock doctrine”: the creation and/or manipulation of crises to impose policies that people would not otherwise support. Discounting data and evoking the shock doctrine, government foes targeted not just programs for the poor but also popular entitlement programs once regarded as the “third rail” of politics. Unlikely to pass Congress intact, their proposals – which fall heavily on women – will set the agenda for months to come.

Fewer Services

Given that women make up the majority of government service users, employees and union members, the cuts constitute a “war on women.” Many of the programs now on the chopping block address the basic needs of women and their families. Current House budgets propose to cut child care, Head Start, job training, Pell Grants, housing, and more by \$1.2 trillion over the next 10 years. Social Security (57 percent women beneficiaries), Medicare (56 percent), and Medicaid (54 percent) also face the budget axe.

Less spending by Washington translates into reduced federal aid to states and cities. To balance their budgets, the states will spend \$75 billion less in 2012 than in 2011. Those who would set women back have set their sights on women’s reproductive rights. The Guttmacher Institute reports that early in 2012 legislators in 45 states introduced

944 provisions to limit women’s reproductive health and rights including massive cuts to Planned Parenthood.

Fewer services also means more unpaid care work. Employed or not, women are the majority of the nation’s 67 million informal caregivers. They pick up the slack when services disappear. From 1935 to 1970, the services provided by an expanding public sector helped women balance work and family life. Since the mid-1970s, neoliberal budget cuts shifted the costs and responsibility of care work back to women in the home. So does the growing practice of moving the elderly and the disabled from publicly-funded residential centers to home-based care and discharging hospital patients still in need of medical monitoring and nursing services.



Mimi Abramovitz

Fewer Public Sector Jobs for Women

The anti-government strategy also decreased women’s access to public sector jobs. As social movements pressed for an expanded welfare state after World War II, these jobs became an important source of upward mobility for white women and people of color excluded from gainful private sector employment. By January 2011, women comprised 56.8 percent of all government workers: 43 percent of federal, 51.7 percent of state and 61.4 percent of local government employees. Women filled these jobs because society assigned care work to women, their families needed two earners to make ends meet, and social welfare programs benefited from cheap female labor. The public sector also became the single most important employer for blacks, who are 30 percent more likely than other workers to hold public sector jobs. More than 14 percent of all public sector workers are black. In most other sectors, they comprise only 10 percent of the workforce.

The Great Recession and the slow recovery have decimated public sector employment. During the early stages of the recession, men suffered more than 70 percent of total job loss because “male” jobs (construction, manufacturing, etc.) are particularly sensitive to cyclical downturns. The current “recovery,” by contrast, has been tougher on women, who comprise over half of the public workforce. The public sector lost 2.6 percent of its total employment

Continued on page 6

Continued from page 5

from June 2009 to May 2012. Women suffered 61 percent of those job losses (348,000 out of 573,000). They gained only 22.5 percent of 2.5 million net jobs added to the overall economy. In 2010, the poverty rate among women rose to its highest level (14.5 percent) in 17 years.

Loss of Union Rights

Total union membership plummeted from a peak of 35 percent of the civilian labor force in 1954 to just 11.8 percent in 2011 – the lowest percentage of union workers since the Great Depression. Private-sector unionization dropped to 6.9 percent. Despite the loss of thousands of government jobs, public unions withstood the onslaught, maintaining an average membership rate of more than 37 percent. It helped that the majority of public sector work cannot be outsourced or automated.

Seeking to weaken the remaining unions, foes of labor and government turned against the public sector – labor’s last stronghold. Some governors demonized government workers as the new privileged elite to convince the public that collective bargaining, not tax cuts, is the enemy of balanced budgets. When governors strip teachers and nurses of their collective bargaining rights but spare police and firefighters, they hit women especially hard: 61 percent of unionized women but only 38 percent of unionized men work in the public sector. The loss of union protection sets women back economically. Unionized women of all races in both public and private jobs earn nearly one-third more per week than non-union women, although white women earn more than women of color. Trade union women face a smaller gender wage gap and are more likely to have employer-provided health insurance and pension plans than their non-union sisters.

Loss of a Strong Advocate

Public sector unions historically pressed for high-quality services, dependable benefits, and fair procedures for themselves and for others. In the 1920s, the teachers’ unions stood up for greater school funding and smaller class sizes. In the 1960s, unionized social workers fought for fair hearings and due process for welfare recipients. In the 1980s and 1990s, home care workers sought more sustained care for their clients. The loss of union power will cost public sector program users, workers, and union members a strong advocate. Unions remain one of the few institutions with the capacity to represent the middle and working classes and check corporate power inside and outside government.

The attack on the public sector places women in triple jeopardy. As the majority of public sector program users, workers, and union members, they face fewer services (and more care work), fewer jobs, and less union protection. In state after state, thousands of government workers and community supporters have stood up to say that they will not take the assault on their well being, dignity, and rights lying down. Occupy Wall Street’s championship of the 99 percent has made mounting inequality and the need for a more robust public sector front page news for the first time in many years. As the National Economic & Social Rights Initiative reminds us, the current agenda amounts to “attacks on public responsibility, the notion of the public good, and the ability of government to secure economic and social rights for all.” ♦

Mimi Abramovitz is the Bertha Capen Reynolds Professor of Social Policy at the Silberman School of Social Work at Hunter College, CUNY. She is also on the faculty of the CUNY Graduate Center and the Murphy Institute for Worker Education and Labor Studies.

We Can Do Better: Organizing for Single-Payer in the Age of ACA

Ironies abound in the wake of the Supreme Court decision to uphold the Affordable Care Act (ACA). Liberal supporters invoke Ted Kennedy’s legacy to celebrate the Heritage Foundation’s alternative to single-payer: an individual mandate to buy health insurance. Conservatives rant about the “betrayal” of Chief Justice John Roberts in writing the majority opinion.

There’s something happening here, but what it is ain’t exactly clear.

Does the ACA represent the enshrinement of health care as a human right? Or does it consolidate the power and profits of the insurance companies in a still-dysfunctional health care

system? Should we laud Chief Justice Roberts’ opinion? Should health care activists avoid state single-payer organizing?

Insights from two events this summer shed light on these questions: the five-year reunion of Michael Moore and patients from his movie “Sicko” at a conference of state single-payer activists,

By Michael Lighty



Michael Lighty

Continued on page 8

CWA LOCAL 1180, a f l - c i o

- ☒ **Arthur Cheliotis**
PRESIDENT
- ☒ **Linda Jenkins**
FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
- ☒ **Georgina Strickland**
SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
- ☒ **Gloria Middleton**
SECRETARY -TREASURER
- ☒ **Gerald Brown**
RECORDING SECRETARY



MEMBERS-AT-LARGE

- ☒ **Lourdes Acevedo**
- ☒ **Charles Garcia**
- ☒ **Denise Gilliam**
- ☒ **Lisa Lloyd**
- ☒ **Debra Paylor**
- ☒ **Suzanne Polite**
- ☒ **Lenora Smith**
- ☒ **Bernadette Sullivan**
- ☒ **Hazel O. Worley**

TUNE IN TO "THE
COMMUNIQUÉ"
LOCAL 1180'S
OWN RADIO SHOW
FOR DISCUSSIONS ON
CURRENT EVENTS &
ISSUES FROM A
LABOR PERSPECTIVE

Every Wednesday
@1:00 PM
on WNYE 91.5 FM



LOCAL 1180, COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL -CIO
6 Harrison Street ~ New York, NY 10013898
PH. (212)226-6565 FAX (212)966-6831
WEBSITE: www.cwa1180.org

and a “Medicare for All” bus tour in California held during the ACA decision period.

First, though, we need to understand that Chief Justice Roberts wrote a profoundly pro-corporate opinion. He relied upon anti-New Deal cases to argue for an exceedingly narrow view of the commerce and the necessary and proper clauses of the Constitution that would, in Justice Ginsburg’s view, undermine the ability of Congress to enact social welfare legislation. Instead, he rendered unto the insurance companies, hospitals and pharmaceutical companies who have counted on the ACA for a new lucrative reimbursement and delivery model. He valued his place in history enough not to throw out the law and create at least temporary “chaos” in the increasingly corporate health care industry. And he handed the GOP a talking point to use against the President: “Hey, it’s not just liberals, but Congress itself that is just about tax and spend, and the ACA is a middle-class tax increase.”

Of course, the basic problem with the ACA is that it is not truly universal. About 27 million people nationally would still be uninsured, even if every state expands Medicaid to all individual adults up to 133 percent of the federal poverty level. If not, then even very low-income individuals will be expected to buy insurance at unregulated rates on the new state-level insurance exchanges beginning in 2014, with tax-funded subsidies to limit the individual’s share of premium costs and co-pays.

Given the federal budget deficit, and the continuing rise in insurance costs, combined with no limit on the premium rates, these subsidies may be inadequate to actually make insurance “affordable.” The law seeks to limit what individuals pay as a percentage of their income for premiums and co-pays, but families could still face thousands of dollars in out-of-pocket costs every year. The ACA also seeks to limit insurance companies to spending no more than 20 percent of the premium dollar on non-medical costs. But similar regulations have not held down rates in states where they have already been applied. It’s also rife with loopholes. For example, marketing tools disguised as “wellness programs” could be counted as a medical expense.

Within the exchanges, you will literally get the health care you can afford. The plans offered will have different levels of benefits (bronze, silver, gold and platinum) based on premium cost and will cover from 60-90 percent of your expected benefit costs (not necessarily the cost of the health care you need, just what is “covered”). It’s possible that the minimum benefits established under the ACA will become the new standard for employer-provided insurance. It’s also possible that many employers will drop their health plans entirely, pay a fee that is much less than their current insurance costs, and compel their workers to buy insurance in the exchanges. Since Taft-Hartley trust funds provided by unions are excluded from the exchanges, there exists real concern among unions that they will be severely disadvantaged by the new rules.

Because people are better off with insurance than without, and because the ACA helps people who could not otherwise get insurance from their employer, or because they are uninsurable under current insurance company practices, many of the ACA’s insurance market reforms should be welcomed. It requires insurers to provide coverage to children on their parents’ policies until age 26. It prohibits lifetime and annual coverage maximums. It eliminates discrimination against people with pre-existing conditions. It uses modified community-rating (charging people the same premium without regard to health condition). And it institutes modest changes to policies governing claims denial and policy cancellation.

There are other positive aspects to the ACA. It also provides new monies for community clinics, keeps afloat many of the remaining public hospitals in the U.S., and increases funding for some aspects of nursing education. But the changes the ACA promotes in the delivery system are primarily focused on cost efficiency, not improving the quality of care.

The biggest of these changes is to incentivize hospitals, insurance companies and medical groups of doctors to form Accountable Care Organizations (ACOs). These new networks will share costs and spread risks by receiving payment from employers’ health plans or from individual health plans on a per-person basis rather than being paid for each service a person receives. Participants in the ACO will have their care managed within the network to keep them away from expensive services (hospitals, especially ERs and intensive care units). Although seemingly in the interest of the patient, it’s clear that this approach relies upon changes in access to save money.

By contrast, a single-payer, Medicare for all system would put everyone into one risk pool, rather than into multi-tiered plans and different insurance companies. It would rely upon full public financing rather than using subsidies for purchasing for-profit private insurance. And it would institute global budgets for hospitals and bulk purchasing of prescription drugs, measures prohibited by the ACA.

The ACA will try to drive costs down through corporate consolidation into ACO’s and pressure on doctors and nurses to limit procedures to standardized protocols and evidence-based treatments, shorten length of stays in hospitals, and compel patients to receive care only within these networks. Some see the ACOs as leading to a return of the “morbidity bonuses” associated with HMOs.

For all the talk of historic reform, the ACA encourages the consolidation of the medical-industrial complex. It continues the neoliberal trend of privatizing the profits and socializing the risks. In this case, the risks and costs shifted are to government and to individuals.

But let’s take President Obama and his allies in the health care reform establishment at their word: health care is a human right. And let’s celebrate that the Right got slapped down by one of their own on the Supreme Court. Although many single-payer activists wished for the ACA to be overturned, the bus tour done by the California Nurses Association/National Nurses United (my union) on its Nurses



Nurses Campaign to **Heal America**

MAKE THE BANKS PAY

Robin Hood Tax

A tiny sales tax of one-half of 1% or less on stocks, bonds, currency bets and derivatives can raise hundreds of billions per year to fund living wage jobs, retirement security, quality public education and guaranteed healthcare.

MEDICARE FOR ALL

Improve it!

We're not insurance industry consumers, we are people who need guaranteed healthcare: Complete choice of providers, no co-pays, deductibles, or private insurance profits.

**It's Not
A Tax
On The
People**

**It's a
Tax For
The
People**

**JOIN
US!**



www.NursesHealAmerica.org

Campaign to Heal America reveals that we can use this moment to show both the flaws of the ACA and the power of an alternative that says we can do better.

We differ with those who insist that we must uncritically support the ACA lest our criticism undermine the position of President Obama. We can insist that the country wants everyone to have health care, but that insurance coverage does not equal health care. Over 1,000 people participated in basic health screenings during the CNA/NNU bus tour, and over 2,000 attended town halls, mostly in smaller cities. We found that most people know from their own experience that we must guarantee health care for all.

Improved Medicare for All would socialize the costs and benefits of health care by establishing a single standard of quality care, replacing premiums and co-pays with progressive public financing, and ending cost-shifting for private profit. This would also end collective bargaining fights over health care takeaways, enable wages to grow, and control costs without restricting access.

The stars of “Sicko” came together in Philadelphia this summer and agreed that the ACA would not have changed their circumstances. Dawnelle Keyes’ young child would have died due to delayed care because the hospital where they went was not in network. Donna and Larry Smith would have gone bankrupt because they did so when they

had insurance. Tracey Pierce would still be denied treatment because it was experimental. Michael Moore still has thousands of patient stories from the insured who need guaranteed health care, not simply insurance.

Activists from 22 states are working to win single-payer. Vermont is already on its way. Hawaii sees its employer-based system eroding and has established a commission to move to single-payer instead of relying on the individual insurance market of the ACA. Pennsylvania has a former GOP state legislator as its co-chair of the single-payer coalition. These efforts address the concern over how now to build a national movement by organizing in many states, with California playing a leading role. Bills introduced in the House and Senate by Rep. Jim McDermott (D-WA) and Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-VT), respectively, would administer improved Medicare for all via the states, using federalism for progressive ends to bypass policy gridlock at the national level.

Let’s all re-dedicate ourselves to eradicating the injustice of health care inequality, eliminating the rapacious insurance companies, and enabling all of us to get the health care we need. ♦

Michael Lighty is a former National Director of DSA, and has been organizing for single-payer since 1991. He is currently director of public policy for California Nurses Association/National Nurses United.

Bread and Roses – or Dust and Ashes?

By Maurice Isserman

John Nichols, Uprising: How Wisconsin Renewed the Politics of Protest, From Madison to Wall Street. Nation Books, 2012. \$15.99 paperback.

When I first began reading the work of contemporary labor historians, back in the 1960s and 1970s, the history of the labor movement in the United States tended to follow an upbeat, “bread-and-roses” story line. To be sure, there were martyrs, defeats, and betrayals aplenty along the way, from the great railroad strike of 1877 to the Memorial Day massacre of 1937, but there was also a sense of solid and permanent achievement in the end – i.e. the millions of workers in American industry who gained the right to collective bargaining during the New Deal and continued to enjoy the benefits associated with union membership in the quarter century following World War II. Irving Bernstein’s classic two-volume history of labor in the 1920s and the 1930s, published between 1960 and 1969, summed up the basic story in its successive titles – *The Lean Years* (of the 1920s) followed by *The Turbulent Years* (of the 1930s). That repression bred revolt; hardship bred militancy; and militant revolt paved the way to social progress could be taken as a historical given.

And then something changed. The most compelling works of labor history being published these days tend to offer stories of lean years followed by even leaner years. Consider Cornell historian Jefferson Cowie’s 2010 book *Stayin’ Alive: The 1970s and the Last Days of the Working Class*. In a bleak and masterful survey of the fate of the labor movement in the beginning of an age of austerity and inequality, Cowie concluded



that in the course of a single decade, “One of the great constructs of the modern age, the unified notion of a ‘working class’ crumbled... It was a conceptual unity that could briefly but imperfectly be identifiable as a unified voting block from the New Deal to the 1970s. It ultimately died of the many external assaults upon it... but mostly of its own internal weaknesses.” Farewell bread and roses; hello dust and ashes.

Then again, as the plucky plague victim in Monty Python’s Holy Grail insists, “I’m not dead yet.” John Nichols,

Washington correspondent for *The Nation* magazine and associate editor of the Madison, Wisconsin *Capital Times*, argues that recent epitaphs for the labor movement may prove premature. He opens *Uprising*, his new book about the 2011 battle over Republican governor Scott Walker's attempt to cut benefits and strip Wisconsin public unions of collective bargaining rights, with an account of a rally on a cold February night in the state capital, where to Nichols it seemed:

as if something was starting again, something as old as the Wobblies and the Flint sit-down strikers of 1937, something as deep and fundamental as the cry of "solidarity forever" and the promise that "an injury to one is an injury to all," something as meaningful as the moment when the Reverend Martin Luther King linked the civil rights movement and the labor movement on the streets of Memphis in 1968.

What follows is a rousing if somewhat disorganized overview of the Wisconsin struggle: the daily mass rallies of teachers, firefighters, students, farmers and other union supporters; the flight of Democratic legislators across state lines to deny Republicans the quorum necessary to pass Walker's bills; the famous prankster phone call in which Walker, believing he was speaking to billionaire David Koch, mused about the pros and cons of employing violent agent provocateurs to discredit union opponents; the Fox News report purporting to show violent union thugs in action in Madison (with palm trees in the background suggesting the film footage lacked a certain authenticity); and much more.

Nichols, a fifth generation native Wisconsinite, is proud of his state's reform-minded heritage, and notes the shrewd use that the anti-Walker movement made of the memory and legacy of "Fighting Bob" La Follette, Sr., who served as the state's governor and U.S. Senator in

the progressive era and ran for president on a liberal/labor third party ticket in 1924. He also highlights young supporters of the movement, spurred to activism by family ties to labor, including the "library sciences grad student [who] looked the picture of urban cool, except perhaps for the decades-old factory ID badge bearing the image of a young man." The picture was of her grandfather, a factory worker and proud union member. "[W]hen Walker attacked the unions," she told Nichols, "he reminded us where we came from. We're the children and grandchildren of union workers and farmers and shopkeepers. That goes deeper, way deeper, than politics. This legislation is an affront to my whole family history."

Journalism, as the saying goes, is the first rough draft of history. And Nichols' rough draft version in *Uprising* is a good starting place for understanding the Wisconsin conflict. In the next draft, whether written by journalist, participant, or historian, I'd like to learn more about the actual mechanics of the anti-Walker movement – leaders, strategy, coalition-building, organization, etc. And, of course – a question Nichols couldn't answer because his book came out before the outcome was known – why Governor Walker survived the recall election in June 2012, a crushing disappointment to the hundreds of thousands of Wisconsinites who committed themselves in 2011 to remove him from office. Walker's six-to-one spending advantage in the recall campaign is certainly part of the reason for his triumph. But obviously there were also all too many Wisconsin voters immune to appeals to working class solidarity and heritage.

Bread and roses, or dust and ashes? As of this crucial election year's Labor Day, it's too soon to tell. ♦

Maurice Isserman teaches American history at Hamilton College and is the author of, among other books, The Other American: The Life of Michael Harrington.

The Gripes of Wrath

Trampling Out the Vintage: Cesar Chavez and the Two Souls of the United Farm Workers

by Frank Bardacke

Verso: 2011, 848pp, \$54.94

Frank Bardacke's book offers the views of a well-informed observer who worked with and among the farm workers of California's Salinas Valley for 25 years. He makes the case that the workers themselves – not Cesar Chavez – built the union through rank-and-file solidarity and direct action. Bardacke is among a brace of writers who have tried to puncture the "Chavez myth" about the farm workers' movement. Their contributions have been valuable, but they underestimate the valuable contributions of Chavez, Dolores Huerta and other UFW leaders in building Chicano/

Latino political consciousness in the U.S.

In the 1960s, Chavez became the pre-eminent civil rights leader for Mexican and Chicano workers, helping with local union struggles throughout the nation. He worked tirelessly to make people aware of the struggles of farm workers for better pay and safer working conditions. In 1962, he made the decision to organize the mostly Chicano workforce in and around Delano, a grape growing



By Duane E. Campbell

Continued on page 12

region in California's Central Valley. Based upon his prior work with Community Services Organization (CSO) and his training in the Saul Alinsky tradition, Chavez decided to organize entire communities into a broadly-based organization. This required, for example, organizing women as family members and as workers. Most of the workers' families had settled in the area, providing a base for a permanent organization. The decision to focus on Delano and its semi-permanent grape workers was also a strategic choice to not focus on recently-arrived Mexican workers, a decision that Bardacke singles out for criticism.

Bardacke also criticizes the UFW for failing to encourage a greater degree of rank-and-file participation and democratic accountability for the leadership. He provides details of authoritarian control by Chavez of the union's executive board, claims which are supported by other books on the UFW. A main focus of the book is the 1977-1981 period, when the leadership purged a number of rank-and-file militants and staffers who had fallen into disfavor. While Chavez portrayed these moves as necessary for the health of the union, the dismissals were for lack of loyalty to Chavez and his status as the final arbiter of all issues in the union.

In my view, Bardacke under-analyzes the interaction of racial and economic oppression in the fields of California and in the U.S. While he makes some brief references to a role of Chicano nationalism within the UFW, these are not analyzed in depth. Specific incidents of police and political repression are treated as abuses of power rather than a racially-constructed system of oppression. After all, the previous attempts to organize farm workers were broken with violence along racial lines.

The role of racism and the individual reactions to systemic racial oppression is complex, and it drove a wedge between Chicanos (Mexican-Americans born in the U.S.) and Mexican immigrants. In his book *Why David Sometimes Wins*, Marshall Ganz does a better job than does Bardacke in describing some of the racial fault lines in farm worker organizing. Ganz also argues that Chavez undermined the organizational strength of the UFW in an effort to keep personal control of the union.

Did the UFW decline? Yes. Did farm workers lose the substantial gains in wages and working conditions they had won in the 1970's? Absolutely. How do unions build a movement when undocumented workers can replace strikers? This issue has continued to divide and defeat unions in the U.S.

We know that social movements emerge, grow, and then are institutionalized – or they decline. While few unions have been able to create a truly democratic organizational culture, few social movements have been able to maintain their momentum for more than a decade and they usually leave behind little of institutional power except small advocacy groups. How do we build

an activist, democratic union at both the local and national levels? How do we build a union that contributes to the liberation of a people? How do we build a union that educates its members on the politics of their own struggle and develops and promotes its members to become leaders?

Bardacke and other Left critics of the UFW experience argue that the destruction of the union was a result of the personal control of Chavez and his allies and their failure to build a democratic organization. Well, Cesar Chavez has now been dead for over 17 years. Why has no democratic union grown up in the fields to continue the effort the UFW started? Why hasn't anyone succeeded in building a union of some of the most exploited workers in the nation, even when California workers and their unions now have an Agricultural Labor Relations Act to work with?

There are numerous other important issues raised in this history including the role of Catholic mysticism in the construction of Chavez's leadership persona, the importance of the Gandhian tradition of non-violence in farmworkers activism, and the problems of working with Gov. Jerry Brown and the Democratic Party.

Not accepting tales of its own demise, last May the UFW celebrated its 50th anniversary at a convention in Bakersfield, California. Over 3,000 farm workers attended. President Arturo Rodriguez announced new contracts with improved wages and benefits in the tomato and lettuce fields. On the final day of the convention, Secretary of Labor Hilda Solis presented the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Dolores Huerta, co-founder of the UFW and a DSA honorary chair. President Barack Obama sent a video message of support. The convention planned its next decade of work. That's pretty good for an organization that Bardacke and others have argued failed.

I recommend Bardacke's book for serious students of the farm worker movement. It should be read in conjunction with other studies of the UFW, including *Why David Sometimes Wins*, Randy Shaw's *Beyond the Fields: Cesar Chavez, the UFW, and the Struggle for Justice in the 21st Century*, and the extensive sources available from the Farm Worker Movement Documentation Project <http://www.farmworkermovement.us/> ♦

Duane Campbell, professor emeritus of bilingual/multicultural education at California State University-Sacramento, worked with the UFW as a volunteer from 1972-1976. His most recent book is Choosing Democracy: A Practical Guide to Multicultural Education (4th Ed., Allyn and Bacon: 2010). He is the chair of Sacramento DSA and chair of the Chicano/Mexican American Digital History Project for the Sacramento region.

This is an edited version of a longer review: <http://talkingunion.wordpress.com/2011/12/27/trampling-out-the-vintage/>

**Members and Officers of the
International Association of Machinists
and Aerospace Workers**

Proudly support the

Democratic Socialists of America

*Keep fighting to bring economic and social
justice to working men and women.*

INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

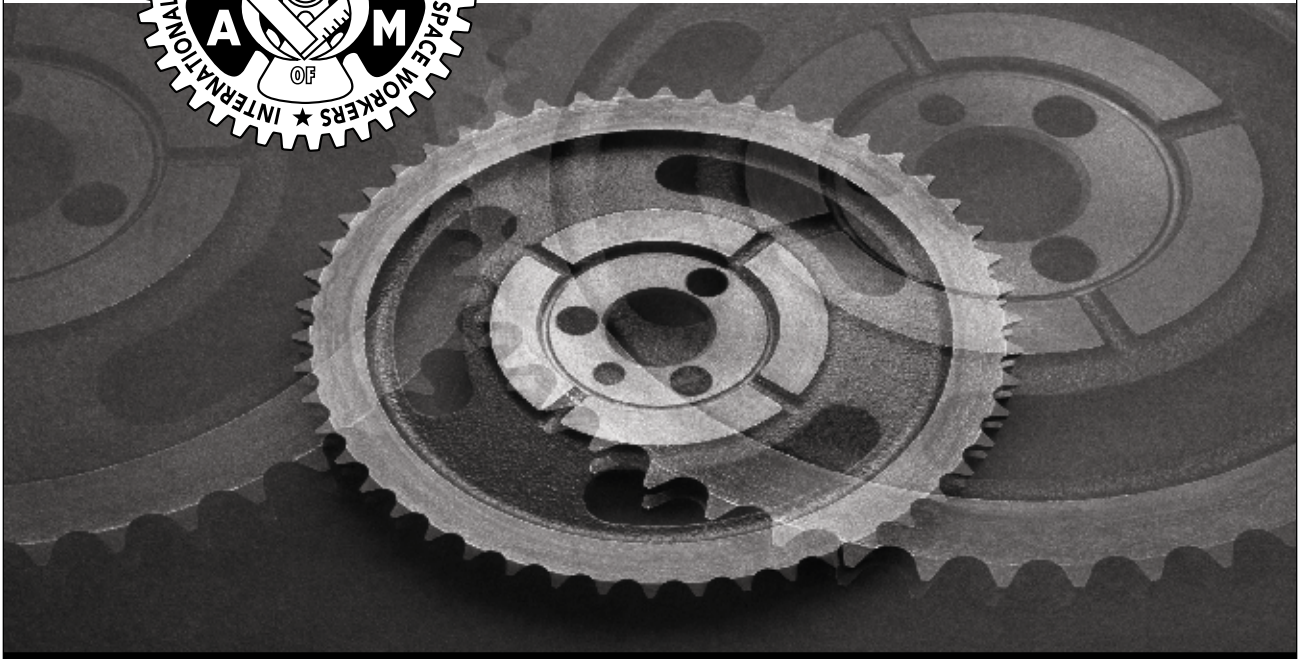
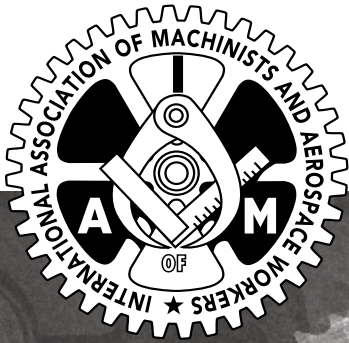
R. Thomas Buffenbarger

GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

Robert Roach, Jr.

GENERAL VICE PRESIDENTS

Dave Ritchie, Lynn D. Tucker, Jr., Robert Martinez, Jr.,
Richard Michalski, Philip J. Gruber, Gary R. Allen,
Sito Pantoja and Mark Blondin.



“Democracy Endangered: DSA’s Strategy for the 2012 Elections and Beyond”

The National Political Committee of Democratic Socialists of America

August 1, 2012

I. The Threat of Right-Wing Hegemony

The 2012 election poses an extreme challenge to the future prospects for democracy in the United States. This threat demands the focused attention of the broad Left – the labor movement, communities of color, feminists, the LGBTQ community, environmentalists and peace activists. The task for the U.S. Left is two-fold. First, we must defeat the far-Right threat to democracy. Second, we need to build a grassroots, organized Left capable of fighting the corporate interests which dominate the leadership of both major political parties.

The Left confronts a Republican Party thoroughly controlled by Right-wing forces that are determined to cement long-term control of the federal government and of the majority of states. Its agenda is to extend the reign of the corporate oligarchy over the whole of American society from top to bottom. The wish list of the 1% includes dismantling not only Social Security and Medicare, but all government programs designed to benefit the large majority of people – the 99%. This reactionary plan intends to repeal not only the New Deal and the Great Society, but also the reforms of the Progressive Era and the post-Watergate legislation of the 1970s. A Romney victory would likely be accompanied by Republican control of the Senate and House, as well as the Supreme Court. Such a governing majority would endeavor to pass the reactionary Ryan budget, deny federal funding for women’s reproductive health, wage a sustained and fundamental attack on the rights of workers and unions, and overturn already weakened federal civil rights laws

A major weapon of the radical Right is an unprecedented flood of money from super-wealthy individuals and corporations into the political arena, buying influence and votes on a massive scale. This intervention has been enabled by a long series of decisions by the Supreme Court, culminating in the Citizens United decision (and the recent Montana case) that essentially encourage buying electoral results through massive negative advertising – itself aimed at suppressing voter turnout – under the guise of “free speech.”

Another Right-wing tactic is to suppress voting by African-Americans, Hispanics, students and poor people generally, under the guise of preventing non-existent “voter fraud.” New forms of photo ID requirements and restrictions on early voting and independent voter registration efforts threaten to remove millions of potential Democratic

voters from the rolls. This is part of a Republican racial strategy to convince swing white voters that their economic distress is caused not by a predatory corporate elite but by alleged government hand-outs to undeserving poor people of color.

A third assault is to further weaken unions, particularly in the public sector, by eliminating collective bargaining and discouraging membership and imposing onerous new restrictions on the use of union dues and agency fee payments in political campaigns. Since unions, especially public sector unions, are a major source of political opposition to Right-wing causes and campaigns, the Right is consciously out to destroy their very existence.

II. The Tepid Democratic Response

How can such a radical restructuring of American politics and policy, one that benefits the plutocracy at the expense of the majority, have a real prospect of success in 2012?

One reason is that the national leadership of the Democratic Party is not a consistent, credible champion for the interests of the majority. The top of the party serves the interests of its corporate funders over the needs of the party’s mass base of trade unionists, people of color, feminists and other progressives. Thus, when the country cried out for a vigorous defense against the ravages created by Wall Street greed, Obama’s economic advisors (largely drawn from Wall Street) extended the Bush administration’s bailout of the banks and financial elite without exacting a return in restored, strict financial regulation. The administration also failed to take effective measures against foreclosures and job losses associated with the crisis. Republicans and conservative Democrats blocked any more far-reaching proposals, like those of Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-VT) and the Congressional Progressive Caucus. Furthermore, in a misguided effort to appear as a “strong” foreign policy leader, the president unnecessarily extended the failed war in Afghanistan and engaged in the indiscriminate use of drone warfare in clear violation of international law.

Rightwing obstructionism and the waffling of the majority of the Democratic Party understandably led to large Republican gains in the Congressional elections of 2010. Thereafter, the Tea Party-influenced House Republican majority curtailed any possibility that the Obama administration would govern in a progressive manner. Newly

Paid for by Democratic Socialists of America PAC, Inc., 75 Maiden Lane, Suite 505, NY, NY 10038; not approved by any candidate or candidate’s committee.

established Republican political control over several Midwestern states turned into sweeping assaults on public sector unions and on the social safety net.

President Obama's on-and-off flirtation with the neo-liberal view that fiscal "austerity" is the road out of the Great Recession may prove to be his downfall in 2012. As federal support for state and local programs faltered in the contrived "debt crisis," most Democratic governors and legislators also followed suit in slashing social programs and public employee benefits. In addition, Obama's openness to "entitlement reform" may deny the Democrats the mantle of being the staunch protectors of Social Security and Medicare. If the Obama administration had fought for – and succeeded in continuing beyond – 2010 federal aid to preserve state and municipal jobs, today's unemployment rate would be seven percent or lower. This is the first recession since the early 1900s in which public sector employment has fallen rather than grown.

III. Rebuild the Left by Defeating the Right

In light of the threat that would be posed to basic democratic rights by Republican control of all three branches of the federal government, most trade union, feminist, LG-BTQ and African- American and Latino organizations will work vigorously to re-elect the president. And in swing states such as Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, Wisconsin and elsewhere, many DSA members may choose to do the same. But DSA recognizes that an Obama victory, unaccompanied by the strengthening of an independent progressive coalition able to challenge the elites of both parties, will be

a purely defensive engagement in lesser-evil politics.

The Left proved too weak to force the first Obama administration to respond to popular needs. The Occupy movement of fall 2011 gave voice to popular frustration with the American plutocracy; but it emerged well after the Republicans had gained control of the House. The Left must now build upon the accomplishments of Occupy. Democratic socialists must work to build a multi-racial coalition of working people, the unemployed, indebted students and the foreclosed that is capable of forcing politicians to govern democratically. The first task of a movement to defend democracy is to work for maximum voter turnout in the 2012 election.

Building such a mass social movement for democracy is DSA's major task; the 2012 elections are only a tactical step on that strategic path. Thus, while working to defeat the far Right, DSA and other progressive forces should work to increase the size of the Congressional Progressive, Black and Latino caucuses and to elect pro-labor candidates to state legislatures. The election this year of Tammy Baldwin (D-WI) and Elizabeth Warren (D-MA), along with the re-election of Sherrod Brown (D-OH) and Bernie Sanders (I-VT), would increase the number of progressive voices in the United States Senate.

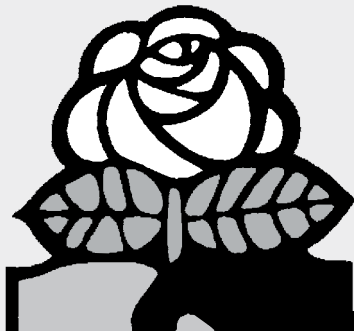
DSA locals should use their work in progressive electoral campaigns to build coalitions opposed to further

Continued on page 16

Paid for by Democratic Socialists of America PAC, Inc., 75 Maiden Lane, Suite 505, NY, NY 10038; not approved by any candidate or candidate's committee.

**TALKING
union**
A PROJECT OF THE DSA LABOR NETWORK

Visit us at
talkingunion.wordpress.com



"DSA's Talking Union is an invaluable forum for lively exchanges about labor politics and organizational strategy. We need more places where there can be informed debate, discussion, and healthy disagreement about the unfinished work of union revival. Talking Union is definitely one of them."

Steve Early - Labor Journalist and Former CWA Organizer

"Labor faces not only an external economic crisis, but an internal crisis on strategy. DSA's Talking Union provides a means for progressive labor activists to think through the framework and steps that are so necessary in order to revitalize the union movement and build a new labor movement."

Bill Fletcher, Jr. - Executive Editor, BlackCommentator.com; Cofounder, Center for Labor Renewal, Coauthor: *Solidarity Divided: The Crisis in Organized Labor and a New Path Toward Social Justice*. (2008) Univ. of California Press

"Talking Union is a great blog for student labor activists to check out what is happening both around the country and connect with their community on worker rights issues. It is an essential read for students interested in learning more about workers' rights and how they can become part of the great movement for workers' rights and economic justice."

Maria Escobar - Former National Coordinator, Student Labor Action Project

Mailing Information

Continued from page 15

slashing of federally-funded anti-poverty programs. Such disastrous shredding of the social safety net will occur if the cuts mandated by the August 2011 “budget compromise” are not reversed before January 1, 2013. These “automatic cuts” in domestic spending could readily be avoided if Congress reversed the Bush and Reagan income tax cuts for the top two percent, returned effective corporate tax rates to the levels of the 1960s and reduced wasteful defense spending. In our educational efforts in favor of progressive economic alternatives, DSA locals should draw on the resources of the DSA Fund’s Grassroots Economics Training for Understanding and Power (GETUP) and The Other America is Our America projects. GETUP offers a comprehensive critique of neoliberal economic thought and policy. The Other America project draws lessons from the 50th anniversaries of the publication of *The Other America* (1962); the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Justice; and the 1964 advent of the War on Poverty.

DSA locals should also work against all forms of voter suppression, whether onerous photo ID requirements, harassment of independent voter registration efforts, or phony purges of voter rolls. DSA members should also take part in the voter registration and turnout efforts by groups like the NAACP, unions and progressive community groups.

DSA locals ought to also join efforts to restrict the role of big money in political campaigns, including local efforts in favor of a constitutional amendment to overturn Citizens United, to permit public campaign funding and to restrict the abuse of “free speech” to buy elections.

This is a year to take the “democratic” part of our democratic socialism very seriously. Whatever our analysis of the numerous imperfections of U.S. democracy, we should be absolutely forthright about championing the rights of the people to make their own political decisions. ♦

Paid for by Democratic Socialists of America PAC, Inc., 75 Maiden Lane, Suite 505, NY, NY 10038; not approved by any candidate or candidate’s committee.

Change the USA! Join the DSA!

Yes, I want to join the Democratic Socialists of America. Enclosed are my dues (includes a subscription to Democratic Left) of:

\$65 Sustainer \$35 Introductory \$20 Low-Income/Student

Yes, I want to renew my membership in DSA. Enclosed are my renewal dues of:

\$65 Sustainer \$45 Regular \$20 Low-Income/Student

Enclosed is an extra contribution of: \$50 \$100 \$25 to help DSA in its work.

Please send me more information about DSA and democratic socialism.

Name: _____ Year of Birth _____

Address _____

City / State / Zip _____

Telephone _____ E-

M a i l _____

Union Affiliation _____ School _____

Bill my credit card: Circle one: MC Visa No. ____/____/____/____

Expiration Date ____/____/____ Signature _____

month year

My special interests are:

- Labor
- Religion
- Youth
- Anti-Racism
- Feminism
- Gay and Lesbian Rights
- International

Return to:

Democratic Socialists of America

75 Maiden Lane, Suite 505
New York, NY 10038
212-727-8610
dsa@dsausa.org
www.dsausa.org