

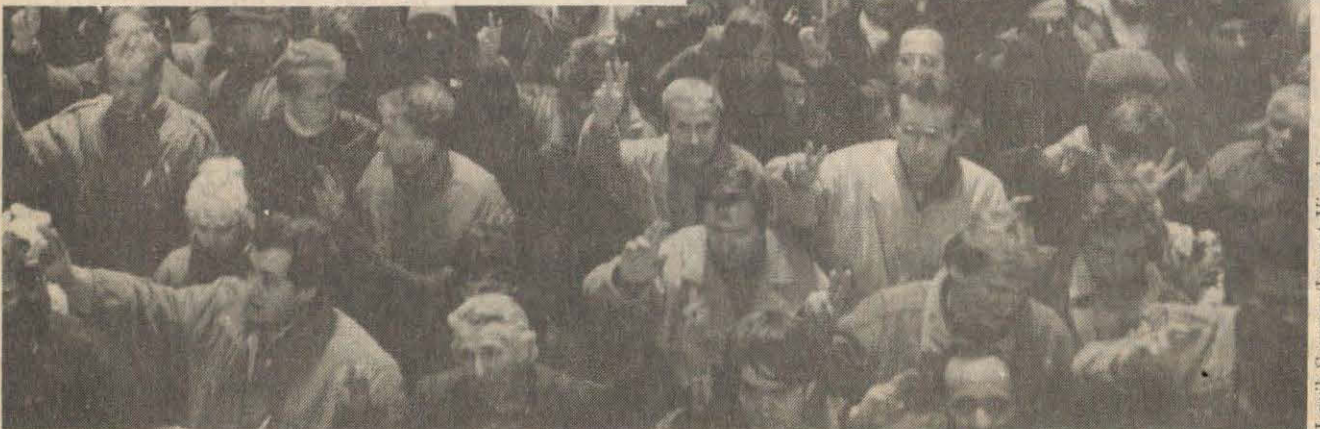
PUBLISHED BY THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS OF AMERICA

DEMOCRATIC Left

January-February, 1990
Vol. XVIII, No. 1
\$1.50



The End of a Decade The Start of a New Political Era



Bastienne Schmidt/Impact Visuals

Henrik Saxgren/Impact Visuals

Plus: Alice Kessler-Harris on Women and Wages • Patrick
Lacefield on El Salvador • Nancy Kleniewski on DSA Convention
Coverage • Hugh Cleland on Coalition Politics in Action

EDITORIAL

A New Decade, A New Era

As what -- to mix up Marx, Hegel, and Twain -- does a gilded age repeat itself? Tinsel Time? The Age of Junk? Whatever the most appropriate sobriquet, the 1980s, as a chronological and maybe even political period, are shuddering to a halt. The most relentlessly materialistic decade in modern memory is over.

If a decade is known by its criminals, it is clear that nothing but money mattered in the 1980s. It was a time devoid of great crimes of passion. Kill for love? Where is the percentage? Spying, too, became entirely a matter of economics, not belief: ideology motivated hardly anyone to break the law. (Well, there was Jonathan Pollard and, come to think of it, Ollie North and his boss -- but that is another story). The crimes of the decade were inside trading, mail fraud, income tax evasion. Indeed, in a dim light, the decade's great crimes and the decade's great success stories were difficult to distinguish.

And in that, the 1980s were not entirely the 1920s, not entirely the Gilded Age Redux. It was a more conflicted decade: the claims of economic necessity and moral superiority which clung to the accumulation of wealth in those earlier times were less compelling this time out. Our latter-day social Darwinist, George Gilder, was not accorded the authority that Herbert Spencer once commanded. Michael Milkin has not reached quite the guru status of Henry Ford (except, perhaps, in *New Perspectives Quarterly*). The new wealth is wealth without divine sanction or social utility. It's great if you got it, but it seems to lack a larger purpose.

In part, the difference is that Henry Ford actually made things, that Herbert Spencer apologized for industrialists. George Gilder has a tougher task; he must apologize for de-industrialists. The market in the 80s generated greater, not less, inequality. It diminished America's stature relative to that of

other nations. That is the crux of the 80s ambivalence: Americans celebrate the market -- anxiously.

Which is where, I think, the left should part company from our comrade Robert Heilbroner. It was more the market as an economic arrangement than capitalism as an ideology which triumphed in the 1980s. The decade began, let us remember, with the market undermining Keynesianism with a newly global economy of transnational corporations and electronic banking subverting the moderately egalitarian postwar social contracts throughout the West. It concluded with the leaders of fossilized Stalinism forced to abandon their rule so that their nations might survive in the newly reintegrated world economy.

But this does not mean that capitalism is the ideal to which both East and West aspire, or even that capitalism is the ideology best suited to advancing the national interest in the new world economy. (The United States gets clobbered on a daily basis by Asian mercantilism on rates of growth, and by European social democracy on every index of human well-being). Capitalism has not won a permanent victory by virtue of the market's going global, no more than it won a permanent victory by virtue of the market's going national in the early part of the century. It has altered the playing field; it has forced the mass left to become as international as the economy. The European Community's social charter is the opening of a very long term counter-offensive.

At decade's end, the claims for capitalism are less those of morality and utility, and more that it is somehow synonymous with democracy. The equation fails to explain why most Americans surrender their citizenship rights when they enter their workplace, or why this most capitalist of democracies has a political participation rate more suitable to an earlier epoch (the Paleolithic).

If we do our work well, it is questions such as these that should properly occupy the 1990s.

— by HAROLD MEYERSON

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DEMOCRATIC LEFT (ISSN 0164-3207) is published six times a year at 15 Dutch St., Suite 500, New York, NY 10038. Second Class postage paid at New York, NY. Subscription \$8 regular; \$15 institutional. Postmaster: Send address changes to 15 Dutch Street, Suite 500, New York, NY 10038. DEMOCRATIC LEFT is published by the Democratic Socialists of America, 15 Dutch Street, #500, New York, NY 10038, (212) 962-0390. Signed articles express the opinions of the authors and not necessarily those of the organization.

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European Unity and Democratic Socialism After the Cold War

by Bogdan Denitch

(This article is adapted from a speech given on November 10 to the convention of the Democratic Socialists of America on the morning after the fall of the Berlin Wall.)

The occurrences this year, culminating with the dancing on the Berlin Wall, are probably the most important set of political events in the lifetime of anyone born since the Second World War. I refer to the collapse of the relevance of the Cold War. You can see the desperate scrambling to maintain items of unnecessary baggage that are becoming very difficult to justify. For example, what is the point of NATO if the Warsaw Pact does not exist? What is the point of maintaining large conventional U.S. forces in Germany if Germany is about to go neutral in exchange for unity?

Eastern Europe is a morass of words that really don't mean what they used to mean. Everybody now is for pluralism -- everybody under the age of sixty. When you begin to probe what pluralism means, it means everything from

maintaining the party monopoly, but with a human face, to a multiparty system, to a multiparty system plus an anti-left offensive against "overadventurous" types. These reactionary tendencies are quite thinly buried under the surface in much of Eastern Europe.

This is the first problem we face: when one lifts the lid off societies which have been dull, gray, and repressive for decades, what emerges is not the beloved community, not a culture of cooperation and democracy and tolerance. What emerges is all kinds of stuff that you would expect to emerge after years of repression. Not the least of the historical costs of the decades of dictatorship in Eastern Europe is the massive right-wing populist phenomenon, which is evident in Russia, Poland, Hungary, and now in Yugoslavia. So the path to democratization runs through exceedingly difficult and troubled waters.

The second question is around the issue of the market and what the market means. Everybody is for the market in Eastern Europe, except a few dinosaurs. It's like pluralism; it means all sorts of things. To some people, it means something more or less like Sweden: an advanced welfare state, powerful trade

unions defending workers, a mixed economy with a larger chunk in the public sector, and essentially the party's heavy hand out of the economy. For others it means the idealized version of Margaret Thatcher and Reagan, because of the notion that the enemy of your enemy is necessarily your friend. The more hostile Reagan and Thatcher were to the ruling systems in Eastern Europe, the more rosy and popular they appeared. If there's one way to popularize an idea in Eastern Europe, it was to have the party attack it.

I sympathize with Gorbachev. He has done a historical good deed by beginning this entire process. The difficulty is that they're talking about moving into a market economy with exactly the same incompetent party hacks as managers who have ruined their economy. The notion that simply changing the rules of the economic game can take place without a radical transformation of the society and its political culture is illusory. The same thing that was wrong with the command economies would be wrong with market economies unless they are accompanied by a pluralistic democracy. The most radical single demand in Eastern Europe is for trade unions that act as trade unions.

European unification is very important in this context of the waning of the Cold War. It means the beginning of a long divorce between Europe and the United States. You cannot have a major advance toward socialist politics in a Europe that remains allied with the United States. As the wall collapses, the boundaries of Europe are going to become fluid. It is this that makes the games being played by what remains of the communist regimes dangerous.

In Poland and Hungary, for instance, they are saying: come and invest here. We will provide you with low wages, weak trade unions, and practically no environmental protection, all of which

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Henrik Saxgren/Impact Visuals

Demonstration in Prague, Czechoslovakia in December, 1989.

Lafzlo Brust: Hungary Through The Eyes of a Trade Unionist

(Sherri Levine, managing editor of Democratic Left, interviewed Lafzlo Brust last November. Mr. Brust is the co-founder and national secretary of Hungary's Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions and a professor of Sociology at the University of Budapest. He was in the United States for two months teaching at the New School. While in the United States, he traveled across the country lecturing on the political, economic, and social situation in Hungary at over three dozen universities. Thanks to DSAer Mitchell Cohen for helping to shape the questions.)

Sherri Levine: This has been a year of incredibly fast transformation in Hungary, culminating in the collapse of the Communist party, now known as the Hungarian Socialist party. How did it happen?

Lafzlo Brust: The economic crisis started in 1978. The Party was unable to prevent the crisis and that marked the beginning of its disintegration. For a while, people continued to trust the system. They knew it was an authoritarian system, but they still considered it a "softer" system than what was in place in Romania or Czechoslovakia. Then groups inside and outside the Party started to organize against it.

The changes in Moscow also gave reformers in Hungary room to maneuver. The changes happened so fast that none could foresee them. At first, the opposition forces were advocating a compromise solution which would have included a role for the ruling party. It then became clear that it was impossible to legitimize saving any aspects of the Communist party, and that would have had to be part of any compromise.

SL: Can you explain the development of the free trade unions in Hungary?

LB: The Democratic Union of Scientific



Stig Stasig/Impact Visuals

Woman selling produce in Budapest, Hungary.

Workers (TDDSZ), an independent trade union, was the first free political organization established since 1955. It was founded in May. Since then other small independent unions have been formed, but most of them represent only white collar workers: writers; teachers; movie makers. Some unions representing blue collar workers, such as sanitation workers and bus drivers, have also been established. A significant difference between the old and new trade unions is that the old trade unions were dominated by the Communist party, which in turn selected their officers, while the independent ones elect their representatives.

In addition to needing to broaden their base, the independent unions must gain the trust of a broad spectrum of people. Right now the "official" unions are among the most distrusted organizations in Hungary. This leads to mistrust of unions in general, which makes it difficult for the independent unions to gain support. Hungary's economy is

in crisis. That means that there is not a lot of room for the free trade unions to maneuver. They can't just say to workers there will eventually be an economic transformation and we will try and make sure that during the transition you don't lose your job or your wages. They must provide for the workers' immediate interests. The enterprise managers and those who claim to represent the workers under state socialism present themselves as guardians of a secure workplace and at least minimal cost of living adjustments. It is hard for independent trade unions to compete with that.

SL: There is disagreement about whether free parliamentary elections -- the first since the 1940s -- should be held early or whether they should be delayed. What do you think?

LB: The elections should be held as early as possible because the problems that need to be tackled are tremendous. A postponement of the elections will only serve to undermine the efforts at democratization. We need a new gov-

ernment in place so it can start to implement the necessary economic and political transformations. [Note: Elections are tentatively scheduled for the Spring.]

SL: A term that gets mentioned frequently when discussing the changes in Eastern Europe is the "market economy." Can you talk about the relevance of this term to Hungary?

LB: Now, the market means a lot of things. A system that is based only on the free market will be impossible in Hungary. The people want a safe workplace, a generous social welfare system, equality, a lessening of income differences. The present situation will not allow for changes in which only the market plays a role and the social welfare system remains the same. Right now the social welfare system is in a state of collapse. The health system is in crisis. The educational system is underfinanced. There is no comprehensive unemployment system. If the market does not go hand in hand with the development of a welfare state, then it can lead to the loss of social peace. In the next year we will need to encourage economic growth and to save the social peace. Hungarians want freedom and security, but by freedom I don't mean the right to compete for wages. Freedom means citizenship rights, political rights, the rights of expression.

We don't only have to solve the problem of the economic crisis, but property relations in general must change. Owners must be created. Who should own the large public enterprises? There is not enough capital inside the country to buy these public enterprises, so the question becomes how to encourage outsiders to invest. These are both economic as well as political questions. The Party bureaucrats want to become the owners and the present law allows this. A lot of workers also want to become the owners. There will be an intense struggle over this after the elections.

SL: What role will Western investment play?

LB: Without help, change will be impossible because the internal sources are not enough. The real problem is that the West won't be helpful enough. Government to government money, however, will be a waste. What we need

is money that will help support joint ventures. [Note: A joint venture was signed in early December by Magyor Posta, a regional telephone company in Hungary, and US West Inc., the Denver-based regional telephone company, to build a cellular telephone network in Budapest.]

SL: What place is left for the socialist idea?

LB: There is no one model that will solve all of the problems. Compromises will be needed. Overall, however, what we are seeing is a social democratic approach, one that tries to reconcile the market with social welfare.

SL: Have students played a part in the reform efforts?

LB: The students have formed the most radical organization pushing for change in Hungary -- The League of Young Democrats (FDIESZ). They insisted that the preamble of the constitution talk about civic democracy and social democracy. Their role during some of the negotiations was quite significant.

"What we are seeing is a social democratic approach, one that tries to reconcile the market with social welfare."

SL: Are there political coalitions at work in Hungary?

LB: Poland's history includes one of coalitions between workers and intellectuals. There is nothing like this in Hungary. Until now, the unions have been unable to reach the coal workers. The independent unions have been saying to workers that you might lose their job, but we will get you aid, or we will provide you with education and re-training to learn a new skill. That is not the same as what the large enterprises were able to offer -- the promise of continued employment. But the ability of the large public enterprises to continue to make such promises cannot last because of the economic crisis. Once the large enterprises can no longer make good on the promises of security, there will be more room for the independent unions to organize and gain support.

SL: What other factors beyond the economy are at play in the current situation?

LB: One reason for the current situation is the breakdown of social control. There is no motivation for collective effort. There had been a consensus until the mid-seventies. The state agreed that it wouldn't meddle in people's private lives, that it would take the people's interests into account, and that it would provide people with enough to consume. In return, the people were to have nothing to do with politics. This was the social contract, a silent agreement between the Party and the people. This agreement collapsed in the late 1970s because the state stopped being able to pay rising living standards, while at the same time it tried to get more and more from its citizens. It was transformed into a state that asked more and more from its people while giving nothing in return. People have only gotten promises for the last ten years. Twenty-five percent of Hungarians live in poverty. Seventy-five percent work at a second job after the official work hours. Half of all workers have a garden because otherwise they couldn't afford to put enough food on the table. The income differential between rich and poor is growing.

SL: Is there significant political participation?

LB: Ours is a "quiet revolution." We haven't had massive demonstrations in the streets like Poland or East Germany. When the agreement to hold free elections was signed, one third of the people couldn't name any of the opposition parties. Another third could name only one or two. Less than 1 percent of the Hungarian people are involved in political organizations.

SL: Have the Greens been important in the reform efforts in Hungary?

LB: The legitimacy of the old parliament was first challenged by the environmentalists, especially the Danube Circle. There was a dispute over the building of the Gagicovo-Nagyvaros twin dam on the Hungarian-Czech border. It is useless, expensive, ugly, -- a pyramid of state socialism. The building of the dam initially continued to show the strength of the regime, but the Greens organized large demonstrations and rallies against it. They mobilized the media and thousands of people. In a way this was the start of significant

change in Hungary.

SL: What is the opposition like?

LB: People in the West think there is one opposition. The Hungarian opposition is pluralism at its best. There are social democrats; conservative liberals; christian democrats; young democrats; the populist right. You might describe it as a political zoo.

SL: Would you describe yourself as an optimist?

LB: No. I would describe myself as a radical pessimist. There are lots of small problems and they will increase, but although the state can disintegrate, the society cannot. After democratization, problems will multiply, but they will eventually be solved. ●

EUROPE

Continued from page 3.

exist in Western Europe. European unification is going to be set back a great deal if East Europe becomes a reservoir of cheap labor. Chances are though, that Western Europe is not going to be modeled on Margaret Thatcher's vision. It's going to be the Western Europe of the present social democratic-influenced arrangements.

Secondly, Germany is going to unite. We know that, not only because the wall is tumbling down, and not only because many Germans are uniting Germany by simply moving over from one Germany to another, but because the major opponents to German unity, the French, have changed their line and have said that they now look forward to a unified Germany.

If Germany unites, that will be the end to NATO. Germany will only be able to unite if it becomes neutral. We as socialists should hail that because that would mean creating an enormous neutral belt in the middle of Europe. Now, if Germany unites, the borders are going to become quite porous. For example, one side effect of the German legislation is that you can move to West Berlin, pick up a West German passport, go on unemployment insurance that is twice your wages in East Germany, and stay in East Germany. You can live in a nice East German apartment, with a low crime rate, and just take the subway over once a week to

pick up your unemployment insurance. All this with the blessing of the East German government, because you're also bringing in hard currency.

So in the midst of the economic unification of Western Europe already planned for 1992, capital moves from west to east in search of cheap labor and cheap labor moves from east to west. What you are going to have in response is a sudden burst of massive international consciousness by West German trade unions. They will say the way to help Eastern Europe is by helping the unions develop there, by helping the workers struggle for a decent living standard otherwise they'll all come here.

The thing that unites all the points I've raised is that the crash you've just heard has been the collapse of U.S. policy. The United States has no policy for the new Europe. The left should have a policy. Our policy should be to hail these developments and to seek friends and allies there. Sometimes these allies are going to be difficult to identify, but we need to extend a hand to them, to work with them.

The old U.S. policy is one of the more negative factors in the struggle for democratization. The United States is still the dominant figure in the world banking community, and the East European regimes have horrendous debts. So long as the United States insists on handling the debts the way it does, it has much the same effect on the prospects of democratic politics that it does in Argentina and Brazil. Namely, paying the World Bank on the terms that the World Bank wants is inimical to the development of any popular and democratic regime.

This is a sword that hangs over Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia. These regimes are set on a collision course with their working classes, because the way you pay the debt under those circumstances is the old North/South way: you squeeze. You assault the welfare state, keep wages low, and try to export whatever is not nailed down. You cannot do that and democratize, because it's a policy that will obviously be resisted by the East Europeans who are going into this process of democratization not to lower their living standards, but to increase them. If democracy means a lower living standard, it's not long for

this world. Various populist demagogic and nationalist groups will come to power. Gorbachev is not going to be replaced by a Russian Michael Harrington. If he's replaced, it will be by the military and the right. The same is true in Eastern Europe, where living standards are so low to begin with that we will be talking about the problems of Argentinization: high inflation, a growing gap between the poor and the rich, an extremely unstable economy. And the culprits are quite clearly the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the United States.

Still, I'm excited about European unification. I know all the caveats: Europe is going to be a neo-corporatist Europe, it's not going to be a social democratic Europe. But neo-corporatism is an arrangement that varies depending on the balance of class and political forces. It will be a neo-corporatist Europe with powerful unions and social democratic parties. It will accept the welfare state. It will be willing to address North/South issues.

Finally, we've been blessed by a historic opportunity, we democrats, we socialists. We've got a second shot. We lost the first chance in the 20s by the timidity of the social democrats and the desperate experiments of the Bolsheviks. We have a second opportunity within a unified Europe. We have a second shot to create a political community that understands that you cannot live in a world where most people live in desperate poverty and need.

We live in extremely exciting times. People will continue to talk of the defeat of socialism, but I hope you will answer that charge as I do: those systems were never socialist to begin with. The collapse of those systems do not represent any kind of verdict on the possibility of a socialism that is also democratic. In fact, you will now hear among reformists in the communist movement our old slogan, "There cannot be socialism without democracy," to which I would add, and ultimately, there cannot be democracy without socialism. ●

Bogdan Denitch, DSA vice chair, is author of the forthcoming book, The End of the Cold War: European Unity, Socialism, and the Shift in Global Power.

DSAers Win Elections Nationwide

by Harry Fleischman

Election Day 1989 was a good day for DSA members, as DSAers were elected mayors of New York City; Ithaca, New York; and St. Paul, Minnesota.

In New York, David Dinkins, the coalition candidate of blacks, Hispanics, and progressive whites, won by 47,080 votes, defeating Rudolph Giuliani, his Republican-Liberal opponent. Dinkins has been a consistent advocate of reproductive freedom for all women, while Guiliani waffled on the issue once being anti-choice was no longer a politically safe position. New York City DSA organized weekly phone-banks at the Dinkins campaign headquarters throughout the primary and general election, and many members helped to distribute literature at neighborhood events throughout the city.

Ben Nichols, a long-time DSA member and past chair of the Ithaca DSA local, won a close contest for mayor by 202 votes. He won 2,630 votes to the 2,428 of his Republican opponent, Jean Cookingham. Nichols blamed the narrowness of his win on red-baiting and strong media opposition.

Irene Stein, chair of the Tompkins County Democratic Committee, said Nichols' stand on crime and affordable housing pushed voters to support him at the polls. Others suggested that his pro-choice position, as contrasted with his opponent's anti-abortion views, was a determining factor in his victory. Nichols, a retired Cornell University engineering professor, has lived in Ithaca since 1973. He was backed heavily by Ithaca trade unions, minority groups, Cornell faculty and students, environmentalists, and peace advocates. The Ithaca DSA local, which was heavily involved in his campaign, organized fundraisers, participated in phonebanks, and distributed literature for Nichols.

In his campaign, Nichols urged hitting developers with a tax to pay for

affordable housing. He also suggested the imposition of rent control and legislation that would enable gay and lesbian couples to register as domestic partners. "He's a walking history of progressive movements in this century," said Al Davidoff, president of a local of the United Automobile Workers and Ben Nichols' campaign coordinator. Nichols helped his parents organize a union, supported Spanish loyalists, protested racial segregation in the South, marched against the Vietnam War, and backed Jesse Jackson for president.

With Ithaca having six Democrats and one Republican on the Town Board, Nichols will have an opportunity to carry out his programs.

In St. Paul, Minnesota, City Council President Jim Scheibel, a DSA member, swamped his opponent for mayor, Bob Fletcher. Scheibel won 35,836 to Fletcher's 27,850, or 56.3 percent to 43.7 percent, with Scheibel's 12.6 percent margin the largest in recent history for a non-incumbent. The election was nominally non-partisan, but Scheibel was strongly backed by the Democratic-Farmer-Labor party. The coalition backing Scheibel included unions, Jobs with Peace, Clergy and Laity Concerned, the Rainbow Coalition, ACORN-PAC, and the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign.

Scheibel, alarmed by the inadequacy of St. Paul's social welfare system, is planning a Family Investment Initiative. Through this program, families needing help would go to a Family Investment Center in each community, where trained family advocates would put together a package of services to meet the needs of each family member.

In addition to the three mayors, other DSA victors included New York City Councilwoman Ruth Messinger, who won the Manhattan Borough Presidency, replacing David Dinkins in that post; and Maryann Mahaffey, re-elected as Detroit City Council President. DSA members were active supporters in both of these campaigns, raising money,

DSAers Holding Elected Office:

- United States Representative **Ronald Dellums** (Berkeley, CA)
- United States Representative **Major Owens** (Brooklyn, NY)
- New York Mayor **David Dinkins**
- St. Paul (MN) Mayor **Jim Schiebel**
- Ithaca (NY) Mayor **Ben Nichols**
- Irvine (CA) Mayor **Larry Agran**
- Santa Monica (CA) Mayor **Jim Conn**
- Alaska State Legislator **Niilo Koponen** (Fairbanks)
- Oregon State Representative **Beverly Stein** (Portland)
- Michigan State Representative **Perry Bullard** (Lansing)
- Pennsylvania State Representative **Babette Josephs** (Philadelphia)
- Manhattan (NY) Borough President **Ruth Messinger**
- San Francisco President of the Board of Supervisors **Harry Britt**
- Detroit (MI) City Council President **Maryann Mahaffey**
- Washington, D.C. City Councilperson **Hilda Mason**
- Cambridge (MA) City Councilperson **David Sullivan**
- Boston (MA) City Councilperson **David Scondras**
- Berkeley (CA) City Councilperson **Ann Chandler**
- Wayne State University (Detroit) Governor **Mildred Jeffrey**

(If you know of an elected official we inadvertently left off this list, please inform the DSA office: 15 Dutch Street, Suite 500, New York, NY 10038.)

distributing literature, and organizing forums. ●

Harry Fleischman, DSA member and On The Left columnist, wrote Norman Thomas: A Biography.

DSA Convention Report 1989

by Nancy Kleniewski

It was an auspicious beginning for the Democratic Socialists of America national convention. As over 250 delegates, alternates, and observers gathered in Maryland on November 9, the television news was showing Berliners dancing and drinking champagne on top of the newly-opened Berlin Wall. That scene etched itself in the delegates' memories, dramatically framing the events of the weekend.

Appropriately, the first session of the convention on Friday morning was devoted to changes in the European political scene (proving once again that, as Mike Harrington used to say in jest, "Marxism is a science"). Bogdan Denitch, DSA vice chair and member of the National Political Committee (NPC) discussed changes in Eastern Europe in light of potential problems and prospects. NPC member Joanne Barkan analyzed the emergence of a unified Europe in 1992 as the result of the trend toward globalization of national economies and assessed the impact of the European changes on left politics in the United States.

Barbara Ehrenreich's hard-hitting keynote speech was a highlight of the convention, and many convention participants found what she had to say inspiring. "Inspiring" was also the word heard most frequently to describe the Friday evening outreach plenary. Delegates heard Cornel West, one of DSA's new honorary chairs, and Bob Kuttner, author of *The Life of the Party*, analyze the state of domestic politics and listened to descriptions of the ins and outs of labor struggles from Kristine Rondeau of the Harvard Union of Clerical and Technical Workers and Sam Hughes of the United Mine Workers of America (U.M.W.A.). This session was not just a talk fest but also raised more than \$2,000 to be divided among the strikers in the

U.M.W.A., the Communications Workers of America, and the International Association of Machinists. The plenary on international politics and Barbara Ehrenreich's keynote were broadcast on CSPAN over the weekend. People from across the country wrote in to the national office to say they had seen our convention on television, found the presentations stimulating, and wanted information on how to get involved with our organization.

Following past DSA procedure, convention delegates broke into small group resolution sessions to debate domestic, international, and organizational policy issues. Domestic and international policy proved to be less controversial than the organizational issues, which consumed more than their fair share of convention time. In the end, however, several important organizational changes were approved, including replacing the positions of co-chair with six honorary chairs and renaming the National Executive Committee the National Political Committee. The delegates decided to leave unchanged the size of the NPC, the operation of the National Board, and the practice of

signing ballots in national elections. There was significant consensus around the priorities that will guide the work of DSA for the next two years, which were adopted in the form of a political priorities resolution on Sunday. The priorities include an emphasis on issues such as labor support; education and leadership development; international solidarity; and reproductive rights. (See accompanying priorities statement.) Other resolutions proposed measures to halt the wave of corporate takeovers, expressed solidarity with the forces seeking change in Eastern Europe, and urged support of those struggling for justice in El Salvador.

The convention also noted Michael Harrington's absence at a tribute to him after lunch on Friday. After formal presentations by DSA members Carl Shier and Penny Schantz, convention delegates approached the microphone and spoke lovingly of their associations with Mike, their recollections of his past deeds, and their hopes for DSA carrying out his mission. Mike's son, Alexander, ended the session by recalling eloquently his father's love of poetry as well as politics, reminding the group of the many-



Dinah Leventhal

Plenary on international politics with Bogdan Denitch and Joanne Barkan.

dimensional nature of our remarkable leader and friend.

Irving Howe later provided the most sobering moment of the convention when he brought home to the delegates the political reality of the loss of Mike's leadership. He emphasized that leaders (even Harrington) are made, not born. Howe challenged DSA members to rise to the occasion, develop their speaking and writing skills, and prepare to follow in Mike's footsteps.

Jim Chapin provided an amusing and provocative closing for the convention. Borrowing from arch-conservative Kevin Phillips' analysis, Chapin stressed that the period we are going through has all the signs of the end of an era. Although the Reagan administration was able to consolidate certain conservative trends, he argued, the current period is one of "brain dead politics," signifying the potential for a shift in ideological debate in the near future.

Of course the convention provided more than plenary debates and speeches. Small group discussions, workshops, and caucus meetings filled up mealtimes, made breaks into work times, and occasionally extended into sleep time. The party on Saturday night lasted through two kegs of beer and the counting of all the ballots for the NPC election -- that is, until 3:30 am. (See accompanying box for the election results.) Songs, laughter, and applause filled the meeting rooms regularly -- and even socialist red roses, which the convention presented to Barbara Ehrenreich in appreciation for her seven-year stint as co-chair. The meeting ended on a fitting note of praxis: a busload of delegates traveled to Washington, DC to raise the DSA banner at NOW's Sunday afternoon rally for reproductive choice.

Delegates' reactions to the convention were overwhelmingly positive. Janet Wilder from Boston noted, "People were looking for ways of overcoming old divisions in the organization and moving ahead as a group." Janet was particularly enthusiastic about the convention's discussions of health care, saying, "I hope that we will be able to launch a major project around health." Janet found that having small group resolution sessions facilitated plenary discussion. "When you're talking about com-

plicated political issues, it's easier to debate in small groups because you don't have to stick so closely to parliamentary procedure," she said.

Baltimore's Dean Pappas, a veteran of the New American Movement, was glad to see more former NAM members at this convention than at other recent DSA meetings. He commented, "It's important to retain the complementary traditions of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and NAM -- bringing back former NAM activists is a positive step."

This was the first national convention for Youth Section activist Cindy Illig of Cleveland. In comparing the meeting to last year's National Board in Santa Monica, she said, "I found it very positive, and I was excited that my friend whose first DSA meeting it was found it even more positive." Cindy was impressed by the international perspective of the convention. She also echoed the much expressed sentiments, "Joe Schwartz is a hell of a money raiser, and Cornel West is inspirational -- he never ceases to amaze me!"

Preceded by the Wall opening and followed by the NOW rally, the conven-



Dinah Leventhal

Cornel West at Friday's outreach event.

tion debates took on an atmosphere of immediacy and anticipation of bigger changes yet to come. Delegates left the meeting secure that the newly-elected leadership reflected the range of political opinion in the organization and that the political priorities adopted by the convention would carry DSA through the next two years.

Nancy Kleniewski, a member of DSA's National Political Committee, teaches sociology at Geneseo.

Honorary Chairs

- Irving Howe** -- Editor of *Dissent* and author of *World of our Fathers*.
William Winpisinger -- Retired president of the International Association of Machinists.
Cornel West -- Member of the NPC and director of the Afro-American department at Princeton University.
Barbara Ehrenreich -- Past co-chair of DSA, author of *Fear of Falling*, and columnist for *Ms.* magazine.
Dolores Huerta -- Vice president of United Farm Workers of America
Gloria Steinem -- President of the board of the *Ms.* Foundation for Women.

Vice Chairs

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| Harry Britt | James Chapin |
| Ronald Dellums | Bogdan Denitch |
| James Farmer | Dorothy Healey |
| Mildred Jeffrey | Hilda Mason |
| Steve Max | Marjorie Phye |
| Frances Piven | Chris Riddiough |
| Rosemary Reuther | Edwin Vargas, Jr. |

National Political Committee

- Laila Atallah -- Baltimore, Maryland
 Amy Bachrach -- New York, NY
 Joanne Barkan -- New York, NY
 Pat Belcon -- New York, NY
 Jack Clark -- Dorchester, MA
 Suzanne Crowell -- Washington, DC
 Bogdan Denitch -- New York, NY
 Virginia Franco -- San Diego, CA
 Nancy Kleniewski -- Rochester, NY
 Jose LaLuz -- New York, NY
 Mark Levinson -- Detroit, MI
 Marshall Mayer -- Helena, MT
 Harold Meyerson -- Los Angeles, CA
 Andrea Miller -- Brooklyn, NY
 Guy Molyneux -- Cambridge, MA
 Jo-Ann Mort -- Brooklyn, NY
 Marjorie Phye -- Portland, ME
 Mel Pritchard -- San Francisco, CA
 Miriam Rabban -- New York, NY
 Joseph Schwartz -- Philadelphia, PA
 Kurt Stand -- Washington, DC
 Steve Tarzynski -- Santa Monica, CA
 Kimberly Tolle -- Lexington, KY
 Juanita Webster -- New York, NY
 Cornel West -- Princeton, NJ

Toward the Nineties: DSA's Priorities for the Years to Come

A Summary of the National Priorities Resolution as Passed at the 4th national convention held in Baltimore, Maryland November 10-12, 1989

Educational Work: DSA will focus on increasing its members' understanding of and ability to educate the broader public about the injustices of capitalism and realistic proposals for both short-term reform and long-term transformative change. This educational work will focus on the global economic transformation and its effects on economic and racial justice at home and abroad.

The convention recommends that the national educational and leadership retreat be an annual event. The convention notes with approval the expansion of DSA literature over the past two years, looks forward to further literature development, and recommends the production of at least one literature piece in Spanish each year.

Local Building: The building of strong, active locals should be a priority for DSA second to none. We must commit serious time and resources to establishing and maintaining a vibrant and visible presence in local communities.

To increase the servicing of DSA locals and organizing committees, this convention recommends that most, if not all, locals and organizing committees should be visited by a DSA staffperson, National Political Committee member (NPC), or DSA spokesperson by the end of 1990. The staff and NPC will follow up diligently on requests by individuals to start new locals. This follow-up will include written materials, speakers, and regular phone contact. In addition, the convention commends our increased visibility at rallies, conventions, and academic conferences.

Electoral Politics: The national organization reiterates its commitment to building an anti-corporate left within the Democratic party. In the coming year, we believe that local

and Congressional races will be the key arena in which left-wing Democrats contest terrain against the party's right and the Republicans. We reiterate our commitment to a multi-racial, populist "rainbow politics" and the national staff and leadership will support whatever significant electoral political initiatives our locals undertake. The NPC should establish a committee charged with developing a strategy paper as a proposal to guide our work in the Democratic party on a national and local level.

Youth Section: As the Youth Section is literally the future of the movement, this convention resolves that greater attention be spent on developing Youth Section (YS) leadership and building stronger ties between YS chapters and locals. The national staff and national and local leadership will work to expedite the graduation of YS activists into local and national leadership and to create a speakers bureau of DSAers willing to speak on various subjects at nearby campuses. This convention also urges all DSA locals and activists to build stronger ties with YS chapters and with independent campus activists who might be recruited to DSA.

Labor Support Work: The 1989 convention of the Democratic Socialists of America reaffirms our commitment to work to establish an American Solidarity Campaign as an effective, broad-based coalition for building community and political support of the labor movement. In working to build the American Solidarity Campaign, we seek to create an organizational vehicle for community solidarity with the labor movement to help re-establish an explicitly pro-labor current in the United States. Therefore, this convention directs the NPC and the staff to prepare, circulate and publish an American Solidarity Campaign labor support statement; organize two or more American Solidarity Campus Labor Institutes (in cooperation with the DSA Youth Section); and advise DSA locals on a regular basis of trade union struggles and ways to demonstrate meaningful support.

The convention recognizes that DSA

is the only domestic nonunion group of any significance that makes labor support work a major priority.

International Solidarity: The convention resolves that national DSA continue regular annual speakers tours of articulate spokespeople involved in key international struggles for social justice. We look forward to a speakers' tour in the spring of 1990 by representatives of the movements for democratization in Eastern Europe.

The convention recognizes the important contribution to our international work that our membership in the Socialist International contributes. We commend the work of the NPC's Socialist International Committee in insuring that we are effectively represented at SI meetings.

Reproductive Rights Work: The history of state regulation in the area of reproduction is a legacy of oppression of women (for instance, sterilization abuse of women of color and poor women), and the right to choose abortion or to choose to bear a child is conditioned for many women by deficient social legislation as well as economic conditions. Democratic socialists call upon government and other public institutions to provide for an array of material human needs. DSA shall therefore undertake a thorough and open discussion with the purpose of producing political statements addressing the role of the state in matters related to reproduction and DSA's political position in the pro-choice movement.

The pro-choice majority in the United States, including DSA members and activists, will likely dedicate itself to electoral politics for the foreseeable future, but a candidate does not deserve the support of a socialist organization on the basis of a pro-choice position alone. Locals and activists working in pro-choice coalitions and within political organizations are therefore encouraged to critically review and speak out about

Continued on page 16.

DSACTION

RESOURCES *

* *Not Far Enough*, the newsletter of the DSA Feminist Commission, stressed "Women in the Workforce: Pay Equity and the Struggle for Higher Wages" in its fall 1989 issue. It also reports on feminist activities in many DSA locals. For copies and membership in the Commission, write to DSA Feminist Commission, 15 Dutch Street, New York, NY 10038.

* *Labor Voice*, DSA's Labor Commission's newsletter, contains articles in its October issue on Poland and El Salvador, the Pittston struggle, America's rightwing tilt, and what is socialism. Subscriptions are \$10.00 per year from the DSA Labor Commission, P.O. Box 28408, Washington, DC 20036. DSA has also printed a new brochure, "Labor Solidarity: The Struggle for Justice and Equality," which includes comments by George Kourpias, president, International Association of Machinists; Stanley Hill, executive director, AFSCME District Council 37; and Penny Schantz, president, Santa Cruz Central Labor Council.

* "*Charting Our Future: Socialist Women and our Feminist Agenda*," a 200 page reader of articles on a wide variety of feminist issues, including reproductive rights, socialist feminism, union organizing, and domestic violence. To order a copy, send \$10.00 to the DSA office, 15 Dutch Street, Suite 500, New York, NY 10038.

* "*Toward a Democratic Socialism: Theory, Strategy, and Vision*," is a new literature piece written by National Political Committee member Joseph Schwartz. In this piece, DSA's current strategy and practice is rooted in an historical context. For individual copies send \$1.00 to the DSA office. When ordering ten or more copies, send \$.50 a copy.

* **DSA videos available!** The memorial service for Michael Harrington is now

available on video tape from the DSA office for \$25.00. New York Mayor David Dinkins, Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger, DSA Vice Chair Bogdan Denitch, and DSA Honorary Chair Irving Howe are among some of the people who paid tribute to Michael Harrington at this moving September service.

In addition, coverage of the DSA convention in Baltimore, Maryland has also been video taped. The opening plenary on changes in world politics with Joanne Barkan, member of DSA's National Political Committee, and Bogdan Denitch, DSA vice chair, and the keynote address by Honorary Chair Barbara Ehrenreich are both available for rental from the DSA office. Only limited copies have been made, so please notify the office in advance of when you plan on using the tape(s).

* Tee-shirts now available from the DSA office. For only \$10.00 you can purchase a fist-and-rose tee-shirt in beige, gray, or white. The shirts come in sizes small, medium, large, and extra large. They make perfect gifts for friends.

* "*Clouds Blur the Rainbow*," a stinging report on the New Alliance Party and its affiliated activities, The Rainbow Lobby and the presidential candidacy of Lenora Fulani, is available by sending \$2.50 to Political Research Associates, 678 Massachusetts Avenue, Suite 205, Cambridge, MA 02139. The report looks at the New Alliance Party's past ties to Lyndon LaRouche, as well as the organization's internal authoritarian structure.

UPCOMING

* Don't miss this year's **Youth Section Annual Winter Conference** February 16-18 at Columbia University, New York City. Titled "*It's the End of the World as We Know it...And We Feel Fine*," the conference will evaluate the changes in world politics and what they mean for democratic socialism. Educational and

organizing workshops on a variety of topics will make this a conference you won't want to miss. To register, send \$20.00 to the DSA office. If you need more information, contact Dinah Leventhal at (212) 962-0390.

Join the DSA caravan to southwest Virginia in support of the striking miners. Cars will leave from different regions of the country January 11-12. For more information, see page 13.

INTERNATIONAL

* Skip Roberts and Motl Zelmanowicz represented DSA at the November 23-25 Council Meeting of the Socialist International in Geneva, Switzerland. High on the agenda was a discussion of the exciting events in Eastern Europe. * DSAers Mathew Hallinan of the East Bay DSA local, Guy Molyneux, member of DSA's National Political Committee, and Youth Section Executive Committee member Robert Meitus had a week long-tour in October of Israel and the occupied West Bank.

MOVING?

Send both your old mailing label and your new address to:

Democratic Left

15 Dutch Street, Suite 500
New York, NY 10038

Please allow four weeks for processing.

When drafting your will, please consider making a bequest to The Institute for Democratic Socialism. For more information write or call: Patrick Lacefield, Director, The Institute for Democratic Socialism, 15 Dutch Street, Suite 500, New York, NY 10038 (212) 962-0390. Ask for the brochure on how to make bequests.

ON THE LEFT

by HARRY FLEISCHMAN

California

DSA Honorary Chair Barbara Ehrenreich spoke November 3 at California State University in Sacramento at meetings sponsored by DSA. She also met with the East Bay and San Francisco locals.... The annual Valley DSA New Years party will take place Sunday, December 31 at the home of Sue and Will Fortman.... Los Angeles DSAers are supporting the rally and march to keep open the G.M. Van Nuys plant, which employs 4,000 workers. A report on the DSA national convention was provided to DSA members who were not able to attend. The Socialist Community School will start off the new year with a study group on Michael Harrington's last book, *Socialism: Past and Future*. Los Angeles has a committee organized around reproductive rights, and a new commission on labor is getting off the ground.

Kansas

Wichita DSA carried on community support work for the Machinists' strike against Boeing, which the union won handsomely.

Kentucky

Gatewood Galbraith, Lexington attorney and gubernatorial candidate, discussed his platform for the 1991 governor's race with members of Central Kentucky DSA and University of Kentucky DSA in Lexington. The local is active in Lexington's Pro-Choice Alliance and in support work for the Pittston miners.

Maryland

Baltimore DSA hosted a forum on "Alternatives to the War on Drugs." Speakers included Chuck Hollander, consultant on drug pol-

icy; Richard Karel, journalist; and Eric E. Sterling, president, Criminal Justice Policy Foundation.

Massachusetts

Boston DSA's Socialist School held a class this fall on "Introduction to Democratic Socialism." Tom Gallagher, chair of the local, kicked things off with the question, "What is Democratic Socialism?" Howard Zinn, retired Boston University professor and author, taught the "History of Socialism." Diane Balsler, director of the statewide Women's Legislative Network, lectured on "Socialist Feminism," while Paul Joseph, a Tufts professor, spoke on "Socialism in a Changing World." Tom Gallagher finished up the class with a session on "The Future of Socialism." The Boston DSA Religion and Socialism Group heard Mark Harvey November 27 on the interrelation between art, social issues, and religion.

New York

Ithaca DSA held a fundraiser dinner on December 9 to raise funds for the local. The local held a meeting to celebrate Ben Nichols' election as Mayor and to consider ways in which DSA can help the new Nichols administration. An annual retreat and planning meeting will take place in January, at which time new officers will be elected and plans for the year made.... Nassau DSA's Saturday Seminars heard National Political Committee member Bogdan Denitch on "Political and Economic Convergence of Eastern and Western Europe?".... On December 7, DSA Vice Chair Jim Chapin spoke to the Long Island Progressive Coalition on "A World in Turmoil: Prospects for the Coming Decade.".... New York DSA held a successful forum on "Has Capitalism Won?" with Bogdan Denitch and author Robert Heilbroner. Plans are well underway for this year's New York DSA annual bash, which will honor David Livingstone of the UAW District 65. John Ranz, a Holocaust survivor and DSA member, spoke to the Religion and Socialism DSA branch on "The Holocaust: Myths and Truths." Cornel West spoke to the City University of New York Branch on "Liberation Theology

as Post-Modernism." On February 8, the branch will hear Ellen Willis and Paul Berman of *The Village Voice* address "Lessons of the New Left." A memorial meeting to celebrate the life of Natalie Fleischman, held in September, heard DSA Organizational Director Patrick Lacefield, DSAers Henny Backer, Eleanor Shatzkin, and Fay Bennett Watts, and several members of the Fleischman family.

Ohio

Cleveland DSA held a red holiday party in December, where in addition to lots of socialist socializing, a new steering committee was elected and a socialist education project initiated. The local is conducting a membership renewal drive among its local members.... Columbus DSA held its organizational meeting in November. The local sent ten members to the housing march in Washington, DC.

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia DSA held a tribute to Michael Harrington in December. The videotape of an April, 1989 Harrington speech entitled "Towards a New Socialism" was shown and discussion followed. The Philadelphia DSA Labor Support Committee met to discuss future work in support of the mine workers and make plans for a public forum on the current state of the labor movement.

Washington

Seattle DSA has organized a study group on "Does Socialism Have a Future?" Seattle DSA marched as a group in the city's rally and march for reproductive rights November 12. The local did community support work for the IAM Boeing strike.

Washington DC

The DC/MD/NOVA local January membership meeting will discuss "Perspectives on Continuing Labor Struggles." The local's environmental working group will meet in January to make plans for the year ahead.

DSA Commissions

Feminist

Co-Chairs: Amy Bachrach
316 W. 108th St., NY, NY 10025.
Elissa McBride, Washington, DC.
Newsletter: "Not Far Enough"
Sara Stoutland, Editor, c/o DSA, 15
Dutch St., #500, NY, NY 10038.
Subscription: \$10/year.

Latino, Afro-American, and Anti- Racism

Contacts: Duane Campbell
c/o DSA, Box 162394, Sacramento,
CA 95816.
Mary Dunn, 192 Rosemont Gar-
den, Lexington, KY 40503.
Newsletter: "Our Struggle/Nuestra
Lucha," c/o same address as above.
Subscription: \$10.00/year.

Labor

Contacts: Tim Sears, P.O. Box
27391, Washington, DC 20038.
Penny Schantz, c/o SEIU Local
415, 517 Mission St., #B, Santa
Cruz, CA 95060.
Newsletter: "Labor Voice"
Frank Wallick, Editor, P.O. Box
328408, Washington, DC 20038.
Subscription: \$10.00/year.

Religion and Socialism

Chair: Jack Spooner, P.O. Box 80,
Camp Hill, PA 17001.
Newsletter: "Religious Socialism"
c/o IDS at same address as above.
Subscription: \$5.00/year.

Seniors (in formation)

Convenor: Earl Bourdon
c/o DSA, 15 Dutch Street, #500,
New York, NY 10038.

Environmental (in formation)
c/o DSA, 15 Dutch Street, #500,
New York, NY 10038.

We are getting the Seniors and
Environmental Commissions off the
ground. Contact the DSA office if
you are a senior or are interested
in environmental issues.

Recent Books By DSA Members

- ✓ Norman Birnbaum, *The Radical Renewal: The Politics of Ideas in Modern America*, Pantheon.
- ✓ David Greenberg, *The Construction of Homosexuality*, University of Chicago Press.
- ✓ Robert Dahl, *Democracy and its Critics*, Yale University Press
- ✓ Bogdan Denitch, *The End of the Cold War: European Unity, Socialism, and the Shift in Global Power*, Minnesota Press.
- ✓ Barbara Ehrenreich, *Fear of Falling: The Inner Life of the Middle Class*, Pantheon.
- ✓ Cynthia Epstein, *Deceptive Distinctions: Theory and Research on Sex, Gender, and the Social Order*, Yale University Press.
- ✓ Richard Flacks* and Jack Whalen, *Beyond the Barricades: The 60s Generation Grows Up*, Temple University Press.
- ✓ Michael Harrington, *Socialism: Past and Future*, Arcade Press.
- ✓ Philip Lichtenberg, *Getting Even: The Equalizing Law of Relationship*, University Press of America.
- ✓ John Logue, ed., *William Winpisinger - Reclaiming our Future: An Agenda for Labor*, Westview.
- ✓ Ann Orloff, Margaret Weir*, and Theda Skocpol*, *The Politics of Social Policy in the United States*, Princeton University Press.
- ✓ Craig Reinerman, *American States of Mind*, Yale University.
- ✓ David Sprintzen, *Camus: A Critical Examination*, Temple University Press.
- ✓ Michael Walzer, *The Company of Critics*, Basic Books.
- ✓ Cornel West, *The American Evasion of Philosophy*, University of Wisconsin Press.

* DSA member(s) among the co-authors.

Apologies to anyone whose book we have omitted. We will be updating this list regularly, so please send us titles of books by any DSA authors you know.

DSA Caravan in Solidarity with Striking Miners Re- Scheduled for January

1,900 members of the United Mine Workers of America have been on strike against the Pittston Coal Company since April 5. Over Martin Luther King Weekend, DSA will send a caravan to "Camp Solidarity" in southwestern Virginia to stand in solidarity with the striking Pittston miners. People will travel by car-pools on January 11 and 12 from regions across the country to support the miners' battle for economic justice.

An initial DSA contribution of over \$3,200 was presented to U.M.W.A. District 28 President Jackie Stump November 18 at a rally of hundreds of striking miners by DSAers Dinah Leventhal, Youth Section Organizer; Labor Commission representative Tim Sears; and Youth Section activists Dorothee Benz and Krista Schneider.

Show your support for the miners and their families. To join the caravan, or to send checks and canned goods to the miners, contact DSA: 15 Dutch St., #500, NY, NY 10038. ●

Democratic Socialists of America Youth Section Annual Winter Conference "It's the End of the World as We Know it...And We feel Find."

February 16-18, 1990
Columbia University,
New York City

Speakers will include:
Barbara Ehrenreich; Mark Green;
Paul Berman; Alice Kessler-Harris;
Bogdan Denitch; Irving Howe.

Panels on:
U.S. Foreign Policy; Strategy for
American Socialists; The Politics
of Higher Education.

Conference registration is \$20. For
more information, contact Dinah
Leventhal at (212) 962-0390.

Books and Literature Available through the DSA Office

Books

Socialism: Past and Future, by Michael Harrington. Argues that democratic socialism is the only alternative for 21st century. Remaking Love: The Feminization of Sex, by Barbara Ehrenreich, Elizabeth Hess, & Gloria Jacobs. Published at \$15.95.	DSA Price \$19.00 _____
The Long-Distance Runner, by Michael Harrington. An autobiography that spans the past two decades. Published at \$19.95	\$ 12.00 _____ \$17.00 _____
Fear of Falling: The Inner life of the Middle Class, by Barbara Ehrenreich. Examines the attitudes held by the middle class.	\$19.00 _____
The New American Poverty, by Michael Harrington. Paperback.	\$7.00 _____
Why Americans Don't Vote by Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward. Paperback.	\$9.00 _____
The Mean Season: The Attack on the Welfare State by Fred Block, Richard Cloward, Barbara Ehrenreich, and Frances Fox Piven. Paperback.	\$7.00 _____
A Margin of Hope: An Intellectual Autobiography by Irving Howe. Paperback.	\$7.00 _____
Socialism and America by Irving Howe. Debs, the Thirties, & American exceptionalism.	\$5.00 _____
The American Evasion of Philosophy: A Genealogy of Pragmatism by Cornel West. Paperback.	\$18.00 _____
The Next Left: The History of a Future by Michael Harrington. Paperback.	\$ 8.00 _____
The Crisis in Historical Materialism by Stanley Aronowitz. Hardcover.	\$10.00 _____

Pamphlets

A Socialist Perspective on the Politics of Poverty by Michael Harrington, with contributions by Barbara Ehrenreich, William Julius Wilson, and Mark Levinson. Special bulk rate: \$.20/copy for orders of 20 or more.	\$1.00 _____
Democratic Promise: Ideas for Turning America in a Progressive Direction. Articles by Robert Kuttner, Michael Harrington, & William Julius Wilson, among others.	\$.50 _____
Socialist-Feminist Reader. 200 pages.	\$10.00 _____
Toward A Socialist Theory of Racism by Cornel West.	\$1.50 _____
First Steps Toward a New Civilization.	\$1.00 _____
Toward a Democratic Socialism: Theory, Strategy, and Vision by Joseph Schwartz. DSA's theory and practice in an historical context.	\$1.00 _____
The Black Church and Marxism by James Cone.	\$.50 _____
Perspectives on Lesbian and Gay Liberation and Socialism.	\$1.00 _____
The Question of Socialism by Michael Harrington and Alec Nove.	\$2.00 _____
The Politics of the Housing Crisis by Peter Dreier.	\$.50 _____
<i>Alternative Pamphlet Series:</i>	
#2 Democracy & Productivity in the Future American Economy by Lou Ferleger and Jay R. Mandle.	\$1.50 _____

#3 The Common Good: Stalemate or Reconstruction by Gar Alperovitz.	\$1.50 _____
#4 Gentrification, Strategic Initiatives, and the Left by Robert Beauregard.	\$1.50 _____

Publications/Products

Democratic Left, DSA's bimonthly periodical. \$8.00/one year subscription. Most current and back issues available in quantity.	\$.50 _____ \$.50 _____
Labor Voice, the Publication of the DSA Labor Commission. Most recent issue available.	\$5.00 _____
Religious Socialism, the publication of the DSA Religion and Socialism Commission. One year subscription.	\$10.00 _____
Not Far Enough, the newsletter of the DSA Feminist Commission. One year subscription included with annual Commission dues.	\$.50 _____
Nuestra Lucha/Our Struggle, the newsletter of the DSA Latino, Anti-Racism, and Afro-American Commissions.	\$.50 _____
The Activist, DSA Youth Section newsletter.	\$1.00 _____
DSA buttons. Two styles: plain fist-and-rose and fist-and-rose held by black and white clasped hands. \$1 each.	\$.50 _____
Debs Postcard, depicting the life and legacy of Eugene Debs. \$.50 each or 12 for \$5.	\$1.00 _____
Solidarity bumpersticker	\$1.50 _____
Socialist Forum, DSA's discussion bulletin.	\$25.00 _____
Video: New American Poverty by Michael Harrington. 60 minutes.	\$25.00 _____
Video: Towards a New Socialism by Michael Harrington. 60 minutes.	\$10.00 _____
Fist-and-Rose Tee-Shirts. Sm., med., lg., & extra-lg. in tan, white & silver. 100% cotton.	TOTAL \$ _____

Free Literature

We are Democratic Socialists with a Vision of the Future.	_____
Where We Stand, a position statement of DSA.	_____
What Socialism Is...And Is Not.	_____
Socialism Informs the Best of Our Politics, a pamphlet written by Michael Harrington.	_____
A Better World in Birth, the statement of the DSA Youth Section.	_____
For A More Livable World, the brochure of the Religion and Socialism Commission.	_____

Send a stamped, self-addressed envelope. We will bill for shipping bulk orders. Bulk orders: 10% off on 5-9 copies; 20% off on 10-14; 30% on 15 or more copies. Postage: Orders under \$.50, add \$.45 or send stamps. Orders from \$.50 to \$2.00 add \$.65 for postage and handling. Orders from \$2.00 to \$5.00, add \$1.25. Orders from \$5.00 to \$10.00 add \$2.00. We will bill for postage on orders over \$10.00. Make checks payable to Democratic Socialists of America, 15 Dutch Street, Suite 500, New York, NY 10038.

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Women and Wages: Then and Now

by Alice Kessler-Harris

The recent battle over raising the minimum wage shows again the pervasiveness of historical assumptions that determine current policies affecting women. In the popular press, discussions about wages almost always appear as issues of economic policy, surrounded by charts that suggest their likely consequences in terms of such outcomes as unemployment and consumer spending power. But the unspoken issues in the debate transcend arithmetic. Whatever the calculation of losses and gains, the wage has a meaning beyond the dollar amounts attached to it. It says something about the value of the person receiving it.

The wage has nearly always had an adjective attached. Ideas of a "just" wage and a fair wage have marked the struggles of working people since the middle ages. In the United States, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, notions of a "family" wage and a "living" wage dominated discussion of the labor market and shaped the choices and expectations of the men and women who would enter it.

In the early part of the century, John Ryan, the Catholic priest who was the most prolific exponent of the living wage, asserted the laborer's right to a "decent and reasonable life." For Ryan, this included the "right to exercise one's primary faculties, supply one's essential needs, and develop one's personality" as well as the "love and companionship of a person of the opposite sex." Leaders of the labor movement shared these goals. The Shoe Worker's Journal proposed that "everything necessary to the life of a normal man be included in the living wage: the right to marriage, the right to have children and to edu-

cate them."

But in suggesting an appropriate wage for men, proponents of the living wage also offered a set of gendered instructions that spoke to men and women and to the relations between them. The living wage not only held out to men the promise of female home-making; it explicitly incorporated wife and children. Because it idealized a world in which men had the privilege of caring for women and children, it implicitly refused women that privilege. And because it assumed female dependence, to imagine that women could be independent challenged male roles and egos.

The consequences of these ideas became apparent when commentators talked about a living wage for women. Ground rules for female wage-earners allowed only self-support, and even that was estimated at the most minimal level. As John Stuart Mill put it, the minimum in the case of women, "is the

pittance absolutely required for the sustenance of one human being." John Ryan agreed: the compensation of women forced to provide for themselves, he argued, should be merely "sufficient to enable them to live decently."

Historians have estimated that at the time Ryan wrote, more than one third of wage-earning women in urban areas lived independently, were responsible for their own support, and not infrequently contributed to the support of others as well. Three quarters of those living at home helped to support other family members. A perception of the living wage that suggested the need for only minimal support at the level required to sustain a single person condemned most women to poverty. The conception did a particular disservice to black women who, in the period before World War I were eight times as likely to earn wages as white women, and among whom those who were married



Clerical workers went on strike at New York University, in demand of better wages.

New Minimum Wage Brings Minimum Justice

by Dorothee Benz

In November 1989, the U.S. government passed legislation increasing the nation's minimum wage for the first time in twelve years. The last raise for America's poorest workers came in 1981, when a 1977-authorized increase to \$3.35 an hour went into effect. The new law will increase the minimum wage to \$4.25 an hour by 1991. It also includes a subminimum "training wage" that allows employers to pay teenagers at their first job a lower rate for ninety days, and for an additional ninety days if the company institutes a training program for newcomers.

The final version of the legislation represents several layers of compromise. Organized labor, the primary advocate for the increase, originally rejected the idea of any training wage, because it invited exploitation by employers to circumvent a higher minimum by hiring new workers that fell within the requirements for the training wage. President Bush refused to support any increase that did not include a six-month training wage that would extend to all new employees, not only to workers at their first job. He also insisted on a maximum increase to \$4.25.

At \$3.35 an hour, minimum wage earners in 1989 suffered a 27 percent loss in real wages since 1981. At forty hours a week and fifty weeks a year (a generous assumption), minimum wage earnings -- the majority of whom are women -- still fell short of the poverty level: \$1,158 short for one adult with one child. In 1989 dollars, it would take a wage of \$4.56 simply to keep up with the cost of living. Thus the increase to \$4.25 by 1991 falls short even of letting workers regain their 1981 wages. ●

Dorothee Benz, a member of DSA's Youth Section, works for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

were three times as likely to continue to earn wages as white women. Yet the real needs of wage-earning women were rarely acknowledged. As a result, even the achievement of a "living wage" for women undermined the welfare of the families that relied on their wages. And the expectation of a relatively low minimum, by reducing women's potential capacity to earn adequate incomes, diminished their ability to support themselves and their homes.

When several states tried to translate the concept of a living wage for women into a minimum wage in the decade of the 1910s, the result was predictable. The minimum wages adopted were so restrictive as to require the strictest exercise of thrift, self-discipline, and restraint. They prescribed a spartan life style, sufficient, it was hoped, to preserve morality for those destined to earn, but not so generous as to tempt women in families to live outside them. They warned against any expectations of joy, spontaneity, pleasure, or recreation, limiting fantasy to the price of survival, and closing the door of ambition to any hope other than that of a meager independence.

Lacking a man's wage, women would not typically develop the incentive to invest in their future labor-market potential. Nor were they normally offered opportunities to demonstrate that investing in their labor could be an investment in the future. Rather, the wage made a familiar statement about female personality. A low wage was perceived as just because it reflected the costs of accommodating female qualities in the market place. Women, said one Connecticut manufacturer, were paid less than men because "they are sensitive and require extraordinarily tactful and kindly treatment and much personal consideration."

At work here was a perception of who women were and what they deserved that was consistent with social expectations. The renowned economist Alfred Marshall commented that a higher wage for women might be a "great gain in so far as it tends to develop their faculties, but an injury in so far as it tempts them to neglect their duty of building up a true home...." The point is not whether those expectations were warranted, but that their existence

participated in structuring the wages that in turn helped to perpetuate the expectation that produced them.

Today, when the idea of the wage is tossed about as a mathematical construct, we need to remember that even the most abstract discussions embody meanings about who will earn wages and convey social messages about what can and should be expected from life. A minimum too low to support a family, or a wage tied to age instead of productivity send messages that will last far longer than the amounts attached to the paycheck. We need to raise those messages to consciousness. ●

Alice Kessler-Harris, a member of DSA and of History Department at Temple University, is author of the forthcoming A Woman's Wage.

Priorities

Continued from page 10.

the records of pro-choice candidates on other issues of concern to socialists, such as labor, welfare, and civil rights.

Environment: Environmental problems caused by the exercise of unaccountable economic power have reached crisis proportions, and corporations and politicians have avoided discussion of root causes by focusing on problems of disposal and control rather than prevention. We therefore resolve DSA establishes an environmental commission that, as its primary task, promotes the prevention of pollution and toxic waste, ultimately through greater democracy in the economy.

National Health Care: The United States shares with the Republic of South Africa the distinction of being the only industrialized nations without a national health care system; the United States still spends a greater percentage of its Gross National Product on health care than nations which have comprehensive systems; and there is no other issue toward which the American public is so favorably disposed which they so closely associate with the concept of socialism; The NPC shall therefore establish a committee to investigate the interest in and resources available for a campaign around the creation of a national health care system. This might involve a national day of events on health care. ●

Grassroots Politics in Action: The Long Island Progressive Coalition

by Hugh Cleland

A decade ago, William Winpisinger, the president of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), joined the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), one of the predecessor groups of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). Winpisinger, departing sharply from the organizational conservatism of the Meany years in the AFL-CIO and adopting the coalitional politics of DSOC, urged labor to reach out to peace, feminist, environmental, and other progressive organizations.

On Long Island, long time activist and *Democratic Left* columnist Harry Fleischman, set out to involve the local labor movement in the sort of actions Winpisinger proposed. With the help of local IAM leader Jack Maisel and others, Long Island socialists went to work to launch an organization mirroring Winpisinger's ideas. In 1979, over 600 people crowded into a rousing meeting in a machinists' hall to launch the Long Island Progressive Coalition.

Today, a decade later, the LIPC has not merely survived but has thrived.

Sixty-two progressive organizations and several hundred individuals are members. The LIPC now has its own office, an executive director, a secretary, several part-time employees, two publications, a network of affiliated projects, and is known throughout the state. Funding comes from foundations, organizational and individual members, and aggressive fund raising campaigns. People running for office on Long Island now vie for an LIPC endorsement.

Several of Winpisinger's and DSOC's original ideas have kept the LIPC growing through the grim Reagan years. One such idea has been close identification and alliance with labor. The coalition and its offshoots meet in local union halls of the IAM, the United Automobile Workers (UAW), the National Education Association (NEA), and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW). The LIPC office is next door to the offices of AFSCME District Council 1707. The LIPC is now a consistent presence in local labor-progressive alliances. When the American Catholic Bishops Conference launched their "Economic Justice for All" campaign in 1985, District Council 1707's

Director of Organization and DSA member Gary Stevenson went to the Long Island diocese and proposed a Labor-Religion Coalition. The Labor-Religion Coalition, now in its fifth year, is co-chaired by Sister Rose Sheridan of the Diocese of Rockville Centre, and DSAer David Sprintzen, chair of the LIPC. The coalition includes Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic leaders, as well as unions, housing advocates, and local government officials.

The LIPC also maintains a Labor Solidarity Network and operates a foundation-supported Workers Rights Center, which was sparked by Teamster leader John Carter. The Workers Rights Center has been especially helpful to undocumented aliens on Long Island. The Labor Solidarity Network has generated picket line support for striking nurses, day care workers, telephone workers, nursery workers, and others.

The LIPC draws a great deal of support from religious groups. Not all denominations or congregations will cooperate with every LIPC issue, but it has been possible to work with the Catholic Church on labor, housing, and undocumented worker problems, with Protestant churches on environmental questions, and so on. Good humor and an absence of rigidity goes a long way toward crafting coalitions.

Environmental concerns have perhaps been the most fruitful field for the LIPC, which is, in a sense, a "green" organization. The long, successful battle against the Shoreham Nuclear Power Plant on Long Island had been a major training ground for progressive political candidates on Long Island, and the LIPC was deeply involved in that ongoing struggle. Open space, ground water, solid waste disposal, and environmental protection for workers have also been concerns. The Long Island Public Project led by Fred Harrison and Peter



1979 founding meeting of the LIPC.



LIPC sixth annual Welcome to the New Year party.

Quinn has been a close ally. The LIPC also took the lead in establishing a foundation-supported Environmental Leaders Network on the Island. In addition, the LIPC sponsors "Earthnet," a computer bulletin board for environmental activists, led by Byron Arnao. (If you have a personal computer, modem, and appropriate software, give "Earthnet" a call at area code 516-321-4893.)

Electoral action has also been a key component of the LIPC's work. Marge Harrison, a long-time LIPC leader, is the state vice chair of the Democratic party, representing the reform caucus. Suffolk County, once a Republican fiefdom, now boasts three progressive Democratic members of Congress: Tom Downey, Bob Mrazek, and George Hochbrueckner, as well as a liberal Democratic County Executive, Patrick Halpin. All have been supported and helped by the LIPC, which enjoys good relations with each of them and many other local office holders, such as Republican County Legislator Fred Thiele in Suffolk.

The LIPC recently backed Nora Bredes, who ran on the Citizens for Choice ticket in a local 1989 legislative race. Bredes was opposing a Democrat who was crossed listed on the Right to Life party line. LIPC support for Bredes was one example of the cooperation between LIPC and the extremely active and effective network of NOW chapters on Long Island. In addition to supporting progressive local candidates, LIPC had been active in a court case to guarantee better ballot access to small political parties.

Suffolk County has pioneered such

progressive legislation and policies as one of the first bottle deposit laws, a gay rights bill (unusual in the suburbs), a policy of immediate arrest of spouse abusers, a ban on the importation of certain plastics, and a law mandating rest periods, eye examinations, and comfortable office furniture for video display terminal users. Suffolk County in a referendum has set aside a quarter of each cent of the county sales tax to buy open space to preserve ground water and environmentally sensitive and scenic areas. The LIPC has been involved in all of these victories.

Helping to win local elections involves more than taking the "correct position" on the problems of the day. The "correct position" helps, but far too many people with the wrong position get elected. Nominating petitions, design of direct mailing, use of telephones, relations with the press and electronic media, study of voting patterns, and mobilization of indispensable volunteers all require perseverance and sophistication, both in large amounts. And money.

Under the leadership of DSAer Mark Finkel, the LIPC has set up two PACs, one to raise money from the LIPC membership, and another to seek funds from the broad progressive community. Neither is rolling in money, but the political sophistication of the LIPC made it possible for the group to play a very prominent role in the Long Island arm of the Jesse Jackson presidential primary campaign headed by two LIPCers, Madge Kaplan and Jean Duncan.

Among other strides the organization has taken:

→The LIPC has seen the circulation of its newspaper, the *Long Island Progressive*, jump from 500 to more than 6,000.

→The LIPC (which is itself incorporated) has established a tax exempt educational arm, the Research and Education Project, Long Island, which can receive tax deductible contributions from individuals and foundations.

→The LIPC has recently become the Long Island arm of New York Citizens Action, a Heather Booth-inspired community organizing group. The LIPC will retain its own independence and autonomy under the arrangement.

But leadership had made the real difference. The cowboy philosopher of the 1920's, Will Rogers, said he never met a man he didn't like; LIPC Chair David Sprintzen, a professor of philosophy at the C.W. Post campus of Long Island University, has never met a progressive cause or person he couldn't work with. There is a remarkable absence of sectarian rancor in the LIPC, perhaps because the "crazies" that plague the left in big cities don't thrive in the suburbs. Executive Director Warren Goldstein has brought to the organization experience with grant proposal writing, fund raising, and organizing learned as a former executive with Amnesty International.

Long Island DSAers are sometimes asked how DSA participation in the LIPC has effected DSA. There is strong sentiment that the LIPC is a very successful example of the kind of coalitional politics that DSA advocates. The LIPC and its affiliate projects give DSAers a range of activities in which to be active -- strike support, environmental concerns, activities with religious organizations. DSA locals on the Island are then free to concentrate on education and theoretical considerations.

David Sprintzen insists that, "The LIPC was initially inspired by Michael Harrington's vision of a broad democratic left. The LIPC has been successful at building a broad-scale coalition of the democratic left to promote progressive politics -- by working in and outside the Democratic party." ●

Hugh G. Cleland, a founding member of the LIPC, is active in Democratic Party politics. He is a member of DSA.

El Salvador Revisited

by Patrick Lacefield

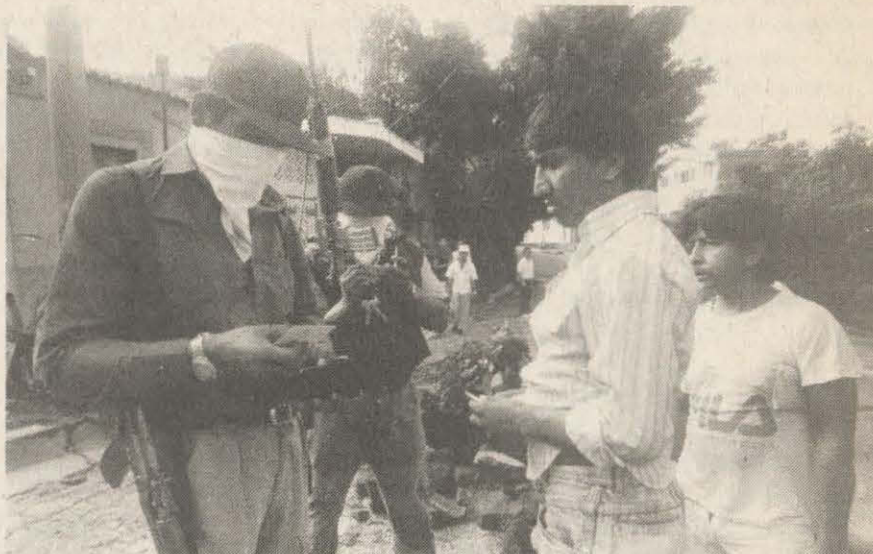
The bomb was carefully placed in the kitchen, timed to go off at 12:30 p.m. When the explosion came, the FENASTRAS union offices were crowded with union activists and their families lining up for some midday soup. When the smoke cleared, ten unionists were dead and several dozen others were wounded. Pieces of bodies were everywhere in the rubble.

Three days after the October 31 bombing, assumed to be retaliation by the army for attacks by the rebel Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), the rebels broke off talks with the far-right government of ARENA's Alfredo Cristiani. Cristiani demanded that the rebels lay down their arms and incorporate themselves into the "democratic process" as exemplified by six U.S.-government sponsored elections since 1982. The rebels asked for a purge of army officers guilty of human rights abuses, a reduction in the size of the 60,000 person Salvadoran army, and iron-clad guarantees of trade union, press and political rights.

The three-week offensive by the FMLN rebels, the killing of six Jesuit priests, the siege of the luxury Sheraton Hotel with U.S. Green Berets trapped inside, the arrest of U.S. Church worker Jennifer Casolo, and the crash of a plane filled with surface to air missiles have all propelled El Salvador onto center stage once again. In Congress, a bipartisan consensus on El Salvador -- which survived the election last March of rightist Cristiani -- has begun to unravel in the wake of the murder of the Jesuits and the realization that there is no light at the end of the tunnel.

Since the defeat of the U.S.-favored Christian Democrats in March, United States policy has centered on urging Congress to give the ARENA government the benefit of the doubt, citing the

Donna Deesare Impact Visuals



FMLN check point to screen out army spies.

negotiations while ignoring the military and political strength of the FMLN. In fact, the military strength of the FMLN -- now operating actively in all fourteen of Salvador's provinces -- had been building for the past eighteen months. Starting with the chaos and organizing opportunities in the wake of the disastrous earthquake of October 1986, the FMLN rebuilt an urban cadre -- previously destroyed by the intense repression of 1980-1983. With this came a political rethinking on the part of the Marxist-Leninist led guerrillas. Amid ongoing (and largely fantastic) talk of an impending insurrection, FMLN leaders were taking note of the retreat of Soviet power and the changes in the communist world as well as the disasters that had befallen Sandinista-led Nicaragua in the face of U.S. hostility and relative political isolation. Prior to the March balloting, they dropped their demand for power-sharing and integration of the two armies, as part of a proposal that also included postponement of the March elections and an indication that they might be willing to lay down their arms. The postponement of the elections, however, was stymied by the army and the front-running ARENA party. The FMLN re-

sponded by boycotting the balloting, declaring a transportation stoppage, and mounting country-wide attacks on election day. The transportation stoppage, coupled with the fighting between the army and the rebels, undercut the democratic left Democratic Convergence ticket, headed by Guillermo Ungo. The Convergence finished a poor fourth and the light turnout gave the far-right ARENA party an unexpected first-round victory.

Now, in the wake of the recent three week guerrilla offensive and the government response, several things seem clear. One is that the guerrillas can deploy military force sufficient to strike anywhere in the country at any time, even taking the war to the wealthy boroughs where the conflict has been largely, in a day-to-day sense, an abstraction. The U.S. embassy refuses to acknowledge this. Instead, they play Johnny One Note. The rebel attack on the city is a sign of weakness. Not being able to attack the city is a weakness. Attacking in small units is a sign of weakness. So, too, is attacking in large units. If the rebels now have shouldered-fired surface-to-air missiles, as seems likely, that could make a qualitative difference in neutralizing government

Legislative Action Heats Up as United States Policy Unravels

by Bill Spencer

United States policy in El Salvador enters the nineties in deep crisis and the situation in that country is intensely volatile. After some \$4 billion dollars in United States assistance — our largest counterinsurgency commitment since Vietnam — the three pillars of United States policy have disintegrated: a) Despite a series of elections and the institution of a civilian presidency, a durable space for democratic politics was never constructed and power remains in the hands of the military; b) The repression and poverty that sparked and sustain the conflict have not been addressed; c) The Salvadoran Armed Forces has not delivered the regularly predicted military defeat of the FMLN rebels. The FMLN suspended talks with the government after an October 31 bombing left ten people dead at the union federation office. Ten days later the rebels launched a fierce offensive against fifty targets. On November 16, six Jesuit priests and two friends were murdered by thirty uniformed men.

The religious, human rights, and solidarity community in the United States responded to the murder of the Jesuits and government assault on religious, labor, and opposition groups with an immediate cry of outrage. Many major religious leaders here have called for a suspension of military assistance.

A day after the killing of the priests, 125 Representatives — including moderates and Republicans — wrote to President Bush calling for a full investigation and United States pressure toward a cease-fire. On November 20, during final action on the Fiscal Year 1990 Foreign Aid Appropriations bill, House Democrats sought to withhold 30 percent of next year's \$85 million in military assistance to El Salvador. After a short but passionate debate, motion to consider the withholding amendment was defeated. Representatives later voted overwhelmingly to denounce the violence and warn the Salvadoran government that its handling of the investigation of the Jesuit murders would figure prominently in future aid discussions. The Senate also turned back an attempt to withhold 30 percent of El Salvador's military aid in a vote of 58 to 39. In both the House and Senate, critiques of United States policy fared better than they had on votes to condition aid earlier in 1989. Dozens of Representatives pledged to support efforts to suspend military aid if the murders of the Jesuits are not brought to justice by the time Congress reconvenes. Although the rush to adjourn prohibited Congressional attempt to withhold aid, the consensus on policy toward El Salvador has been deeply shaken.

Members of Congress should be urged — by calls, letters, or visits — to call upon President Bush to immediately suspend military assistance to El

Salvador. Members of Congress should be pressed to contact the United States State Department and the United States Embassy in San Salvador, as well as President Cristiani, demanding an end to the crackdown on religious, labor, and political opposition groups. Many organizations have endorsed House Resolution 3733, introduced by Representatives Ronald Dellums (D-CA) and Nancy Pelosi (D-CA), which would terminate all aid to El Salvador except for strictly defined humanitarian aid. Legislation will be introduced by Senator John Kerry (D-MA) in the Senate.

Representatives should be urged to join the sixty cosponsors of House Joint Resolution 54, introduced by Representative Robert Kastenmeier (D-WI), to withdraw United States military assistance and advisors. Many grassroots organizations will carry out actions as Congress returns in late January. Religious and labor leaders are planning events around February 17, the tenth anniversary of a letter from Archbishop Romero to President Carter appealing for an end to military aid. Plans are also underway for events leading up to the March 24 ten-year anniversary of the assassination of Monsignor Romero. For an update on legislation, call (202) 667-0990. ●

Bill Spencer, a DSAer, is director of the Central America Working Group.

air power. Similar weapons in the hands of the Afghan rebels helped turned the tables against the Russians.

If the rebel offensive was truly aimed at inciting an insurrection, as opposed to simply bolstering their hand at any negotiating table, it must be judged a failure. Yes, some folks answered the call and joined the fight but precious few. It is not surprising, however, that the rebels' military prowess is not matched by widespread political support. Rebel transport stoppages, assassinations of village mayors, and economic sabotage have not gone over well with a war-weary Salvadoran people,

despite the lack of support for the ARENA government. Also, though the lion's share of human rights abuses were the government's responsibility, FMLN guerrillas overran a government hospital in Zacatecoluca and killed several wounded soldiers. They also used clinics in several poor barrios as military staging areas during the offensive. This is war and the FMLN, despite some new thinking, will never be confused with a gaggle of Jeffersonian democrats.

The Salvadoran army, behind the embassy and ahead of Cristiani's civilian government in the pecking order of real power in El Salvador, has made

common cause with the far-right in closing what political space existed. The repression, which existed before ARENA assumed power, took a quantum leap forward in the wake of the offensive. In February and March, Guillermo Ungo and Ruben Zamora were barnstorming the countryside, loudspeakers a-blasting, and denouncing the army, the far right, and U.S. policy. For now, Ungo is in Panama, though he plans to return. His house was ransacked as were the offices of the National Revolutionary Movement, Democratic Socialists of America's sister Socialist International party in Salvador. Ruben Zamora has

seen his house bombed, his Social Christian party offices demolished, and three party members murdered. He sent his family into exile while he remains in the country, dodging the death squads by sleeping in a different house each night, and continues organizing "to get negotiations back on track." Trade union

and humanitarian offices have been raided, and workers there detained and tortured. The arrest of North American church worker Jennifer Casolo on charges of collaboration with the rebels signalled a new campaign to drive foreign humanitarian workers from their posts. Censorship of the press, televi-

sion, and radio is the order of the day.

Just recently, the ARENA-dominated Assembly passed a draconian set of policies effectively outlawing any opposition activity or anything that "defames" El Salvador. Cristiani indicated that perhaps this went a bit far and there will be changes. Still, the attitude

First Hand Account: Violence Rages Anew in El Salvador

by Linnea Capps

In response to reports of violations of humanitarian law and medical neutrality during the recent fighting in El Salvador, a delegation, including Congressman and physician Jim McDermott, was organized to investigate the conditions under which care was given to the victims of the conflict. Although the November 24-27 visit lasted only four days, the group, of which I was also a participant, had a number of meetings with United States and Salvadoran government officials and representatives of churches and other humanitarian organizations. We were also able to travel to several of the hardest-hit sections of the city.

We witnessed the damage done to a number of houses and to the Sheraton Hotel in the wealthy area of Escalon. We later saw houses completely destroyed in the neighborhoods of Mejicanos and Zacamil. We talked to the residents of a small community of houses, most of whom had already been displaced twice -- once by fighting in the northern part of the country and again by the earthquake in 1986. During the offensive, soldiers of the Salvadoran Army came and told them to leave immediately. There was no time to take any possessions or food. The houses were then set on fire and allowed to burn to the ground. Little was left but charred wood and blackened sheets of tin, yet the people started to rebuild immediately.

In Mejicanos we visited the Catholic church and spoke to the parish priest and two volunteers who helped care for the wounded. Although none

of them had any formal medical training, they administered first aid to 200-300 wounded over a one-week period. They were able to transport some of the most seriously wounded to aid stations and hospitals, but were hampered by fighting and also by the Army, which prohibited ambulances from entering the area. Soldiers threatened the priest with death if he continued to try to evacuate the wounded from the area. A week after the start of the fighting, soldiers from the First Infantry Brigade came into the church and took away eleven wounded people, including several children, and four church volunteers. Three of the church workers were released the next day, but one of them was still in detention a week later. No one had been able to find out what happened to the eleven wounded.

*Little was left but charred
wood and blackened
sheets of tin...*

Church and humanitarian organizations reported a number of problems. Refugee centers and clinics were searched frequently and some were forced to close. Medical supplies were confiscated and volunteer health workers were arrested. In most cases they were accused of providing care to the FMLN guerrillas.

The change in the political climate was very noticeable, especially to one who saw San Salvador only a few months ago when leftist parties operated openly and union and student groups staged frequent demonstrations. Most leftist political leaders have left the country or gone into hiding. Unions offices are quiet or closed. People are more hesitant to talk to strangers. Foreign health and

humanitarian workers are crowding into hotels because they are afraid to stay in their homes. Press censorship has increased dramatically. One news team decided to stop broadcasting rather than submit to restrictions that made objective reporting impossible.

In meetings with Salvadoran government officials, including President Alfredo Cristiani himself, we were assured that the government respects the principles of medical neutrality and the right of non-governmental humanitarian organizations to function. Church and humanitarian agency workers are skeptical of his commitment to these principles and doubt his ability to control the military commanders who are responsible for the violations of humanitarian law.

The United States Ambassador, William Walker, implied that in many cases foreign volunteers don't respect Salvadoran laws prohibiting political activity by foreigners and collaborate with the FMLN. In his view, we should therefore not complain when they are arrested and deported.

Although some Salvadorans were optimistic that the recent show of strength by the FMLN rebels would force the reopening of negotiations, it appears more likely that the fighting will continue and that repression will increase. The coming months will be a critical period in El Salvador's long history of war. It will be important to increase the pressure on Congress to eliminate military aid to El Salvador.

Linnea Capps, a DSA member, worked in a rural health project in El Salvador from 1985-1987.

of the day is that any opposition activity is a "front" for the guerrillas. And the army, during this offensive, has disregarded Cristiani on a number of occasions, in particular violating his pledge that no air strikes would be carried out against civilian neighborhoods.

The November 16 murder of the six Jesuit priests, their cook, and her daughter aroused a firestorm of criticism internationally. The killings happened 700 yards from a military garrison during an all-night curfew in an area heavily patrolled by government troops. Uniformed men were observed entering and leaving. Though Cristiani and U.S. Ambassador William Walker have pledged a full investigation of the killings, the track record on such probes does not offer much hope. In ten years, not a single Salvadoran military officer has been convicted of human rights abuses. The man behind the murder of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, Roberto D'Aubuisson, is the hard-line power behind Alfredo Cristiani's soft-spoken throne.

Ambassador Walker has offered forensic assistance to the Salvadorans and has asked for more help in "reforming" the Salvadoran judicial system, into which the U.S. has already pumped millions of bucks. On some level, though, the Embassy just doesn't understand Salvador. What is lacking is political will. What is absent is rule of law, without which no judge or jury will convict and any talk of Salvador's "democratic successes" is empty.

With the failure of Congressional efforts to withhold even 30 percent of this year's \$85 million in military aid to El Salvador, U.S. support for the Cristiani government seems secure -- for now. The FMLN has shown an ability to derail any ARENA plan for reviving the moribund economy and an inability to spark a popular insurrection. Still, even Christian Democratic unionists acknowledge privately that without the threat of the FMLN there would not have been any incentive for the U.S., the army or the Salvadoran oligarchy to tolerate any kind of reforms. Even given the current crackdown, that dynamic still exists. All talk of the Soviet Union, Cuba, and Nicaragua aside -- yes, they are all helping the rebels a bit, but not much -- the rebellion exists in El Salvador

because the army is still not subject to civilian control, there are no guarantees of political liberties, and there continues to be an increasing gulf between the few who have much and the many who have too little. All that after ten years of U.S. policy and \$4 billion spent.

The solution remains in a negotiated settlement, as promoted by the Church and the democratic left opposition. While some on both sides are looking for total victory, others seem eager to resume the talks, though only if they are on their own terms. It largely falls to progressives in the United States to pressure our government to pressure the Salvadoran army and the ARENA

government to negotiate seriously with the FMLN. That requires leverage. We should urge an immediate cease-fire by both sides, the suspension of the delivery of foreign military aid to both sides in the conflict, a complete investigation into human rights violations like the FENASTRAS bombings and the killings of the Jesuits and, finally, talks that aren't of the "take it or leave it" variety. It's a tall order to be sure, but for war-torn El Salvador there is no other exit.

Patrick Lacefield, DSA's organizational director, is an editor of El Salvador: Central America in the New Cold War.

**STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP
MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION**

(Act of August 12, 1970, section 3685, title 39, United States Code)

- 1A. Title of publication: Democratic Left
- 1B. Publication No: USPS #0701-960
2. Date of Filing: December 14, 1989
3. Frequency of issue: bi-monthly
 - A. No of issues published annually: 6
 - B. Annual subscription price: \$8.00
4. Location of office of publication: 15 Dutch Street Suite 500 New York City, New York County, NY 10038-3779
5. Location of the publisher: 15 Dutch St. Suite 500 New York, NY 10038-3779
6. Names and addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Democratic Socialists of America, Inc; Barbara Ehrenreich and Michael Harrington; Sherri Levine; all of 15 Dutch Street Suite 500 New York NY 10038-3779
7. Owner: Democratic Socialists of America, Inc, 15 Dutch St. Suite 500 New York NY 10038-3779
8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: none
9. The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for federal income tax purposes has not changed during the preceding 12 months.
10. Extent and nature of circulation

	Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months	Single issue published nearest to filing date
A. Total no. copies printed	8,350	10,000
B. Paid circulation:		
1. Sales via dealers, carriers, street vendors, counter sales	1,019	1,106
2. Mail subscription	4,948	5,110
C. Total paid circulation	5,967	6,216
D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means. Samples, complimentary, and other free copies		
	1,269	1,573
E. Total distribution	7,236	7,789
F. Copies not distributed		
1. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled	1,114	2,211
2. Return from news agents	0	0
G. Total	8,350	10,000
11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.
(Signed) Gary Lucek, Business Manager

CWA District 1 Wins Strike

by Jo-Ann Mort

A big lift to labor's efforts was the recent victory by the Communication Workers of America (CWA) District 1 against NYNEX. The bitter strike, which lasted four months, was closely watched by labor and business alike since the main issue of contention -- who should pay for a worker's healthcare benefits -- will be the key issue in local and national bargaining in the coming period for a majority of union contracts, including the one now being negotiated between the United Mine Workers of America and Pittston Coal Company.

Jan D. Pierce, international vice president and head of CWA District 1, said, "We outfought NYNEX. We were forced to fight on an issue which was framed by the company, an issue which will be faced by other workers, as companies try to shift healthcare costs to workers. We were fighting for more than just our own workers,

and our victory is more than just a victory for the CWA."

"We fought collectively with a united labor movement," Pierce emphasized. He pointed out that the CWA received financial support from over 1,000 individuals and institutions, ranging in amounts from \$25 to \$25,000, including a contribution of \$700 from the Democratic Socialists of America.

Pierce, who is a DSA member, also led his members mobilization to tie workers' interests to the interests of NYNEX consumers. The union ran a sophisticated campaign which brought together elected officials, consumer advocates, and trade unionists to fight a proposed rate hike requested by New York Telephone, a NYNEX subsidiary.

Jo-Ann Mort, a member of DSA's National Political Committee, is the communication director for the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU).

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