

Inside: Third Wave Feminism

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War in the New Era

Essays by
Barbara
Ehrenreich,
Bogdan
Denitch,
and
Michael
Walzer



*ALSO: Health Care Activism ♦ Lesbian and Gay Struggles ♦
Julia Reichert's New Film*

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EDITORIAL

JUSTICE DELAYED

BY DOROTHEE BENZ

The homosexual community stated that they will infiltrate the schools and take over children at a young age. . . Because half of them are dead and are going to die because of AIDS, and they need a new outlet to recruit. -- Dolores Ayling, founder of Concerned Parents for Educational Accountability, New York Newsday, 2/8/93

I am not afraid of the word 'tension' . . . the kind of tension in society that will help men [sic] rise from the dark depths of prejudice. -- Martin Luther King, Jr., Letter from Birmingham Jail, 1963

There have been times in history when those who would exclude and persecute certain members of the human community claimed that Jews used the blood of Christian children in their religious rituals, just as they now claim that gays will pervert and molest children. Opponents of lifting the ban on gays in the military clamor that morale will be shattered by making heterosexual and homosexual men share showers and foxholes, as once they protested the integration of blacks into the armed services. If it is true that oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever, then there will come a day when these latter-

day bigots, too, shall become a shameful footnote in humankind's struggle against fear and ignorance.

The slow but steady gains of the gay rights movement over the last quarter century have provoked a vicious and often violent backlash in recent years. Last year there were four anti-gay ballot initiatives in the United States; one, in Colorado, passed. Ballot measure 9 in Oregon would have declared homosexuality "perverse and unnatural"; it failed, but not before two gay Oregonians were murdered, and many more assaulted. In October, gay Seaman Allen Schindler was beaten and lacerated to death beyond recognition. In January three Marines dragged Crae Pridgen out of a bar and beat him because, they said, they hated all homosexuals.

There are many who would argue that such violence is a reason to delay lifting the military ban, lest mandated social tolerance provoke more violence. The same was said in Birmingham in 1963. But it is always wrong to delay justice because it might provoke violence. Moreover, acceding to this argument gives power to those who would threaten gays -- or any other vulnerable members of our society.

That there can be no progress without struggle is an old adage, but one that is nonetheless true. If Presidential retreat in the face of right-wing opposition depresses us; if gay-bashing in the pulpits and in the streets arouses despair, we should

remember Birmingham's Sixteenth Street Baptist Church. The September 1963 bombing that took the lives of four Sunday school students was as sure a sign of progress as the partial desegregation of the city that preceded it. Violence is the last refuge of those whose ideas are losing power.

Martin Luther King argued that one has a moral responsibility to oppose unjust laws. He defined unjust laws, in part, as those that prescribe difference among human beings, such as segregation statutes. Clearly, the military's ban on gays falls in the same category, as does the anti-gay statute in Colorado. To challenge and overcome these laws is our obligation. We can begin by joining the gay rights march in Washington on April 25.

DEMOCRATIC LEFT

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War in the New Era: Thoughts On Interventions in the Post-Cold War World

The last few months have seen the U.S. participate in military interventions of all sorts -- unilateral and multilateral -- in countries as diverse as Iraq, Somalia, and Bosnia. How should U.S. democratic socialists respond to such actions? Following are two essays -- one by DSA Honorary Chair Barbara Ehrenreich and one by DSA Vice Chair Bogdan Denitch -- along with a short reply by *Dissent* co-editor Michael Walzer.

I. BARBARA EHRENREICH: "BREAK THE ADDICTION"

Without any overriding strategic considerations to justify them, U.S. military interventions have become increasingly arbitrary, even whimsical. An intervention can be launched to salvage a president's popularity, to influence a domestic election (in the case of George Bush's contemplated raid on Iraq during the 1992 Republican national convention), or to amuse a lame-duck president during his final weeks in office. The most disturbing development in post-cold war interventions is what I call "wars of spectacle" -- military operations undertaken chiefly for their domestic political impact. The most promising development, many would say, is the altruistic, "purely humanitarian" intervention, such as the ongoing one in Somalia. Both call for sophisticated and imaginative responses from a revived peace movement.

The war of spectacle has evolved out of a slow and painful redefinition of the relations between the military and the media. In Vietnam, the military learned that the media could be another "enemy" -- undermining domestic support by revealing the daily atrocities that constituted the war. The first application of that

lesson was to ban the media entirely, as in the media-invisible invasion of Grenada. The next, and far craftier, step was to enlist the media directly in the war effort, which was what happened in Panama, and, most stunningly, in Iraq.

Operation Desert Storm was our first made-for-TV war. Admirers of this war can cite dozens of justifications for it; and surely some response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait was called for (though it should have been offered before the damage was done, when Hussein first made his intentions known to April Glaspie). Nothing, however, justified the actual response, which was war, and of course a war which punished hundreds of thousands of Iraqis while leaving the perpetrator more firmly entrenched than ever.

The reasons for *war* lie in Bush's domestic difficulties in the summer of 1990 -- the S&L crisis involving his son and the beginnings of a feeble Democratic congressional response to supply-side economics. And the war was, at least until its disquieting end in the desert "turkey shoot," a magnificent and gripping spectacle: CNN and the networks offered special logos and theme music, even several-minute-long, gauzy, MTV-ish videos featuring flutter-

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ing flags, handsome soldiers in the desert, church steeples at home.

The anti-war movement tried to counter with its own spectacle of mass demonstrations, but was easily eclipsed. Both print and electronic media ignored the demonstrations, shut out the dissidents, and focused on the glorious crusade in the Middle East. For Bush, the whole thing was a great success, at least temporarily, and well into the summer of '91 commentators praised the war -- not for achieving any strategic or foreign policy goals -- but for "bringing us together," curing "the Vietnam syndrome," and making us "feel good about America."

If the Gulf War knocked the wind out of the peace movement, the intervention in Somalia would seem to have eliminated its very reasons for existence. This is unquestionably a *military* intervention -- led by generals and involving a massive deployment of troops -- but its aim could not be more kindly and pacific: safeguarding the delivery of food to starving people. Somalia has elicited almost no dissent, except from a few isolationists on the right. If this is to be the pattern for future post-cold war interventions, the role of the left might well be to encourage them: starting with Bosnia and marching on to wherever violence and cruelty reign.

I think not, at least not without serious reservations and, in most cases, protest. Drawing the lessons of recent interventions from

Grenada on, I suggest that the anti-war movement raise the following three questions as loudly as possible whenever our leaders start contemplating a new one:

1. Why *war*? There will be countless provocations at least as serious as the invasion of Kuwait. The habitual response of nation-states to provocations is war; war is what nation-states -- with their standing armies and powers of taxation -- are set up to do. I am not a pacifist; sometimes, no doubt, war is the only possible response. But war is an instrument that has to be used only with the greatest caution and reluctance, since its effect is always to extend the cycle of violence and revenge that leads inevitably to the next war. (And we may only see the bloody residue of Desert Storm when a generation of Iraqi youths enters adulthood.)

One lesson of Desert Storm is that anti-war education and persuasion cannot be taken up in an ad hoc manner on the eve of each threatened war. No amount of anti-war rhetoric will ever be as stirring as CNN's kettle-drum theme music. Education and agitation against war -- and not just against particular wars -- has to be ongoing, persistent and clearly rooted in the conventional morality ostensibly shared by us all. *Thou shalt not, for example, kill.*

2. Why do it with the military? This is the question Somalia raises. Certainly some armed personnel were required here, but a force of 30,000 troops? The net effect of Operation Restore Hope may be more ill will than good. Already several children have been killed by Marines. (One boy was almost shot because he appeared to be hiding something in his hands. It turned out he was hiding his stumps, because he had no hands.) And of course the Marines do not speak the language or know anything about the culture they have intruded upon. Increasingly, they have faced stones instead of gratitude.

Think how much more could have been accomplished by an international corps of skilled and culturally sensitive civilians -- accompanied of course by 3000 or so armed troops -- and capable of helping to repair infrastruc-

Somali refugees line up at a feeding center in Kenya.



Pam Berry/Impact Visuals

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ture, set up clinics and feeding centers, and revive agriculture!

3. Why not *prevent* it next time, instead? One lesson of Somalia and Bosnia is that the concept of disarmament has to extend down to the most conventional hand-held weapon. Yet the proliferation of weaponry continues at a furious pace, augmented by China and the former Soviet republics. The growing worldwide economic dependence on weapons sales puts humanity more at risk than at any time in our all-too-bloody history.

I would like to see a campaign against the manufacture and sale of weapons conducted

with all the former intensity of the war on drugs. We don't let people process coca leaves in their kitchens. Why? Because "drugs kill," and indeed they sometimes do. Yet weapons have no purpose other than to kill. The biggest anti-intervention task for the peace movement should be to break our own country's ghastly addiction to militarism and weapons production. DL

Barbara Ehrenreich is an Honorary Chair of DSA. Her most recent book is The Worst Years of Our Lives. Her first novel will be published this summer.

II. BOGDAN DENITCH: "BUILD A GENUINE PEACE FORCE"

One of the dividing lines traditionally separating socialists from liberals are differences about the appropriate foreign policy for the United States, and above all, about power projections in the form of armed intervention abroad. Liberals have tended to be interventionist, largely because of their optimistic appraisal of the nature, motivation, and thrust of U.S. foreign policy. Socialists have traditionally been, with the exception of right-wing social democrats, opposed to armed U.S. intervention and very skeptical about the general thrust of U.S. foreign policy.

Most democratic socialists, and the majority of DSA members, have tended to view U.S. foreign policy as fundamentally based on the defense of U.S. imperial interests. This defense could be cruder or subtler from case to case, but U.S. imperial, more rarely strategic, interests were basic. Therefore, socialists have regarded with great skepticism the claims that particular interventions were undertaken for the purpose of defending democracy against totalitarian or authoritarian threats, or for the purpose of defending the sovereignty of small oppressed nations.

Thus DSA has opposed the U.S. armed intervention in Grenada, Libya, Panama, and Iraq, to name a few more recent ones, and most of its members were opposed to the war in Viet Nam at the time. I personally opposed the Korean war, as did the majority of the organization I was in. To be sure, most socialists, at least those I agreed with retroactively, did not always

oppose armed intervention even by admittedly imperialist powers in alliance with the U.S. We were for U.S. participation in the Second World War despite the fact that in addition to a war against a fascist alliance, that war also fought to preserve the French, Dutch, and British empires, and ended with U.S. military and economic hegemony. The War also led to the Soviet Union's hegemony in Eastern Europe and the forcible establishment of communist regimes in the region. The point is that military intervention is not always wrong, even by the U.S., and socialists are not always pacifists, although some pacifists are socialists. Of course we seek to change the United States so that it would be capable of having a genuinely democratic foreign policy, one that would be allied with genuinely democratic and egalitarian forces in the world.

Most left-wing socialists, of whom I am one, took the position of hostility to both military alliances, a position sometimes described as "Third Camp." During the Cold War, we clearly differentiated between the "West," which included parliamentary democracies, social democrats, and labor governments, and the Warsaw Pact alliance led by the Soviet Union, which consisted only of one-party dictatorial regimes. The point of our position was to insist that the two alliances not only threatened the world with a nuclear holocaust, but subordinated to their Cold War aims the struggles of smaller states and the struggles for democracy.

The two military "camps" not only distorted struggles for independence and democracy

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Enrique Mart/Impact Visuals

UN peacekeeping soldier compares arms with Bosnian militiamen.

throughout the world by insisting on linking these to the Cold War, but were also essentially symbiotic. That is, the two alliances reinforced each other and blocked the development of a world that could address major problems like the growing North-South gap and the development of human rights and democracy.

It was often pointed out that in given specific situations one or the other alliance represented the greater evil. Clearly in Eastern Europe the greater evil was Soviet domination, while in a number of third world situations the West, represented by the U.S., was the greater evil. Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua, and South Africa are examples where the "West" clearly backed the more reactionary and oppressive forces. It was not always that simple, since the forces which the Soviet alliance backed were often very bad, as in the case of Amin in Uganda or the regime in Ethiopia, or simply followed disastrous economic and social policy, as did most third world "socialist" regimes. Nevertheless, the traditional DSA position of opposing U.S. intervention, and at the same time being aware that many of the regimes in question were undemocratic, presented no problems. As Grenada and Panama have illustrated all too clearly, U.S. armed intervention does not always result in the establishment of

democracy. On the other hand, there are cases in which U.S. diplomatic intervention did help, particularly in cases like Namibia, where diplomacy took place in a multilateral context or through the United Nations.

The world has changed in fundamental ways since 1989 and the collapse of the Soviet military alliance. The collapse of the Soviet alliance has not eliminated communist dictatorial regimes: after all, North Korea, China and Cuba are still under one-party authoritarian rule. However, this collapse has removed the threat of a nuclear war between superpowers and had the more ambiguous result of leaving the U.S. as the sole military superpower. This has greatly encouraged the tendency on the part of the

U.S. to unilateral intervention, particularly in the last days of the Bush administration.

The tendency to intervene is a dangerous thing for small countries that get in the way, and above all a dangerous thing for the United States. It leaves endless possibilities for escalation and quagmires. It is a tendency constantly at war with the genuine, desperate need to develop an international peace force, under United Nations auspices and command, for the many situations that call for more than a hand-wringing resolution of condemnation.

The United States is not the policeman of the world -- nothing ever gave it the right to play this role. DSA's position must be that where military intervention has become the last resort, it should take place under United Nations auspices and that U.S. forces should only be used, if at all -- since there are places like Latin America where historical reasons argue that U.S. forces should *not* be used -- within the framework of international peace forces and under U.N. command. Building genuine international peace forces under U.N. auspices, despite all the weaknesses and problems posed by present-day limitations of the U.N., is an urgent, major priority in a post-Cold War world.

Yes, the United States should urge a more energetic policy on the U.N. Security Council

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and on Western Europe in the case of former Yugoslavia. Much evidence exists that an earlier, energetic intervention against Serbian aggression first in Croatia, then in Bosnia, would have been effective and relatively low in cost. The U.S. and the countries of former Yugoslavia are paying today for the fact that Bosnian carnage took place during the longest political floor show in the world, the U.S. presidential primaries and election. During the election we were mostly oblivious to the world, except in the case of Iraq, where a visible U.S. interest was at stake and a no-cost unilateral intervention could make the U.S. "stand tall" on the cheap. Meanwhile, the U.S. and Western Europe have abandoned Bosnia and its Moslem and non-sectarian majority to Serbian and Croatian nationalist aggression.

At this time it is probably too late to restore a non-sectarian Bosnian state. It makes more sense to let the Bosnian government defend itself today by removing the unfair U.N. blockade, which treats the aggressors and the victims equally, than to talk about armed U.S. intervention. In any case, we should be opposed to the

traditional U.S. attitude that U.S. troops only serve under U.S. command and intervene unilaterally, as they did in Somalia. What is reasonable, given the technical and other resources the U.S. has, is for humanitarian food and medical aid to be sent to besieged towns in Bosnia, *in cooperation with the United Nations*. That should have been done months ago. These planes flying in the aid should be protected, so, again with U.N. cooperation, armed escorts for humanitarian aid are a reasonable step. Mobilizing support to let Bosnia defend itself would be another reasonable step. Contributing troops to the U.N. presence there and in other hot spots around the world is a laudable step that would have an impact on the structure of our military organization. What is not reasonable is for the U.S. to arrogate to itself the role of a world policeman. That should be opposed by every consistent democrat and socialist. **DL**

Bogdan Denitch is a Vice Chair of DSA. His most recent book is After the Flood: World Politics and Democracy in the Wake of Communism.

Bosnian Muslims protest UN inaction during a visit by Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

III. MICHAEL WALZER: "WHAT IS REALLY POSSIBLE?"

I am grateful to the editors of *Democratic Left* for inviting me to respond to these two (rather different) expressions of what I take to be the majority view within DSA. All that I want to do here is to raise some questions about the realism of Bogdan's and Barbara's arguments. Any serious defense of an alternative position will have to wait for another occasion.

Bogdan actually favors (verb tenses are tricky here) an "earlier energetic intervention" in Croatia and Bosnia -- an intervention that never happened. Part of his explanation for why it never happened is the long drawn-out U.S. election campaign. Of course, that doesn't explain the failure of the U.N. or the European Community to act -- unless one acknowledges, as he doesn't quite do, that neither of these organizations possesses the political coherence or will to act on its own. I grant that these are the desirable agents of intervention "in situations which call for more than a hand-wringing resolution of

condemnation." But here we have a situation of exactly that sort, and these agents are (mostly) wringing their hands. In fact, it is hard even for Bogdan to imagine an intervention of any sort, anywhere, in today's world, unless the U.S. takes the lead. Yes, we should seek U.N. authorization; and maybe we should find a French or British (or Russian!) general to preside over the affair. Would that have been enough to legitimate the "earlier energetic intervention"? If not, Bogdan should resign himself to a world where nothing more than salvage and relief is possible (and it's not clear that there will be much of that either if we count only on the U.N.).

Barbara, it seems to me, needs to face the same difficulties in her discussion of Somalia. Suppose that we sent in a corps of "skilled and culturally sensitive civilians," with some 3000 troops, disguised as U.N. troops or even actually U.N. troops -- from Nepal, say. And suppose, further, that skilled and sensitive civilians were fairly easy to kill, and were in fact killed in

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Bosnian Muslims protest UN inaction during a visit by Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

large numbers. What then? Would she favor sending more troops? And where does she think she could find, in the world today, the will to send them in? Or should we leave Somalia, once sensitivity had failed, to its warlords and its gangs?

The problem with the majority position, if that's what it is, is that its critique of American foreign policy is, to mix my metaphors, both visceral and wholesale, whereas what we need, if we mean to play a serious part in the Ameri-

can foreign policy debate, is an analytic and retail critique. We need to ask in each case, one by one, what it is possible and desirable to do, and who might (really) do it, subject to what moral/political limits. DL

Michael Walzer is co-editor of Dissent magazine and a professor at the Institute for Advanced Study. His most recent book is What It Means to Be an American.



Socialist International Resolution on Cuba

The Socialist International observes the situation in Cuba with concern.

Internally, the economy is deteriorating day by day, and the plight of the Cuban people is worsening.

Externally, the continued illegal blockade by the U.S. is aggravating both economic and political conditions.

We appeal to the new U.S. administration to lift the blockade and declare itself ready to talk to Havana.

The Socialist International, anxious to support a peaceful transition to a democratic, multi-party system in Cuba, without foreign interference, suggests to the Cuban government to free all political prisoners and initiate a dialogue with the patriotic and democratic forces.

-- passed by the Socialist International Council February 10, 1993.

Resolution on the war in Bosnia

DSA condemns the continued, persistent refusal of the international community, the present and past U.S. administrations, and the European Community, to take effective measures to prevent the carnage in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The world community, and particularly those governments which insisted on an early recognition of Bosnia, had a responsibility to protect that state from dismemberment by neighboring Serbia and Croatia and to ensure its survival.

DSA believes that:

The situation of women is especially bitter; The rape of women, special camps where women are kept to be raped, rapes in public places, mass and multiple rapes, all must be stopped!

The International Court of Justice should recognize these rapes as war crimes and punish these brutal and cruel acts;

If Bosnia is not going to be defended by the international community it must be granted the right and means to defend itself by the lifting of the arms blockade, a blockade that in practice currently only affects the Bosnian forces;

Delivery of food and humanitarian aid as well as the international inspection of the detention camps must be assured, by armed convoys if necessary;

Effective air cover should be provided to prevent violations of Bosnian air space, the bombardment of cities and use of heavy artillery and tanks by Serbian and Croatian forces;

The Vance-Owen plan is unjust and unworkable;

Unlike the Vance-Owen approach, an effective plan would provide for the large part of the population that refuses to be forced to live in ethnic enclaves, it would disarm the militia and destroy or control heavy weapons, provide for international courts and police to enable mixed populations to live together, punish war criminals, and it would not treat the Bosnian government as equivalent to the Croatian and Serbian nationalists;

Until a stable solution is found, the European Community and the U.S. must provide aid for the two million refugees, including the establishment of safe havens in U.N.-protected zones (which would be located in most Bosnian cities with mixed populations);

Where military intervention has become a last resort, it should take place under the United Nations auspices and U.S. forces should only be used within the framework of the international peace forces under U.N. command.

The specific priority of DSA, given its limited resources, must be to organize aid for democratic socialists, free trade unions, peace and human rights activists throughout former Yugoslavia and in Bosnia. A fund has been established for that purpose. DSA locals are urged to hold public meetings to sensitize public opinion to the situation of women in Bosnia.

Passed by the DSA National Interim Committee
February 21, 1993
(edited for space)

FORGING A HEALTH CARE COALITION IN KENTUCKY

BY CHUCK SOHNER

"Strike while the iron is hot" is a time-worn proverb that might be traced to blacksmiths sweating over their anvils in the Bluegrass horse country. Following this wisdom, the DSA local in central Kentucky, striking while the health care issue was heating rapidly, initiated a political coalition that warrants close attention. This coalition, the Health Security Network of Kentucky, has played a major role in one of the most closely watched health reform movements in the nation.

While the outcome of the Network's efforts remains in doubt, it has successfully pushed the health care debate in Kentucky to the left, while significantly increasing DSA's visibility in the state. This sort of work is a model of how DSA locals can raise radical consciousness in their communities while making relevant and effective interventions in ongoing political struggles.

The story of the Health Security Network's birth contains several ingredients conducive to the formation of a broad and diverse coalition - long the preferred vehicle for DSA activity. The primary ingredient is an issue like health care that generates wide interest. The broader its impact, the larger and more heterogeneous the potential coalition. The Health Security Network, for example, embraces nine organizations including the Christian Church in Kentucky, League of Women Voters, Community Farm Alliance, Kentucky Association of State Employees (AFT, AFL-CIO), and the Kentucky Disabilities Coalition.

The second crucial ingredient is timing, which is partly a matter of luck and partly a

matter of quick, effective organizing. Like Senator Harris Wofford in Pennsylvania, Governor Brereton Jones was elected in Kentucky in 1991 in large measure on the health care issue. Less than three months after Jones took office, DSA National Director Michael Lighty came to Lexington during an organizational tour. The Central Kentucky local hosted a small meeting of community activists at which Lighty spoke persuasively about the urgency of the health crisis and the virtues of the Canadian single-payer plan in providing universal coverage at the lowest feasible cost. The formation of the Health Security Network followed quickly. Its first major event was an open-microphone town meeting on reforming health care financing held on April 23, 1992. This was a notable achievement because it gave those attending the confidence and enthusiasm that later produced an overflow crowd, twice as large as expected, at a public hearing held by the Governor's Task Force on Health Reform the next month.

It is clear, thirdly, that DSA would not have been able to enlist organizational allies in the Health Security Network had it not already developed a reputation as a reasonable and responsible partner in previously established coalitions. DSA's leadership in health care was built on a history of cooperative endeavor in such groups as the Central Kentucky Council for Peace and Justice and the Pro-Choice Alliance. No one was as responsible for this record of dependability as Jim Ryder, who had served as co-chair not only of the DSA local but also of the Peace and Justice Council. The latter organization, a vital part of the Network, coordinates the social action campaigns of more than a dozen groups, religious and secular alike, in the Lexington area. Given his past track record, it is natural that Ryder chairs the Network's weekly meetings, held at the Central Christian Church.

Whatever the attributes that successfully launched the coalition, it generated its own momentum thereafter. After its initial town meeting, the Network submitted a health reform "white paper" to the Governor's Task Force and held three press conferences to publicize its recommendations. In September it sponsored a panel discussion featuring two members of the state legislature, including the only one who is a physician, along with a hospital administrator and a leading consumer activist. Two months later, after the governor announced that he would call a special session of the General Assembly devoted to the issue, the Network convened a statewide conference in the state capital, Frankfort, under the title "Citizens' Special

Session on Health Care Reform." Delegates representing 40 organizations agreed to a statement of principles that emerged from the session.

During the first week of January, the Network held a news conference in the rotunda of the capitol that was covered by Louisville and Lexington TV stations, major news services, and the state's two largest newspapers. Spokesperson Richard Mitchell, a professor at the University of Kentucky school of dentistry, urged legislators to be guided by four principles of reform: universal and equal access, cost containment, funding through progressive and equitable taxation, and consumer choice among health care providers.

On February 20, about a month before the special legislative session was scheduled to begin, the Network conducted an all-day conference in Frankfort to train interested citizens in the complexities of health care issues and the lobbying techniques that can be most successfully employed in personal contacts with legislators. More than 100 people attended workshops and heard a wide variety of speakers including State Representative Leonard Gray, who has introduced a single-payer health bill in the Kentucky General Assembly, and State Representative Marshall Long, who chairs its Appropriations and Revenue Committee. Clearly, enthusiasm is mounting, consensus is building, and support is broadening for fundamental reform.

For whatever reasons, Governor Jones's most recent proposals have moved toward those advocated by the Network in several important respects. He has abandoned his initial hopes that managed competition alone might drive down medical costs and now supports rapid imposition of publicly determined price ceilings. Moreover, he has resisted advice to gradually phase in expanded coverage and insisted that all Kentuckians be insured at the inception of the reform program, including the nearly half million who now are not. The immediate political task is to move both Jones and the legislature away from reliance on "managed care" HMOs competing for the business of enlarged insurance pools toward a single-payer Canadian model.

While the Governor's final plan may contain serious flaws, he indisputably invigorated the



Brian John Gormelly

democratic process by directing the Task Force he established to solicit public comments in a series of open hearings held throughout the state. This, in a sense, legitimized the DSA-initiated Network, which was further strengthened when it was joined by two members of the Task Force itself.

The Network has maintained an admirably flexible and democratic character. It has not required any of its constituent groups to abandon their own independent political activity. Central Kentucky DSA, for example, published its own health care issue sheet and authorized a meeting of its co-chairs with a local state representative regarding its conference for a single-payer plan.

Moreover, DSA and other progressive voices in the Network have already affected the terms and context of health care debate. Largely gone are phrases like "socialized medicine," while the concept of health care as a right rather than a commodity is frequently articulated and seldom challenged. Similarly, the coalition provides an expanded forum for a critique of capitalism because of the obvious and abject failure of free market forces in the health care industry.

Finally, the Health Security Network of Kentucky has increased DSA's visibility and prestige, while providing another model of the broad coalition which we have long believed essential to significant social change. Organizationally, it has afforded an invaluable opportunity for doing good while doing well. **DL**

Chuck Sohner is a co-chair of Central Kentucky DSA and a former co-chair of Los Angeles DSA.

Chris Dyke, President of the Frankfort Area Labor Council, speaking at the February 20 health care conference.

ON THE LEFT



by Harry Fleischman

CALIFORNIA

Sonoma County DSA has been organizing congressional visits to promote a single-payer health reform plan.

DSAer Bob Niemann won a handy re-election to the Santa Monica Rent Control Board. Meanwhile, Los Angeles DSA has been active with endorsements and campaign work in Los Angeles City Council races. The local has been especially supportive of the candidacy of Jackie Goldberg, a progressive, openly gay former school board member.

The first West Coast Socialist Scholars Conference will be held April 16 and 17 at UCLA.

COLORADO

The Boulder DSA organizing committee held a hugely successful meeting on January 26. Professor Manning Marable addressed a crowd of over 100. Over half of the attendees expressed interest in working to form a full-fledged DSA local, to be called Front Range DSA, that will encompass Denver, Boulder, and surrounding foothills towns. Front Range DSA activists have already begun active work with the Colorado branch of UHCAN, the national coalition of advocates for state-level single-payer health care systems. They are also prioritizing campaigns for the repeal of the anti-gay rights Amendment 2 and for progressive income taxation in Colorado.

ILLINOIS

Former DSA Youth Organizer Jeremy Karpatkin directed Carol Mosely Braun's field operations in her successful campaign to become the first African American woman in the U.S. Senate.

On March 12 the West Suburban branch of Chicago DSA held a major forum and debate on the North American Free Trade Agreement. Speakers included Carol Travis of the UAW, Marvin Golden of Greenpeace, philosophy professor Dennis Temple, and a staff member from the office of Representative Harris Falwell, a Republican.

The 35th annual Chicago Debs/Thomas/Harrington Dinner will be held on Friday, May 7. The dinner will honor Julian Bond, who helped to launch SNCC in the early 1960s, and Molly L. West, who helped to found the Coalition of Labor Union Women in the 1970s.

MINNESOTA

Twin Cities DSA has developed a high profile within the Minnesota left. Activists in this local have helped to organize demonstrations at the governor's mansion against budget cuts and a campaign for progressive income taxation in Minnesota.

NEW YORK

Karen Marie Gibson, co-chair of the DSA Youth Section, spoke to the Ithaca DSA local on March 8 about her experiences with the youth section's investigative visit to the U.S./Mexican border in January. José LaLuz of DSA's National Political Committee will speak in Ithaca on April 2. The Ithaca local is devoting most of its organizing efforts to the health care battle.

Nassau County DSA and the Long Island Progressive Coalition

co-sponsored a public forum entitled "What Do We Want in the First 100 Days and What Can We Do to Help Get It?" Over 275 people attended this forum, at which DSA Honorary Chair Barbara Ehrenreich and Hofstra University Professor Michael D'Innocenzo spoke.

New York City DSA held a forum on February 25 entitled "Can We All Live Together?: Leadership and the Politics of Diversity." NYC DSA will devote much of its energy during the coming months to defeating the organized slates of conservatives running for Community School Board seats in elections to be held May 4. New York DSA's annual convention will be held on April 24 at the Advent Lutheran Church in Manhattan.

OHIO

Mahoning Valley DSA will host a May Day picnic in Lake Milton State Park during the afternoon of May 1. The picnic is intended to celebrate labor's heritage and labor agitators past, present, and future.

SOCIALIST

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

DSA National Political Committee member Jo-Ann Mort attended the Federal Council of Canada's New Democratic Party in Ottawa on January 23 and 24. She joined members of the NDP and Mexico's Party of the Democratic Revolution in a discussion of the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement.

DSAers Bogdan Denitch, Christine Riddiough, and Motl Zelmanowicz attended the Socialist International Council meeting in Athens, Greece on February 9 and 10. The Council was addressed by the illegally ousted Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

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Building The Next Feminism:

Facing the Questions of Equity and Inclusion in the 1990s

BY BONNIE PFISTER

What does it mean to be a feminist in the 1990s? While the idea of young women reinventing feminism sounds exciting, some of the activists in the trenches fear that they may be merely "reinventing the wheel."

Two of New York City's most prominent direct-action women's groups grapple with this fear and the complex issues surrounding racial diversity and coalition building, while struggling to maintain a full calendar of upcoming actions.

WAC, the Women's Action Coalition, has become a national media darling in the 12 months since it was formed, mainly by artists and communications professionals in Soho and downtown Manhattan. Born in the "year of the woman," WAC mobilized women's fury following the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings into attention-grabbing actions mixing anger, wit, and stunning visual images. These included maintaining a presence at prominent rape trials, picketing in front of art galleries that underrepresent women, and a Mother's Day action (featuring the famous WAC drum corps) at Grand Central Terminal protesting the billions of dollars owed in back child support. *WAC Stats* is a slick 64-page book with statistics on a range of topics, and "Women Ignite," a 30-foot audiovisual slide show, is touring the nation, with photos of it recently gracing the cover of

New Directions for Women. Future issues of *NDW* will include a WAC-edited pullout section.

Grassroots Actions, Simmering Frustrations

WHAM, Women's Health Action and Mobilization, has logged nearly four years of solid organizing on reproductive health issues, flourishing in low-budget obscurity relative to WAC's recent ascendance. WHAM has been known among New York feminists as the standard-bearer of clinic defense, protecting women's health clinics around the city from the weekly attacks by anti-choice zealots. Grassroots work is done in committees ranging from the practical, such as self-help and herbal healing, to the more theoretical, such as the proposed lesbian- and gay-inclusive curriculum in the New York public schools. Like WAC, WHAM has a history of spontaneous, creative actions, among them draping a banner proclaiming, "No choice, no liberty" over the eyes of the Statue of Liberty in 1991, numerous office takeovers of pharmaceutical companies recalcitrant in the study of breast cancer and HIV-related illnesses, and the controversial 1990 protest during mass in St. Patrick Cathedral of John Cardinal O'Connor's hateful lobbying efforts.

Members and former members of both groups express their frustrations with WAC and WHAM in various ways; some women in WAC worry that their

organization is too firmly rooted in knee-jerk liberal-left rhetoric, squelching debate considered not politically correct; WHAM members reluctantly admit that their group has trouble sustaining action past abortion-centered concerns. But both groups share a widespread angst over their mainly middle-class, college-educated white women constituencies. Each is struggling to confront the issue of internal racism and whether greater racial diversity within the group is the solution.

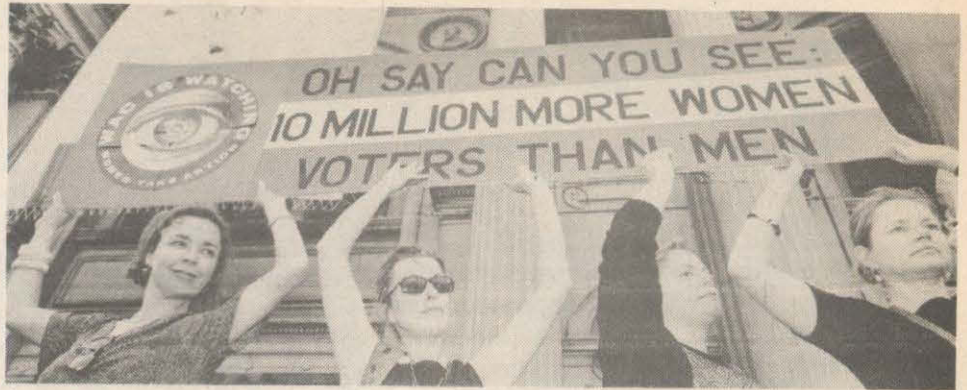
"Always Two Movements"

"No one who does what we do wants to believe they are racist," said Sandy Morris-Snyder, one of WHAM's founding members. Part of WHAM's Resisting Racism Committee, Morris-Snyder faulted the tendency among white women to look to women of color to point out racism.

"It's very hard when you have people who rely on you for that," she said. "If I continually [have to point out racist incidents], the only thing you come away with is, I won't do this, or this, or that, but you haven't looked into yourself to find out why this thing is offensive. That's the only way you are going to change."

WAC's Committee on Diversity and Inclusion is also exploring this issue. Committee members are vocal at weekly WAC meetings and organizing discussions on these topics. Still, from the outside looking in, some groups of women of color are wary of these "white women's organizations."

"It's always sort of been two movements: the one that is called the feminist movement, and what does that mean really. . . and then there is the other women, who are struggling along," said Wilma Montanez, coordinator of the Latina Roundtable on Health and Reproductive Rights. A veteran of nearly two decades of organizing for women, Montanez said that any analysis of why groups like WHAM and WAC are not racially diverse must first recognize the degree to which they are rooted in clas-



Personal Reflections on the Next Feminism



Ginny Coughlin
DSA Youth Organizer
Brooklyn, NY

At a recent student environmental conference a women's caucus, as at every left-wing student gathering, left the main room to meet. As we left, we saw that we were leaving behind very few men. It was then that we realized that women comprised more than two thirds of the conference. We used the caucus meeting to celebrate the energy and creativity that young women had brought to this conference, and bring to the student movement.

In January, the DSA Youth Section sponsored a student and youth delegation to meet with workers in the maquiladoras of Mexican border cities. There we talked to young women who are organizing independent organizations to demand better living and working conditions. Because almost all of the maquila workers are young women, their organizing is led by young women.

On campuses, in Congress, and in labor unions across the globe, women are changing politics. We bring energy, spirit, ideas, and commitment to the movement for social justice.

Young college women in the U.S. -- the daughters of the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s -- are more and more becoming the leadership of the student movement. Women's organizations are helping to redefine campus issues and women's leadership of other progressive organizations is changing the issues, strategy and tactics of left student politics.

For those of us who are socialist feminists, it is a duty to learn about and understand the struggles and gains of our sisters that now allow us to lead the student movement. It is our challenge to use an understanding of our history to build a multiracial student movement that addresses the globalization of the economy and the implications of free trade, and works in solidarity with our sisters who are organizing in labor unions across the globe.

sism.

"Even in these new groups there are still these class issues, which when they boil down to it, it's really about who gets to be in charge. They usually invite women of color at the end, after they've set the agenda. They call you in to color the event," she said.

If dealing with racial issues is to hot to handle for white feminists, Montanez suggests that they begin with class. "If these women understood the issues of poor women, in [the New York] area they would automatically be working with women of color," she said. Success is not necessarily measured in turning out women in mass numbers, but in making logistical adjustments, such as providing child care.

"Maybe these meetings shouldn't be done in the Village all the time. Maybe there should be meetings in Bushwick, in the South Bronx," she said.

Race, Class, and Community

But the question of organizing outside of one's own community is a tricky one, said Ann Volkes, 43, a founding WAC member. Citing last summer's unrest in Washington Heights around police insensitivity in a largely Latino community, Volkes said an offer to take WAC uptown was not accepted by local groups.

"It's not an issue of race, but an issue of community," she said. "You should respect what women who live there are telling you. . . We can't define it for them."

WAC has already picked up on classism as a more far-reaching issue than race, and the Economic Violence Committee is working to point that out, said Artelia Court, a committee member and coordinator of the child support actions, which she stresses are not just white women's concerns. The state court system often incorrectly and unfairly assumes that black men lack the ability to pay child support, leaving women of color even more unprotected by law than white women.

Several WHAM members recently completed the first of series of intense resisting-racism sessions, and Morris-Snyder said she has noted dis-

Personal Reflections on the Next Feminism



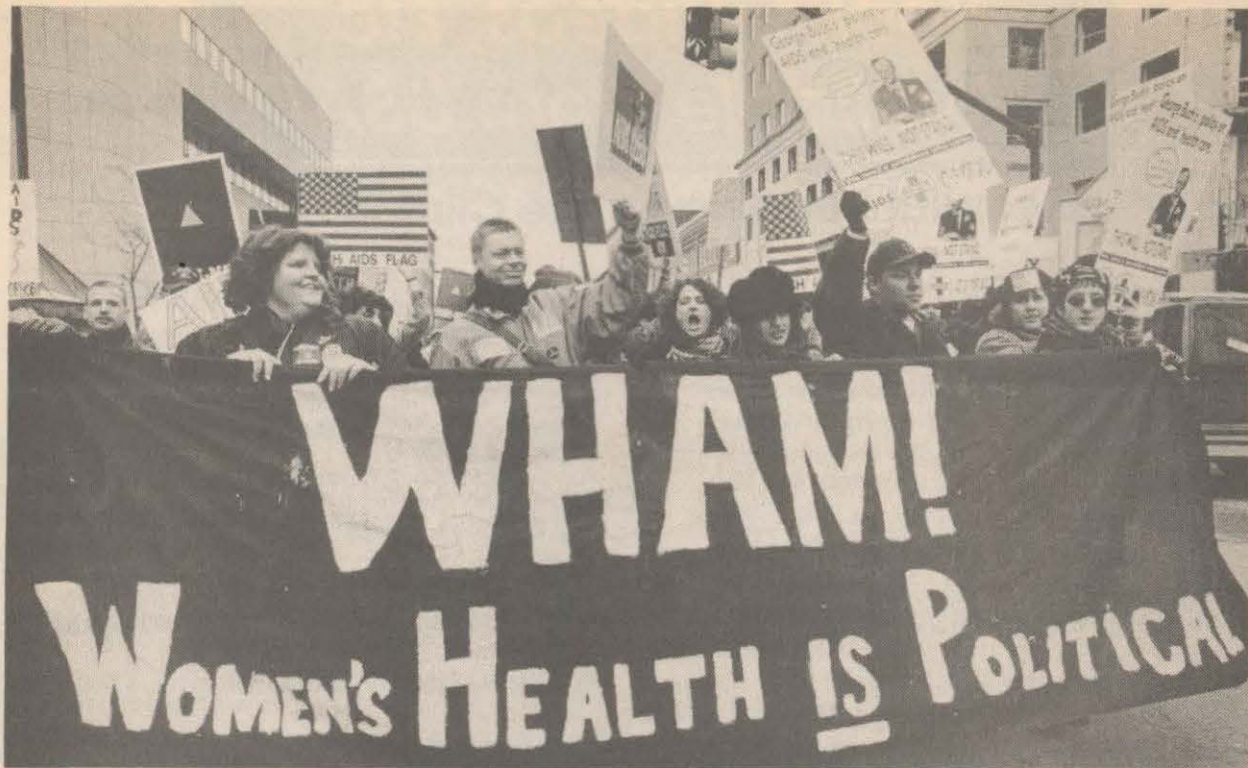
Kris Raab
DSA Member
Washington, D.C.

DSA is essential to my feminism and my activism. In my first local, I acquired many crucial tools: leadership and organizing skills, feminist meeting process, a cogent analysis of power relations. And I would be lost without the smart, articulate, dedicated women I have met in DSA who always challenge and inspire me.

Time and again, though, I hear DSA women -- from newcomers to veterans of NAM and DSOC -- say they feel alienated and disrespected. We share stories of being cut off or dismissed in meetings; of feeling we have nothing to say at conventions (while in the endless line of men at the microphone there are plenty with less than nothing to say); of hearing "women's" issues derided as "soft"; or even of hearing DSA men mock a discussion of violence against women. Partly because of this, most of my contact with DSA these days is through women's brunches, where I can enjoy the thoughtful analysis and debate and the solidarity of my comrades without fearing a tiresome run-in with sexism.



Alan Ches/Impact Visuals



Personal Reflections on the Next Feminism



Barbara Ehrenreich
DSA Honorary Chair
Syosset, NY

If feminism means anything, it must mean equality for all women, not just white women, or corporate lawyer women. Consider the Zoë Baird scandal: I must say that I did not feel tremendously well-represented by a lot of the feminist commentary around the time of her nomination. Baird was grilled about her child care arrangements, which would never have happened to a man. But what I kept thinking was, "When are we going to focus on the other end of this?" What does feminism mean in a society where one woman can make \$500,000 a year, and another woman, who takes care of the first woman's children, makes \$5.00 an hour? I'm not saying this as a matter of being p.c., or to make token gestures at the issues of class, race, and ethnicity. My mother used to clean homes. She used to clean boarding houses. So, yes, I look forward to the day when female nominees for high office are not treated in a sexist and arrogant fashion. But I also look forward to the day, when, for one thing, available public day care is so good that Zoë Baird and Kimba Wood would be happy to put their kids in there too. And I also look forward to the day when someone like Zoë Baird's housekeeper is paid well enough that she can imagine someday going to law school and someday becoming Attorney General.

cussion on inclusion on the WHAM floor from women who may not raised the issue before. In particular, WHAM's organizing on the plight of Haitian refugees held at encampments at Guantanamo Bay for their alleged HIV status caused some women to question whether this were an appropriate issue for U.S. feminists. In response, it was mostly women who had been through the resisting racism session who illustrate the links between the oppression of women and of refugees.

"I think people are beginning to notice more things," she said.

"Direct action has to expand, just like the definition of reproductive rights has to expand," she continued. "It's not just abortion rights, but the rights to have a child and not raise it in poverty, to have adequate health care, to have access to an education. . . All these things matter to a lot of different women."

Bonnie Pfister, a freelance writer and feminist activist, lives in Brooklyn.

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DSA

In for the Long Haul

Julia Reichert's new film *Emma and Elvis* explores the question of sustaining lifelong radical commitments

BY DAVID GLENN

Intergenerational trends and conflicts usually don't fare very well as the subjects of mainstream media stories. In 1984, when dozens of magazines simultaneously "discovered" yuppies, the new stereotype had it that the typical yuppie was both a 27-year-old investment banker *and* a former 1960s radical, implying that the Chicago riots of 1968 were led by sixth graders. And we all know too well that news coverage of current student activism is more likely to contain glib phrases like "reminiscent of the sixties" than any serious discussion of the issues at hand.

It's a relief, then, to see the witty and subtle treatment of two generations of activists in DSAer Julia Reichert's new film, *Emma and Elvis*. Reichert's best-known previous films, the Oscar-nominated *Union Maids* and *Seeing Red* (made with her former partner Jim Klein), were documentary explorations of the lives of radicals who came of age in the 1930s and 1940s. Now, in her first fiction film, Reichert tells a tale of burned-out New Leftists and younger postpunk counterculturalists searching for meaning and community in Dayton, Ohio, in 1989.

Emma and Elvis's central figure is Alice Winchek (Kathryn Walker), a filmmaker in her early forties. As she struggles to complete a documentary on the legacy of 1960s radicalism, Alice is beset by a familiar kind of malaise. George Bush has just been inaugurated, and the news of Abbie Hoffman's suicide punctuates her mood of political despair. Dayton's vestigial New Left community is growing thinner and weaker; so is Alice's marriage. Atop all this, the voices in Alice's documentary -- represented by

original interview footage of Alice Walker, Greil Marcus, Angela Davis, and others -- implicitly pose nagging questions. How, after the era of the New Left, did the Reaganites come to dominate America's political life? And how, after the promise of the sixties, has Alice's everyday life come to seem so flat and limited?

Alice's unhappy equilibrium is disrupted when she meets Eddie (Jason Duchin), a 24-year-old videomaker who helps create a brash, essentially anti-political "underground" weekly program for a public-access cable station. Eddie has his own dissatisfactions. He sees Dayton as a stagnant backwater, political activism as the domain of earnest hypocrites, and Alice's "sixties generation" as a sad bunch of sellouts and cowards. These expressions of hostility and contempt are, of course, partly masks for a deeper yearning for freedom and meaning; and, sure enough, Eddie finds himself drawn to Alice and her post-sixties aura despite himself.

For Alice, meanwhile, Eddie and his friends are a revelation. She dismisses them at first as cynics and nihilists, but their edginess and their old-fashioned bohemian marginality stir her energies. How could she have missed this vibrant, racially and sexually diverse group of kids right under her nose here in Dayton? Then comes the beginning of June, and the news of the Tiananmen Square demonstrations. Political possibilities seem to be opening up worldwide. When disaster strikes -- the Dayton cable board censoriously cancels Eddie's show and a show hosted by a gay activist with AIDS -- Alice is able to rally Eddie's skeptical friends, along with her world-weary peers, to put up a fight. Thank-



River City Pictures

Alice (Kathryn Walker) and Eddle (Jason Duchin) gaze at the Miami River.

fully, Reichert tells this hopeful story of renewal, which Hollywood would probably turn to mush, in a nicely messy and ambivalent way. *Emma and Elvis* never becomes too sentimental or too pat.

Reichert says that the notion of intergenerational solidarity and understanding has driven much of her career, both as an activist and as a filmmaker. As a student activist in the 1960s, Reichert was struck by how little she knew of her predecessor radicals' history. "We'd wonder, 'Who are these gray-haired people at our demonstrations?'" she recalls. In the early 1970s, living in what eventually became a NAM media collective in Dayton, Reichert began to conceive of films that would reclaim the history of the early-twentieth-century left. *Union Maids* uncovers the histories of working-class women organizing trade unions in the 1930s; *Seeing Red* explores the lives of U.S. activists who joined the Communist Party before and during World War II.

"How do you survive as a long-term radical?" asks Reichert. "It seems to me that this is a worthy question. It's the fundamental subject of *Union Maids*, *Seeing Red*, and *Emma and Elvis*. All three films deal with figures who have experienced a great flowering, a great sense of expectation, and then lived through a period of dashed hopes."

Learning to live through such periods of

dashed hopes -- learning to survive spiritual fatigue and political defeat -- is, according to Reichert, one of the great potential benefits of intergenerational bridges between activists. "Bridge-building must become a more conscious kind of work for DSAers and other radicals."

Reichert wants to take care, however, not to obscure or trivialize genuine differences of character between generations. She wrote the initial treatment for *Emma and Elvis* with Steven Bognar, a writer who was 24 at the time. "You'll notice that the sixties don't necessarily come off so well," she says. She also stresses that she has learned a great deal from interacting with younger activists. "There's somewhat less earnestness than there was during the sixties. There's very little planning, very little formal leadership. They try things and I want to say, 'Wait! Wait! You can't do that!' But they make it work."

The new film's climactic scenes, in which two generations of Dayton activists use guerilla media tactics in order to preserve the integrity of the public-access channel, were inspired in part by a real-life battle -- the 1990 Cincinnati demonstrations against the prosecution of a museum showing the work of Robert Mapplethorpe, which occurred as *Emma and Elvis* was being shot fifty miles away. Reichert says that she attended the early Cincinnati demonstra-



Julia Reichert on the set with cinematographer Larry Banks.

tions expecting to find only a small band of forty-year-old artists. Instead, she found a huge, racially diverse group in the streets, with the prominent participation of lesbians and gays. "The spontaneity and diversity in Cincinnati flew in the face of the political logic of the eighties -- that no community will work with any other."

Living and working in middle America has become a conscious commitment for Reichert. She entered Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, in 1964, and she's lived continuously in southwestern Ohio since 1970. She chose to stay at first because of "wanting to be where I was needed," with a sense that there was probably a surplus of radicals on the east and west coasts. She's since developed far deeper roots in the Midwest, however; she was able to finance *Emma and Elvis* entirely through Ohio-based investors. She now spends much of her energy nurturing other Ohio filmmakers, teaching part-time at Wright State University in Dayton.

After screening *Emma and Elvis* several times, she says, she realized that "this is much more of a regional film than we'd thought while we were making it. Viewers on the coasts sometimes seem not to relate to the theme of radicalism in the Midwest, the sense of being nowhere and not having any community."

Reichert says that she's glad that she and her cowriters chose to set the film in 1989, rather than in some amorphous present. "Tiananmen Square, despite the horror of the massacre, was an inspirational event," she says. "I see the summer of 1989 as a global turning point. In early '89 you sat there and thought, 'Oh, my God. Bush. Another four years. Maybe another eight years.' But then with Tiananmen Square, the Eastern European revolutions, the freeing of Mandela, you began to see people taking power into their own hands."

Emma and Elvis now "seems like a window onto the recent past," says Reichert. "It helps us to see how far we've come. Alice wouldn't be Alice and Eddie wouldn't be Eddie if the film were set in 1992." Reichert is hopeful that the political mood will continue to swing leftward, that the Clinton victory will open up space for radicals. "Pretty soon it's going to be okay to be a radical again, because liberalism will be the mainstream. The next radicalism, I hope, will be a more practical kind of radicalism, with less in-fighting -- with more of a sense of 'roll up your sleeves and do the job.'"

David Glenn is Program Assistant at DSA.

UPCOMING SCREENINGS OF *EMMA AND ELVIS:*

March 27 and 28: Cleveland, OH (Cleveland Cinematheque)

May 7 - May 13: Chicago, IL (Facets)

May 14: Austin, TX (The Dobie Theater)

June 4: Pittsburgh, PA (Pittsburgh Filmmakers)

June 4: Ithaca, NY (Cornell Cinema)

EMMA AND ELVIS IS NOT AVAILABLE ON VIDEO. IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO ARRANGE FOR A 35 MM SCREENING OF THE FILM ON YOUR CAMPUS OR IN YOUR COMMUNITY, CONTACT: NORTHERN ARTS ENTERTAINMENT, WILLIAMSBURG, MA 01096. PHONE 413 268-9301

Goodbye, Gary. . . September 7, 1961 - December 17, 1992

Eleven days after disappearing from San Diego, Gary Lucek, longtime DSA member and former Financial Manager, killed himself in the Armstrong Redwoods Forest near Guerneville, about 60 miles north of San Francisco. Gary had struggled with clinical depression for many years.

Gary joined DSA in 1983 with his former lover and friend Bill McCann (who later died of AIDS) through the socialist feminist study group at the newly formed Barnard-Columbia chapter.

He went on to contribute to DSA in many ways. Organizationally, Gary spent many of his weekends, after long weeks, putting our fiscal house in order. Politically, Gary strove to make DSA a more gay-positive organization. In an article for the *Activist*, Gary wrote of his efforts: "You can't know how my lavender light adds to our socialist rainbow if you're wearing shades. . ." Because he was equally frustrated with apolitical tendencies among gay men, he went on to form a gay men's reading group at Columbia that thrives today, and another in San Diego, where he moved in 1991.

Culturally, Gary dragged DSA's youth section parties kicking and screaming into the 1980's and 90's with dance tapes he made under his persona "Gayjay Fag." But Gary's most meaningful connection with DSA was probably personal -- the close friends he made.

Angry and gentle and alive, Gary lived his politics as few do. We are grateful for Gary's life, however short, and miss him very much.



Amy Bachrach
Chair, New York City DSA

Job Opening

DSA National Director

The National Director supervises a five person staff, a \$500,000 budget and is responsible for implementing DSA's national program of activities. Administrative, fund raising, and political skills are essential. Candidates must be in agreement with DSA and its activities. Experience with movement organizations or campaigns a plus.

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Jimmy Higgins Reports

GIANT SUCKING SOUND REDUX



The Economic Policy Institute has released a study exploring the decline of U.S. manufacturing jobs as firms move to Mexico, whose repressive government has worked to maintain the rock-bottom wages and poor environmental standards that corporate leaders love.

According to the EPI report, the flight of manufacturing jobs is likely to worsen if the North American Free Trade Agreement is ratified. Write to your congressional representative and demand the defeat of NAFTA! EPI's report, entitled *Manufacturing Employment in North America*, is available for \$5.00. Write to Public Interest Publications, P.O. Box 229, Arlington, VA 22210. Add \$3.00 for shipping and handling.

UNDER NEW MANAGEMENT

In a move still turning heads from the Pentagon to Berkeley, DSA Vice Chair Ronald V. Dellums has assumed the chair of the House Armed Services Committee. Known for his fiery oratory in support of peace and justice, Congressman Dellums has won the praise of

both Democrats and Republicans. We can look forward to a tenure that challenges business as usual at the DoD. No doubt about it, the cold war is over.

BASH COUNTERS

The Federal Hate Crimes Statistics Act, passed in 1990, requires the FBI to compile statistics of bias attacks against lesbians and gays. The feds seem to be getting off to a poor start, however -- their data for 1991 show huge, improbable state-by-state disparities. For example, the FBI documented only five total bias incidents of all types -- racist, religious, and homophobic -- in the entire state of California for 1991! Local gay-rights organizations, meanwhile, tallied reports of over 450 bias attacks against homosexuals in San Francisco alone.

GE VICTORY

The anti-nuclear organization INFAC is claiming victory in its eight-year boycott campaign against General Electric. On November 23, GE announced that it will be pulling entirely out of the nuclear weapons industry. The boycott was given a huge boost a year ago when the documentary film *Deadly Deception*, an exposé of GE, won an Academy Award.

SAVE THE (NEW) DATE:

Join Barbara Ehrenreich,
José LaLuz,
and Cornel West at the
1993 DSA convention

November 11 - 14

Los Angeles, CA

more information soon

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