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DEMOCRATIC Left



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REMEMBERING IRVING HOWE 1920 - 1993

BEYOND THE FIRST 100 DAYS TOWARD A PROGRESSIVE AGENDA

- FIXING THE ECONOMY
- FIGHTING RACISM
- REVITALIZING LABOR



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Los Angeles, California

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more information soon

Correction

A photo credit was missing from page 15 of the March/April issue. The upper photo on that page should have been credited to Meryl Levin/Impact Visuals.

upcoming screenings of the film

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Coming to Grips With Clintonomics

If Clinton wants to lead the U.S. out of the slow-growth wilderness, he'll have to reject the myths of orthodox economics

BY MARK LEVINSON

Bill Clinton won the presidency by promising the "most dramatic economic growth program since World War II." In contrast to Bush, who offered no solutions to economic problems (he barely recognized any), Clinton emphasized the need to create millions of high-wage jobs, provide tax relief to working families, expand training and education, and ensure affordable health care for every citizen.

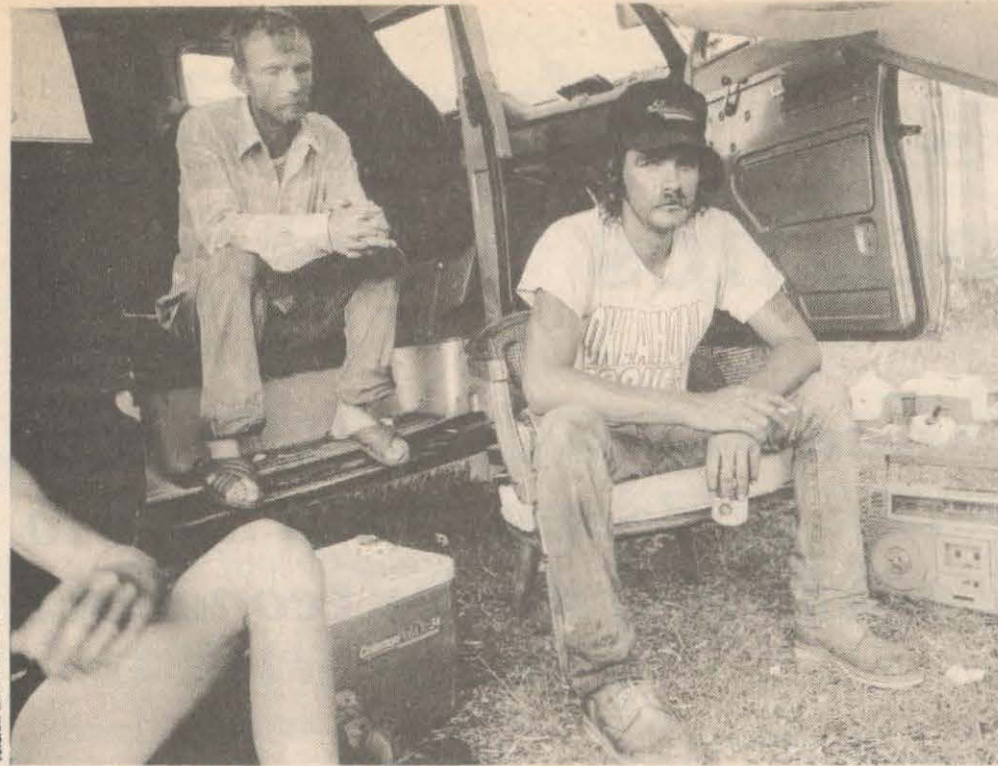
Clinton inherited a sluggish economy savaged by twelve years of Republican mismanagement. The economy is stuck with high business, consumer, and government debt; a glut of empty office buildings; falling defense spending that is especially hurting New England and Southern California; state and local budget problems; inadequate productive investment; stagnant wages and faltering economies in Europe and Japan that are holding down demand for U.S. exports.

Shortly after the election it was announced that the economy grew at an annual rate of 4.7 percent in the last quarter of 1992 and that the deficit was higher than previously thought—close to \$300 billion a year through at least 1996. Few seemed to realize the higher deficit was in

large part responsible for the economic growth.

The higher-than-expected economic growth led some in the Clinton administration to question the need for any economic stimulus. They feared a stimulus would ignite the kind of inflation that destroyed the presidency of Jimmy Carter. The higher deficit projections seemed to call into question Clinton's proposals for job training, investments in public works and a middle-class tax cut.

Clinton's program tried to please everyone. A modest economic stimulus (significantly smaller than what he proposed during the campaign) was combined with a much larger effort to reduce the deficit. Clinton's four year plan consists of tax increases and spending cuts totaling \$500 billion and new spending of \$170 billion. The best part of the plan is that it provides for such worthy projects as improving the infrastructure, Head Start, summer jobs for youth, and an apprenticeship program for non-college-educated youth, and especially that it is funded by progressive changes in the tax system. The president's plan calls for income taxes to rise only for those couples with adjusted gross income over \$180,000, corporate taxes to be increased, and the new energy taxes to be



Andrew Lichtenstein/Impact Visuals

Will Clinton's economic plans give these unemployed day laborers anything to cheer about?

modest and offset for low-income taxpayers by increases in the earned income tax credit and other benefits.

The stimulus fell victim to a Republican filibuster in the Senate. Although polls showed public support for the stimulus, neither Clinton or anyone else put much pressure on the Senate Republicans. After the filibuster began Clinton offered to "address some of the legitimate expressed objections" to the plan. Legitimate objections? The Republicans did not speak a legitimate word during the entire filibuster. The stimulus program was a small (was it easier to

The deficit is not the cause of our fiscal problems, it is the result.

defeat because it was so small?) down payment to urban America. After twelve years of disinvestment it was the first positive gesture from the federal government to the cities.

Clinton must be held, in part, responsible for the defeat of the jobs package. During the campaign Clinton put economic growth and jobs *before* deficit reduction. After the election he reversed himself, and therein lies the problem. He made deficit reduction such a priority that the stimulus became a tough sell.

The deficit is not the cause of our fiscal problems, it is *the result*. A large reduction in government spending will reduce demand without increasing productive investment. Cutting spending too much could cause a slowdown if not a recession; it could also reduce revenue and increase public assistance costs. Paradoxically, cutting spending to reduce the deficit may increase the deficit.

There is no reason to make deficit reduction the top priority. The deficit last year was equal to 5.4 percent of the \$6 trillion in new wealth created in the United States. This should not be considered excessive for a country emerging from a recession characterized by lost tax revenue and higher public assistance and unemployment compensation costs. At the end of the last recession in 1983 the

deficit hit 6.3 percent of GDP (Gross Domestic Product) and it stayed at 5 percent or more until 1987.

Which is not to say the deficit is unimportant; but its importance is more political than economic. David Stockman once admitted that the purpose of the deficit was to make the Reagan revolution irreversible. People who want an activist government would have to acquiesce: "There isn't any money."

The fundamental problem facing the U.S. economy is not the deficit but rather slow growth caused by the decline in productive investment (due not to a shortage of funds but to the use of financial resources for speculation), falling wages and declining living standards for the majority of Americans, and slow growth in the world economy.

With the economy on the brink of recession (growth in the first quarter of 1993 was an anemic 1.8 percent) and with people needing goods, services, and jobs, and with productive capacity lying idle, there is no excuse for austerity. Even if one were to accept that deficit reduction is important, the best way to achieve it is to put people to work. Each decline of one percent in unemployment reduces the deficit by some \$50 billion. In order for Clinton to reduce the deficit in the long run it will be necessary to increase it in the short run by aggressively

implementing his campaign pledge to expand public investment. This means a *substantial* increase in public spending on infrastructure, aid to state and local governments, child care, public education, housing, and renewable energy.

There is a strong relationship between fiscal policy and the growth of the economy. The last four recessions (1970, 1975, 1981, 1990) were all preceded by contractions in fiscal policy while the periods of growth in the late 1970s and mid-1980s were both preceded by an expansion in fiscal policy.

Our current problem was stated with admirable clarity by the Joint Economic Committee in their annual report to Congress:

"Throughout the recent recession the federal government refrained from using fiscal policy to stimulate the economy. This may help account for the extremely slow recovery we are now experiencing. *Never before in recent history has the economy been asked to absorb a contractionary impulse from the federal government for four years in a row. President Clinton's deficit reduction plan will continue to exert downward pressure on economic activity through the next five years.*" (my emphasis)

The JEC goes on to explain that without the stimulus program, the fiscal contraction in 1994 will be the largest in over twenty years. It seems

highly likely that a recession will follow.

The administration would respond that there are other ways to stimulate the economy. Robert Rubin, chairman of the National Economic Council, explained the administration's position: "If there's anything that this program is directed at, it's interest rates." The hope is that lower interest rates will encourage enough investment in housing and other projects to keep the economy expanding. But many industries--

Conventional wisdom about training programs caricatures the realities of the labor market.

automobiles, airlines, steel and computers--are burdened with excess capacity. In the absence of strong consumer demand there is little chance that a wave of private investment will propel the economy ahead in the next two years.

The cornerstone of Clinton's proposal to create a high-wage work force is to increase spending on training and education. It has become an article of faith that while the economy of the future will require more high-skilled professional and technical workers, the work force will increasingly consist of workers with

One, two, many Clintons. Can our activism generate a principled, courageous one?



inadequate skills. In this caricature of the labor market, good jobs exist but they cannot be filled by workers who lack the necessary skills.

There is a problem in over-selling training. A recent example is a new book (*Thinking for a Living*) by Ray Marshall, secretary of labor in the Carter administration, and educator Marc Tucker. According to Marshall and Tucker, in

and education will lead to the creation of good jobs. While not denigrating the need for education and training, Larry Mishel and Ruy Teixeira of the Economic Policy Institute have shown (using the government's own projections) that the growth of job-skill requirements is actually projected to slow down in the future and, in the absence of a different economic policy, the higher skill requirements will coincide with decreased compensation levels. The kind of available jobs depends on industrial, trade, and macro-economic policies; the power of unions; and training. Training and education by themselves will not make up for the dramatic fall in wages for most American workers.

Clinton will not be able to revive the U.S. economy without addressing the problems of the world economy. He needs to enlist the cooperation of the major nations in a common program of economic growth. Getting Japan and Germany to reduce their trade surpluses by increasing their imports would be a good start. It also means getting central bankers to agree to a very liberal monetary policy and changing the austerity policies of the World Bank and the IMF. These institutions could do much more to alleviate the third-world debt burden and to inject investment into those areas of the world economy that now act as drag on economic growth.

A final point: the fundamental causes of our economic difficulties include a revolution in technology that has led to the loss of millions of skilled and semiskilled jobs; the fierce competition of Japan, Western Europe, and the newly industrialized countries, which pay low wages and discourage unions; a crude spree of speculation in the Reagan-Bush years, which contributed to an insufficiency of capital investment; and the difficult transition from war production required by the end of the cold war. These are mainly systemic problems, not merely part of the usual up-and-down cycles of capitalist economies. Whatever the merits of Clinton's economic package--and parts of it have a distinct merit--it is not likely to do much to cope with these deeper problems. For that, a program of sustained social planning and investment would be required.

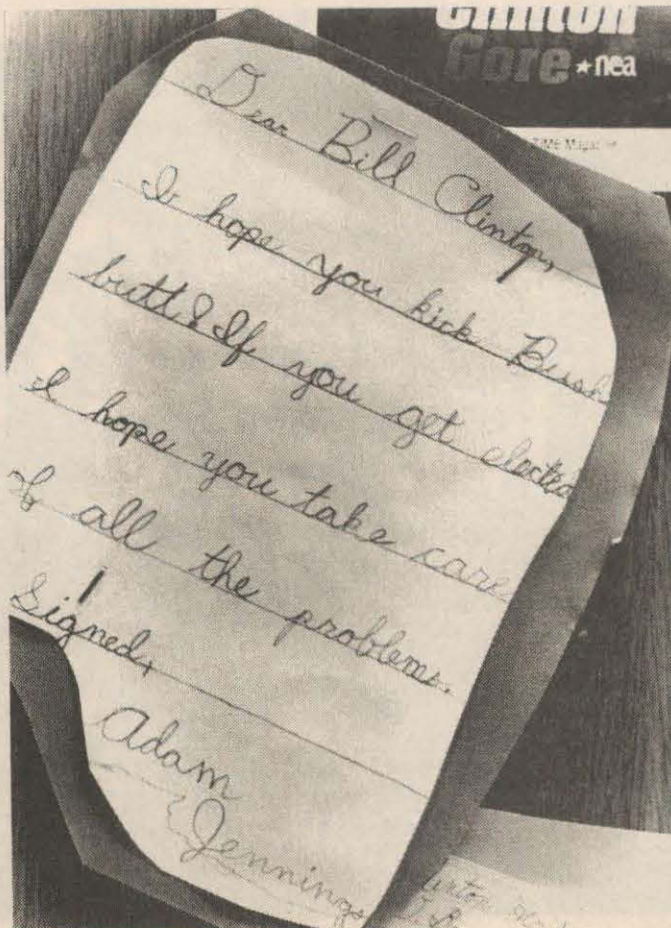
Mark Levinson is an economist at the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees District 37 and a member of DSA's National Political Committee. A version of this article appeared in *Dissent* (Spring 1993).

Clinton will not be able to revive the U.S. economy without addressing the problems of the world economy.

today's economy the key policy factors are not adequate consumer demand or the growth of the money supply. "Instead, the crucial factors turn out to be an adequate supply of high-quality human resources, business strategies that emphasize quality and productivity, and a pattern of work organization that fosters both of these goals."

This is a dangerous half truth. Certainly, the United States underinvests in training and education. But it is simply not true that training

If only it were this simple.



Impact Visuals

Race

in the Clinton Era

With the nightmare of the Reagan/Bush years behind us, can we find new ways to mobilize Americans in support of racial justice?

BY MICHAEL ERIC DYSON

For the last twelve years, fateful changes in American culture have sapped our nation's ability to speak about race with informed passion. First, the collapse of the will to undo the legacy of past racial injustice with immediate intervention -- either through governmental sponsorship or through the beneficent action of the private sector -- has left a gaping hole in the patchwork of remedies that at our most hopeful moments we imagined could solve the bruising inequalities that continue to haunt us. Second, the fierce rivalry among previously despised or ignored groups for a stake in the politics of public attention masked the source of their anxieties: that too often, social goods are parceled out as so many concessions by the strongest group in a system of reward held hostage by zero-sum thinking. Thus, African Americans, women, Latinos/as and Asian Americans were pitted against one another in a battle for scarce resources -- a sour arrangement indeed, since they hadn't caused each other's primary pains. In this light, all the noise about "special interest groups" seems a disingenuous

denial of the factors that led to minorities adopting competition as their stock-in-trade to begin with.

Third, the thinly veiled contempt for racial minorities under Reagan and Bush unleashed a racist backlash that granted permission to the social expression of the most base impulses, impulses that had been held in check by the gains of the civil rights movement and the altered social landscape it brought into existence. For those who point out that even that arrangement was dishonest -- that it simply shifted racism underground -- a word of caution is in order. To paraphrase Ernest Becker, the American character may be a lie, but it's a vital lie, and some forms of restraint -- which protect the possibility of rational dialogue and civil behavior -- must be retained as we work through the occasionally deadly consequences of reordering our unjust racial practices.

To this end, the election of Bill Clinton promised a breath of fresh air, and in many ways it is. The hoopla surrounding Clinton's ascendancy marked a return to the rituals of

Can Clinton begin to speak about race in complex and productive ways?

public participation in power largely absent since the gilded mythology of John Kennedy's Camelot, and more narrowly glimpsed in the cowboy captivity of Ronald Reagan's reign. Like these two figures, Clinton's charm with the media, plus his crafting of a persona as the American everyperson who invites his constituency to become partners in reshaping American democracy around the common good, and his revival of a vocabulary of national service have all combined to make his appeal larger and more humane than that of his Republican predecessors.

Plus, Clinton's cabinet appointments -- although plagued by his asleep-at-the-wheel handling of the Attorney General "nannygate" that betrayed both his ignorance of the average citizen's perspective and documented his blindness to child care issues that women continue to pay for unfairly, even with their careers -- at least represented a stab at a new direction, as Clinton pulled in minorities and women to

make his official advisors look "more like America." But Clinton's bristling at pressure to appoint more women -- as he responded that he wouldn't "count beans" -- reveals that he is more closely allied with George Bush's principles of gender and race relations than was initially believed. Clinton's unprincipled about-face on the Haitians coercively sequestered on Guantanamo Bay only reinforces this suspicion.

The real danger of race in the age of Clinton involves the unintended wounds inflicted by weak friends, not the deliberate assaults of enemies. During his campaign, Clinton expanded the influence of the conservative Democratic Leadership Council, a group of disgruntled neoliberals formed after the collapse of traditional liberalism within the Democratic Party. Signs of this conservatism, especially in regard to race, flashed during the presidential campaign when Clinton employed the code phrase of "winning back the suburbs," implicitly distancing himself from the pain of the working class and ghetto poor. The gesture not only smacked of hubris -- the premise was that he didn't need poor blacks and Latinos/as, and that middle-class minority support was already sewn up -- but it further endangered the racial goodwill that many citizens, especially progressives, had expected from Clinton.

Such hopes of racial goodwill were dealt a further blow with Clinton's treatment of Sister Souljah, a blatant exercise in the sort of rancid public relations maneuvers associated with the late Lee Atwater's manipulation of white suburban angst in the infamous Willie Horton affair. In targeting an obscure black female rapper as the symbol of ill-will in American race relations and as an object lesson of the fascist excesses to which undisciplined race rhetoric can lead, Clinton proved to be not only cynical, but cruelly calculating.

Despite these signs of a lapsed faculty for principled debate about the future of race, there is lingering hope that Clinton can recover moral ground and begin to speak about race in complex and productive ways. More important, the end of the Reagan/Bush era, more than the beginning of the Clinton era (which has yet to fully take shape), contains the seeds of hope for democratic socialists and other progressives. Because we are losing a clear target to aim at -- one of the virtues of outright opponents is that they encourage outright opposition -- we must become even more vigilant in clarifying the terms of antiracist struggle in our culture.

One of the major forms such struggle



Andrew Lichtenstein/Impact Visuals



Joelle Stillborn/Impact Visuals

should take is continued opposition to the pernicious stereotyping of black women as the symbol bearers for the scourges of the welfare system. Conservatives wield hackneyed phrases in defense of a belief that if we could somehow improve poor black women's initiative, their will to upward mobility, we could solve the problem of an almost congenital welfare syndrome. But conservative analyses of welfare dependency (to which Clinton seems inclined) are only half-right. While it is true that solving the initiative problem of poor black women would be a significant achievement, many analyses do not take broader structural considerations into account.

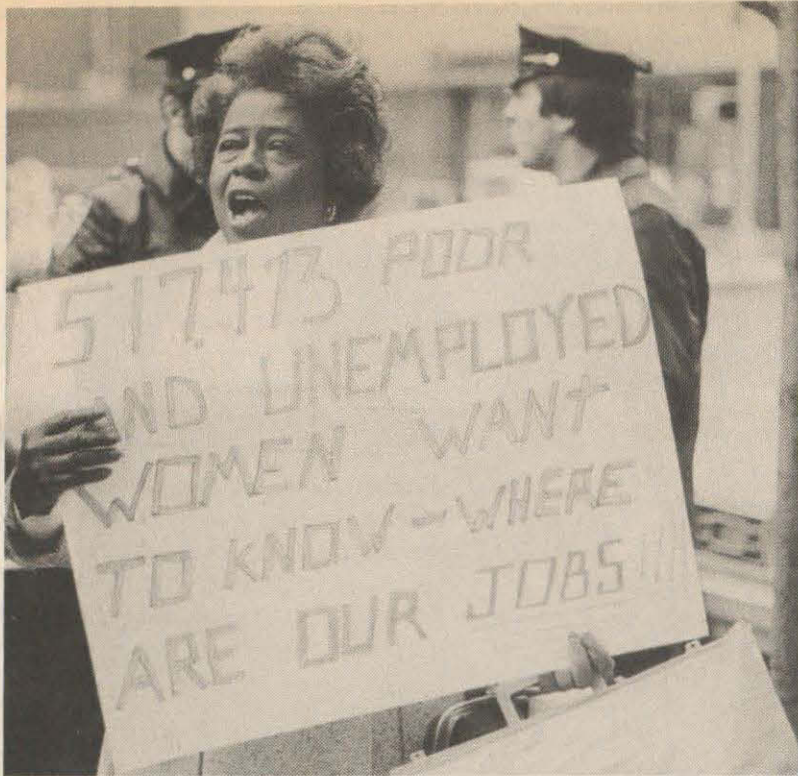
For instance, initiative is often dependent on the amount of reward one receives for it. One's motivation to continually seek employment will not be high when there is little prospect of finding it. In this scenario, initiative expresses the relation between expectation and reward. What kinds of jobs are available? What kinds of education or training does a person have? What kinds of education or training has she or he had access to? What are the structural changes in the economy that affect the viability of the kind of work a person does? What are his or her chances for education or retraining? What is the person's relation to the informal network of information that often influences employment chances? These are simply a few of the questions that must be pressed in assessing

the level of initiative present, and in understanding how one can relate initiative to a larger range of factors.

A radical, democratic socialist rethinking of such questions, buttressed by investigations of the social causes behind the fragile place of poor black women in the economy, an understanding of the sexism that continues to pay women merely seventy percent of what it pays men for comparable work, and an explanation of the dominance of the service industry over manufacturing that has eroded the wage base of poor black women and their ability to support their families might help place initiative in a more illumined framework. Also, comprehending the effects on women of the casualization of labor (where McDonald's employs more people than U.S. Steel without paying benefits) and an honest acknowledgement of the disincentives to initiative contained in regulations that bar women from supplementing their welfare incomes with work would chasten those who call for simple-minded workfare solutions that tie welfare benefits to work.

Moreover, the democratic socialist antiracist struggle must continue to oppose racist violence, manifested most recently in the Rodney King beating in Los Angeles. While the riot that followed the acquittal of the policemen who savagely assaulted King is a complex phenomenon, it is enough here to say that the conditions that provoked that social rebellion remain bur-

**Religion
remains a
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of entry into
a common
politics of
opposition.**



Conservative analyses of welfare dependency ignore the ugly realities of the national economy.

ied in poor communities across America. For the last decade, rap artists -- who as informal ethnographers of black juvenile culture translate the inarticulate suffering of poor black masses into articulate anger -- have warned of the genocidal consequences of life for poor blacks. Their narratives, though plagued by vicious forms of misogyny and homophobia, communicate the absurdity and desperation, the chronic hopelessness, that festers inside the postindustrial center. Police brutality is a recurrent theme of rap narratives, generated by young black males victimized by the unchecked exercise of state repression. Democratic socialists must take the lead in criticizing the actions and the rhetoric of prominent figures who help shape a national climate where racist violence -- particularly police brutality -- seems a plausible or unpunishable action.

Finally, democratic socialists must extend our historic legacy of opposing all forms of oppression while forging links with progressive people not already allied with our movement. Religion, for example, remains a major force among Latinos/as and African-Americans and, therefore, a major route of entry into a common politics of opposition to racism within those communities. Given the erosion of moral community across our nation, religion continues to provide moral strength and insight through narratives of personal transcendence, ethical responsibility and spiritual nurture for millions of

people. Especially within minority communities, where issues of meaning and morality are fused with politics in progressive and prophetic religious practices, religion can provide a vocabulary for both personal stability and social criticism. Democratic socialists must continue to overcome antireligious sentiment if they expect to connect with blacks and Latinos.

Particularly within African-American communities, the fight against racism has centered in black religion -- which, with its noble articulation of fundamental human equality and its uncompromising insistence on black worth -- is suspicious of secular ideologies that deny the validity of religious experience. On the other hand, the strength of socialist philosophy and practice has been its unblinking description of the ills associated with forms of human consciousness and political practice that have been dominated by unjust forces, some of which were maintained by religious belief. But these mutual suspicions may be put to good use as black religionists and socialists join hands in the reconstitution of the civic order and the reconstruction of political practice. Socialism can provide a rich vocabulary of social criticism to interrogate the varied forms of social inequality that prevail in black communities across America. And black religion can offer a needed emphasis upon the moral dimensions of political practice and social criticism. The categories of iniquity and inequity can be usefully appropriated by each community in forging empowering links between black prophetic religion and democratic socialism.

Given Bill Clinton's identification with the politics of meaning, and his advocacy of placing discussions about the common good at the center of American political discourse, democratic socialists can make headway by pushing Clinton to broaden and deepen his understanding of the problems of race. The responsibility of democratic socialists in regard to race in the Clinton era, besides the goals discussed above, is to apply pressure steadily, forcing Clinton to live up to his rhetoric about springtime in the United States. Otherwise, the calamitous consequences of racial domination and violence will make it the long winter of our national discontent.

Michael Eric Dyson, a member of DSA, is a professor of American Civilization and Afro-American Studies at Brown University. He is the author of Reflecting Black: African American Cultural Criticism (University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

ON THE LEFT



by Harry Fleischman

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles DSA held a memorial meeting April 24 to honor Ben Dobbs's lifelong dedication to the struggle for peace, justice, equality, and democratic socialism.

San Diego DSA held a March forum with Greg Akili, co-chair of the African American Organizing Union, on "The New Administration and the Struggle for Universal Health Care." On May 1, the local held a showing of *Forever Activists: Struggles From the Lincoln Brigade*, including as special guests San Diego members of the Brigade and their spouses. San Diego DSAers have also been active waging a campaign to convince the area Congresspeople, Lynn Schenk and Bob Filner, to co-sponsor the McDermott-Conyers bill for a single-payer health care system.

COLORADO

On March 30 the Economic Justice Committee of Front Range DSA co-sponsored a forum on tax justice with AFSCME local 3592.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The D.C./Maryland/Northern Virginia local held a forum March 12 entitled "The Economy, Stupid: A Left Response to Clintonomics," with Thea Lee and Larry Mishel of the Economic Policy Institute. The local's April membership meeting centered around the North American Free Trade Agreement

(NAFTA). The May meeting, to be held May 18, will consider ways of bringing together various strands of the D.C. left.

ILLINOIS

Over 350 people attended the Chicago DSA local's annual Debs-Thomas-Harrington Dinner on May 7, at which Julian Bond and Mollie West were the honorees.

The West Suburban branch of Chicago DSA has held a series of inspiring and well-attended public debates; topics have included NAFTA and national health care.

The Chicago-area citywide DSA retreat is scheduled for June 26.

MARYLAND

DSA Vice Chair Bogdan Denitch addressed a forum on the former Yugoslavia organized by Baltimore DSA in late March. The local is also conducting a letter-writing campaign against NAFTA.

MASSACHUSETTS

Economist Robert Kuttner, the editor of *The American Prospect*, addressed an audience of Boston DSAers recently. Kuttner argued that Clinton needs to promote growth, rather than austerity, if he is to win a second term and to avoid heavy congressional losses in 1994. Boston DSA also held a "singing coffee house" on May 1.

On May 23, Boston DSA will screen *Deadly Deception*, the Academy Award-winning documentary about GE's role in the nuclear industry, along with other short videos on progressive themes.

The local will hold a dinner June 15 honoring two local SEIU organizers. The dinner's keynote speaker will be Harvard professor Juliet Schor, author of *The Overworked American*.

NEW YORK

New York City DSA held a successful convention April 24, at which the local's political priorities for the coming year were outlined. The local came out in force to support a health care demonstration on April 14 and an anti-NAFTA demonstration -- at which NPC member José LaLuz spoke -- on May 1.

The New York City local's annual Debs-Thomas-Harrington dinner will be held June 24. This year's honorees will be Dennis Rivera, the president of Local 1199, and Deborah Meier, the co-director of the Central Park East Secondary School.

OHIO

Members of Cleveland DSA played a major role in organizing a very successful Jobs With Justice rally on May 6. The local has also organized a monthly reading group on the political landscape and the future of the socialist idea.

PENNSYLVANIA

Reading-Berks DSAers have lent support to health care workers at the West Reading Nursing Center. The workers, members of Local 1199P, are battling a lockout. A major point of dispute between the workers and their employer is -- you guessed it -- health care benefits.

Philadelphia DSA ecosocialists held a brunch April 18 to discuss the political landscape and to plan activities for the coming year.

WISCONSIN

A group of DSAers have reformed an organizing committee in Madison. The group has been meeting regularly, and has concentrated on labor solidarity projects and the campaign for national health insurance. The committee hopes to hold its first major public event in early summer.

IRVING HOWE

1920 - 1993

DSA Honorary Chair Irving Howe, the distinguished scholar and founding editor of Dissent magazine, passed away on May 5. His absence will represent an incalculable loss to the organization. A public memorial of Mr. Howe will be held at 7 pm on Monday, May 24 at the 92nd Street Y, at 1395 Lexington Avenue in New York City.

"THE TASK REMAINS, AND IT WILL BE HARDER"

BY JACK CLARK

The news that Irving Howe had died came as a shock. For the more than twenty years I had known him, Irving was always the senior statesman of the movement, always keenly aware of his own mortality. Yet somehow he seemed permanent, indestructible.

Author of books on politics, history and literature, founder and editor of *Dissent* for nearly forty years, a scourge to all those who sought easy answers, Irving Howe served as a teacher, a mentor, and a moral leader.

Often criticized by younger radicals for being insufficiently revolutionary, Irving joked that his neck was sore from watching those who began as his left-wing critics and ended up far to his right. In his finely honed prose, Irving made clear repeatedly that his objections to certain kinds of radicalism had more to do with the self-defeating nature of leftist posturing than with the stated goals of transforming society.

In 1972, when Mike Harrington was undecided about where to turn after the humiliating defeats in the Socialist Party faction fighting, Irving argued that it was time to form a new organization. Without his prompting, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee may not have been.

In what may be one of the last essays he wrote, in the Spring 1993 issue of *Dissent*, Irving offers a spirited defense of the socialist ambition to move beyond the current society and toward fundamental social transformation. Throughout his life's work, this theme emerges again and again. Born into an immigrant working-class culture where socialism commanded a mass following, Irving Howe could summon the historic force of the revolutionary socialist idea.

That revolutionary idea guided Irving Howe's life. He stressed constantly that the idea needed rethinking. Socialism is far from its innocent first days. By example and by exhortation, Irving Howe urged all of us to think more seriously about what the socialist idea means now.

Without his guidance, the task remains, and it will be harder. As he suggested in a collection of his essays, even if we are not paid well for this hard task, the work is steady.

Jack Clark is a member of the DSA National Political Committee.



SOCIALIST VISION: THE NEAR AND THE FAR

BY IRVING HOWE

We know the mistakes and the failures of this past century. Yet these failures and mistakes notwithstanding, there remains a living core of socialist belief, commitment, value. At one point that living core is very close to liberalism: a belief in the widest possible political freedoms, a belief that democracy remains the basis, the one indispensable foundation of all that we want. Without democracy, nothing is possible. But socialism introduces something new, historically and analytically. It introduces the idea that the plebes, the ordinary people, can rise to articulation, rise to rulership, to power. . .

. . . I think that there is slowly gathering, perhaps too slowly, a new wave of social energy. I think there is untapped energy and idealism. Our path in America is very hard. Here we have to join with everyone who is ready to fight for a little more now -- better health care, new housing programs, all of these little things. We must not underestimate how important these are. Yet we also have to say that these things are inadequate. They patch up an unjust society, but they don't begin to apply the vast resources that we have to our vast human needs. To say both kinds of things, to say them at the same time, to keep a balance between the near and the far -- that's what it means to be a socialist in America.

-- Excerpted from "Socialist Vision," a DSA pamphlet adapted from a speech Irving Howe gave at the 1975 Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee Convention.

IN REMEMBRANCE OF IRVING HOWE

BY JO-ANN MORT

It's devastating to contemplate this chore: an obituary for someone whose absence diminishes my world, our collective world.

About Michael Harrington, Irving once said there is only room in the U.S. for one socialist, but Irving was wrong. There was room for two and now, both are gone.

"Sliding into the socialist milieu, I was overcome by a sense of enlargement and discovery," Irving wrote in his 1982 autobiography, *A Margin of Hope*. "Day-to-day activities of the movement might be boring, but its life was aglow with the promise of meaning."

Irving joined the socialist movement at age 14. To the day he died, he remained profoundly committed to DSA, even absorbed by the minutiae of day-to-day organizational detail. One of our last conversations concerned hiring a new national director for DSA, what the youth section was up to, whether or not he would travel to Los Angeles for the DSA Convention in the fall.

He discerned the transforming power of literature. From Wharton to Tolstoy, Emerson to Konrad, Irving interpreted centuries of literature to a world eagerly waiting for his insight. In his memoirs, he said he couldn't choose -- early on -- between literature and politics, but of course, it was the intermixing of one with the other that gave him his special vision.

He seemed to master the English language; the words he wrote were like breathing organisms. Here are some adjectives which come to mind: "quick, jagged, sardonic, affectionate, admiring, impatient --" words Irving used to describe the writing of an early mentor of his, Leon Trotsky.

"The Marxism he employs," Irving wrote about Trotsky, "supple and responsive, has been absorbed into the critic's vision, informing rather than imposing itself on the subjects he deals with." As a critic -- literary or political -- Irving, too, informed our worldview, enlarging and enriching it.

Irving understood that in the U.S., where American exceptionalism has kept democratic socialism away from the political mainstream, the written word can be a powerful political weapon.

Since the day in 1953 when Irving founded *Dissent* magazine, it has been the forum by which our ideas have interjected themselves into the U.S. political arena. It was unprecedented: an extremely American magazine guided by democratic socialism, for forty years -- funded without a university or foundation base. Irving's *Dissent* could mix Günter Grass and a DSA youth section activist in its table of contents. He was insistent that our magazine build a new generation of intellectuals, not just political activists. The vibrancy of today's *Dissent* is one of Irving's gifts to our movement.

Irving helped define Jewish identity in the twentieth century. To him, his Jewishness was "a strategy for keeping in touch with the rejected." His death blew across the media in Israel as if the country were a second home for him -- his signature was on literature and politics in Israel, too, and he will be sorely missed by our comrades who are fighting for a just peace between Israel and the Palestinians.

In an era where democratic socialist ideas are tenuous at best, Irving taught us this: "Our burden is to live by the values of both the visionary and the practical, the far and the near." It was a burden he accepted with his special brand of optimistic pessimism.

"I fear extinction, total and endless," he wrote in 1982. This is a lesser world without his presence, but he will never be gone from this earth. He will live on in his writings, in *Dissent*, in our fledgling movement, in all of us.

Jo-Ann Mort is a member of the DSA National Political Committee and a member of the Dissent editorial board.

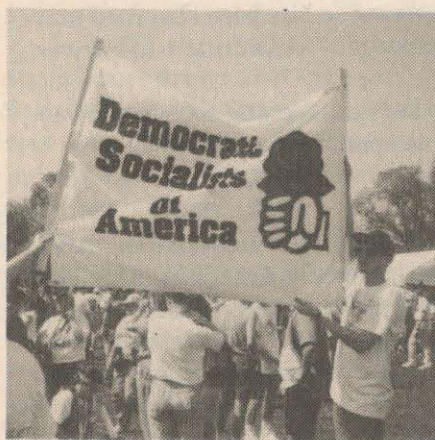
DSAAction

On April 17, DSA hosted a reception for an extremely distinguished delegation of democratic socialist leaders from Latin America. The guests, all of whom will be running for president of their respective countries within the next year, included Rubén Zamora of El Salvador, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas of Mexico, Antonio Navarro Wolff of Colombia, and Luis Ignacio da Silva (Lula) of Brazil.

Top right (l-r): ACTWU President Jack Sheinkman, Cárdenas and DSA NPC member José LaLuz. Below right: Sheinkman, reception host Gene Eisner, and Lula.



photos by Gene Eisner



photos by Ginny Coughlin



A DSA contingent took part in the huge April 25 Lesbian/Gay/Bisexual March On Washington for Equal Rights and Liberation. We were honored to have Svend Robinson, an openly gay New Democratic Party member of the Canadian House of Commons, as the keynote speaker at the DSA reception following the march.

Top left: R.J. Hinde, co-chair of the DSA Lesbian/Gay/Bisexual Commission, holds the banner high. Lower left: The contingent endures the three-hour wait to file out into the march. Right: Svend Robinson addresses the reception.

BEN DOBBS, 1912 - 1993

BY STEVE TARZYNSKI

"As long as capitalism exists, there'll be a need for a socialist movement." That was Ben Dobbs' answer to the mission/vision crisis on the left. After more than half a century of struggle in the name of America's working people, Ben Dobbs died after a long period of severe illness. A fighter all his life, Ben fought back against his illnesses until his last breath.

Born in the old Jewish neighborhood in East L.A., Ben joined the Young Communist League during the early days of the Great Depression. He rose to become a leading organizer in the Southern California district of the Communist Party, USA. After serving in the U.S. Army infantry during the Second World War, he came home and went back to his political work in the Communist Party. During the McCarthy era he and thirteen other California defendants (including DSA Vice Chair Dorothy Healey) were convicted under the infamous Smith Act of conspiring to advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. government. This historic trial, and the eventual gutting of that verdict by the U.S. Supreme Court, was a watershed event in U.S. history.

Ben continued to be active in the 1960s, running unsuccessfully for Congress as a Peace and Freedom Party candidate. In the early 1970s Ben's long fight to democratize the CPUSA ended with his resignation. He did not skip a beat, however, and joined the fledgling post-New Left organization called the New American Movement (NAM). He was elected several times to NAM's national leadership, and played a key role in helping to bring about the 1982 merger of NAM with the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) to form DSA. Ben continued to play an important role as a mentor to many DSA leaders and as a volunteer in many local political campaigns. His wry wit, booming voice, exemplary personal discipline and responsibility, acute intellect tempered by a sense of life's ironies, absolute modesty and humility, his love of telling the stories of his life to an always spellbound audience of younger activists, and his unflinching commitment to socialism and the American people will be sorely missed. He is survived by his wife Ada, three children, and four grandchildren.

Steve Tarzynski, a Los Angeles physician, is a member of DSA's National Political Committee.

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We Need Labor Law Reform

In the United States, reactionary laws and outrageous patterns of non-enforcement may spell doom for private-sector labor unions

BY JACK SHEINKMAN

Priate sector unionism could disappear in the U.S. in the imminent future. This is a national crisis which can only be corrected by sweeping and intense reform of our nation's labor laws.

American workers no longer enjoy the right of freedom of association in the workplace. This right, once guaranteed by federal law, has been eroded by statutory "reforms" and judicial decisions that allow employers to threaten and to actually deprive workers of their livelihoods if they attempt to exercise their rights.

Here are a few examples from the countless stories in my own union's experience.

In Kannapolis, North Carolina, in the spring of 1992, 7,000 employees of Fieldcrest-Cannon, the largest non-union textile facility in the U.S., woke up one morning to find an announcement in their town paper that the pensions of all current and future retirees had been slashed by 30 percent. Their former boss, David Murdock, had invested their pension money in annuities with the Executive Life Insurance Company, which went bankrupt.

Fearful about their retirement and angered by years of little or no pay increase, workforce reductions, increased workloads, and runaway health and safety problems on the job, the Fieldcrest-Cannon employees wanted a union. Our organizers were swamped by workers

seeking to sign union authorization cards. In a matter of days, thousands of signed union cards flooded our local union office.

Fieldcrest-Cannon then had two months in which to scare and threaten its own employees in an anti-union campaign. Employees were required to attend company meetings held in the plant during work time, where they were subjected to anti-union speeches and movies. The message at these meetings was clear. Workers were told that their upcoming union vote was a vote to decide if they were to have a job or not.

How were the workers who supported the union supposed to counter their employer's half-truths, lies, and threats? The workers who chose to openly challenge the boss at these meetings were then prohibited from attending all future meetings.

Hundreds of Fieldcrest-Cannon workers were eventually banned from these meetings, enabling Fieldcrest-Cannon management to make its final anti-union appeals to those workers who were undecided or opposed to the union, while isolating union supporters.

Management carried signs listing our union's recent strike history moments before the vote as they escorted workers to the voting areas. Despite this anti-union onslaught, union supporters lost by only a four-hundred vote

margin out of nearly 7,000 votes cast.

This is not an isolated case. The discharge of union supporters is an increasingly popular tool for employers hoping to chill a union campaign. Look at the National Labor Relations Board's own statistics.

In 1950, one out of every 200 union voters in a campaign was illegally fired. By 1980, the number of discharges had increased to one in twenty union voters, and by 1985, it was one in ten voters. As for delays, the median time a fired worker could expect to wait for a decision from the NLRB to reinstate him on the job was 720 days in 1985. That's two years waiting to get your job back. If the employer refuses to accept the Board's order, you can tack on another year as the worker waits for the Board to get its order enforced by the Court of Appeals.

Another example is Farris Fashions Company located in Brinkley, Arkansas. This very successful apparel company employs three hundred workers, most of whom are African American women, pays its workers little more than the minimum wage and provides no health insurance for the worker or her family.

In the fall of 1990, workers for this company signed union cards to join ACTWU. During the subsequent election campaign, the owner, Farris Burroughs, told his workers that if they did not stop "messing with union organizers," he

would shut the doors -- close the plant, and convert it into a chicken coop. He enlisted the mayor of Brinkley to tell his workers that a pro-union vote would result in a loss of their jobs. Not surprisingly, workers, afraid of losing their jobs, voted against unionization.

Our union filed objections to the employer's conduct during the campaign. After investigating the case, the NLRB region took the unusual step of ordering the company to bargain a contract with the union since the employer had so violated the law that a fair election could not be held. In response to this request, the employer submitted a brief to the administrative law judge that illustrated its brazen disregard for the law.

The brief stated that if the company were ordered to bargain with the union, "it would be a disaster for [its] employees and the Brinkley, Arkansas area, because Farris Fashions will close if it ultimately has to bargain with the union. That is a fact that the union and the General Counsel of the Board should not doubt."

If an employer breaks the law during an election campaign, the remedy for such law breaking is another election. Not much of a penalty for an employer who destroyed his workers' chance at a fair vote! In fact, Board-ordered elections often come years after the

In today's environment, even the bravest and most solidaristic unionists face many, many hurdles before they secure bargaining rights.



Harvey Finkle/Impact Visuals

initial vote, giving the employer more than enough time to dismiss or force to quit most of the vocal union supporters prior to a second vote.

What of the workers who overcome such obstacles in the organizing process and win their union vote and, despite the years of legal delays, have their victory certified in the courts? Is their struggle over? No. In many cases, the battle to win a collective bargaining agreement from their employer is just as fierce, marred by just as many violations of the law as the campaign to win their election.

Are workers to enjoy or be denied the right to engage in collective bargaining? To re-establish this right, legislation must be enacted which will dramatically reform our current labor laws. Such legislation should include:

Barring the employer's interference in employees' associational choices: The employer can deprive an employee of his livelihood. His words, misinformation about the union, and his predictions of the dire consequences of collective bargaining for his employees are always so coercive as to render employees' associational choices meaningless. The Wagner Act, before the Taft-Hartley "reforms," restricted employers' and their agents' use of coercive statements under its "totality of conduct" standard for judging employer actions. We must re-establish this standard.

Card-check majorities sufficient for securing recognition: Why must employees be required to prove again and again that a majority of their co-workers wish to be represented by a union before their employer will bargain? The signing of union cards by a majority of a given work force should be sufficient to establish bargaining rights for the employees. This is the law for workers in Ontario, where the percentage of workers represented by labor unions is twice as big as ours and their numbers are growing.

Expedite investigations into and increase the penalties for the discharge of union supporters: Though terminating workers engaged in concerted activity violates current law, the penalties for employers who break the law are so meager and the legal delays in enforcing such penalties take so long, that employers readily fire union supporters in order to chill an organizing campaign. Employers should be required to pay double back pay for lost wages while the fired employee is awaiting his reinstatement. In addition, the Board's regional director should be required to go into court to secure an injunc-

tion to reinstate the fired employee if, after an investigation, the regional director believes the discharge to be discriminatory. The Act calls for mandatory injunction where a union's conduct, such as certain forms of illegal picketing, causes irreparable harm to an employer. The Act must be reformed to call for injunctive relief when an employer's conduct causes irreparable harm to employees' associational rights.

Mandatory arbitration of all unresolved first contracts: Negotiations of first contracts often become one more opportunity for the employer to deny its workers their wish to secure a union contract. Through the use of onerous proposals and the refusal to agree to standard contract language involving grievance procedures, arbitration of disputes, or even voluntary check off of union dues, the employer seeks to frustrate his employees so they will abandon all hopes of winning a decent agreement. The Canadian province of Ontario has dealt with this problem by mandating the arbitration of all unresolved contract disputes in first-time agreements. If such a mechanism were in place here, employers would have a strong incentive to bargain in good faith.

Stiff penalties for habitual law violators: Currently the legal sanction against employer violations is the posting of a notice in the plant promising not to break the law again. Habitual law breakers face nothing more than the prospects of posting many notices, hardly a deterrent against future law breaking. Instead, repeat violators must face the prospect of losing access to government contracts and programs aimed at promoting economic growth such as job training funds, export assistance, and even certain investment tax credits.

Collective bargaining is the best anti-poverty program for our nation's working poor, and, may I add, this poverty program doesn't cost the taxpayers anything.

Our nation is at an economic crossroads. Will we de facto outlaw private sector collective bargaining in an attempt to build a low-wage exploited work force that will match the deplorable labor conditions of our third world competitors?

Jack Sheinkman is president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. This article is adapted from testimony he gave before the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Productivity, chaired by Senator Paul Simon, on December 9, 1992.

The New Europe and the Old Nationalism

Making Sense of European Integration

BY PETER MANDLER

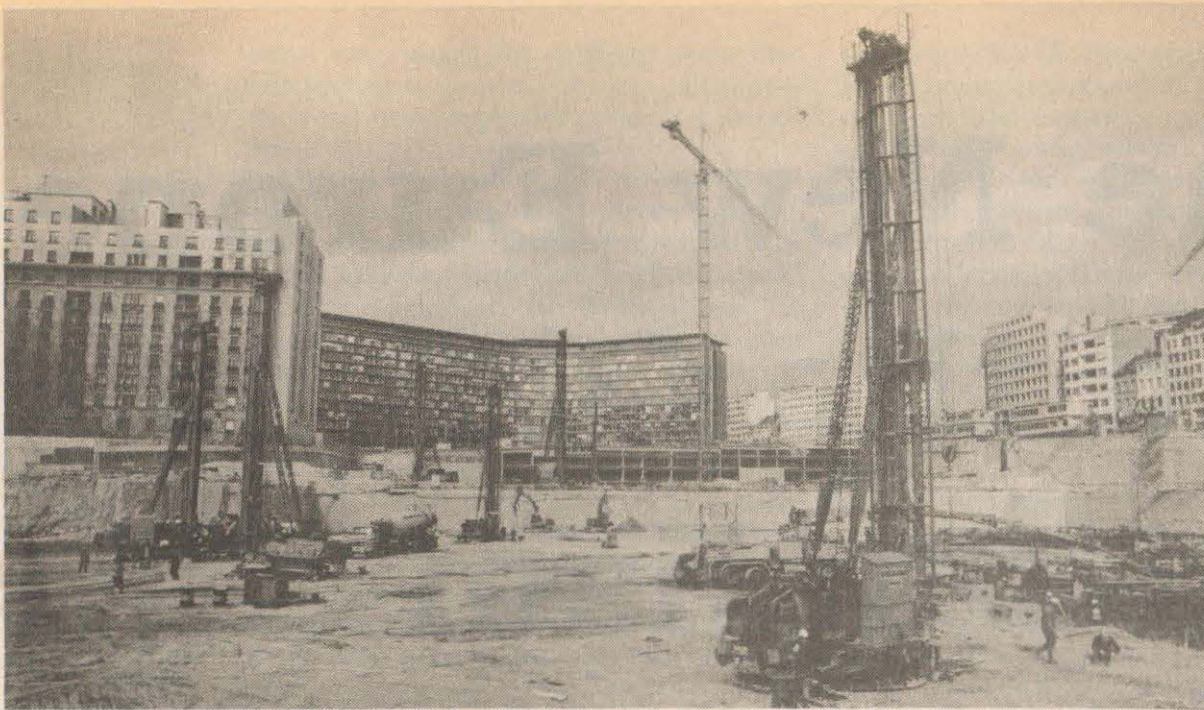
On the surface, the unity package being offered to the people of the European Community (EC) by the Maastricht Treaty should look particularly unattractive to the readers of *Democratic Left*. What are we supposed to like about a treaty that embodies an economic policy much like NAFTA, the politics of centralization and bureaucratization, and a culture marked by disregard for national, regional, and local difference?

Beneath the surface, however, the unity package is more complicated than that. Britain's John Major has compared the maneuvering among politicians of the EC nations to "a twelve-level chess game." Much the same can be said when analyzing the various forces that have led toward European unity.

A little history helps. What began as the European Coal and Steel Community, and later metamorphosed into the Common Market and still later into the European Community, was initially just a geopolitical deal between France and Germany. Anxious to avert the economic

rivalry that had plunged Europe (and the world) into depression and war, postwar French and German politicians agreed from the start on a considerable degree of economic harmonization between their two nations. That settled, it was relatively simple to corral smaller countries -- principally the Benelux nations (Belgium, Luxemburg, and the Netherlands) sandwiched between two titans -- into a somewhat larger union with twin capitals in Brussels and Strasbourg. But the limited nature of this "Europe of Six" was reflected by the ease with which other countries kept out -- not just neutral Switzerland and Austria, but also Britain and Scandinavia.

What made the Europe of Six work was the broad area of agreement on economic policy between the right- and left-wing parties of most member-states -- that is, between Christian and social democracy -- that came to be called "Euro-corporatism." This is not to say that there was no idealism in the early days, no talk of a United States of Europe, of common citizenship, of a "third-way" foreign and military



Michael Ochsenschlager/Impact Visuals

In Brussels, construction continues on the EC headquarters. But just what sort of community is this they're building?

policy. There was, but it fed off the success of economic policy without much independent popular support, except perhaps in the Benelux countries. Little practical progress was made toward "Euro-federalism" in the '60s or '70s. The advent of a directly-elected European Parliament didn't make much difference, except as a talking-shop for federalists. Real power remained in the hands of the Council of Ministers, composed of representatives of the national governments, operating on a consensus basis.

A good deal *has* changed in the last decade, however, seeming to put true federalism on the agenda for the first time. This is where the many-layered chess game of factions and motives comes in.

First, modernization on the fringes of Europe has made possible the admission of new members -- Ireland, Greece, Spain, and Portugal -- which in turn has put pressure on other hold-outs to join the community. The Six have become the Twelve, and within a few years should encompass all of Western Europe except Switzerland. Paradoxically, the expanding diversity of EC membership has put greater pressure on the community to take on more powers to harmonize otherwise divergent economies.

Second, the pressure to harmonize has been intensified by international recession and the threat of trade war. Europe, like America and the Far East, must scramble to create the biggest possible trade bloc.

Third, the internationalization of finance has meant the blurring of national boundaries everywhere, especially in terms of economic

policy. The awareness that an independent national economic policy was nearly impossible in current circumstances -- and that even an independent European policy might be under threat -- was the principal factor in converting to Euro-federalism left-wing parties traditionally hostile to it, such as the British Labour and Danish Social Democratic parties.

Fourth, a factor with devilishly contradictory implications: the end of the Cold War has upset the traditional European power balance. French Gaullists who had turned to Europe in order to control the Germans now felt that, after unification, a strengthened Europe might end up controlling Europe. Conversely, many felt European unification *more* vital as a means of blending the Germans safely into the whole. And then what will happen when Eastern European nations begin to make serious applications for EC membership? Sweden and Austria can join up speedily, now that foreign policy considerations no longer bar them. Slovenia, the Czech Republic, and Hungary might be fairly easily assimilated. But Bulgaria? Poland? Russia?

A final factor seeks to balance all other considerations: it is the growing independence of the central bureaucracy, the European Commission in Brussels presided over by the dynamic French social Catholic Jacques Delors. Delors knew -- and he knew that most national politicians knew -- that greater economic integration was essential in the new international economy. He also knew that the heterogeneity of the expanded EC was such that a stronger

political center would be necessary if integration were to be achieved. He and the more federalist Europeans in the Council of Ministers -- essentially the old Six -- accordingly drew up a treaty, agreed to by the Council at Maastricht, which offered economic integration to the others only at the cost of greater political integration as well. It is almost as if NAFTA were offered to Canada and Mexico with a clause vesting political control over the agreement in the U.S. Congress.

What makes Maastricht look better than that is, of course, the fact that the Euro-corporatism of Brussels is more progressive than the dominant mood in Congress. Just as important as free trade in the history of Euro-corporatism is cooperation between the "social partners." So the Social Protocol of the Maastricht Treaty gives the Council of Ministers greater powers over many aspects of the workplace, including health and safety, equal opportunities, consultation mechanisms, and training. These powers will probably lead to a levelling-upwards of labor's position in Europe, though it's worth mentioning that Britain has opted out of the Social Protocol entirely and that Spain has bargained for a loose application of the Protocol, so that it can retain its "competitive advantage" -- that is, low wages. But in general, harmonization of the European economies should lead to substantial redistribution from richer countries to the newly-admitted poorer ones like Portugal and Greece.

And yet. . . the idea of political integration engineered first and foremost in order to achieve European advantages in the international marketplace should also give us pause. The social dimension of Maastricht is not as strong a guarantee as it may appear. Even keen Euro-corporatists, who worry that traditional European labor practices may be disadvantageous in the cut-throat international marketplace, may be tempted to use the social powers in order to level-down rather than to level-up. As the current disarray of the European Monetary System suggests, financial speculators can apply intense pressures on governments to cut their spending; nations whose policies are determined not by long-term growth but the short-term need to hit European harmonization targets are particularly vulnerable to this pressure. And Maastricht does nothing to prevent national governments from cutting back either wages or social security benefits in the longer term.

More disturbing still is the bad politics of

Maastricht. A lot of the momentum of the new treaty has come from Delors's clever manipulation of latent federalist feelings in the Benelux countries, in the Brussels bureaucracy, and in the European Parliament at Strasbourg. But the high ideals of the federalists have never yet governed the way the community operates in practice, and may not soon. The pragmatic force behind Maastricht is the desire of national politicians to pass the buck on economic policy, over which they feel they have little control. Brussels will be quite happy to accept the buck, among other reasons because it is unelected and doesn't have to worry about public opinion. Federalism may well *lose* popularity as it becomes associated with hard economic medicine, handed down by a distant bureaucracy and enforced by a distant judiciary.

It's not as if any national politician has campaigned seriously for a new vision of European citizenship and decision-making. Most are having enough trouble making contact with their own citizens on the basis of the old national cultures. The popularity of the governing elites of Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain is at an all-time low. Few have experimented with new means of communicating with electorates, as Bill Clinton did during the U.S. presidential campaign. On the few occasions when they've exposed themselves to public opinion in the national referenda on Maastricht, they have been alarmed by the extent of popular bemusement and often hostility.

Optimists try to connect these two trends -- Euro-federalism and the discrediting of national political elites -- in a different way. They see the formation of a "Europe of the regions," in which democracy will come closer to the people, as non-economic decisions (on culture, social policy, education) are made on a regional basis. This might make sense for the Germans, who already have a strong regional structure. Perhaps Scotland and Catalonia will also benefit. But other people, without a regional identity or regional politics, may find themselves in the worst of both worlds: no local democracy, and key decisions receding beyond the grasp even of their national leaders. This is not a recipe for European federalism, but for the reverse: the worst kind of exclusive nationalism.

Peter Mandler teaches in the Department of Politics and Modern History at London Guildhall University. He is a member of both DSA and the British Labor Party.

Zolton Ferency: Abiding in the Democratic Socialist Faith

BY BOB FITRAKIS

Zolton Ferency, a lawyer, professor and Michigan's foremost democratic socialist, died on March 23, 1993 at age seventy. The Detroit Free Press asked, "Who will now speak for the poor and the powerless?"

Ferency came to prominence in the late 1950s when, as Michigan's Liquor Control Commissioner, he issued an ultimatum to Michigan's white elite restaurants that he would pull their liquor licenses unless they ended their policy of refusing to serve blacks. He went on to chair the Michigan Democratic Party. He always insisted that one of his proudest achievements was standing fast alongside the Mississippi Freedom Democrats at the 1964 Democratic Convention.

In 1966, Ferency became the first state Democratic Party chair to break with Lyndon Johnson over the Vietnam War. He went on to run as the Democratic nominee for Governor of Michigan in 1966. Altogether, he would run -- and lose -- five times. Two of those attempts were under the banner of the Human Rights Party, which he co-founded in 1970. Many students in Michigan spent the 1970s election years clad in "I'm votin' for Zolton" T-shirts. Whether he was running for governor or collecting some 500,000 votes as an independent candidate for the Supreme Court, his political base always proved loyal.

The media usually referred to him as "an ultraliberal, and self-described 'democratic socialist.'" During his last race for governor, in 1982, he promised to take over the utility companies to run them in the public interest as well as to seize abandoned automobile factories to re-open them on behalf of the workers in the community. Ferency received 12 percent of the vote in the Democratic primary. After that race, Ferency rewarded his all-volunteer campaign staff with a pewter cup simply inscribed with one word, "Abide."

Ferency went on to win election as an Ingham County Commissioner and finally as an East Lansing City Councilperson.

A week before his death, I received a short note from Ferency: "Bob, been following your career -- you made a good run -- this is our old idea of getting immediate representation." This was his democratic socialist faith in which he forever abided.

Bob Fitrakis, a leader of Columbus DSA, teaches at Columbus State Community College. He was the Democratic candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives in the Twelfth District of Ohio in 1992.

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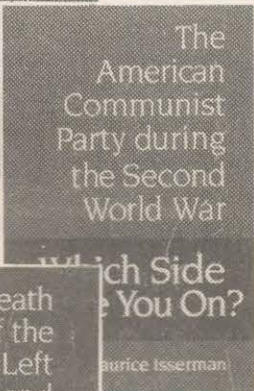
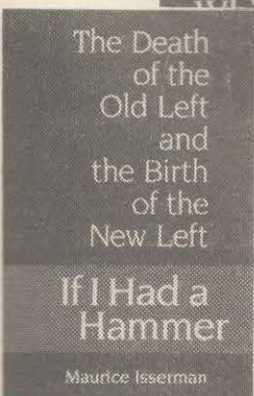
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Janie Higgins Reports



HARD-WON HOUND FIGHT

After a three-year struggle, the Amalgamated Transit Union announced on April 20 that it had settled its bitter strike against Greyhound Bus Lines. The brutal strike, which brought to public attention the growing practice of employers' hiring permanent replacement workers during strikes, has ended with a decent, if not happy, settlement. At least 550 striking drivers will be recalled to work; Greyhound will pay out \$22 million in back pay to striking workers; and the union has a collective bargaining agreement with Greyhound that extends through 1998. And, yes, the boycott is over; impoverished leftists can travel again.

NO EDGE ON LIFE HERE

The Washington, D.C.-based Draft and Military Project has published a new brochure entitled "African Americans in the Armed Forces: The Myth of Equal Opportunity." The pamphlet, aimed at high school students of color who are considering enlisting in the military, details racial disparities in the armed forces'

training programs, combat procedures, and disciplinary systems. The brochures are available through the Draft and Military Project, P.O. Box 8726, Silver Spring, MD 20907.

A NATION OF MOOREHEADS

Filmmaker Michael Moore, the creator of *Roger and Me*, is now reported to be working on a television special -- which may evolve into a series (!) -- for NBC. The project, entitled *TV Nation*, is described as "a spoof of a conventional news-magazine program;" initial topics include the North American Free Trade Agreement. Too bad that progressive opinion needs to dress itself up as parody before it lands on major-network airwaves, but stay tuned. . .

PIX IN THE ATTIC?

DSAer Paul Buhle, co-editor of the *Encyclopedia of the American Left*, is now toiling on another epic project, a book to be called *The Pictorial History of American Radicalism*. If you have any noteworthy photographs (especially "action shots"), cartoons, or sketches of, by, or about DSAers, please send them to Paul c/o the American Civilization Department, Box 1895, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912.

Democratic Left Labor Day Issue 1993

The Labor Day issue of *Democratic Left* will once again be dedicated to coverage of the American and international labor struggle. Our annual Labor Day ad campaign is the principle fundraiser for *Democratic Left*. It provides an excellent opportunity for you to join with trade unions, progressive organizations, and DSA members to show your support for DSA and *Democratic Left*. We welcome advertisements and personal greetings from individuals, DSA locals, organizations and progressive businesses. We must receive ad copy by Wednesday, August 11, 1993. Make checks payable to DSA, or pay by credit card.

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