

Inside: Special Notice to At-Large DSA Members

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DEMOCRATIC Left



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Beyond Equality

*Barbara Ehrenreich
on feminism's future*

**Also: The Men's Movement » Clinton's Progress »
Socialist Summer Reading**

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cover photo by Martha Tabor/Impact Visuals

EDITORIAL

CLINTON AT FIVE MONTHS

BY JOANNE BARKAN

Everyone is obsessing about Clinton's relationship to the *center*. Is he moving there? Is he not moving because he's been there all along? Is he wandering around, looking for his own center?

This line of questioning doesn't illuminate much for progressives who feel disappointed in Clinton. It's more relevant to ask: How much clout does a reform-oriented U.S. president have these days? And what, if anything, can forces on the left do?

Respondents to these questions fall into two groups. The minimalists argue that presidents can't move mountains, or hillocks, unless they have the right numbers in Congress. If you add conservative and moderate Democrats to Republicans this term, the total can thwart Clinton almost every step of the way. To those who say the president should bypass Congress and mobilize popular support for his programs, the minimalists answer that public opinion remains solidly centrist. You can't generate a groundswell for something more radical if you've won only 43 percent of the vote and don't enjoy

the personal popularity of a Great Communicator and are trying to sell tax increases rather than tax cuts. For minimalists, grass-roots movements don't count for much.

The voluntarists don't buy such a limited notion of the presidency, and they don't dismiss pressure from below. The problem, many argue, is that Clinton lacks guts. He compromises or capitulates when he could use his bully pulpit to mobilize constituencies. Others maintain that he's a technocrat at heart, and technocrats just don't think of building movements. Most voluntarists also look to themselves when trying to figure out what's happening to Clinton and conclude that the left is too weak to exert sufficient pressure. Some also criticize labor leaders for adopting a "rose garden" lobbying strategy, rather than organizing around a program of jobs, military conversion, labor law reform, training, and infrastructure repair.

So who's correct? The minimalists make a usefully sober point: Progressives shouldn't ignore the obstacles confronting Clinton. Awareness can diffuse bitterness. Ironically, however, this underscores the need to whip up pressure from below for *strong* campaign finance reform.

The voluntarists can make the case for activism simply by pointing to what's gone at least modestly well in Clinton's first five months. Take, for example, voter registration, family leave, the bio-diversity treaty, the college loan program, abortion

rights, and the commitment to health care reform. Without relentless badgering by activists throughout the grim Reagan-Bush years, how much progress would we see today? Little. Perhaps none.

True, these issues aren't nearly as tough as rebuilding the U.S. economy. Here activists often go their separate ways. Not many feminists, environmentalists, or gays focus on the restructuring of American capitalism. Labor and socialists have traditionally fought for progressive economic reform -- voluntarists hammering away at impregnable barriers. Yet barriers in every domain can break down. So whether or not Clinton is hunting for his own or someone else's center, the left should keep pounding away.

Joanne Barkan is a New York writer.

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Beyond Gender Equality

Toward the New Feminism

BY BARBARA EHRENREICH

In reflecting on women's progress in the last couple of decades, it is important to ask: How far did we get, and is there anything left over for anybody else to do? When we assess this progress, we have to remember that there were always at least two goals for the women's movement. The first goal is equality, which is a simple, though not necessarily easy, goal. It means simply that women's life chances must not be diminished by male supremacist beliefs and practices.

The second goal, which often gets lost or forgotten, involves challenging oppression based on race and class and all the other dimensions of potential inequality and injustice. A feminism oriented simply around gender equality would be empty and meaningless for most women in a society like ours, in which a woman earning \$500,000 a year can hire another woman from the third world to care for her child and pay her only \$5 an hour.

How far have we gotten on the first goal -- equality? Not far enough. In the 1970s and 1980s we broke down barriers -- women got into law schools and into medical schools. Doors that had been shut for centuries were knocked down.

This was important, but just a start com-

pared to what lies ahead. I want to run through a few issues that reveal how we fall short of straightforward equality. In the area of power, for example, there was a lot of fuss about the "year of the woman" in 1992 and about women getting into the Senate and into the House. In reality, despite noteworthy gains, very few got into the Senate and House. We still have less than 10 percent representation in Congress. Two hundred years after the Boston Tea Party, women still endure taxation without representation.

And then there's another area of basic equality. Basic equality depends on reproductive rights. This struggle is far from over. The Supreme Court's *Casey* decision gives states the right to impose almost any restrictions they want on abortion. These can include a 24-hour waiting period, which is fine if you can afford to stay in a hotel overnight and hire a babysitter to take care of your kids at home. It's not fine if you're very young or if you don't have a lot of money. Feminist struggles have at least turned the climate of public opinion around on this issue. We must now work to make abortion a true right, and not simply an economic privilege.

Another aspect of equality involves rela-



Jim Tynan/Impact Visuals

Miss Sugar, 1991: Why do we still accept the cultural idea that there is only one way to look attractive?

tionships with men. Fifty percent of American fathers report that they have never changed a diaper and that they spend on the average only 38 seconds a day with their infant children. Even more disturbing is that the incidence of reported violence against women -- rape and battering -- has increased since the 1970s when the second wave of feminism began. Every 15 seconds a woman is battered; two to four million are battered every year. Violence against women in the home represents the most serious cause of injury to women, and results in more emergency room injuries than rape, muggings, illnesses, or car accidents all combined. In other words, for a woman, the most dangerous place she can be is at home.

Another area where we are far from equal is in the economy. Most of those gains made in the '70s and '80s in opening up new occupations for

teem. We know a lot more about this issue than we did just a few years ago. We know that girls' self-esteem, measured in psychological tests, tends to go way down at ages 11 to 13. Boys' self-esteem also goes down somewhat at puberty, but their self-esteem tends to rebound as they get older. Girls' self-esteem goes down and stays low. This is very discouraging, because just as we get to the point where women have opportunities that weren't available before, suddenly a little voice goes off inside us saying, "Forget it, you can't do it, you're worthless, no point in even trying."

Another part of women's chronic low self-esteem comes from women's tendency to reject ourselves as physical beings. Studies show that women consistently overestimate their body size by about 25 percent. This self-rejection manifests itself in eating disorders, which can involve levels of starvation serious enough to affect body organs, such as the heart, or to affect and interrupt menstruation. Too many of us have accepted the cultural idea that there's only one way to look attractive, and if you're the wrong color, the wrong size, the wrong age, then you have to be sliced up and redone to resemble a "Barbie doll" model of beauty.

So if you define feminism simply as a struggle for equality, and if you define the goal as simply to do anything that men can do and feel good about yourself in the process, we are certainly not there yet.

Equality, however, was never the entire

The gains of the 1970s were important, but just a start compared to what lies ahead.

women involved the professions. It's wonderful to have women professionals in those roles. But most women aren't professionals. The great majority of working women are still in stereotypically female kinds of jobs -- clerical work, sales, nursing, assembly line work. Women in those jobs earn a little more than half of what men earn in comparable types of occupations.

A final dimension of inequality is self-es-

goal. In fact, there's an old feminist slogan that goes: If you think equality with men is the goal, your standards are too low. We want equality, but we also want a world worth being equal in -- a world in which repression and rigid forms of hierarchy would be seen as ugly relics. It's pointless even to imagine what equality for women would mean or could mean in the context of racial and class inequalities for both women and men. We reject, in fact, the idea of equality for women as a category, so long as there is inequality along these other lines, on the lines of color, ethnicity, and class. Women are also members of classes and races and ethnic groups -- so it wouldn't make any sense to have one equality without the other. If feminism means anything, it means a movement for all women, not just some women, not just white women, or corporate lawyer women, or wealthy women. We have to look to not just getting a few women onto the top, but also ask: How are we going to change that hierarchy that puts some women on top of others?

So equality is a fine goal, but it has to be equality for all in a society that's worth being equal in. We're a long way from that. Consider just a few depressing facts about the society in which women have been seeking equality. It's a society, as you know, marred by very deep economic inequality. Officially only 14 percent of the American people are poor, but that number rises to 20 percent if poverty is defined more realistically than it is by the official federal definition. We know that African Americans are three times more likely than whites to be poor, and that there are similar disparities for Latino families and communities. And we're talking about a society, too, that is becoming *more*, not less unequal in economic and class terms. Between 1977 and 1992, the wealthiest 1 percent of Americans saw their incomes rise by 136 percent. Meanwhile, the poorest 10 percent of Americans in the same time period saw their incomes fall by over 20 percent.

Look at what has happened to Aid to Families with Dependent Children, which is a program almost entirely for single women and their children: Between 1970 and 1992, welfare benefits fell by 42 percent in inflation-corrected dollars. No other area of public policy is so obscured by right wing myths. There is the myth that welfare is draining the federal treasury. Actually, welfare is less than 1 percent of the federal budget. Then there's the myth that welfare recipients are lazy or just aren't doing anything. Well, there's another old feminist slogan here: every mother is a working mother.

These are women raising children on their own, which is a lot harder than raising children with a partner. Another myth is that people on welfare just need jobs. They need jobs, but they need good jobs, jobs that would actually pay enough to live on and support children on. Since nearly 20 percent of the workforce already works full time and is not getting out of poverty, where are we going to generate jobs for large numbers of women trying to enter the workforce from welfare?

The next wave of feminism will require a renewed vision of what it is we're trying to achieve, all of us who are working for social

Equality is a fine goal, but it has to be equality for all in a society worth being equal in.

change in whatever way. We must outline how we believe that the community of human beings can live together more equitably and peacefully than it does now. The vision has to be to be a vision beyond capitalism, with its inevitable economic injustice. This is a time when people looking for change don't have some kind of precise model to inform that struggle for change. Everybody has some responsibility to start imagining, dreaming, inventing, and visualizing the kind of future we would like. In the movement I want to be a part of, everyone is a leader and everyone has responsibility to imagine the future.

There are times to be nice and accommodating and play by all the rules, but not all the time. If we're ever going to recapture our self-esteem, we're going to have to be proud to be strident, proud to be bitchy, and proud to be lesbians, and proud to be mistaken for lesbians. Remember the advice of the great early twentieth century labor organizer, Mother Jones, who would tell women that she was organizing: "Whatever you do, don't be ladylike." In fact, as I think about it, considering 100 years or so of feminist struggle behind us and many more still to come, it may even be that part of what Marilyn Quayle calls our "essential nature" is to get out there, year after year, decade after decade, and raise hell.

Barbara Ehrenreich is an Honorary Chair of DSA. This article is adapted from a speech she gave in Stony Brook, New York, on March 2. Ehrenreich's first novel, Kipper's Game, has just been published by Farrar Strauss Giroux.

Wild Men/ Feminist Men

Which Side Are You On?



Gary Wagner/Impact Visuals

BY PHIL ANSELL

The popular success of Robert Bly's book *Iron John* and related media stories have focused significant attention on the contemporary men's movement. How can socialist feminists relate to this movement?

The wing of the men's movement identified with Robert Bly is often referred to as the "mytho-poetic" men's movement. The feminist men's movement is the other important wing, finding its primary organizational expression in the National Organization for Men Against Sexism (NOMAS). As is generally the case in social movements, these two wings of the men's movement are not separated by an impermeable wall: in fact, there is substantial overlap among their respective activities, aspirations,

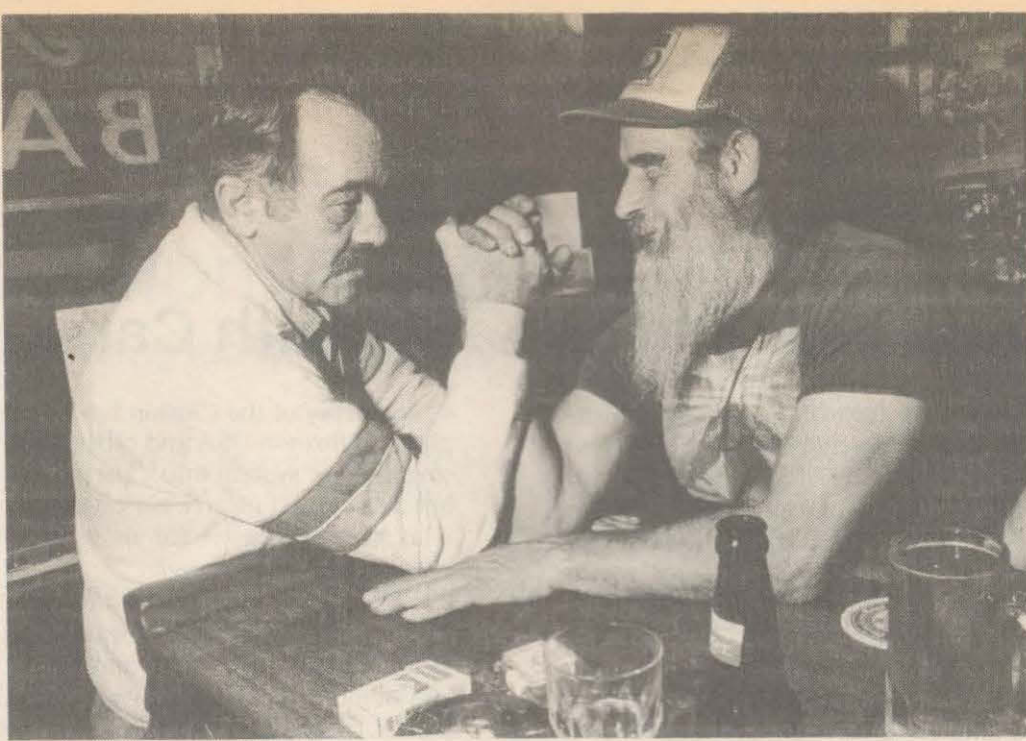
and participants. This complexity within the contemporary men's movement has generally been obscured by the mainstream media's narrow focus on the Bly-led mytho-poetic men's movement.

The feminist men's movement is rooted in feminism. In the 1970's, men who were deeply affected by the feminist critique of sexism began looking for ways to contribute to the feminist struggle. This involved working with other men to stop violence against women and children, providing childcare at feminist events, and working with women in specific struggles around specific issues. The feminist men's movement, like the women-led feminist movement from which it sprang, has always been concerned with personal and interpersonal issues.

"The personal is political" is also true for men struggling against sexism. Within the feminist men's movement, men have critically examined our own lives through feminist eyes, aware that overcoming our own sexism was an essential element of the broader struggle for social change. We have tried to transform our relations both with women and with other men. With women, we have strived for egalitarian relations free of sexism. With men, we have strived for real trust and intimacy, to overcome homophobia, and to avoid the sexist male bonding based on violence toward women and other men (e.g., rape, war, football).

The mytho-poetic men's movement, by contrast, does not start with feminism: rather, it starts with a deeply felt sense of dissatisfaction and emptiness in many men's lives. Given this starting point, Robert Bly and his followers search for an alternative, more personally satis-

At the San Francisco Whole Life Expo, 1991.



fying masculinity, without focusing on the fundamental linkage between the social definition of masculinity and the oppression of women. In *Iron John*, for example, Robert Bly focuses on the need for contemporary men to reclaim their "wild man" and refers back to ancient and medieval archetypes. He is silent, however, regarding the patriarchal nature of those archetypes. Bly tries to pull what he admires out of those historical traditions without recognizing that those traditions are fundamentally, inherently sexist. This narrow, individualistic focus creates the potential that the men's movement could in the future become a reactionary force against feminism.

At the same time that the mytho-poetic men's movement is deeply flawed, it overlaps substantially with the feminist men's movement. Feminist men experience the same dissatisfaction and emptiness that Bly addresses. In fact, at any men's movement gathering, there are generally many men who identify more or less deeply with feminism. Some well-known men's movement activities, such as drumming and sweat lodges, are intended to enable men to experience and develop an alternative masculinity. While for Robert Bly and his followers this type of activity may be linked to the drive to re-claim a pre-industrial, yet equally sexist masculinity, for feminist men the same precise activity can contribute to the forging of an alternative, pro-feminist masculinity. The key here is not the activity itself, but the meaning given to it by the participants and the context in which it occurs.

The feminist movement, including the feminist men's movement, has long recognized that

transforming relations between men is critical to halting the oppression of women and children by men. Men must learn to love, care for, and be vulnerable with each other if we are to cease dominating the world. Homophobia in particular, by creating and maintaining emotional distance, competition, and violence between men, plays a central role in maintaining patriarchy. With all its shortcomings, the contemporary men's movement provides rare opportunities for men to experience alternative ways of being together.

In this society, there are very few forums where the mainstream, sexist definition of what it means to be a man is seriously questioned. The men's movement creates such forums, even though it is too focused on personal issues and often lacking in a real commitment to feminism. The men's movement should be encouraged because it treats mainstream masculinity as problematic. At the same time, it should be pushed from both within and without to improve men and women's lives by rejecting and struggling against sexism.

Before our first child was born, my wife and I hoped our child would be a girl because we thought it would be easier to raise a feminist girl than a feminist boy. Now that we have a son, with another one on the way, I hope there will continue to be activities like the California Men's Gathering to which I can take my sons as I try to help them learn feminist ways of being boys and men.

Phil Ansell is a longtime DSA member and a senior field representative with the Service Employees International Union, Local 535 in Los Angeles.

The best arm-wrestler on the Bowery (right), 1988. Can men learn to forge intimacy without competition and violence?

Organizing Institute

◆ Over fifty people attended the 1993 DSA Organizing Institute, which was held at Drew University in Madison, New Jersey during the weekend of June 25-27. The centerpiece of the weekend was an intensive series of training sessions, led by Steve Max, Deepak Pateriya, and Chris Riddiough, for DSA activists and organizers. These training sessions, which were based upon the renowned organizing methods developed by the Midwest Academy, helped build DSA local and national leaders' skills in developing political strategy, recruiting activists into DSA, and working in coalitions.

The Institute's training sessions were framed by two plenary discussions about DSA's mission. On Friday evening, DSA Honorary Chair Barbara Ehrenreich and DSA Vice Chairs Steve Max and Frances Fox Piven discussed the contemporary political climate and the most effective roles for a democratic socialist organization. On Sunday morning, National Political Committee member Jack Clark, DSA Youth Organizer Ginny Coughlin, and DSA National Director Michael Lighty spoke more concretely about how DSA can work to become a highly visible organization projecting a compelling political vision.

A condensed, one-day version of the Organizing Institute will be conducted in Los Angeles on November 11, as part of the 1993 DSA National Convention.

It's DSA calling. . .

Now in its third summer, the new and improved DSA phone bank will be calling members to ask for your support of our on-going work to win single-payer universal health care, defeat the North American Free Trade Agreement, and develop multiracial organizing.

These callers are part of the Minneapolis phone center of the CLEC Canvass Network, the progressive political organization with which DSA contracts to administer the calling. They are committed to DSA and familiar with our organization. DSA's National Director, Michael Lighty, talks to the callers once a week to give updates and share feedback. These calls are a terrific opportunity for DSA to hear from you.

Don't be alarmed if the callers request that you make a contribution on a credit card. This is a less expensive and more efficient way for us to receive donations. Once a credit card charge is made, they will call back (usually the next day) to verify the charge.

This program is a vital part of DSA's member-supported activism. If you have any questions, please contact the DSA National Office in New York City: 212-962-0390.

Health Care

◆ The delay of the Clinton health care reform plan has thrown DSA and other advocates of a single-payer system into a period of waiting -- but that doesn't mean a period of dormancy! It is as critical as ever for us to mount public pressure for single-payer.

DSA locals should continue to organize "town hall" meetings about health care, congressional home visits and accountability sessions, and demonstrations that target insurance companies. A major goal for this period will be to increase the number of congressional sponsors of the Conyers-McDermott-Wellstone Bill.

Meanwhile, the Democratic National Committee has established a new organization, the Health Care Campaign, to nurture public support for Clinton's plan. If you are contacted by this campaign, ask them pointed questions about the plan: Will it guarantee a single tier of universal, comprehensive coverage? Does it eliminate administrative waste? Is it progressively financed? You should also insist that the Campaign join your existing local health-care coalition.

Finally, you can help the cause by calling the Campaign for Health Security's Action Line at 1-900-740-7900. This call, which costs \$2.90, will automatically generate pro-single-payer postcards to your congressional representatives.

Convention

◆ The 1993 DSA Convention will be held November 11-14 in Los Angeles, California. The Convention, which is held every two years, is the highest governing body of DSA -- it's where our policies and goals for 1994 and 1995 will be set. It promises to be a hugely exciting weekend. Confirmed speakers include Barbara Ehrenreich, José LaLuz, and Cornel West.

The site will be the Radisson Plaza Hotel in Manhattan Beach. Call Radisson's worldwide reservation line at 1-800-333-3333, identify yourself as a part of the DSA convention, and receive special rates: \$75 for a single; \$85 for a double; \$95 for a triple; and \$105 for a quad. The cut-off date for these special rates is October 15.

—1993 DSA Convention

Attention: At-Large Members

(If your mailing label includes "ATL," you are an at-large member: read on!)

The 1993 DSA National Convention will be held on November 11-14, 1993, at the Radisson Plaza Hotel -- Manhattan Beach in Los Angeles.

The DSA Constitution provides that all members who do not belong to local chapters (this includes members of organizing committees and youth section campus chapters not geographically covered by a local chapter) have the opportunity to run for and vote for at-large delegate slots. These slots will likely be allocated on the basis of one delegate for every twenty-five members.

Half of all at-large slots are reserved for women and 20 percent for people of color. Each geographical region within the United States will have reserved at-large slots.

You can nominate yourself (the most common way) or nominate any at-large member in good standing who signifies in writing that s/he is willing to serve. A member in good standing is someone who has paid dues in 1992 or 1993, but not those who paid dues in 1991 or earlier, as called for in the DSA Constitution.

You should be aware that attendance at the Convention involves a registration fee (approx. \$100) plus participation in the travel share pool, which evens out the cost of travel for all delegates. (Every delegate pays the same travel cost -- no matter where they travel from.) This usually means \$200-300.

The deadline for nominations is September 12, 1993. Nominations received after 5pm that day will not be accepted.

To make a nomination, simply fill out the nomination petition below and return it to the DSA office. The nominee should enclose a candidate's statement of no more than 100 words.

If necessary, election ballots will be mailed September 19th. If there are fewer nominations than apportioned slots, the nominees will be declared elected and no ballot will be necessary.

All nominations should be sent to DSA Delegate Nominations, 15 Dutch Street, Suite 500, New York, NY 10038, to reach us by September 12, 1993.

Nominating Petition for DSA At-Large Delegate, 1993

Submitted by: _____

STATEMENT OF CANDIDACY:

Nominee: _____

Address: _____

City/State/Zip: _____

Phone (home) _____ (work) _____

It is my intention to attend the Convention if elected.

Signed _____ date _____

ON THE LEFT



by Harry Fleischman

CALIFORNIA

Sacramento DSA has kept very busy: They have helped to establish a local single-payer health-care coalition, leafletted the state Democratic Convention in support of single-payer and against the North American Free Trade Agreement, and they also helped to plan a major anti-NAFTA demonstration attended by 300 people on May 1.

Los Angeles DSA is planning for the annual statewide DSA conference, set for August 7 in Van Nuys. Locals from all over California will discuss strategic political issues, including upcoming election campaigns. A discussion of DSA's mission/vision project will also be part of the program.

Los Angeles DSA is also part of a coalition sponsoring a public forum on health care, at which Senator Barbara Boxer will be confronted about her failure to support the Conyers-McDermott-Wellstone single-payer bill.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mo Sussman's restaurant, a violator of hiring discrimination laws, was targeted by picketing DC/MD/NoVA DSAers on June 30. DSAers are also taking on a significant role in a local coalition for single payer which includes Physicians for National Health and the Gray Panthers. To support these efforts, the local will hold its annual socialist yard sale on August 7.

ILLINOIS

At Chicago DSA's annual Membership Convention June 26, Co-Chair Maggie Shreve led a workshop on articulating goals and hurdles for the local, and specific strategies for attaining these goals.

The West Suburban branch will hold a demonstration at the office of pro-NAFTA Rep. Harris Fawell (R), alerting him to the concerns of his constituency about the proposed treaty.

INDIANA

Central Indiana DSA has been working with the Indiana Health Care Campaign, a single-payer coalition. The local plans to hold a forum on health care at Indiana University in the fall. Central Indiana has also tabled at labor events in support of the United Farm Workers grape boycott and attended anti-NAFTA demonstrations in Indianapolis and Terre Haute.

KENTUCKY

Central Kentucky DSA's May membership meeting focused on a water pipeline to the Ohio River. The local helped to organize a June 26 conference of the Health Security Network, a coalition for health care reform. The conference developed strategies for upcoming battles in the Kentucky legislature and techniques for media coverage.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston DSA and the Campaign for Affordable Health Care sponsored a forum on health care reform on June 1. Speakers included U.S. Representative Joseph Kennedy and several members of the state legislature.

Over 140 people attended the local's annual Debs-Thomas-Bernstein Award Reception on June 15. This year's honorees were two outstanding women trade union leaders: Sandy Felder, the president of Service Employees Local 509, and Celia Wcislo, president of SEIU Local 285.

The local also organized a public memorial for Irving Howe, which was held on June 8; Fran and Jacob Schlitt and Randall Kennedy spoke.

NEW YORK

Members of Ithaca DSA helped to organize an anti-NAFTA rally on the Cornell campus May 6. The rally was sponsored by a student coalition, Cornell Students for Fair Trade, which was formed at a March meeting at which DSA Youth Section co-chair Karen Marie Gibson reported on the youth section's January investigative trip to the U.S./Mexican border area.

New York City DSA held its annual Debs-Thomas-Harrington awards dinner on June 24. Nearly two hundred people attended the event, at which Local 1199 President Dennis Rivera and Deborah Meier, the co-director of Central Park East Secondary School, received awards. Featured speakers included New York State Comptroller H. Carl McCall, Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger, and DSA Honorary Chair Cornel West. U.S. Representative Nydia Velazquez, who was unable to attend because of congressional commitments, sent greetings.

Rochester DSA is newly reorganizing under the leadership of John Roberts and Karen Marie Gibson. In May they sponsored a talk by Youth Organizer Ginny Coughlin. They also participated in a local anti-NAFTA rally. They are planning a local retreat for August.

Socialist Summer Reading 1993

Wondering what to take to the beach this summer? So were we. So we called a broad assortment of DSA leaders and asked what they'd been reading lately. . .

COMPILED BY THERESA GORMAN

◆ Joanne Barkan

New York City DSA

I'm re-reading Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio* because it was reissued in paperback by Signet Classics with a new introduction by Irving Howe. In its psychological truth, this book shaped a form of literature--American literature of the human condition. Howe saw literature as a human truth, sometimes political and sometimes not. He did not read every piece of literature in a monotonal way and did not believe that politics can sum up literature.

◆ Dorothee Benz

New York City DSA

I'm reading a collection of essays edited by Mark Thompson entitled *Leather Folk*. It's on radical sex theory, sadism and masochism, and leather fetishism. I'm interested in the historical tendency of police and civil authorities to use a crackdown against S/M establishments as an excuse to reinvigorate and step up persecution of gays and lesbians.

◆ Ana María Borrás

DSA Youth Section (Harvard)

I'm reading *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers* by Lilian Faderman, a history of lesbian life in the twentieth

century. There is not much left in history about lesbians; for the most part they have not left records of their lives. Faderman speculates on the lives of famous women who were lesbians but burned all their love letters.

◆ Gerry Bradley

Albuquerque DSA

I just read and loved *Chain Reaction* by Thomas Byrne Edsall. The left has made so many mistakes in its understanding of the American people. The book points out some of the hard realities for political activists on the left.

◆ Duane Campbell

Sacramento DSA

Cornel West's *Race Matters* is crisp and to the point on the problems of racism in America, problems that most people don't want to pay attention to. The fact that racism has grown worse since the 1960's is something people are denying.

◆ Allan Curry

Mahoning Valley DSA

Ralph Nader and William Taylor's *The Big Boys: Power and Position in American Business* has been interesting. It's a book of anecdotal studies about nine industrial leaders.

◆ Susannah Davis

DSA Youth Section (Cleveland)

I'm reading *The House of the Spirits* by Isabelle Allende. Allende's mosaic of the fracture lines in society between generations, city and country culture, classes and ethnic groups shows the huge juncture in history that has led to the current crisis in Chile. The themes of reconciliation and recreating family bonds express the author's hopes for national reconciliation.

◆ John Dunker

Juneau DSA

I was very impressed with Bogdan Denitch's article in the March/April issue of *Democratic Left*: "Build a Genuine Peace Force," on democratic formations in Yugoslavia. I liked that it was hopeful and pointed out that there are organizations there we can contact and support--it gives people something to do in such a frustrating situation.

◆ Bob Fitrakis

Columbus DSA

William Greider's *Who Will Tell the People?* is the most important book written in the last ten years. It argues that the problem not is "gridlock", but rather bipartisan consensus rigging of the electoral sys-

Socialist Summer Reading 1993

tem against working class and poor people. There is no such thing as law for people; if you have the money you can have all the justice you want. The book brings out the lawlessness of the system and the dominance of special and moneyed interests.

◆ Dan Frankot

Twin Cities DSA

I started a study group with *Politics Against Markets* by Gosta Esping-Andersen. It's a comparative analysis of the Scandinavian social democracies and the road to power of social democracy. As a steel worker, I've looked to the Scandinavian countries as the model for where the U.S. should go.

◆ Egg Gladwin

DSA Youth Section (New York City)

Thomas Keneally's *To Asmara* is about a group of journalists traveling through Africa during the Eritrean people's struggle for independence from Ethiopia. The re-

porting shows a lot of the rebel spirit in the people's struggle to regain sovereignty.

◆ Tomasa Gonzales

DSA Latino Commission (Washington, D.C.)

Geared toward kids, *Iguana Dreams* is an anthology of Latino writers edited by Rudolfo Anaya. Its themes are spirituality and tradition. It's political simply because a lot of things they write about have to do with our policies related to employment and education. Almost any time you hear of painful memories of discrimination against Latinos it centers around school.

◆ Karen Hansen

Boston DSA

Dorothy Sterling's *Ahead of Her Time* is my favorite book on American radicalism. It's a biography of Abigail Kelley, an abolitionist. The radical abolitionist movement was astounding for its radicalism and creativity, even to someone who

knows a lot about the 1960's.

◆ Dorothy Healey

DSA Vice Chair

I've been reading *Labor Parties in Post Industrial Societies* edited by Frances Fox Piven. It's a collection of essays on labor parties, working class movements within the labor movement, and democratic parties. Fox Piven's essay was extraordinary, on the immediate and long range perspectives for the working class and what happens with the organized or unorganized working class.

◆ E.G. Hughes

Carbondale DSA

I'm reading *Toward the 21st Century* by Paul Kennedy, a moderate historian. He makes a credible argument about our irresponsible economic situation. The most important themes are global economics where nations have no control, and environmental problems. It has made me think about what kind of local influence socialism can have.

◆ Felicia Kornbluh

Princeton DSA

I'm reading Patricia Williams' *The Alchemy of Race and Rights*. It's both anecdotal and theoretical in addressing race and American law. The book is a preliminary effort to view the law from black women's perspective; for example, what does property mean for people who have been denied property and ownership of their own bodies? The book argues for equality and right as a powerful framework, that the dream of equality is not an empty one, and that we need to press the letter of American law.

◆ Maggie Kuhn

Philadelphia DSA

I've been reading Al Gore's book *Earth in the Balance* and it's



Cindy Rainier/Impact Visuals

Socialist Summer Reading 1993

wonderful. If we're concerned about the environment, and we have to be, we should remember that we can't be healthy as individuals without a healthy environment. DSA has to put forward a connected idea of health of mind, body, spirit and environment.

◆ Stan Luger

Front Range DSA

Rivthead by Ben Hamper has been thoroughly enjoyable. It is the first person experiences of life at GM--the insanity of the assembly line and what people do to get through the day. It's witty, ridiculous, and funny.

◆ Roberta Lynch

Chicago DSA

I've just read Cornel West's *Race Matters*. I found the wide-ranging nature of his thought very stimulating. He looks at the total culture, politics, and history--combining and interweaving those elements---I think that is very positive.

◆ John McMurria

DSA Office and Financial Assistant

I've been reading *D.W. Griffith: The Origins of American Cinema* by Tom Gunning. He was at Biograph from 1908-1909 and many of his films were lost, but in the Library of Congress they stumbled on photographs of every frame of Biograph film--the U.S. Patent Office can't patent film so Biograph photographed and patented every frame. The book provides a contextual understanding of changes in the American narrative system, such as the relationship between the formation of trusts at the turn of the century and the use of continuity and parallel editing.

◆ Brian Mitchell

Danville DSA

Women and Unions, edited by

Dorothy Sue Cobble, is a brand new dynamite book dealing with areas of women's work in unions. It's enlightening on how and why the trade union movement needs to be reformed, and how union structure needs to be change to meet the needs of women.

◆ Maxine Phillips

New York City DSA

A Democratic Catholic Church: The Reconstruction of Roman Catholicism, edited by Eugene C. Bianche and Rosemary Ruether, is an important work in its attempt to rediscover the democratic roots of the Christian Church. It argues that the early church was very democratically run, preached equality and afforded women a role outside subjugation.

◆ Kris Raab

DC/Maryland/Northern Virginia DSA

Paul Monette's *Becoming a Man* is a beautifully written memoir about his coming out process and the development of his political consciousness around being gay. It's a good combination of personal experience and political analysis.

◆ Dave Rathke

Saint Louis DSA

I just finished Eric Arnesen's *Waterfront Workers of New Orleans*. It's dry and academic but interesting on the subject of interracial unions and solidarity against the backdrop of racial repression. The waterfront workers managed to maintain solidarity despite ownership's efforts to pit black and white workers against each other. During this period socialists played a role in the militant unions that achieved the highest wages of any waterfront workers of the time.

◆ John Roberts

DSA Youth Section (Rochester)

I'm reading Stanley Aronowitz's *The Politics of Identity*. It's a discussion of class, a category that is underused today. It goes into the question of why the working class hasn't been a dynamic agent of social change in recent times, as opposed to the 1930's.

◆ Catherine Spaeth

Columbus DSA

I'd recommend *Arresting Images: Political Art and Uncivil Actions* by Steven Dubin. It's a good story of how government patronage can be a form of control. I think the most interesting thing is how ordinary people have responded to issues of art and politics. It was interesting to read about how galleries have engaged with some of the new criticism and how certain policies have changed as a result.

◆ Ruth Spitz

New York City DSA

One of the best books about the Balkans is *A Journey Through History* by Robert Kaplan. This history of the Balkans gives the reader a personalized feel for what was and has been going on in these countries and those surrounding them.

◆ Leo Whitaker

San Fernando Valley DSA

My summer reading includes Paul Kennedy's *Preparing for the 21st Century*. Written from the liberal/mainstream, "well-intentioned" point of view, it defines contemporary problems without giving solutions, not revolutionary by any stretch of the imagination.

This feature was compiled and prepared by Theresa Gorman, a DSA summer intern who will be a senior at Syracuse University next year.

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Cornel West, *chair*
 Shakoor Aluwani, *convenor*
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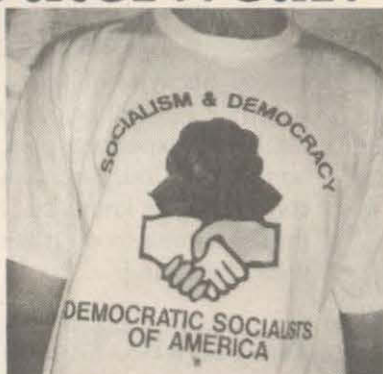
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Ann Arbor
- August 8 UC Berkeley
Berkeley, California
- August 15 and 18 Taos Art Center
Taos, New Mexico

Jimmy Higgins Reports

THE SCOOP AND THE COUP



The National Labor Committee has published another stinger, this time on "Haiti After the Coup: Sweatshop or Real Development." Highlights of the report include: the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) organized and financed opposition to the Aristide Government; U.S. Companies in Haiti are paying wages of 14 cents an hour; Haitian business families who are major coup supporters are being permitted to export to the U.S., contrary to U.S. guidelines. If the recently completed negotiations for Aristide's return actually work, then U.S. aid money will flow again. The question is to whom and for what? Will Americans again bankroll a tiny business elite and recreate the conditions that led to the coup of September 1991? For the scoop and the alternative, get the report: Send five dollars to the National Labor Committee, 15 Union Square West, New York, NY 10003. Also recommended: George Packer's first-hand report from Haiti in the Summer issue of *Dissent*.

HE PAYS HIS DEBT, HE MAKES A MINT

Ivan Boesky, the Wall Street arbitrageur who did some time and paid \$100 million in fines, has divorced his wife of thirty years and made another windfall: \$20 million plus an extra \$15,000 per month for living expenses, plus the couples' \$2.5 million home in Malibu. Sounds like a tough life for this ex-con -- now we know that he'll have something to do (or something to do it with) during all that time he won't be voting.

RESEARCH DISCOVERS THE OBVIOUS, ALMOST.

Social scientists tell us that job stress is defined as high demands for performance coupled with little latitude for decision-making or control; other factors such as feeling insecure, can also come into play. According to two recent studies of computer workers, such emotional stress can be reduced by a supportive boss. Perhaps they haven't heard of a u-n-i-o-n. Sounds like they stumbled on a "union-free environment."

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 principal 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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