

DEMOCRATIC LEFT

EDITED BY
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When the Democrats came to New York, some discovered that liberalism wasn't dead.

Industry Sells New Con Game

By Michael Harrington

ON THIS LABOR DAY, 1980, America's union men and women are confronted by a unique, unprecedented challenge. A sophisticated corporate elite is pushing for a reverse New Deal, for radical, structural, and reactionary change.

In the thirties, most of the rich opposed their own economic salvation, damning Franklin Roosevelt, who was rescuing them from the greatest collapse capitalism had ever known, as a "traitor" to his class. In the eighties, the upper strata understand that significant transformations are required, and they propose to design them for themselves. If they succeed, reform will act to preserve, and even strengthen, the status quo. That is of great moment in the long run, but it also has to do with the immediate political agenda of the labor movement. For instance, the battle over the nature of structural change will focus during the next several months on the kind of tax cut Washington should adopt. Will it further maldistribute wealth and cheat working people, or will it include protection for the worst victims of the current crisis, such as jobless auto and steel workers?

Understanding the Problem

Corporate America knows that there is a problem. In June, Felix Rohatyn, investment banker and perhaps the most sophisticated corporate liberal in America, wrote, "We can no longer assume that a



Lawrence Frank

“ These schemes assume that American management can provide solutions rather than—as shown by the case in auto and steel—create problems.”

gradual piecemeal approach will work; the rules of the game have changed to such an extent that a re-examination of the entire structure is needed." *Business Week* devoted an entire issue to the "reindustrialization" of America, a word that surfaces on the Kennedy left, in the Anderson center and on the Jack Kemp right. It stated: "Bred during a century of economic preeminence, based on the exploitation of an internal frontier, American attitudes are not suited to a world economy that has become increasingly integrated . . . where much of U.S. technology has migrated abroad and where energy independence is rapidly becoming a wistful memory." (It should be noted that technology did not "migrate"; the multinationals that own it did in their search for higher profits.)

There are many variations on the

definition of the crisis, but all of them share a common core. Amitai Etzioni of the White House staff observed, "In the period of mass consumption in the United States, however, not enough was plowed back into the underlying sectors, such as the infrastructure of the capital goods sector, to maintain and update them." Therefore, Etzioni said, there must be "private belt tightening." *Business Week* was less delicate, writing, ". . . unions will come under pressure to limit wage gains in the first phase of reindustrialization." Economic translation: consumption is bad, investment is good. Political translation: unions are bad, corporations are good.

Same Old Trickle Down

Speakers at the Republican convention in Detroit may have quoted Franklin

Roosevelt and at times made a seemingly leftist critique of the Carter administration, but for all the radical rhetoric and claims for bold innovation, the "reindustrialization" program of the right is just one more exercise in "trickle-down" economics.

Similarly, the Carter administration's reindustrialization program, while seeking to satisfy corporate interests but appearing to help American workers, is a dismal rehash of doomed proposals.

There must be, *Business Week* argues, a new "social contract." Unions will have to hold down wages as their part of the deal. "In return, both government and business will have to present convincing evidence that such a sacrifice will pay off in the long run by steering the economy toward higher employment at decent wages. Government and business also

LETTERS

To the Editor:

Fred Siegel's review of Vladimir Medem's memoirs in the May DEMOCRATIC LEFT neglects to mention one important aspect of Medem's—and the Bund's—socialism: their anti-Zionism.

The "superb editing" done by translator Samuel Portnoy consists of a running polemic against Zionism. In often lengthy footnotes, Portnoy refers to the Socialist Zionist program as being "replete with radical phraseology" and treats the Socialist Zionists as utopians and charlatans.

Should the Bundist contribution be ignored? Of course not. But the shadow of the Holocaust hangs over every discussion of Bundism. History, tragically, proved the Zionists right.

Eric Lee
Jackson Heights, N.Y.

To the Editor

Professor Hixon, in "Reconsidering Political Reality," (June) says that "the

chief repository of faith in the president as wonderworker is on the democratic left."

No, Professor Hixon, we do not expect a president to be a "wonderworker." We do expect him to be up to the job, and the present inept and helpless incumbent is not.

The irony of it is that President Carter has so reduced public expectations of White House performance that many—including apparently Professor Hixon—think he is doing all he can. Unfortunately, this delusion has not spread abroad. In Europe they hardly conceal their astonishment that the United States cannot, with 220 million people, produce more competent leaders. "Amateur night in the White House" is one of their mildest characterizations.

To take one example. Congress is more difficult to deal with than it was ten years ago. Why, then, did the President put in charge of Congressional liaison the man who had performed for him this

function with the Georgia legislature, rather than seeking out the most competent possible person for this increasingly difficult job?

David C. Williams
Sumner, Md.

To the Editor

I want to tell you how much I appreciated the June 1980 issue of DEMOCRATIC LEFT. I particularly liked the lead article by Jim Chapin ("Third Party, First Choice?"). This concise but analytic approach to current realities from a democratic socialist perspective is most helpful and fills a real void—at least for me, and I suspect other DSOC members (rather inactive, but very concerned) like me. Keep up the good work. Let's have more of the same.

Thomas J. Elliott
Claremont, Calif.

Letters to the editor must be signed. We reserve the right to edit for brevity. Please limit letters to less than 250 words.

DEMOCRATIC LEFT

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CAPITAL QUOTES

must make sure that reindustrialization creates new jobs—particularly for blacks and other minorities—and that adequate provisions are included for helping workers in dying industries." Note that business is to get tangible rewards right away while labor is to get a reduced standard of living in return for steady work and high pay at some future date. There is a genuflection in the direction of dying industries, but nothing as specific as the handouts for the corporations. And finally, *government and business* are depicted as being in charge of the whole operation; labor must trust their decency.

Indeed, *Business Week* warns against "lemon socialism," i.e. aid to failing industries. And Etzioni takes a position well to the right of that corporate publication by denying that any national economic planning is required. "All it takes," he writes, "is to favor two economic sectors, infrastructure and capital goods, by broad-stroking economic incentives such as accelerated depreciation, tax incentives to encourage savings and investment, more encompassing writeoffs for research and development and other expenses, as well as some guarantees and other support for those who enhance energy efficiency and conversion to nonoil energy sources."

Others — Nobel Laureate Vassiley Leontiev; Gar Alperovitz and Jeff Faux of the National Center for Economic Alternatives — have a radically different version of the reindustrialization idea. As Leontiev put it, "We need a national planning board that would single out the problem areas, systematically evaluate shifts in the nation's industrial base, and anticipate the next endangered industries." Most significantly, Leontiev sees an active role for government: "If the government offers help, it should offer rules."

But whether in the liberal (*Business Week*) or Adam Smithian (Etzioni) variant, the bottom line in almost all of the proposals from the center to the right is more subsidy for the corporations. The Capital Cost Recovery Act—nicknamed "10-5-3" since it would increase depreciation for buildings over ten years, equipment over five years and autos over three—is a giveaway of mind-boggling proportions. That change would cost \$4 billion in lost federal revenues in the first year of its operation and then run at an annual rate of \$50 billion in five years, peaking with an \$86 billion loss after

“[General Motors Chairman] Murphy predicted that the 1980s would be a ‘decade of decisions’ in which the ‘Me Decade of the 1970s changes into the ‘We Decade,’ and Americans finally quit ‘using a little putty here and a quick patch there to get us through an immediate crisis’ and begin to constructively attack our most serious long-term problems: inflation and energy.”

Georgetown Magazine
May/June 1980

eight years! Meanwhile, workers are supposed to tighten their belts for the common good.

This same point applies to the tax cut pushed by Jack Kemp and adopted by the Republican convention at the urging of Ronald Reagan. When I debated Kemp in 1979, I quoted AFL-CIO estimates of the distributive effects of his proposal and he did not challenge the figures. In 1978, the result of such an "across the board" (totally nonprogressive) cut would have been to allocate 23.5 percent of the benefits to the richest 2.1 percent of the people and 17.2 percent for the bottom 50.3 percent.

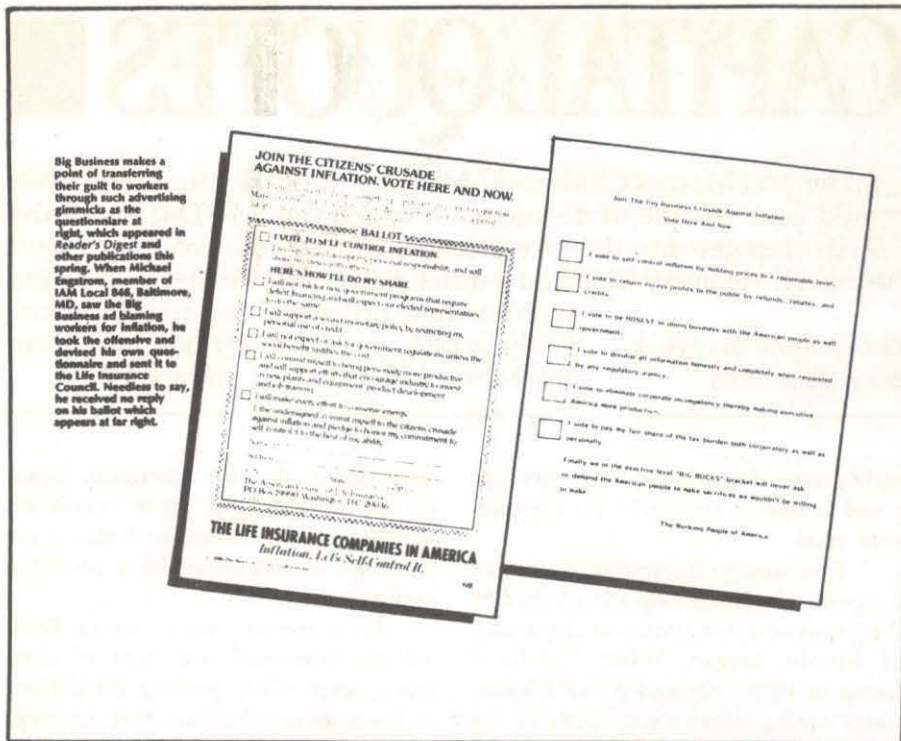
But if such largesse for the rich will create full employment, isn't that a small price to pay for such a critical gain? Unfortunately, these schemes assume that American management is capable of providing solutions rather than—as shown by the case in auto and steel—creating problems. Secondly, they assume that management is interested in solutions. From the record, both propositions are wrong.

On the first count, *Business Week* is surprisingly candid. Corporate success in the post-war period, it remarked in its special issue, "grew in tandem with rising U.S. population and affluence . . . and hence [corporations] often needed no broader business plans than to increase productive capacity at the right times and the right places." It was in this period that steel allowed foreign competitors to exploit an American innovation (the oxygen furnace) while this country did nothing about it. Corporations, *Business Week* commented, are ". . . often more concerned with buying and selling companies than with selling improved products to customers." The Comptroller General argued last year that the Japanese are much more ready to "sacrifice current profits to

future gains" than the Americans. Japanese businessmen, that report continued, believe ". . . that American firms are too preoccupied with maximizing short-run profits."

More recently, the Office of Technology Assessment (an arm of Congress), even while pushing for policies to favor investment, said that "appropriate shifts in the attitudes and policies" of the steel industry were needed. Steel, that Report said, should reexamine its policy of using capital for diversification instead of steelmaking. In July, the London *Economist* noted that steel industry leaders now talk privately about the "quasi-nationalization" of their sector. At the same time, they are investing more and more money in other sectors.

When Jimmy Carter announced his plan for aid to the ailing auto industry, Chrysler's Lee Iacocca said, "We're borrowing a page from the Japanese book." What about the Japanese policy of government-banking cooperation that picks key industries for massive infusion of capital, funding the comers and allowing the obsolete enterprises to die? In all the talk about the "Japanese book," a few factors are overlooked. That system is an elite, undemocratic, top-down decision-making process. Secondly, a point that Iacocca might ponder, big firms in that country do not normally lay off workers. When, for instance, Mazda faced a crisis in 1974 because the car only got 11 miles per gallon in city driving, it did not fire anyone, even though it was as hard hit as any American company today. There was a reduction of 10,000 in the work force, accomplished by attrition and bonuses for early retirement. But there was nothing like the massive discharge or layoff of almost 300,000 workers which is the way things are done in the "American book."



Big Business makes a point of transferring their guilt to workers through such advertising gimmicks as the questionnaire at right, which appeared in Reader's Digest and other publications this spring. When Michael Harrington, member of IAM Local 846, Baltimore, MD, saw the Big Business ad blaming workers for inflation, he took the offensive and devised his own questionnaire and sent it to the Life Insurance Council. Needless to say, he received no reply on his ballot which appears at far right.

The Machinist

The much touted "reindustrialization" policy is a newly rationalized version of a trickle-down scheme that William Simon, our friends at Chase Manhattan and other such "neo-populists" have been pushing for almost a decade. It appeals to a sense of crisis that is real and important, not in order to make radical new departures, but to make old-fashioned reaction palatable. Does this mean that labor in 1980 should dismiss all this talk as a fraud? In no way.

Combating the Crisis

It is a gain that impeccably conservative, even reactionary, people now agree with the democratic left that the crisis of the American economy is severe and structural and requires significant change. Given that new consciousness, the unions—and the broad democratic left as a whole—must come up with a progressive program for reindustrialization. With no attempt to be exhaustive, let me outline principles for such a program.

- The provisions for helping workers hurt by these transitions, as in auto and steel, must be immediate and specific. Labor should not agree to any form of accelerated depreciation for capital if there is not a "depreciation" program for the human beings who are the real victims of this crisis.

- There should be *no* tax subsidies

to business that are not tied, specifically and with force of law, to actual job generating investments. The Swedish socialists have for a long time pushed higher investment tax credits than exist in the United States but the only companies that qualify for this aid are those who immediately invest it in approved areas of social need. It does not aid reindustrialization to provide tax subsidies to U.S. Steel so that it can speculate in chemicals.

- There should be democratic planning. American management, most notably in steel and auto but in many other sectors as well, has enormous responsibility for the current crisis. There is no reason to trust it. Secondly, and more importantly, we are now moving toward decisions which will determine the structure of American society for the next generation. If reindustrialization is carried out by business and government, with labor relying on the basic decency of those folks, the authoritarianism of the United States will be substantially increased. We should seize this moment to get worker participation on the boards of directors of every major corporation in America and to make these profoundly social decisions about the location and structure of industry democratic.

There are many, many other proposals we will have to put forth, but these chart the broad direction of the efforts

we must take. I do not, however, want to conclude with details. Rather, I want to say a word about the relevance of this moment for socialists.

We have always focused on the structural, the long run, the basic relations of power. To the degree that those themes are now being placed on the agenda of American society, sometimes by conservatives, democratic socialism is more relevant than at any time since the Great Depression. Many ideas that we pioneered became law at that time. And that can—must—happen again. But, and here socialists must be chastened, triumph of many socialist reforms in the thirties coincided with the decimation of socialism as a political movement. At least one reason for that failure—and I speak sadly, self critically—was that we were often ultimatic. We did not accept the increments that were possible, denigrating slices of bread in the name of the whole loaf. If we do not make that mistake again, our potential is enormous on this Labor Day 1980.

For American society is finally waking up to the nature of the crisis in which it lives. And American socialists have a crucial role to play in the fight for a reindustrialization program that is not a cover for trickle-down economics but a bold step toward solving immediate problems through the democratization of corporate power in the United States. ■

Michael Harrington's latest book is *Decade of Decision*.

■ ■ ■

COMING UP

Don't miss future issues of *DEMOCRATIC LEFT*. You'll read:

- How unions and the left can counteract their poor image in the media, by Peter Dreier
 - The current state of Eurosocialism and what America can learn from it, by Nancy Lieber
 - DSOCers who are elected officials, by Nancy Kleniewski
 - National defense, by Joe Clark
 - Mike Rivas and Sasha Futran on the Cuban refugees
 - Will this flirtation with disaster be the Democrats' last? by Jim Chapin
- And more . . . notes on good reading, socialist activities, youth organizing

Women Tied to Low Pay In Occupational Ghettos

One of the key issues of the eighties for feminists in trade unions and throughout the women's movement is that of equal pay for equal worth. Closing the wage gap between women and men will be a long, bitter battle, for the cost to American business and government will be astronomical. In this issue Gus Tyler analyzes the issue in terms of occupational and economic ghettos. Later this fall Ronnie Steinberg Ratner of the Center for Women in Government will describe legal and organizing strategies proposed by labor union women and others to confront the problem. Eds.

By Gus Tyler

THE AVERAGE EARNINGS OF women are 60 percent those of men. That's the way it is now and that's the way it has been for a long time—much too long a time.

How is this possible in the light of laws that mandate equal pay for equal work, even for "similar" work, and that bar discrimination in hiring? You would expect that the gap would be narrowing even if not closed. Yet if there has been any change at all, women's earnings have slipped slightly as a percentage of male earnings. How come?

The answer: women are employed in occupational ghettos where wages and salaries are relatively low. These occupational ghettos have expanded more rapidly than the economy as a whole and have been the chief employers of the women who have poured into the labor force since the end of World War II.

Result: even if the women employed in the integrated (non-ghettoized) sectors of the economy are doing better in relation to the men and even if some women break into traditionally male occupations, female gains are offset by the heavy influx of women into the predominantly female low pay sectors, where



Hazel Hankin/LNS/cpf

more than 85 percent of all women workers are employed.

The ghettos can be identified. Here's the way white women are distributed: 35.7 percent are in sales (low pay); 16.6 percent are in services outside the home such as making beds in motels, doing the less glamorous chores in hospitals, dishing out fast foods, cleaning up business buildings after hours; 15.9 percent carry the title of professional and technical, which means employed as a librarian, nurse, or in teaching below the college level (the low end of the professions); 11 percent are working in factories, generally in labor-intensive (lower paid) industries; 7.4 percent are in clerical posts. That accounts for 86.6 percent of the white female labor force. Black women are distributed about the same with lower percentages in professional and sales and higher in factories and services.

In some of these lower paying sectors of the economy, the female presence is almost exclusive. Women are 99.2 percent of secretaries; 92.9 percent of nurses, dieticians, therapists; 96.6 percent of typists; 90.7 percent of bookkeepers; 89.9 percent of health service workers; 74 percent of personal service workers (attendants, barbers, housekeepers outside private households, welfare service aids).

Because women at work are "segregated" in these occupational enclaves, the law calling for equal pay for the same or

similar work is of little use. The people in the occupational ghettos are doing *dissimilar* work. This fact has led to the move to get "equal pay for jobs of comparable worth," to narrow the gap between women employed in one kind of occupation and men employed in another.

Two-Tiered Economy

As an ethical concept, the idea of equal pay for jobs of comparable worth is incontrovertible. As an economic goal, it is desirable. Indeed, precisely for these reasons, I wrote a lengthy essay, *The Other Economy*, (1978) that was carried as a special issue of *The New Leader*.

The thesis was that our economy has two tiers. In the upper half are workers employed typically in capital-intensive monopolistic industries where wages are relatively high; in the bottom half are workers employed in labor-intensive competitive industries where wages are relatively low. The gap between wages in the two tiers is growing. In 1947, garment wages were 75 percent of wages in drug manufacture; in 1975, garment wages fell to 56 percent of drug wages. In 1955, toy wages were 64 percent of those in steel; by 1975, toys had fallen to 49 percent. In reality, the gap is greater than noted because in the higher paying sectors *fringes* are added on at much higher percentages than in the lower paying sectors.

What is true of industrial employment (manufacturing, for instance) is also true of employment in the *service* sector. By and large, wages in "service," with its heavy concentration of women, are below those in manufacture. Even within specific occupational groups, "women tend to be more heavily concentrated in lower paying jobs," notes the Bureau of Labor Statistics. (Special Labor Force Report 230, June 1979.) "Men in sales occupations are most likely to be sales representatives" while "women are concentrated as sales clerks in retail trades." In human services, women are in the low paying end in food and health services, while men are in the higher paying end as policemen or firefighters.

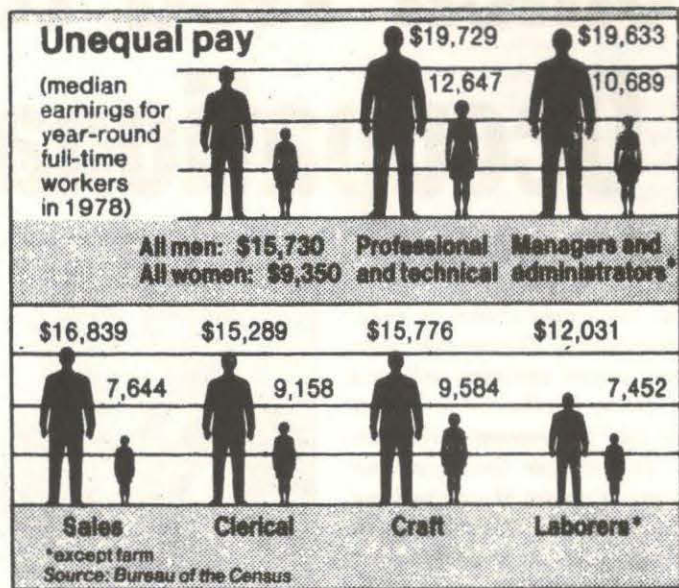
The differences in pay do not derive primarily from any differences in the attributes of the workers but from the character of the occupation. In our two-tiered economy, we have two different levels of remuneration. The lucky worker who can move from the lower to the higher can double his or her income without changing a single personal attribute.

The obvious question is whether the coincidence of low pay and women is due to the fact that the jobs pay poorly because they employ women or that they are occupied by women because they pay poorly. The answer can only be found by examining the interplay between economic and social forces.

In an imaginary unisex society consisting exclusively of clones there still would be differences in pay because of differences in occupations. The economy would not be able to accommodate everybody at the top (although, by definition, all would be equally talented and trained) and some would end up at the bottom. But why women?

Those at the top are generally those with the greatest mobility; those at the bottom are generally those who are socially most vulnerable. The dynamic that applies in *occupational ghettos* is almost exactly the same as in *neighborhood ghettos*. People living in a poor neighborhood will move out for a better place if they have the means; their spot will be occupied by people who, for the moment, can't afford a better place.

The low pay occupational ghettos suck up people from the lower sectors of the society: blacks, immigrants, women, youth, undocumented workers, handi-



N.Y. Times 7/27/80

capped, isolated. The people with the least choice—pressed by despair—accept the poorer paying jobs.

In the case of women (as differentiated from blacks, immigrants, etc.), there is still another force at work: the female role in the "outside" labor market is largely an extension of her role "inside" the home: cooking, cleaning, sewing, weaving, nursing, teaching, serving, making beds, tidying up, hosting, reading, even keeping accounts—doing what women have always done but doing it in the "market" for relatively low pay.

Certain jobs become known as work for women. Such jobs are stigmatized, so men will eschew them. This social stereotype is internalized by women who look upon nursing, lower-grade teaching, typing, etc., as posts that are naturally those to which women gravitate. Such jobs "belong" to women just as certain other jobs "belong" to men.

Once this becomes the accepted order of things, the pattern is exploited by some employers to create contrived classifications *within* plants in order to take advantage of female vulnerability.

In summary, the basic reason that women are paid less is due to their concentrated employment in sectors of the economy that normally would pay less *no matter what sex or race was in the slot*. Once this pattern is fixed, however, some women are paid less because their job is

artificially "ghettoized." (We will give some examples of this later.)

The problem that confronts us is twofold: first, what can be done to introduce a greater measure of pay equity between different sectors of the economy employing workers at vastly differing wages although the human attributes required for the job do not imply such differentials (for example, the differences in pay between garment workers and auto workers, or the difference in pay between a relatively low paid nurse and a better paid electrician, both of whom are employed by the City of Denver)? Second, what can be done about differences in pay arising from the manipulation of job categories by an employer within a given plant? (For example, the case of a female machine operative who is paid less than a male sweeper, both of whom work side by side in an electronics assembly plant.)

Legal Remedies

The second question—*pay differences within a plant*—is subject to a relatively straightforward solution. For instance, the War Labor Board found that, in a General Electric plant, the company paid women (in one position) one-third less than men (in another position) although the formal job evaluation system rated both jobs as equal. Westinghouse admitted doing the same, but underpaid women by only 18 to 20 percent. On the

basis of these proven facts, the Board decided that the companies had discriminated against women and ordered corrective action.

The International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE) has similarly won adjustments in a series of cases where *within a plant* women doing unskilled work were consistently being paid less than men doing unskilled work. Although the IUE has instituted proceedings before the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) (a procedure that can entail much legal entanglement with the Equal Pay Act, Title VII, and the Bennett Amendment), the union has won repeated and significant wage adjustments through "negotiated settlements," albeit the pending cases before the EEOC may have hastened such agreements.

The experiences of the IUE reveal much about what can be done and what cannot be done by the approach it has employed with some success.

First, although the cases involve discrimination in pay rates, the basic problem is discrimination in job *placement*. Thus, if porters are paid more than machine operatives, that difference—however improper—would not show up as sex discrimination if women and men were assigned indiscriminately to either of the positions. As Win Newman, counsel for IUE, testified to the EEOC: "Initial assignment discrimination, particularly for entry level unskilled jobs, is at the heart of occupational segregation, wage discrimination and future promotional opportunity."

Second, the *scope* of the cases handled by the IUE method is necessarily narrow. In his testimony to EEOC, Newman defined the boundaries:

"First, the jobs that are compared should be *within a single* establishment. Second, the jobs should be limited to those for which there are no pre-employment training or experience requirements or to those that have similar prior training or experience requirements (such as all jobs requiring a college degree, but not other education or prior training)."

The limits set out by Newman, of necessity, exclude most women in the labor force whose lower pay is not an *intraplant* phenomenon but pervades a whole industry (like apparel) or a whole occupation (like sales clerk) or a whole profession (like nurse). The first prob-

lem—the inequity of pay between one sector and another in our two-tiered economy—is the big problem and it cannot be resolved by *intraplant* adjustments between people equally unskilled or equally trained.

The bigger problem persists because it is deeply embedded in the economic—not the sexual or racial—configurations of our society. The "female" and the "racial" problem—the lower average wages of both as contrasted with the wages of white males—is a subset of that more universal problem of the two economies. The fact that women and minorities are stuck in the poorer economy turns an economic "discrimination" (if that is the right word) into a sexual and racial discrimination as well.

“The cure does not lie in redistributing women and minorities into the slots now occupied by men and whites. Such a rescrumble would merely redistribute misery. . . .”

The cure, however, does not lie in redistributing women and minorities into the slots now occupied by men and whites—even if such a redistribution were feasible. Such a rescrumble would merely redistribute misery without in any way lessening the ratio of misery and inequitable pay in the society.

Formula Remedy

One proposal to cope with the problem of pay inequity among different sectors of the economy is to devise an objective scientific formula to measure the relative worth of *all* jobs. Put on computer, such a universal calculator could print out a just wage for all—regardless of sex, race, etc.

The first problem is to find such a formula. At present, there are hundreds of different "job evaluation" systems in use. The one thing they all have in common is their *subjectivity*, inherent in any mechanism to measure worth.

To start with, it is necessary to decide what *factors* shall be used for measuring. One handy suggestion is to measure by skill, education, work experience.

But, each of these simple categories is in itself a many factored universe. Does *skill* apply to mental or manual, to speed or accuracy, to ears or eyes, to strength or style? Does *education* refer to general education or job related education, to schooling or to on-the-job learning, to the liberal or mechanical arts, to any institution of learning regardless of standing, etc? Does *work experience* refer to continuous or interrupted, to employment in a given occupation or to general employment, to experiences that are enriching or are purely repetitive?

As Bertram Gottlieb, for many years a professional engineer engaged in job evaluation and arbitration, explained to the EEOC: "Judgment is involved in every step of job evaluation: in selecting the factors, in defining the factors, in selecting factor degrees, in weighting the factors, in distributing factor points to factor degrees, in the words used to describe jobs which are to be evaluated and in developing wage structure." For that reason he rejects the notion that "a single evaluation plan can be developed that would be capable of serving as a yardstick against which all jobs, at all levels, and in all industries, can be compared."

Although it is impossible to devise a universal and objective job evaluation system for the total economy, it does not follow that there will be no systems forthcoming that allege to be objective. If there is sufficient demand for such a "scientific" settlement of pay rates, it is certain that the necessary scientists will be found to concoct the desired formula. Indeed, that is precisely what has happened in many companies and even industries, where industrial engineers were brought in to define the just wage, a process that ends with a scientific rationale for the prevailing pecking order.

Gottlieb cites the case of a multi-company manufacturers *association* in a *single* industry that developed such a plan. The developers noted that the association sought "to develop a formal job evaluation and classification plan and manual which would rank bargaining unit jobs in the industry according to skill, effort, responsibility, job conditions and other related factors in accordance with sound job evaluation practices. It was further agreed that the wage curve to be applied to the evaluated jobs would be based upon the weighted average base hourly wage rates paid for the various

jobs. In short, the manufacturers agreed to develop a sound and accurate industry job classification plan which would preserve the historical pattern of wage relationships between jobs within the industry. The basic objective and principle adopted and followed was to develop a job evaluation manual which would conform to and preserve as nearly as possible the central tendencies of the existing rate structure."

(Let us suppose, however, that a fair system could be devised for a given industry, not the whole society, a system that would remake ancient molds within an industry. Such a system would not really change conditions for women employed in a low-wage sector of the economy since the job evaluation system would not change the general level of

“The way out of this fix is through economic and political action along many lines.”

pay in the industry. Low wage sectors, whose ability to pay is determined by market forces, such as I described in *The Other Economy*, would continue to pay low wages—with minor adjustments within the occupational ghetto. For women employed in this ghetto, the fair evaluation system would mean equity in relation to others in the same lousy industry but would not mean a change in relation to their brothers in the better paying industries.)

Entrapped in such a formula, women (and others) in low-paying sectors of the economy would not even be able to use their union's bargaining power to lift themselves out of the gutter. The Formula—being scientific, objective, just and mechanized—could always be invoked as the "higher law." Wage determination would be shifted from collective bargaining to the computerized decision. The entire process would take place in some government agency (backed by the courts) where the computer—like any computer—would behave in the manner of its programmer (the engineer) who would behave in the manner of his programmer (the party or person in power.)

The attempt to set wages by a universal formula is to resort to a technical

fix that would fix most women workers in their present fix.

Is there a way out of the fix? Yes, but by no *deus ex mathematica*. The way out is through economic and political action along many lines.

Unions can do something. If nurses are not being paid better than porters, then nurses should organize, make their demands on the cities that underpay them, arouse the public, vote, lobby, and raise hell. Where would the teachers be today if they had depended on some formula?

But, in many sectors of the economy, especially in small unit, labor-intensive manufacture, collective bargaining alone has its definable limitations. Suppose, for instance, that a union in the apparel industry were to compel-by-strike an hourly wage equal to that of workers in the auto industry? (In terms of skill, effort, education, etc., there is no difference between a woman at a sewing machine and a man on an auto assembly line.) The unionized sector of the apparel industry would go bankrupt forthwith. Unionized firms paying \$10 an hour with generous fringe benefits would have to compete against: (a) non-union firms paying an average of \$3.30 an hour with minimal fringe benefits; (b) illegal shops employing undocumented workers at sub-minimum wages; (c) homework; (d) garments self-made by men and women for their own use; (e) imports from low wage countries. Collective bargaining is thus limited by the constraints of the market circumstances.

Hence, it is necessary to go beyond collective bargaining to socio-political action.

Higher minimum wages would help those in the lowest income categories. Regulation of imports would help those women employed in labor intensive factories that have to compete against products from lands paying 20 cents an hour. Laws restricting runaway plants would help women whose employers hold wages down by the threat of plant removal.

Reform of the National Labor Relations Act would make it easier for unions to organize those many small plants, usually labor-intensive, or those many retail outlets that resist unionization.

In cases where wages cannot be raised, government programs can evolve a "social wage" for those in low-income brackets. A negative income tax should

also be considered—provided that the "cash" payment is not used as a substitute for programs to build low-income housing or to provide medical care for the indigent, etc.

Subsidies for small businesses deserve consideration in a society that annually subsidizes big business to the tune of about \$100 billion a year.

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union President Sol C. Chaikin has long advocated an "incomes policy" in the United States, an American version of the Swedish effort to narrow the gap between wages in the two economies.

Should the United States decide—as it should and must—to develop alternate sources of energy, such as solar, wind, tidal, biomass, etc., the impact on female earnings would be revolutionary. The shortages in the building and construction trades would open the doors wide for women who would be moving into one of the highest paying sectors of the economy. That movement would create relative shortages of female labor in other sectors, thereby lifting wages. (It happened in World War II, and should happen again if, in the fight for energy independence, we engage in the Moral Equivalent of War.)

These suggestions are but a few of many that ought to be forthcoming. The problem keeps growing. The gap between the upper and nether economies grows greater. In time of inflation, those in the preferred economy can get wage increases to stay abreast or nearly abreast of the inflation rate, while those in the disadvantaged economy are lucky if they can get a five percent annual increase when inflation is running at twice that speed. Inevitably, a class division sets in within the working class and what should be a class struggle becomes an intra-class struggle.

These strategies seek to restructure the economy and, in so doing, to effectuate a greater measure of equity in pay. This kind of an approach has an additional, though not altogether obvious, plus. It calls upon people, mainly workers, to organize themselves as active participants through collective action in bringing about social change. That, in itself, is a virtue almost as worthy as the ultimate purpose of more equitable wages and salaries. ■

Gus Tyler is assistant president, International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Is Labor on the Offense As Swedish Model Dies?

By John Stephens

THE WELL-OILED MACHINERY of Swedish economic life broke down this spring as central negotiations between the employers' federation, SAF, and the blue collar workers' central organization, LO, failed to reach a mutually acceptable compromise. The resulting strikes and retaliatory lockouts put more than 900,000 people (virtually the entire private sector) out of work.

To the delight of conservatives across the industrial world, the foreign press hailed the strike as the end of the "Swedish Model" of labor peace, prosperity, and cradle-to-grave social welfare. Given the biases of American news reporting on Sweden, progressive American trade unionists, who have long looked to Sweden as a model, may wonder what the spring events in Sweden really mean—and what implications they hold for labor strategy in America.

What Is the Swedish Model?

Many foreign observers attribute Swedish labor peace and progressive social legislation to some aspect of Swedish national character—a mythical ability to reach compromise. Others believe it is due to the characteristics of Swedish institutions: highly centralized bargaining and parliamentary consultation with affected interest groups. In truth, the secret of the Swedish Model lies in the balance of social power: labor peace, a large public sector, and rapid economic growth were the result of a compromise between capital and an economically and politically powerful labor movement. Before the Social Democrats came to power in 1932, Sweden was not noted for its social legislation and it had one of the highest strike rates in the Western world. Unable to convince the electorate of the desirability of their policy of workers'

control and increased public ownership, the Social Democrats in that year moderated their programs, calling for social Keynesian policies and welfare state development. The election victory ushered in a period of 44 years of Social Democratic government in which the party built up one of the most comprehensive and massively redistributive welfare states in existence. Today, well over half of Gross Domestic Product (GDP)* goes to non-military public expenditures, compared to less than a quarter in the United States. The reelection of the Social Democrats in 1936 led the employers to believe (correctly) that the Social Democrats would be in power for a long time. As a consequence, they initiated negotiations with LO which led to the signing of a peace agreement in 1938. In the overall

*GDP is the equivalent of Gross National Product plus the domestic production of foreign-based firms and minus the foreign production of nationally-based firms.

compromise, which set the character for Swedish social policy until the seventies, capital got a commitment to maximal growth, control of technological advance, retention of private ownership and, when necessary, wage restraint. Labor got high employment and redistribution through public sector expansion.

The Strike

Seen in this perspective, the causes of the strike are relatively clear. In the past, labor could use the threat of legislation to get the employers to move in negotiations. And labor could expect the government to compensate workers with social programs when the international economic situation made wage restraint necessary.

With the fall of the Social Democrats in 1976, labor could no longer expect this support. This emboldened SAF, and LO reluctantly accepted a meager wage settlement in 1977 to preserve labor



Sven Svensson, Metallarbetaren

Swedish workers took to the streets this spring as labor strife paralyzed the country.

market peace, only to be outraged a few months later when the bourgeois (as the rightist parties are called) government cut employers' taxes. In the 1980 negotiations, LO's demands were modest, due to the international economic situation.

A few weeks before the strike, LO President Gunnar Nilsson said that workers were only asking for "an unchanged standard of living . . . no demand for a general improvement—only that we will not be hit with further deterioration." LO called for an 11 percent increase in wages, which would approximately equal the inflation rate.

The SAF countered with a wage package of 2 percent. With a bourgeois government in power, LO could not count on compensatory legislation to offset a poor settlement. Its only alternative was to resort to the strike weapon.

In his May 1 talk before 40,000 workers in Stockholm, Nilsson charged that "the government and employers go arm in arm and threaten the Swedish Model of understanding and peaceful agreement on the labor market." Does this mean that we can expect a return to the Swedish Model if the Social Democrats return to power? If by that we mean a return to the compromise between labor and capital outlined earlier, the answer is no. Conditions have changed.

First, with the public sector amounting to 58 percent of GDP, the "redistribution through public sector expansion" strategy can go no further. Second, the economic crisis in the West does put the Swedish economy in a situation where a halt to increases in consumption, or perhaps even decreases, are necessary to provide adequate reinvestment capital. Like their American counterparts, Swedish workers face demands for rollbacks from business and conservative forces. For instance, although the strike settlement that called for a 7 percent wage increase was hailed as victory by labor leaders, it meant a real wage decrease.

Workers have argued that if they are to accept such restraints they must be compensated through increased ownership and control of industry. Otherwise, the profits made possible by wage restraints would be concentrated in the hands of industrialists and not shared with the workers who made it possible.

Break with the Past

The new Swedish Model envisioned

“Imagine the influence of labor if the American workforce were as organized as the British. Its clout in the Democratic party would be enormous. . . . they would probably drive business influence out.”

by labor and Social Democratic party leaders would entail a redistribution of wealth and power in the enterprise, not just income. Instead of a compromise with capital, it would involve a progressive expansion of collectively owned capital and a reduction of privately owned capital. In short, it would lead to a transcendence of the compromise that formed the basis of the old Swedish Model and the development of a form of democratic socialism in Sweden.

Looking back, one can see that the new emphasis is not as sudden as it initially seemed. The first step towards a break with this policy came with the pension struggle of the late fifties. The labor movement developed a comprehensive supplementary pension that would assure all Swedish wage earners a pension equal to two-thirds of their ten best earning years (with certain upper and lower limits) adjusted to the cost of living. The radical element of the plan, which was passed after several years of intense political struggle, was that it provided for the development of a large publicly controlled pension fund designed to offset the anticipated drop in personal savings. Today this pension fund completely dominates the Swedish credit and housing markets. Its accumulated assets are worth more than the total assets invested in the Swedish stock exchange.

Similarly, the leaders of the large industrial unions in the U.S. called for the establishment of a national comprehensive pensions plan in the late forties. But, owing to their lack of political clout, this demand was ignored in Washington, and the leadership was forced to negotiate pension plans for their members employer by employer. This has left at least half the workforce covered by no plan other than Social Security and has also left the accumulated pension funds (about one-third of the shares on the stock exchange) largely in the hands of bank trust department managers who, according to a recent AFL-CIO report, have

hardly been investing them in ways that best benefit the beneficiaries.

In Sweden in the sixties, public influence on the process of capital formation was further extended by such actions as the establishment of a national bank and more active government control of investment.

But the clearest break with past policy came in the early seventies when LO initiated a broad program for increased worker decision making rights in the enterprise. This program was subsequently backed by the Social Democrats and TCO, the central organization of white collar workers (which is neutral in party politics). The essential elements of this program became law in a series of acts passed between 1973 and 1976. This program was complemented by a proposal for "wage earner funds" from LO in 1975 (later revised in a joint Social Democrat-LO proposal in 1978) which represents a much more radical departure from past policy. As now amended, the proposal calls for the introduction of a number of mutual funds owned by the employees and citizens as a collectivity, consisting of newly issued shares of stock to be financed by a tax on profits and the wage bill. These collectively owned funds would grow relative to privately held shares and in a period of 25 to 35 years would take majority control of most enterprises.

This proposal attempts to deal with a classic problem of capitalism made even more aggravating by the stagflation of the seventies: employees don't take home in wages and salary the full value of what they create, and that left over, or surplus value, goes to line the pockets of another. Employees can and do demand greater wage increases, but are limited by the need for capital formation for investment for growth.

Swedish trade unions have been in an extremely favorable bargaining position to get the maximum possible in wage negotiations due to the high degree of labor organization (over three-quarters of the labor force is organized) and the presence, until 1976, of the Social Democrats in the government. But they, too, have been hampered by the need for capital formation to feed the economy.

In the Swedish case, the situation is further complicated by the trade unions' "solidaristic wage policy" which calls for equal pay for equal work across the econ-

omy regardless of the profitability of the enterprise. This has resulted in extremely high profits in the most profitable enterprises and an increasing concentration of wealth.

Meidner Plan

To find a solution that would: (1) preserve and reinforce the solidaristic wage policy; (2) equalize the distribution of wealth; (3) increase employee influence in the enterprise; and (4) provide new sources for capital accumulation, the LO set up a commission chaired by economist Rudolf Meidner. As Meidner himself points out, these directives practically locked the commission into the solution it proposed. The reinvestment that results from workers' wage restraint would have to be owned by the workers and/or citizens as a collectivity. Individual shares would not work because they could be cashed in to increase consumption, resulting in no new reinvestment. If the new investment was owned by the capitalist, no equalization of wealth would result. And, if the funds were to increase employee influence in the enterprise, the employees as a collectivity must be granted at least part of the voting rights that come with stock ownership.

Yet, why did the Swedish labor movement raise the question of workers' control and social ownership in the seventies but not before? Several factors were at work.

- The "redistribution through public sector expansion" strategy was beginning to push toward its limit. The public balked as taxes began to exceed one-half of GDP and a much larger share of total private consumption.

- Increased organization, particularly of white collar employees. Using the degree of organization as an indicator of the power of labor, the relative power of labor and capital had shifted in labor's favor. For LO and the Social Democrats, this meant new channels of information to more people through personal contacts, trade union journals, and the Social Democratic press (about 20 percent of total newspaper circulation), which is owned and financed by LO. In a word, the opinion making power of the movement had changed.

- The growth of the TCO, which, though formally politically neutral, allied with LO on the question of workers' con-

trol and may well do so on the question of social ownership.

What are the plan's chances for passage? Obviously very slim unless the Social Democrats return to power. But the strike may help the Social Democrats. LO President Nilsson argued that "it cost the trade union movement 125 million crowns, but at the same time it will lead to the downfall of the bourgeois government in the next (1982) election."

Lessons for America

The Swedish experience shows that a very large public sector need not be a burden on economic growth as American conservatives have charged and can even provide a definite advantage if it includes provisions for capital formation, such as the Swedish pension fund. It also shows that the cries heard here and elsewhere to hold consumption at its present level or even cut it in order to allow for new sources of capital formation need not mean that wage and salary earners pay the cost and reap no benefits. In return for their sacrifice, employees could benefit from the capital growth in the form of collective ownership funds, such as the LO's proposed wage earner funds, and/or from increased influence over enterprise decision-making.

"This is all very nice," the American reader is likely to say, "but the political climate here is very different." Although this is, in part, true, we must ask why, and what can be done in the U.S. given the current situation.

The answer to the first question is simple. Due to much higher levels of labor organization, the Swedish labor movement has more resources, more power, and consequently more influence over public opinion than its American counterpart. For instance, is it surprising that American labor takes a constant beating in the press when almost none of it is actually owned by labor—as is a good portion in Sweden?

Imagine the influence of labor if the American workforce were as organized as the British (44 percent organized in 1970, which is a bit above average for industrial democracies, compared to around 20 percent here). Its clout in the Democratic party would be enormous. In fact, it would make the labor party debate moot since labor and minorities would be so influential in the party that they would probably drive business influence out.

Comparisons with other countries confirm that labor movement strength is directly associated with the strength of the political left, which is in turn strongly associated with the size and redistributive character of the public sector, the level of unemployment, and the degree of democratic public control of the economy. (Such comparisons also confirm my interpretation of the Swedish strike: the more politically influential a labor movement is, the lower the strike rate.) Clearly, new organizing efforts must be central to the long term social and political strategy of American labor and the left.

Immediate Directions

Given the political constraints just outlined, what can we learn from the Swedish experience about policy directions? I think that the Swedish situation of the fifties is in some ways more relevant to our present situation. We have to work from our strengths and find areas where the everyday lives of Americans make them sympathetic to our policies. National health care is one such area. But under the impact of stagflation, the pension issue may be more appropriate to simultaneously push redistribution and increased democratic control of the economy. A national supplementary pension indexed to wage increases or the cost of living and vested immediately would be very attractive. In fact, public opinion polls shows that a large majority of Americans consistently support new government initiatives in this area, as they do in the question of health care. Unlike health care, the pension issue can also be used to address the question of democratic control of the economy by providing for the development of a large pension fund under the control of public and employee representatives. This fund would be an answer to the economy's need for new sources of investment capital. And, finally, public and union control of these funds as well as more active use of present union funds could aid the long term strategy of increasing organization by steering capital away from anti-union firms. ■

John Stephens is assistant professor of sociology at Brown University and the author of the recent Humanities Press book The Transition from Capitalism to Socialism. He is active in Rhode Island DSOC.

Reuther on Organizing

Victor Reuther, formerly Education Director and International Affairs Director of the United Auto Workers Union and co-chair of the DSOC National Advisory Committee, has been active in the American labor movement since the 1930s.

This interview, conducted by Mary Jo Connelly, Matthew Rothschild and Perry Mehrling, first appeared in *Agenda*, a democratic socialist newsletter published by Harvard-Radcliffe students. It took place at the time of the DEMOCRATIC AGENDA conference in Washington last fall and appears here in abridged form.



Del Ankers Photographers

Q: You expressed the conviction that conditions are ripe for both industrial unionism and political activism. Unless these are going to be just parallel phenomena, there must be some change in the way trade unions define their political role. How do you think this politicization of the trade unions will come about?

REUTHER: Given that the nature of our economic problems is such that they cannot be resolved at the bargaining table, it is clear that the workers and their unions will accept the fact that they must be vigorous on the political front. Look at the difficulty the labor movement had in trying single-handedly to push through labor reform legislation—trying to go it alone in the political field—and it becomes abundantly clear that we can only win in the political field if we are in active coalition with other forces in the community.

And that's why the building of the Progressive Alliance, and the coalition of the DEMOCRATIC AGENDA, are so significant. We are trying to restructure an alliance that existed for a short period during the birth of the CIO during the early New Deal period; we now know we cannot put through the kind of legislation we favor without restructuring that coalition. Each participant in that coalition has matured since then: the blacks are much more politically conscious; the Hispanics are a force today

“We have to believe that we are capable of changing.”

that they never were then; you have white collar workers organized on a scale that did not exist then.

Q: How do you proceed from the small gains that you say are necessary for any organization to stay in power to the large structural goals, which you say are also possible?

REUTHER: Let me cite an example. Some years ago, we knew we did not have the political strength in Congress to increase Social Security benefits. So we went to the auto corporations and said, “Since for many years, you and your lobbyists have defeated our efforts to increase Social Security through legislation, you will now pay out of your own earnings a supplemental amount”; and our first demand was that a retired worker would be guaranteed \$100 a month, with a portion of that representing Social Security payments, then some \$30 a month.

Now, Social Security benefits in the meantime have gone up, and why? Because the corporations reasoned that if they had to pay the difference between Social Security benefits and the specified monthly allowance, it would be in their financial interest to increase Social Security payments. So suddenly employers

who had lobbied against it for years joined with labor and brought about the first increases in retirement benefits in twenty years. Now, that first establishment of \$100 seems a modest victory, but the principle of it was so important that workers saw where it could lead.

We have held their loyalty and confidence together by moving additional steps forward each time we go to the bargaining table. If we had said thirty years ago, “We want a seat on the board of directors of General Motors,” our own workers would have hooted us down. They were not ready to think in those terms. Today, they will accept that.

Q: But how do you educate beyond self-interest, even the collective self-interest that you are mobilizing around, to transmit the social vision that is as much a part of socialism as the structural changes?

REUTHER: In the absence of a deep-rooted left political tradition in our country, the trade unions have an even greater obligation and responsibility to this country to do that kind of political educational work than is true in European countries. In Europe, the trade unions can rely on the labor parties and the social democratic parties and their machinery and their newspapers to do this kind of education work; we cannot. To educate an electorate, you have to have a structure, an organization that has staying power, that has a continuing education program that can identify every new issue—whether at the local level, including garbage collection, or at the highest level, including energy and inflation. You have to be able to identify these with a continuing political and economic philosophy, with a long-term goal and objective, so that the people will identify what you ask them to do today as a step towards the more distant goal. The trade unions have staying power, and the black and Hispanic organizations have it; out of this coalition must come the heart of a new political party, a new political movement. And if it is not possible for us to take

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ON THE LEFT

By Harry Fleischman

SOcialist International is alive and well," headlined the *New York Times* after the mission to Iran of three European Socialist leaders, Prime Minister Bruno Kreisky of Austria, Swedish ex-Prime Minister Olof Palme, and Spain's Socialist leader Felipe Gonzalez.

The headline is apt, for the Socialist International (SI) has gained renewed vitality and influence since the 1976 Vienna Congress when former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt was elected president and the decision was taken to reach out to parties in the Third World countries.

Last June's Oslo Bureau meeting was a case in point. Brandt's opening presentation gave a far-ranging review of the gloomy international situation, focusing on the escalating arms race, the lack of promising solutions in the Near and Middle East, and continuing genocide in Kampuchea (Cambodia).

Prime Minister Michael Manley of Jamaica had phoned Brandt to inform him that the right-wing opposition (the Jamaica Labor Party) was receiving \$6 to \$7 million from reactionary sources in the U.S. In addition, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has been squeezing Jamaica so hard on loans that its terms represent virtual starvation for the Jamaican people.

Reiulf Steen, chairman of the Norwegian Labor Party, urged all SI parties with influence on governments to work for immediate food and energy aid for Jamaica. He also indicated that he would accept contributions from member parties to aid the forthcoming election campaign of Manley's People's National Party.

A highlight of the Bureau meeting was a closed session with Iran's Foreign Minister, Sadet Gotzbadeh, held at his request. Although the session was off the record, Gotzbadeh later repeated the gist of his remarks at a press conference. He thanked the SI for the initiative of the Socialist leaders' trip to Iran, took note of their "frank criticism of what we have done in relation to the hostages," but added that this "first step of understanding" would "help us find initiatives to solve the situation."

Gotzbadeh claimed that the USSR and U.S. are still intervening in Iran, directly or indirectly. The Tudeh (Communist) party of Iran is an agent of the Soviet Union, and Iran helps the Afghans because they fight for freedom, he said.

Nevertheless, as Kreisky and others pointed out later, there is not yet a permanent and appropriate political structure in Iran. But there is the beginning of a democratic structure. Even though Khomeini supporters are in power, a considerable number of his opponents who are pro-democratic have also been elected.

Most socialist leaders concluded that Bani-Sadr and Gotzbadeh have only a limited chance of making their opinions prevail. They want to free the hostages because they know how much damage that problem does to Iran, but the mullahs want

to prolong the situation. The hostages, however, are only one aspect of the power struggle in Iran today.

Iran feels that the democratic world doesn't want to understand what is happening there. For that reason, the Socialist initiative in visiting Iran was a big event that added to the prestige and moral authority of the Socialist International.

■ ■ ■

DELEGATES CHUCKLED AT A STORY MAKING THE ROUNDS IN Oslo about Sweden. Leaders of the three party nonsocialist coalition government in Sweden, worried by polls showing rising majority support for Olof Palme, former Socialist Prime Minister, and his party, contacted Bruno Kreisky. Wouldn't it be wonderful, they suggested, if Palme could be elected Secretary General of the United Nations? There his great diplomatic talents could be most effectively utilized. Kreisky, amused, told Palme of the gambit. "Nice to know they love me so much," responded Palme, "but they'll still have to face me at the polls."

■ ■ ■

JULY 21 SAW THE FIRST DAY OF DRAFT REGISTRATION FOR four million 19- and 20-year-olds and demonstrations in hundreds of communities across the country calling for a repeal of registration and attempting to head off a move toward actual classification and induction. The largest protest in the nation was organized by the New York Mobilization Against the Draft and the *New York local* of DSOC on the upper West Side of Manhattan. Nearly 7,000 people (by police estimates) braved temperatures of up to 102 degrees to hear Rev. Barry Lynn of the National Committee Against Registration and the Draft, DSOC Chair Michael Harrington, Yolanda King (daughter of Dr. Martin Luther King), U.S. Senatorial candidate Elizabeth Holtzman, City Councilwoman Ruth Messinger and others denounce the move toward a draft and call for a democratic foreign policy abroad and a full employment economy at home. The protest was sponsored by a broad range of community and peace groups, three area congressional representatives, several state senators and assembly members and several unions, including District 1199 Hospital Workers, District 65 and Local 259 of the United Auto Workers, and District Council 37 of AFSCME.

Initial readings indicate the Carter administration's registration program to be a colossal failure. Though Selective Service had predicted a 98 percent compliance, reports indicate that the figure is closer to 75-80 percent. Meanwhile antidraft forces are gearing up for a national week of activities against the draft October 12-19 and for the expected push for conscription when the new Congress convenes. ■

Harry Fleischman, DSOC national board member, was our delegate at the Oslo SI Bureau meeting. Items for this column should be sent to him at 853 Broadway, Suite 801, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Feuds over Families

By Kate Ellis

LAST NOVEMBER, BETTY FRIEDAN stated in the *New York Times* that "the family, which has always been a bastion of conservatism, is already being transformed by women's equality into a progressive political force." If the three White House Conferences on Families held in June and July are any indication, this thesis may have moved beyond the realm of wishful thinking.

For a while the conference planning process was so embattled that the idea was all but dropped. The main point of contention centered on the definition of "the family," indicating that this is a problem for the center as well as the left. The conference title was changed to the plural, implying acceptance of many family forms and postponing the issue of a restrictive definition to the conferences themselves. Conservatives in Minneapolis won a narrow victory on a motion defining the family as "two or more persons related by blood, heterosexual marriage, or adoption." I would argue that the left should also accept a definition along these lines.

The thrust of the right is towards a much more restricted application of the word, as was shown when, in the planning stages, irate Catholics forced the resignation of the original conference coordinator, Patsy Fleming, a black divorced mother of three. At this point the whole idea was shelved until spring 1979, when the demand for a director from an "intact" family was met in the person of former representative from Arkansas Jim Tucker.

At the conferences, the rift was between opponents and proponents of state intervention, that is, between conservatives and liberals. But since the purpose of the events was to discuss government policy toward the family, delegates who believed that the state should have nothing to do with the family were at a disadvantage. Despite complaints and widely reported walkouts by conservatives, the

proposals that received the most support, as well as those that aroused the most controversy (abortion, the ERA, sexual preference issues) were for altering and extending, not reducing, the purview of the welfare state.

Demands for such things as the elimination of the so-called "marriage tax" under which single wage-earners living together pay lower taxes than two-income married couples, for drug abuse programs and tax breaks for home care of the elderly, or for "a wide variety of child care services," or for more flexible work that will enable everyone to have "a feeling of usefulness and dignity at wages sufficient to support a decent standard of living" speak to the impact of the current economic crisis on breadwinners. Clearly it is the decline in our national standard of living, measured in economic rather than moral terms, that most people per-

“It is the decline in our national standard of living, measured in economic rather than moral terms, that most people perceive as the real threat to the survival of the family.”

ceive as the real threat to the survival of the family as we have known it.

Yet, amid all these progressive proposals, the family remains a deeply problematic institution both for society and for socialists. It is an issue that has been exploited successfully by the right and that causes widespread debate on the left.

Changing the conference title did not answer the question of definition. The conference planners decided to speak of *families*, and this pluralism has a strong appeal for the left as well. This was evident at an event called Family Day, put on by the Institute for Labor and Mental Health in Berkeley in September, 1979,

which drew close to 3,000 people and included under the rubric of "family" every arrangement short of persons living with a dog or a cat.

It represents an attempt to reclaim from the right the appellation "pro-family." As such it highlights a serious problem for the left. To define the family, as the Family Day brochure does, as "the only institution that even claims it's about love," is to substitute a tenacious post-industrial fantasy of what the family is in its ahistorical essence for a historically conditioned description of what the family in a given society *does*, and is expected to do.

Functions of Families

A general definition of a family as, say, any two or more people committed to each other over time, ignores the fact that one thing that the family in any society must do is reproduce itself. To do this it must channel the sexuality of its members toward certain ends and away from others. The historically different treatment of male and female promiscuity is part of this channelling. At the center of the family as reproducer of itself is the heterosexual couple, which explains why the label "intact" is not given to the Patsy Fleming model of a mother and her three kids but only to the Jim Guy Tucker model in which both members of the couple are living together.

Because of its channelling function, the family becomes a distribution point for rewards and punishments that validate heterosexual coupling. This may be changing: the right certainly thinks so. Nevertheless, when people become homosexuals or single parents the considerable rewards that have been marshalled to the cause of the "intact" family are no longer theirs. The delegates to the Presidential Conferences passed resolutions aimed at mitigating this deprivation. But to deny its existence is to organize people around an illusion.

In addition to its channelling function, the family provides for the helpless,

young, and old. But though love is a desirable ingredient in this process, it is not a defining one. Elderly people may be loved or resented, may live with a wage-earning relative or be put in a home by that person, may willingly or unwillingly provide unpaid child care services.

At the other end of the scale, children are socialized to "do well" in the world in which they live. This process may "take," by the lights of the society or individuals involved, or it may not, and love may or may not be present. An unmarried adolescent girl may have a child and her parents may disown her or raise the child for her. It is all part of the same family function, and love may be ascribed to either act.

To treat the family as an entity that is separable from the concentric circles of society around it is to do just what the right is doing. Individual parents do not decide on their own how to respond, for instance, to a pregnant teenager. In addition to overall societal proscriptions, they take into account community standards that vary widely. We need to think about how a daughter can get support for what she wants to do, and how her parents can get what they want, too. And we need to think about the child, whose needs may

not always coincide with, or automatically take precedence over, those of her mother and grandmother.

If we think about these things only under the heading of "the family" we will be quickly baffled. The argument that only in that institution is support (the kind of love I am talking about) learned and freely given has the problem (over and above a high probability of untruth) of reinforcing the separation of "family" and "world" that can only exacerbate conflicts that arise from the different needs and responsibilities of persons related by blood, heterosexual marriage, or adoption.

At a certain level of abstraction, we can say that people do not have fundamentally conflicting needs. We all need to love and be loved, and we can get it in the family (with or without a heterosexual couple at its center) if the welfare state will only give us more. But along with the development of our particular brand of state has come the erosion of institutions of affiliation that used to occupy the terrain between state and family.

Traditionally the left has concentrated on unions as the intermediate institutions through which the balance of power in industrialized societies would

be altered. But with only 18 percent of the workforce currently unionized, and with the energy crisis bearing down on home as well as on the workplace, it seems to me that we must begin to expand our notion of intermediate institutions, to work not only for more of what we are losing, but for something new and different.

Our lack of affiliative institutions has devastating effects. Plant closings scatter workers (who formerly shared a common union membership) in search of (often nonunion) jobs a long drive from home. This leaves them with little in common on the home front except anxiety about declining property values and hostility to the increased cost of local social services. The decline of schooling leaves teenagers with little to bring them together except violence, sex, and drugs.

Home then becomes a self-service filling station where people with nothing to do or no one to do it with can watch TV and avoid being "alone." It is by addressing these problems that we will develop a real pro-family program. ■

Kate Ellis teaches at Rutgers University and is a socialist feminist activist living in New York.

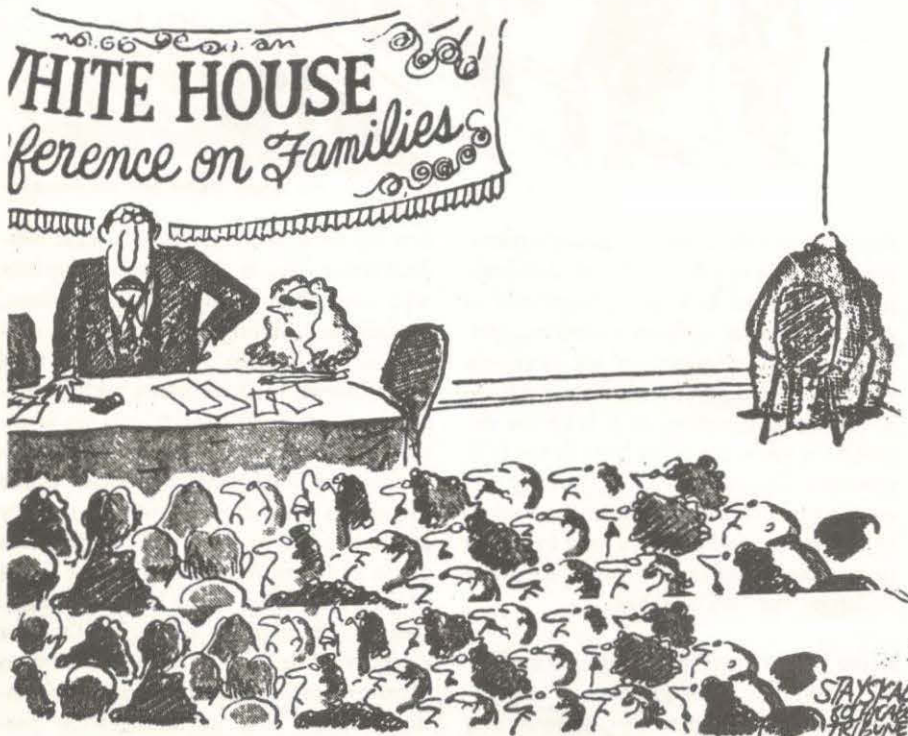
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REUTHER, from page 12

over and remold the Democratic party itself into a party that meets our needs, we must permit it to wither on the vine and build a party in its place. But there will only be two parties, I think. What you want is a society that will use the technical and natural resources we have to benefit society.

I would not visualize a society in which there was no private ownership. I do not think it is necessary to develop so all-powerful a state. One should own one's private home. I think many factories can still be privately owned. But in every area of manufacturing, I would have a facility that was either cooperatively owned or state owned, so that you would know what it costs to produce an item.

And that yardstick could be used to keep the private sector within bounds—that's what Sweden's doing. They've only nationalized a very small percentage of their economy, but it's enough of it to discipline the private sector and make them socially responsible. We have to believe that we are capable of changing. ■



"OK now. I hope we can continue the discussion without any more of that kind of language!"

A SPECIAL REPORT

Undocumented Workers: Exploited and Resented

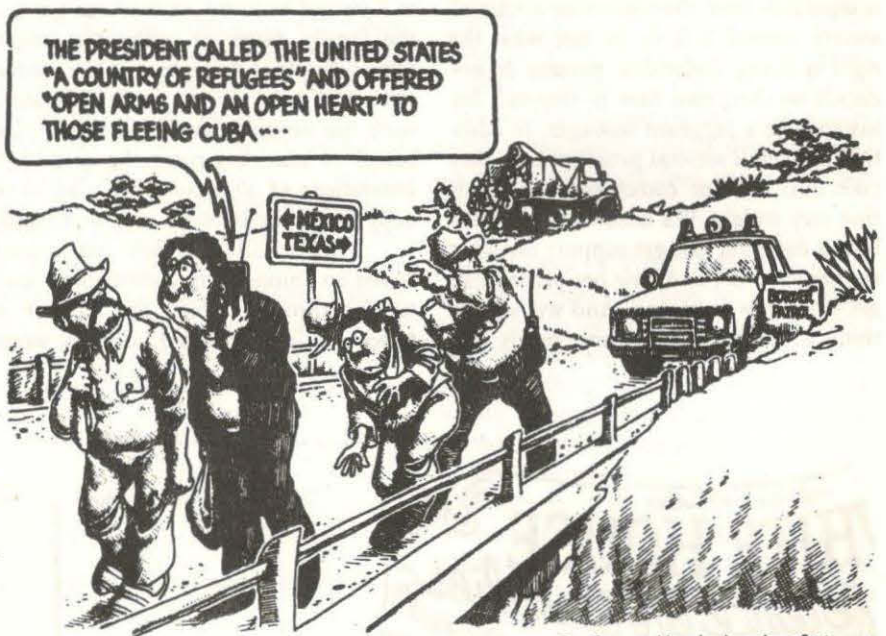
By Roger Waldinger

LAST SPRING'S INFLUX OF CUBAN refugees exemplified the complexities and misunderstandings that bedevil immigration policy. While makeshift rescue operations were mounted off the Florida shore, the Carter administration vacillated, unsure of the proper reaction to this latest wave.

After considerable indecision, Carter bowed to the inevitable, ceasing to restrict the flow and assisting in the process of resettlement. The aftermath of this episode has provided little occasion for self-congratulation. Resettlement has been agonizingly slow. Exploitation of refugees at the workplace has already been reported. And most importantly, the eruption of the Liberty City ghetto in Miami, sparked in part by resentment at the reception accorded the refugees, suggested to some policymakers and analysts that the tolerance level for immigrants is relatively low.

The pessimistic and conventional view is that the U.S. is being flooded by the world's poor and oppressed. Although this is merely a refrain from the bad old restrictionist past, the anti-immigrationist argument has been updated. The modern-day kicker has it that America's homegrown poor are the ones most likely to be hurt. And to close the circle, it is argued that economic competition between immigrants and low-income natives will kindle social conflict of a type—to quote the usually sober *Business Week*—"that will make the riots in Miami look like a Boy Scout campfire."

Reality, however, departs quite



Ben Sargent/Austin American Statesman

sharply from these myths. Today's immigrants are not so poor, and their numbers, relative to total U.S. population, not as great as popular opinion would suggest. Their arrival, moreover, is not so closely linked to the deterioration of conditions in the home countries as it is to the demand for low-wage labor bred by the U.S. economy. Doomsayers to the contrary, the employment of immigrants at the bottom of the labor market is unlikely to throw many Americans out of work, let alone endanger the "social fabric."

Who Are the New Immigrants?

Today's immigrants, as distinguished from refugees, are conventionally treated as two different groups: the legal immigrants, and the undocumented. The

first are those who arrive with legal resident status. This is granted to immigrants who have close family ties (as children, spouses, and siblings) to American citizens or legal alien residents, and to a lesser extent, to immigrants with particularly valuable skills and talents not available in the United States. The undocumented are immigrants who either evade inspection when crossing into the country at the borders or enter the country with a visa and then remain beyond the limits of their stay. Most of the Mexican undocumented immigrants belong to the first category while most of the other Western Hemisphere and Eastern Hemisphere undocumented are, in immigration parlance, "overstays." The distinctions between the two groups are not great. In-

deed, many legal immigrants are former "illegals," a fact that suggests that the dynamics of the two migration currents may be similar.

The major change in the legal immigration flow dates to the 1960s. Prior to 1965, legal immigrants were primarily western and northern Europeans. With the abolition of the national origins system in 1965, Third World immigrants came to predominate. In 1977, the last date for which we have statistics, the legal stream was 34 percent Asian and 44 percent Latin American and Caribbean. Only 15 percent of the 1977 legal immigrants came from Europe.

Compared to the legal immigrants who came at the turn of the century, today's immigrants are more heavily white collar (more than 30 percent of the legal immigrants with previous work experience held professional or managerial jobs prior to immigration), far less likely to be of rural origins, and predominantly female (53 percent of the 1977 immigrants were women). Moreover, the relative size of today's immigrant flow is dwarfed by that of the past. An average of 1,100,000 people arrived on these shores between 1903 and 1913, an influx that accounted for over 40 percent of the growth of the labor force during that period. During the 1970s, legal immigration ranged from a low of 370,000 in 1971 to last year's high in the 700,000 range, with no distinct trend appearing until refugee movements in the late seventies caused a pronounced upwards tilt. Prior to the refugee influx, approximately 230,000 legal immigrants entered the labor force annually. Even with the refugee addition taken into account, the total number of new immigrant workers remains overshadowed by the size of the active workforce of almost 97 million.

Unfortunately, any statement about undocumented immigrants must be made with little degree of precision. The accepted estimate puts the undocumented population in the four to six million range. It had been thought previously that the overwhelming majority were from Mexico. However, a recent Census report argues that at least half of the undocumented immigrants are non-Mexican, primarily from the Caribbean and Latin American countries.

Of course, not knowing how many immigrants are here and where most of them are from greatly complicates the task of describing them. We know most

about the Mexican immigrants, though even here the picture is not clear. These immigrants are primarily, though not entirely, from rural areas: although ex-farmworkers are disproportionately represented, the immigrants come from the broad middle to rural Mexican society. The poorest, for the most part, are not part of the migration stream. Unlike the legal migrants, these undocumented workers are predominately male; the female proportion, however, is apparently increasing.

Why They Come

We tend to look at the phenomenon of immigration through a very personalized prism. With the exception of Native Americans and most blacks, we are the descendants of "voluntary" immigrants. What follows from this inheritance is a particular set of assumptions: that America has acted as a land of refuge for those impelled to leave their countries of origin; and that the act of immigration is one and the same with the process of settlement. These assumptions, however, are contradicted by the historical record and their implications for contemporary developments are equally misleading.

“Doomsayers to the contrary, the employment of immigrants at the bottom of the labor market is unlikely to throw many Americans out of work, let alone endanger the 'social fabric.'”

Migration during the last great wave at the turn of the century does not conform to currently held notions. Apart from the Jew—who did fit the idealized image of a group fleeing intolerable political and economic conditions—there was little migration of family units. Obscured today by the haze of time, it was the "bird of passage" phenomenon that impressed contemporaries. Like the swallows after whom they were named, a significant portion of the turn-of-the-century immigrants passed annually back and forth across the Atlantic in response to seasonal fluctuations in their trades. Thirty to forty percent of those who left Italy, the Baltic, and the Balkans returned to their homes after a sojourn in the U.S. And for many who did establish permanent residence, the decision to do so was

clearly a consequence of, not a prelude to, their encounter with the new land.

A similar pattern holds true today. Much of the Mexican undocumented immigration is temporary in nature. Emigration from Mexico to the U.S., as University of California political scientist Wayne Cornelius has argued, can be linked to conjunctural swings in the rural economy that lead peasants and farm workers to seek a reprieve through labor in the U.S. As was the case for the migrants "imported" by the advanced European countries during the 1960s and early 1970s, many Mexican undocumented workers migrate to earn money to buy land, agricultural implements, a truck, or some other consumer durable upon return home. To some extent, the term "immigration" in the accepted sense is a misnomer when applied to the Mexican case. In some Mexican villages, even the acquisition of legal immigrant status does not lead to a shift of residence. Rather, it serves as a pass for "professional migrants" to enter the U.S. for temporary stays and then return home for the greater portion of the year.

The prevalence and continuity of temporary migration suggests that immigration is primarily rooted in conditions in the U.S. itself, and only secondarily in the emigrating countries. As Michael Piore, an economist at MIT, has argued, industrial societies have a tendency to create jobs that can only be filled by searching for new sources of labor supply, a quest that historically has led to the importation of migrant workers. At the turn of the century, rapid economic growth and the burgeoning of relatively unskilled jobs in manufacturing industries led to massive immigration.

After World War I curtailed European immigration, U.S. employers sought new workers for bottom-level jobs. This search precipitated the black exodus from the South and provided the catalyst for the Mexican migration northwards that has continued to this day.

The current wave is a recapitulation of earlier migrations, induced and influenced by similar factors. The uneven development of the U.S. economy perpetuates a large number of low-wage jobs in traditional manufacturing industries while multiplying the number of dead-end, undesirable jobs in the service sector. Huge inequalities of pay—in 1976, for example, eleven million jobs paid at or near the minimum wage—make many



Edwin Levick/Library of Congress/Circa 1906

jobs undesirable for native workers with other sources of income support (public assistance, training programs, etc.). It is in precisely this range that the immigrants are placed. One of the most comprehensive studies available, a survey of over 800 apprehended undocumented workers, found that the undocumented were relegated to bottom-level jobs in the low-wage sector and that their earnings fell below those of U.S. workers employed in comparable jobs. Other sources confirm this picture.

On the supply side, there is both continuity and change. In the industrial heartland and in the Northeast, the traditional sources that have fed into the bottom of the low-wage labor market

have changed. In the 1960s, black and Puerto Rican migration northward tapered off; in the 1970s, these currents halted or reversed. As this process has been played out, employers have sought labor elsewhere: particularly in and around the Caribbean basin.

In the Southwest the story reads slightly differently. There, where undocumented workers have traditionally been employed in agriculture, economic expansion has widened demand. One research team studying five towns in northern Mexico found that agriculture provided employment for 84 percent of those migrants who worked in the U.S. prior to 1969, but only 45 percent of those who have sojourned here since then.

Since the new immigration began it has obtained a dynamic of its own. The pull from the U.S. has been powerfully reinforced by the contradictions of development in neighboring countries. Relying heavily on capital intensive plans that have accelerated growth without producing commensurate gains in employment, many of the countries in the U.S.-bound immigration stream have displaced traditional jobs without creating domestic alternatives. Severe under- and unemployment have thus combined with disparities in the distribution of income to enlarge the current headed towards the U.S.

The immigration current has been strengthened further as well-established networks channel information and job-finding assistance to new migrants and the existence of immigrant communities eases the tasks of finding shelter and employment. Finally, the back and forth flow of temporary and permanent immigrants, as well as the sending of remittances, have spread the U.S. model of consumption throughout the sending countries, making U.S.-bound migration a part of the culture.

Market Impact

The controversy over the impact of immigration has focused narrowly on the question of cost. Observers and partisans ask whether the new immigrants, particularly the undocumented, displace American workers and thereby aggravate the level of economic distress.

The preceding analysis strongly suggests that the answer to this question is no. This view first emphasizes the origins of the new immigration and the conjunctural developments that precipitated it. In this instance, the declining unem-

ployment rates, gains in employment, alternative job opportunities in manpower training programs, and improved public assistance benefits loosened the constraints that bound workers to the low-wage sector. These developments reverberated in the workplace, leading workers to resist customary conditions and practices and inducing employers to look for a more tractable labor force.

The second, related, argument has to do with the nature of work in the low-wage sector. Employment at the bottom of the occupational ladder is compatible with the needs and aspirations of temporary migrants, who are most interested in accumulating savings in order to return home. The same holds true for the first generation, which judges current status and earnings in relation to conditions they lived under prior to migration and not to the norm in the U.S. These comparative factors, however, exercise little sway over the second generation, who opt out of the traditional immigrant jobs of sewing, dishwashing, cleaning, and the like. The critical point is that the faltering of the post-war migration waves, as discussed above, and the maturation of the second generation, cleared the way for the entry of a new low-wage labor force.

If concern over employers substituting undocumented workers for otherwise employed natives is misplaced, fear that undocumented migration might coincide with a decline of basic working conditions seems well-founded. Once again the usual caveat—about the inadequacies of the data base and conflicting reports—must be injected. But the evidence is compelling enough to indicate that certain segments of the low-wage sector are poised for a return to the sweatshop.

The most comprehensive picture comes from an intensive investigation of low-wage industries conducted by a special branch of the California Department of Labor. Of 3,253 workplaces inspected, 59 percent were found to be in violation of basic labor standards. In the garment industry, a major employer of immigrants that has largely managed to keep the International Ladies Garment Workers Union at bay (only 10 percent of the California garment workforce is organized), payment of sub-minimum wages, homework, and child-labor were particularly flagrant.

A similar impact has been felt on the East Coast. The Employment Stand-

ards Administration, which has intensified its efforts to police the labor codes in a series of low-wage industries, has uncovered abuses in construction, services, light manufacturing, and especially garments.

How should this reversion to substandard conditions be interpreted? To some extent, there has been erosion of labor standards throughout American industry, a trend which bears no direct relationship to immigration: 1979 set a record for labor standards violations. Immigrants are heavily employed in industries where competitive pressures are severe; in some, such as garments, the intensification of international competition has heightened the labor cost constraints.

More important, perhaps, has been the shifting character of government regulation. Historically, the labor standards mandate was focused on the low-wage sector. In the past twenty years, however, the jurisdiction of government agencies in this field has been widened without commensurate increase in staffing or funding. More critical yet, the policing of the labor codes has suffered from a dual barrage: the right's assault on government regulation in general, and the crunch of the fiscal crisis. The imprint of the former can be seen in the enforcement of health and safety codes. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration acts within a narrow cost-benefit calculus that leads it to focus on high hazard industries or serious violations where there may be imminent danger. In practice this means that there is virtually no surveillance of the "low-risk" industries where the immigrants congregate. Clearly, the passage of such restrictive legislation as the Schweiker amendment will cripple enforcement in industries where the threat to workers' health is grave, but not the most severe.

The fiscal crisis has been an equally great hindrance. In New York State, for example, the squeeze on state expenditures has cut personnel in the Division of Labor Standards by almost one-half and severely restricted the agency's capacity to do more than respond to complaints. Other public departments with authority over building and fire conditions, for example, have been equally enfeebled.

As pressures on labor costs are intensifying and state control is diminishing, the number of undocumented workers in the low-wage sector has increased. Bereft of the rights and protections enjoyed by

citizens and legal alien residents, the undocumented are easy prey to employers who have little to fear and much to gain from exploitation.

Labor's Response

Since the early seventies, anti-immigrant ardor has cooled off, particularly within the liberal-left, which has had conflicts on this issue. The most important factor in this process has been the presence at countless workplaces of the undocumented themselves. As they have encountered immigrants, a number of unions—the now-merged Amalgamated Meat Cutters, the Steelworkers, the Garment Workers, and the Electrical Workers, among others—have attempted to organize them, albeit with limited success.

“Certain segments of the low-wage sector are poised for a return to the sweatshop.”

Often, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents have squashed promising organizing campaigns by stepping in just before a representation election or during the course of a strike. The ILGWU, whose membership is heavily immigrant and which must organize large numbers of undocumented on both East and West Coasts, attempted to directly counter the influence of the INS by filing (an ultimately unsuccessful) suit to halt factory raids and by pressuring union employers to bar admittance to Immigration agents.

Within the past two years, this experience in the field has percolated into policy. Labor has become more vocal in its defense of the alien and more sympathetic to a liberal readjustment of status for the undocumented. At a news conference following the February 1980 AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting, Lane Kirkland endorsed a "broad and sweeping amnesty for those (undocumented immigrants) who are presently in this country."

Discerning the prospects for this or any other policy change is particularly difficult. For much of the last decade, the political initiative rested with Congress. The Carter administration, however, was at first determined to take some action and developed a legislative package in its first year of office. Its proposals included

an amnesty for undocumented immigrants residing in the U.S. prior to 1970, a penalty for employers hiring undocumented workers, and a guestworker program similar to those operated in Europe prior to 1973. As with other Carter proposals, this one was issued with fanfare, only to die silently in Congress. Since then, little action has been forthcoming.

What then, are the implications of the new immigration and the policy debate for labor and the left? The agenda should clearly be shaped by some simple demographic facts. Immigration is changing the complexion of the workforce and population in vital sectors and regions. In California, there are 450,000 legal alien residents of Mexican origin. During the first half of the 1970s, the legal alien resident population of New York City increased by 30 percent. With considerable growth registered since then, recent immigrants not yet naturalized now comprise a significant proportion of the city's population.

In addition to the legal aliens there is a population—of indeterminate size—of undocumented immigrants that seek permanent residency. This is a potentially major constituency. Equally important, it is a group with particular needs and aspirations that are currently neglected and undefended.

Continued political immobility and the deterioration of conditions at the bottom of the labor market make defense of the alien a priority. An interim strategy should focus around strengthened enforcement of labor standards and rejuvenated organizing.

The long-term options are far more problematic, primarily because the policy goals are so unclear. The current debate assumes that a restrictionist solution is the desired outcome. But if the analysis developed here is correct, none of the commonly proposed restrictionist mechanisms is likely to slow the current immigration tide so long as the underlying inequities in the occupational structure persist. However, by implying that greater equality will eliminate the utility of a workforce willing to accept jobs that natives decline, this same argument makes the left a friend of the immigrants, but not a supporter of a greatly opened door.

Roger Waldinger is a Fellow at the Joint Center for Urban Studies, MIT-Harvard, and is working on a study of immigrant workers in the garment industry.

DEMOCRATIC AGENDA

MORE THAN 500 DELEGATES TO THE DEMOCRATIC National Convention and liberal, labor, and left Democrats gathered at Town Hall in New York City August 12 to mobilize under the banner of DEMOCRATIC AGENDA to fight for a progressive Democratic party platform. "Contrary to many reports, the old liberalism is still very much alive in the United States, if no longer in the Democratic party," said DSOC National Chair Michael Harrington in his opening remarks. "However," he warned, to be relevant today, that liberalism must become more radical and must go beyond FDR in the way that he went beyond Herbert Hoover."

"We must not fall into the trap of thinking that the enemy is Ronald Reagan," said San Francisco Supervisor and gay activist Harry Britt. "The enemy is poverty, hunger, and economic injustice." Supporters of both President Carter and Senator Edward Kennedy spoke in favor of progressive platform planks. "If, as Truman said, the platform is the party's contract with the people, then the people should be able to sue the Democratic party for fraud," charged writer and feminist Gloria Steinem. National Education Association Executive Terry Herndon stressed the importance for Democrats of working to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.

"We must fight to elect progressives to Congress," said William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists. UAW President Douglas Fraser decried the insensitivity of policy makers to the horrors of unemployment. Warning that none of the ideals in which we believe will be possible as long as we have to fight among ourselves for economic survival, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union President Murray Finley echoed a long range

view: "Our job only begins at this convention if we're truly committed to a full employment society."

DEMOCRATIC AGENDA supported minority planks in the platform that called for:

- the right to a job for all Americans able to work
- enactment of comprehensive national health insurance in a single bill specifying the phase-in of benefits
- federal chartering of oil companies and creation of a TVA-style federal energy company and an increased commitment to solar energy
- opposition to the MX missile as a misuse of America's productive capacity, which must be used in a balanced way to meet pressing social needs and create jobs
- women's rights and reproductive freedom.

Other speakers at the rally included: Cesar Chavez, United Farm Workers head; Ruth Messinger, New York City Council member; Deborah Meier, DSOC vice chair; Fran Bennis, national president, New Democratic Coalition; David Dinkins, city clerk of New York; and Patrick Lacefield, coordinator, Democrats Against the Draft.

"The enthusiasm of the crowd that turned out in the midst of a very hectic and heavily scheduled convention is gratifying as we prepare for our ongoing work," said DEMOCRATIC AGENDA Coordinator Cynthia Ward. "We won't be folding up our tent the day after the election. No matter who wins, or whom each individual supports, we're together on the issues and will continue to fight for progressive responses to our social ills."

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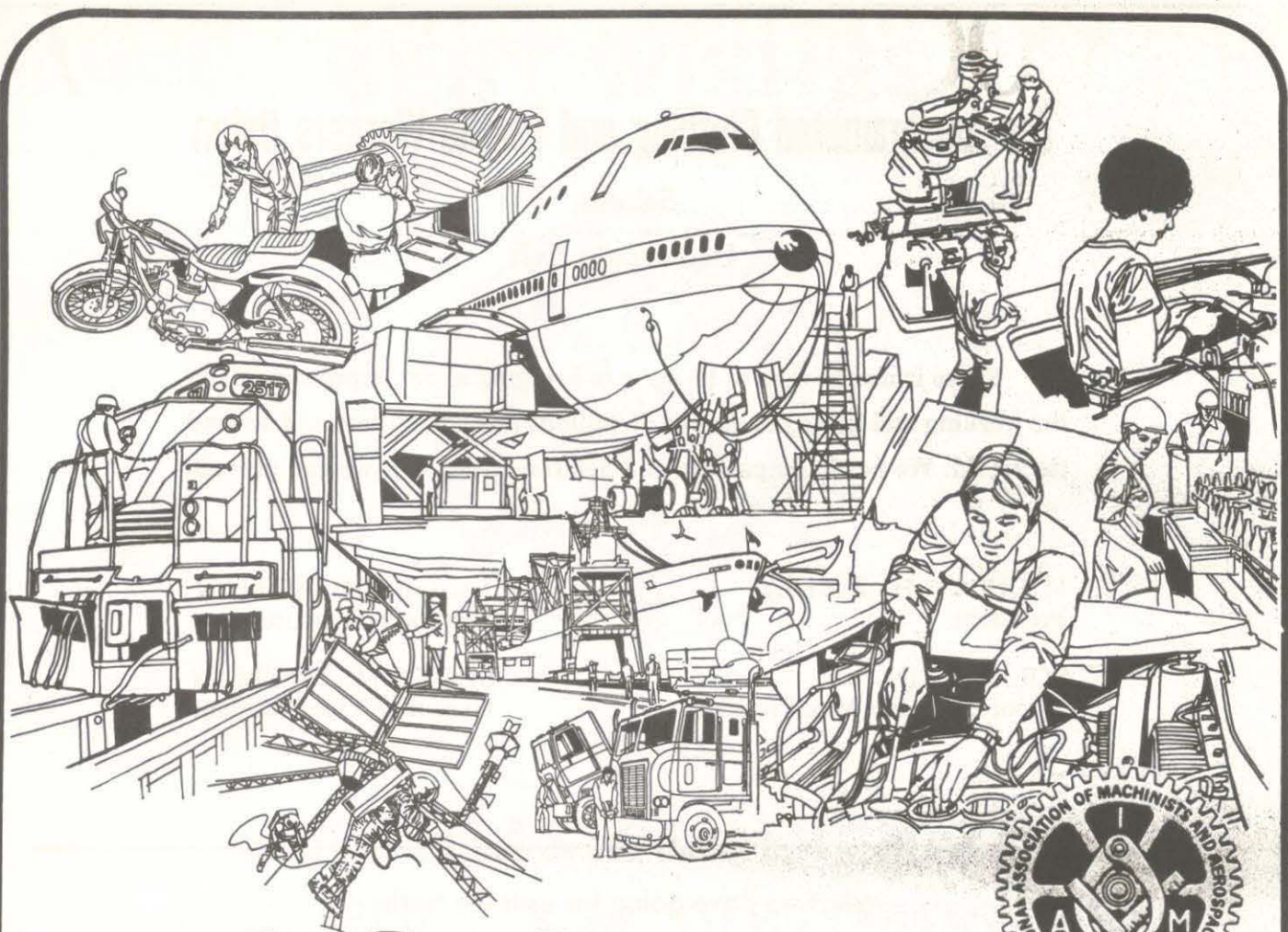
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Gretchen Donart

More than 50 delegates gathered August 13 at the first Democratic Socialist Caucus ever held at a Democratic National Convention. The Caucus, sponsored by the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, heard International Association of Machinists President William Winpisinger, New York City Council Member Ruth Messinger, and DSOC National Chair Michael Harrington discuss strategies for democratic socialists in the coming election.



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Foreword by Michael Harrington

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Fraternal Greetings

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of

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Our challenge is to continue to view our society skeptically and be willing to make the kind of fundamental changes required to provide millions of people a secure and useful job, a healthy environment and, in general, life with dignity.

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Greetings

FROM THE FUTURE OF THE MOVEMENT

The DSOC Youth Section now forms the most extensive student and youth network on the American Left, with campus and community groups in 40 cities. Subscribe to our newsletter, *Days of Decision*, \$4/4 issues, or \$10 sustaining, from the DSOC National Office.

***“Planning” used to be a dirty word.
Now it’s the only way out
of the mess we’re in.***

Since the end of World War II, the U.S. economy has experienced five recessions, each of which threw millions of workers out of their jobs; now the current Administration is engineering unnecessary unemployment.

The chaotic ups and downs of the U.S. economic system point to the need for democratic national planning. The nation’s problems are not due to lack of labor, resources, or equipment; rather, they occur because the economy drifts from crisis to crisis.

Hundreds of business firms and government agencies make independent and often conflicting decisions. Billions of federal dollars are spent for research without any coherent priorities or sense of direction. Basic industries are allowed to become technologically obsolete and noncompetitive with foreign competitors.

While unplanned economies inevitably experience cycles, the irresponsible policies of a business-dominated government often make things worse than they need be. Often, we are erroneously told that unemployment is necessary to bring down inflation.

The first step in a full employment policy is to move away from this failed strategy of planned recession to combat inflation.

The UAW strongly urges the Administration and the Congress to implement a comprehensive system of democratic national planning. Such a system must have, as its primary goal, the attainment of full employment in every part of the American economy.

Retrenchment and timidity are not the right prescription. Instead, the government must steer the economy and induce or directly make the investments and other structural changes that will cure the ills we suffer.

*—from resolution on Democratic National Planning,
26th UAW Constitutional Convention, June 1-6, 1980.*

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**Eurosocijalism and America:
An International Exchange**

WASHINGTON, D.C. — DECEMBER 5-7, 1980

Partial list of speakers:

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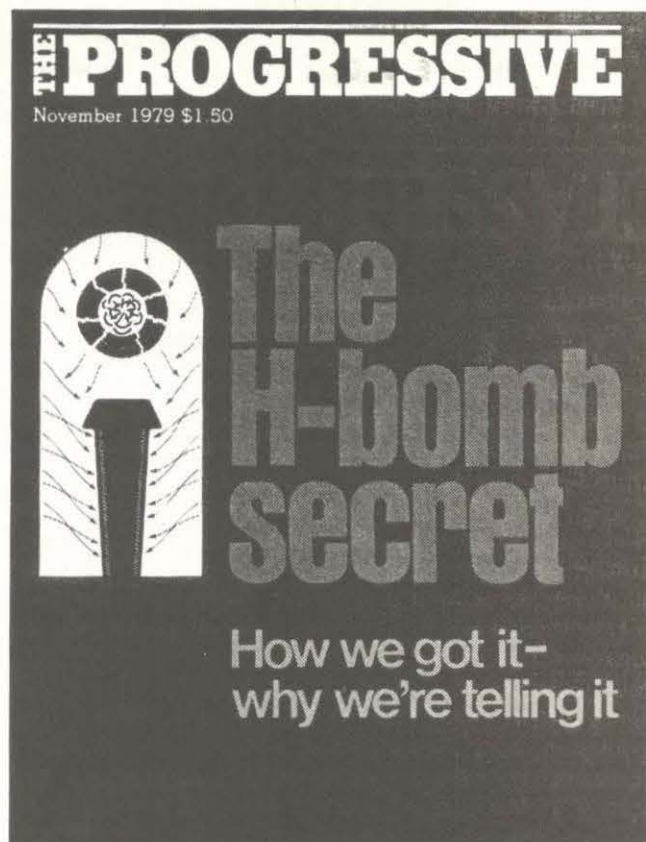
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JIMMY HIGGINS REPORTS

KEMP OR KLAN?—Former quarterback and current Buffalo Member of Congress, Jack Kemp, made a big splash at the July Republican Convention. Clearly the Reagan campaign and much of the GOP are following his lead in talking of economic growth, the needs of working people, and so forth. Kemp himself has more than once proclaimed that the Republicans are now the party of American working people (wonder if he's anticipating application to the Socialist and Labor Internationals?). As a more modest step, Kemp might consider persuading his cohorts and himself to improve their abominable voting records on every issue of importance to American labor unions. Clean-cut Kemp should be careful of the company his party keeps. On July 30, the Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan endorsed Reagan for President while proclaiming that "the Republican platform reads as if it were written by a Klansman." Reagan only disavowed the endorsement when specifically challenged by feminists.

THE NEW LIBERALISM is again the journalistic rage. Paul Tsongas, the junior Senator from Massachusetts, is the latest anointed spokesperson for the creed. New liberals, the mythology goes, are younger than the tired old New Dealers; they are skeptical of government, though not necessarily of business. According to Tsongas, they resist flailing at the oil companies and expect unions to shape up on productivity. One can only wonder what makes this new liberalism different from traditional conservatism. The last great wave of "new liberals" emerged in the early 1970s; they included in their ranks a somewhat older group raising virtually the same questions. Among their luminaries are Irving Kristol, Norman Podhoretz, Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Like the current younger wave of disillusioned liberals, these men (and a few women) who led the neoconserva-

tive movement reacted to a genuine crisis in liberalism. The new liberals of the 1970s, like the emerging new liberals of the 1980s, have chosen to emphasize traditional liberal respect for the existing order. Other liberals have chosen to move left to fulfill liberalism's egalitarian promise. Ted Kennedy summed it up in his speech to the Democratic Convention: "Programs may become obsolete, but the ideal of fairness always endures."

THE AYATOLLAH AND THE TEAMSTERS—what could possibly connect Teheran and the activities of Shi'ite Moslem militants with a local Teamsters' election in Detroit? If you see no connection, you haven't been following the machinations of the right-wing U.S. Labor Party closely enough. In a crucial election in Local 299, original home base of both the late Jimmy Hoffa and Frank Fitzsimmons, the USLP intervened on behalf of the incumbent leadership against a coalition of reform-minded Teamsters, led by Pete Karagozian and Pete Camarata. To defame the Teamster dissidents, the so-called Labor Party passed out a leaflet proclaiming "Khomeini Backs Kargozian-Camarata Slate" and a phony Associated Press clip about a TDU (Teamsters for a Democratic Union) leader's visit to Iran. The contrived "newspaper" story quoted TDU's expression of solidarity with the Iranian militants holding the American captives. Then the clincher: "It's the same philosophy we have in the TDU. What if the only thing we accomplish is the destruction of the Teamsters Union? This union is so corrupt that if the whole thing collapsed, it would be a positive gain." According to *Labor Notes* (P.O. Box 20001, Detroit, MI 48220), the slanders went too far and were simply dismissed by most Local 299 members. But a disturbing pattern of Teamster leadership collaboration with the U.S. Labor Party remains.

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