

DEMOCRATIC LEFT

EDITED BY
MICHAEL HARRINGTON

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Things may be bad on the federal level, but there are some bright spots in state capitals. Nancy Kleniewski interviews DSOCers who have been elected to state legislatures.

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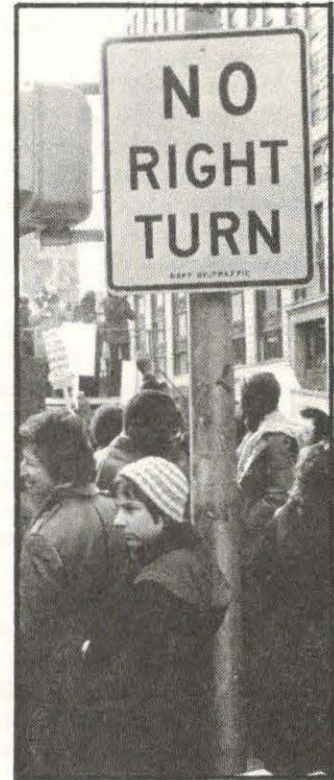
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If you're not one of those apathetic youth, but haven't joined yet, contact the Youth Section nearest you.

No Time for Mourning Now

By Michael Harrington

THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT LOST the presidential election. It has to pick itself up and organize not simply for the 1982 campaign and midterm convention, or even just for 1984 and the next presidential vote, but for the long, long haul through the 1980s. I say this even though I do not know who won the White House, since I am writing in October. I do know that the democratic left program was not before the electorate this fall. This is not to suggest that we should have been indifferent to the campaign. And it does not ignore the very important congressional and state races, some of which saw significant mobilizations by the democratic left. But it is to recognize a blunt fact: at a time of structural economic crisis, there was no major candidate even remotely articulating a democratic left alternative. One may have voted for Carter as a lesser evil, or for someone else because Carter was seen as too much of an evil, but in either case there could be no illusion that "our" view was on the ballot. Obviously, the identity of the victorious presidential candidate will have a major impact on democratic left strategies in the future. That will be analyzed in future issues. But some aspects of our defeat can be examined without regard to the victor and certain aspects of our counteroffensive can be described in advance of knowing exactly how, and how badly, we lost. The point, if I may recall a famous radical slogan, is not to mourn but to organize.



LNS

“The democratic left has to pick itself up and organize for the long, long haul through the 1980s.”

First there is the fact of the democratic left defeat on the presidential line.

That reality is most visible in the counterposition of economic programs in the 1980 campaign. I do not for a moment think that economics is all, that Cold War II, World War III, racism, sexism, and the other social issues are irrelevant. But I remain convinced of a

critical proposition often documented in these pages: that without overcoming the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, there are unacceptable limits—of resources, and political, and even psychological, possibilities—imposed on all other struggles in this society. Once Ted Kennedy was rejected and given the impossibility of a Commoner (or any

other third party) victory, no one realistically confronted that enormous and intolerable fact in this campaign.

The Republican platform yoked together the opposites of Milton Friedman austerity and regressive tax cut stimulus, and the Republican nominee, when his handlers allowed him out of the isolationist booth, finessed that impossibility

LETTERS

To the Editor:

Gus Tyler's article (September) provides us with a good summary of labor market data about women, but its outstanding feature involves certain quantum leaps from analysis to conclusions that the lay socialist feminist reader may feel inadequate to make (limited as we are by gender).

We are advised that women are paid less because they are concentrated in sectors of the economy that "normally would pay less." This normalcy he attributes to the fact that the occupations are related to work women have always done. Socialist feminists and current employment and education laws reject this sexist definition of what is "normal."

Perhaps the least reasoned conclusion of his article (and the most offensive) is the statement, highlighted in italic by the editor, that "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. . . ."

Socialist feminists see no redistribution of misery in opening job opportunities to women in the crafts and other better paid jobs in the government, construction, and manufacturing industries, where hundreds of programs to this end are underway throughout the nation.

Nor need socialists bemoan the shared misery were craft jobs in the labor intensive industries and well paid union slots there to include a significant number of women, particularly in those

unions where women pay most of the dues.

Women and minorities need to move into nontraditional slots to give them decent, livable incomes, but also to let them serve as role models for other women and minorities whose sense of self in the world of work is severely limited. Moreover, the hiring of men in female-type jobs may well stimulate such workers to greater militancy to improve their conditions.

At this time, when Joyce Miller, who heads the Coalition of Labor Union Women, has just joined the AFL-CIO Executive Council, and public and private employers and many unions have committed themselves to increasing non-traditional job openings to women in industry and labor, isn't it peculiar to ask us to accept this advice from this spokesperson from this union?

Ruth Spitz
New York, N.Y.

To the Editor:

In his article on the Polish workers' struggle (October) Michael Harrington perceptively cites the London *Economist* which wrote that in Poland, "Marx's irresistible force, the working class, has collided with Lenin's immovable object, the Communist Party." But if he were in a seminar, Harrington suggests, he would substitute Stalin for Lenin, faulting the *Economist* as to "historical detail." If I attended that seminar I would have to say that in this instance the *Economist*

shows more regard for historic detail than Harrington does. After all, it was Lenin, in *What Is To Be Done?* who argued that the working class by itself "is able to develop only trade union consciousness." Lenin eschewed the Marxist view that the emancipation of the working class is the task of the workers themselves. What is needed, Lenin taught, is a Communist vanguard of "professional revolutionaries," who would control the various workers organizations.

It wasn't Stalin, but Lenin, who within a year after the Bolshevik seizure of power, destroyed the workers' trade unions built under Bolshevik leaders such as Solomon Lozovsky. "The trade unions," decreed Lenin's commissars, "must wholly and unselfishly support the policy of the socialist Soviet power guided by the Council of Peoples Commissars." Lozovsky was expelled from the Party for his belief in independent unions. Now, it is true there was a difference between Lenin and Stalin. Lenin "only" expelled Lozovsky. Stalin had him shot (not just because he once believed in free trade unions, but because he was Jewish, as Khrushchev revealed). The Bolsheviks destroyed the trade unions of Russia and the *Economist* is right about Lenin's pioneering role in the matter.

Joseph Clark
New York, N.Y.

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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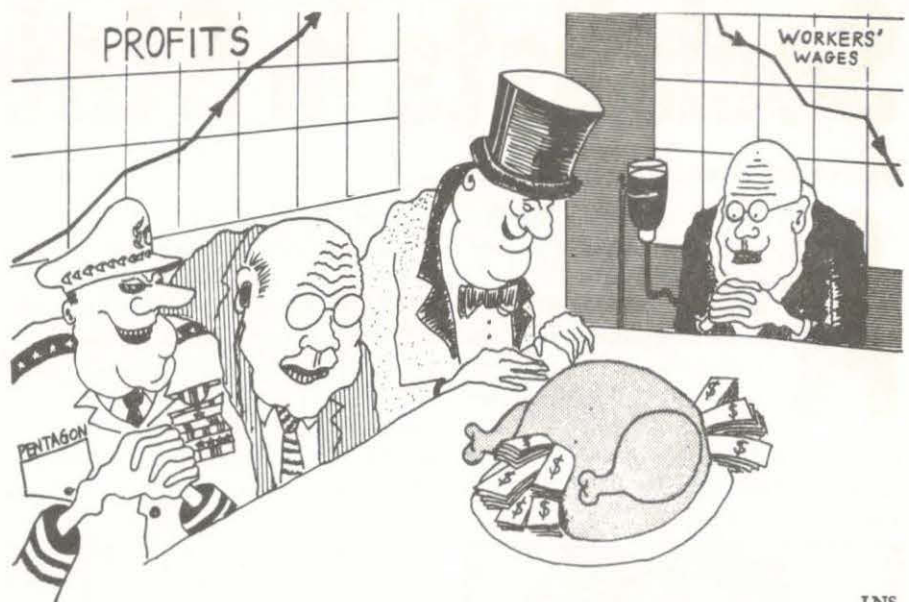
with an actor's charm and the instincts of a chameleon. That was predictable, but what of the effective alternative to Reagan—Jimmy Carter?

William Nordhaus of Yale, who served on Carter's Council of Economic Advisors, described his former boss's policies in an October article in the *New York Times*. "There is wide agreement," Nordhaus wrote, "that the United States is stuck in an economic quagmire from which there is no obvious escape." In this setting, "the Carter demand side policies now accept slow economic growth and 7 percent unemployment indefinitely—a striking reversal of his stimulus position of 1976." Moreover, Nordhaus argues, "the president's election year tax proposals were relatively regressive, tilting toward investment and away from consumption. By 1985, two thirds of Carter's tax cuts will be business oriented. By contrast, the 1977 Carter stimulus package had no investment incentives." The rationale for this giveaway for the rich is, of course, to increase productivity. Nordhaus computes that these measures, at best, would raise productivity by only two tenths of a percent and lower inflation by a similarly miniscule amount.

Although there were obviously significant differences between Carter and Reagan, ideologically both candidates stood for a "supply side," procorporate approach. From a democratic left perspective, despite significant victories won on platform issues at the Democratic convention, the differences between the Democrats and the Republicans on economic issues in the 1980 campaign were a matter of degree (and degree can certainly be important) but not of principle. The ideological conflict of the 1980 presidential campaign was between the center moving right and the right trying to look centrist. Democratic left alternatives were presented in congressional campaigns but not by major candidates on the presidential line.

This depressing situation exists in a time when serious conservative economists are talking of a "double dip" recession, as the Fed tightens the money supply even though 8 million people are still out of work, and General Motors raises the prices of its cars by 2.5 percent in the midst of the worst auto crisis in history. This was the backdrop of a national debate over whether we should jump into the frying pan or the fire.

One reason for the democratic de-



LNS

"Thank you for the highest profits in corporate history, a record military budget, and another president we can lead by the nose."

feat in 1980 presidential politics was that we did not pose *our* alternatives with sufficient clarity either to ourselves or to the nation. The Kennedy campaign and the fight which it inspired at the convention raised many of the right themes. But it—and therefore we—failed to come up with a comprehensive program for the rebuilding of America. We marched behind the best of the old liberalism and not the radical departures that these times require. (Reagan's unworkable, regressive, and reactionary schemes were at least decked out as if they were something new.) Even the more responsible proposals for "reindustrialization" put the labor movement in the position of a subordinate junior partner.

The basic framework of the new democratic left programs has been described in these pages many times, and I will simply state it rather than argue it: a bottom-up, democratically determined series of social investments to create jobs, meet needs, and fight inflation. (A massive commitment to solar energy or the refurbishment of the railroads under public ownership in the Northeast and Midwest, would do all three.) That approach, it comes as no surprise, cannot be put into practice tomorrow morning. But what can be done—what must be done—is for the democratic left to carefully define a specific legislative program that moves in that direction. The leaders of the major constituencies of the left should agree to a common list of five to ten bills. Some of these measures would be

defensive (plant closing laws, extending trade readjustment assistance to all dislocated workers, not simply those victimized by international shifts), others much more positive (energy, national health).

Then the left has to take its own program with greater organizational seriousness than it has demonstrated in the recent past. It must become more unified and aggressive, with a long range—say 10 year—approach to the reconstituting of both the process and content of American politics.

Party Not Over Yet

That effort must begin in the Democratic party. As unsatisfactory as the 1980 results were from any democratic left viewpoint, the Democratic party remains the point of departure for any progressive development in the future. There was, and is, no exodus of mass constituencies of the democratic left from the Democratic party. In understandable frustration, some might argue that anything is better than what has been going on there. But, at the present time and in the foreseeable future, there is no politically serious "anything" outside the Democratic Party, at least for the democratic left. A totally new party is certainly a critical goal, but it is not possible or, rather, to the extent it is, will be possible only if it takes off from or transforms the Democratic party.

But it is not enough to carry out business as usual, even liberal left busi-

Continued on page 14

Socialists in State Houses

By Nancy Kleniewski

ALTHOUGH ONLY ONE DSOCER sits in the U.S. House of Representatives (Ron Dellums, D-Calif.), several have been elected to legislatures in both populous and sparsely populated states. This second part of a two-part series (see DEMOCRATIC LEFT, October) gives profiles of some of these public officials. Future issues will feature others.



Larry Frank

Julian Bond has been a member of the Georgia General Assembly for thirteen years—seven in the House and six in the Senate. Although he's the only DSOC member there, he doesn't feel that there is a very great difference between himself and some of the more populist and progressive legislators. He says, "I'm not always in the majority, but I seldom stand alone."

Recently, for example, a bill was introduced that would have gutted the Public Service Commission, allowing the electric companies to raise their rates at will. The bill was killed by a coalition of legislators who rallied in what Julian calls an "us against them" spirit. In this case and many others, he says, "The things we consider don't usually divide along clear socialist-capitalist lines."

During his time in office Julian has concentrated on bills affecting the city of Atlanta, which he says is the "stepchild and perennial whipping boy of the legislature." Attacks on the city, primarily in the form of spending cuts, are also complicated by racial issues. Currently, for example, tax distribution formulas for schools are being debated in the legislature. Atlantans favor a formula based on

average daily enrollment, while rural and suburban legislators favor one based on average daily attendance, which is usually lower in urban and black areas, and would result in less money for the city.

One of the most important issues now facing the General Assembly is the attempt to increase taxes on land held by the power companies. The land is now classified as "undeveloped" and taxed at less than the normal rate.

Julian Bond doesn't disguise his socialist leanings, but thinks his colleagues see him more as an individual than as a socialist. "They all think I'm crazy anyway," he says, "but politicians are very tolerant of each other. They don't stress the differences between us but see me as a potential vote." Although he also de-emphasizes the differences between himself and his fellow legislators, he does admit one difference. "I have a *class* analysis," he says, "and that permits me to see things more over the long run."

Harlan Baker has served one term in the Maine House of Representatives and is currently running for reelection from his district in Portland. He won his primary by a two to one margin over a conservative challenger, with the help of DSOC members, organized labor, and feminist groups.

Harlan freely admits that none of his important bills to promote social change have passed the legislature. Some of these were a gay rights bill, environmental legislation, a plant relocation bill, and a proposal for a state-owned bank. But their failure doesn't surprise him. Right now he sees his major role as "holding the fort against the rising tide of conservatism in the Maine legislature, particularly the increasing right-wing attacks against labor."

Although Harlan is sometimes introduced as "the House Socialist," the press generally calls him a liberal. One of the reasons he has received wide support from labor and feminist groups is that, as he says, "there are so few liberals left that socialists are the only ones standing for decent government." Harlan compares himself to the socialist mayors of the twenties and thirties who also were

often elected without socialist constituencies. He believes that he was elected because of personal contact he made with the voters rather than because of his stands on specific issues. He did receive



extra help in the primary from the National Organization for Women because of his pro-choice position, but he also managed to receive the support of some local Catholic priests because of his positions on other issues.

In the Maine House, Harlan has the company of four other progressive legislators who, he says, share his politics but are not DSOC members. He would like to see more DSOC members elected around the country and feels that the way to do it is by recruiting more people, especially rank-and-file labor, into DSOC.

Jerry Nadler, who represents a New York City district in the New York State Assembly, is pessimistic about the potential for progressive social change in the assembly's current political climate. New York, like other Northeastern states, has been faced with the problem of industry fleeing the state. "Let's face it," he says, "the multinationals have the states over a barrel. In the past few years, New York has reduced taxes by \$2 billion, with corporations receiving most of the decreases. In the face of the corporations' threats to leave, the state has to compete with other nearby states by lowering taxes or by outright bribery."

Jerry currently has a bill in the legislature to limit corporate mobility, but thinks that the problem can be controlled only by federal legislation. He advocates a nationwide, federally-administered tax on corporations, with the proceeds being returned to the states in which the cor-

porations are located. This, he believes, would eliminate competition among the states to tempt corporations to relocate by decreasing their taxes.

Jerry has also been active in the area of transportation as creator and chair of



the Subcommittee on Public Authorities, Rail, and Mass Transit Operations. He has been involved in the fight to turn over funds from the Westway highway to mass transit and has lobbied to improve rail freight facilities in New York City, which is the only major city in the U.S. wholly dependent on trucking to receive goods.

Jerry is not sure how many people in his district "know or care" that he is a socialist, but it doesn't hamper his work. He feels that many members of the reform Democratic movement in New York have "social democratic" viewpoints and that there is a group of legislators who have basically socialist politics without belonging to DSOC.

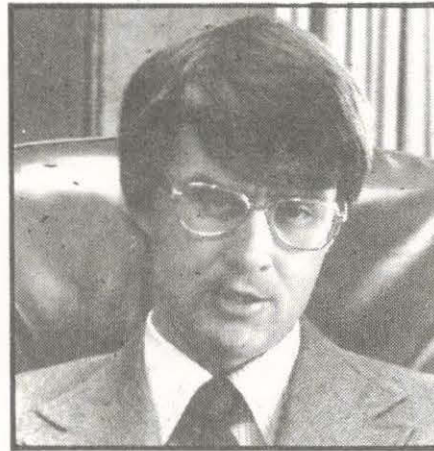
As for the problem of New York City's declining economy, Jerry thinks that the city's industrial role is not yet over. He compares the needs of the population of the 1980s to those of the immigrants in the 1920s and proposes that the city provide more unskilled jobs and opportunities for schooling at night, which in turn depends on keeping jobs in the city.

Putting this problem into a national context, he says, "We need to inject control of investment into the discourse of the Democratic party."

Perry Bullard has represented an Ann Arbor district in the Michigan House of Representatives since 1973. As chair of the House Labor Committee, his goal is to increase workers' ownership and control over the workplace. His current legislative priority is his plant clos-

ings bill which provides for two years' notification of the closing of plants with more than 100 workers and for health benefits for one year after closing. He says that the corporations are "outraged" and are lobbying heavily against the bill. Perry feels that states are providing some models for plant closing legislation, but that such legislation can be effective only if passed nationally.

In the Michigan legislature, Perry reports, there is "a strong minority" of legislators open to democratic socialist programs but unwilling to be openly identified as socialists. He thinks that since the public has been brainwashed to



equate the word "socialism" with "dangerous revolutionaries" and "godlessness" that perhaps another term should be used. His own identification as a socialist hasn't been much of a problem. The university community of Ann Arbor is not as hostile to socialism as many other areas might be, and in debating his opponents (usually right-wing Republicans), he acts as a spokesperson for Democratic party positions rather than socialist positions on most issues.

Perry's strategy for aiding social change is twofold. First, he feels socialists should be trying to extend democracy by increasing workers' ownership of companies, strengthening unions, and providing social services such as health care that have a redistributive effect. Second, he thinks it is important to "defend the possibility of progress" by strengthening citizens' rights and reducing infringements on them, for example by eliminating police spying. He worked for the repeal of the Michigan law providing for a subversive activities unit or "red squad," and says that Michigan is one of the better states on this count.

Perry likes to study other countries as

models for the U.S. "so we don't have to keep reinventing the wheel." He praises the Scandinavian societies' goals of taking care of their citizens' basic needs and attempting to achieve equality for all. He also holds up as models for the U.S. the Canadian examples of Saskatchewan's provincial health plan and the provincially-controlled workers' compensation funds. He is excited by IDS's December Eurosocialism conference because of the potential it will provide for American socialists to learn from their European and Canadian counterparts.

One source of difficulty in working for social change, Perry believes, is the fragmented nature of American government. "Even in a strong labor state like Michigan," he says, "the principles of separation of powers and geographical representation ensure that we have non-ideological parties and make us incapable of accountability." He feels that the U.S. should have more of a variety of experimental structures for state governments and that we should open debate on the merits of a parliamentary vs. a two-party system. Perry thinks that our present political fragmentation assures that business interests can thwart social change by preventing party alignment along ideological lines. He says, "Our government was set up to do little other than preside over a free enterprise system. That may have been all right for the 18th century, but not for the 20th." ■

Nancy Kleniewski is a member of the DSOC National Executive Committee and is active in the Philadelphia DSOC.

■ ■ ■

DUES INCREASE APPROVED

At its June meeting, the DSOC National Board increased the regular dues rate from \$20 to \$25. No change was made in the limited income rate, which remains at \$10, or the sustaining membership, which is still \$50.

In other actions, the Board increased the share of dues which is rebated to locals to 20 percent of all dues payments, and established a lifetime membership rate of \$500.

According to National Director Jim Chapin, the increases will help both the local and national organization keep pace with inflation. DSOC dues were last increased in 1978, and 8 percent of that increase was used to establish the dues rebate program to locals.

ON THE LEFT

By Harry Fleischman

FROM MAINE TO ALASKA, DSOCERS ARE ACTIVE IN the political wars. State Representative Harlan Baker won a contested Democratic primary in Portland, Maine, while Niilo Koponen won a similar primary for a seat in the Alaska State House from Fairbanks. Both are campaigning hard to win the November general elections.

Meanwhile, in Boston, Tom Gallagher, a 31-year-old community activist and DSOC member, upset a 15-year incumbent to win the Democratic primary by a margin of 3,055 to 2,230. Without Republican opposition in the November general election, Gallagher is a shoo-in for the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

DSOC MICHIGAN NEWS REPORTS THAT ON AUGUST 9TH, more than 1,000 people rallied in Detroit to demand "Jobs For All." Speakers included Yolanda King, Martin Luther King III and Mike Harrington. The coalition rally, led by DSOCer Horace Sheffield III, got good media coverage. . . . Over 70 democratic socialists met and coordinated their activity at the August state Democratic party convention. Ann Arbor DSOCers are focusing on the Kathleen O'Reilly for Congress and the Perry Bullard reelection campaigns. . . . Michigan DSOC will honor UAW leader and socialist humanist Irving Bluestone at its first Debs-Thomas Award dinner December 12.

Detroit DSOC endorsed the Jobs With Peace Advisory Referendum that will appear on the November Detroit ballot. It reads: "The people of the City of Detroit demand that the federal government cease its inflationary policy of steadily increasing the military budget, and instead use our tax money to provide jobs and services which our people so desperately need, thereby creating jobs with peace." Similar advisory referenda have passed in San Francisco, Berkeley, and Madison, Wis., and are on the ballot in Oakland and the Boston area.

ACTRESS JEHANE DYLLAN HAS WRITTEN THE TRUE STORY OF union activist Karen Silkwood for a moving, one-woman play. The gripping story of Silkwood's union activities for the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW), and her death in a mysterious auto accident is revealingly portrayed by Dyllan, a DSOC and Actors Equity member. The play is currently being shown before union audiences in Ohio, Florida, Georgia, New York, and New England. For information on booking *Silkwood* for a meeting, contact Union Sister Productions, 1620 11 St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001.

FORTY CALIFORNIA DSOCERS ATTENDED A RETREAT OVER Labor Day weekend at Ben Lomond, deep in the Santa Cruz mountains. Jenny Little, international secretary of the British Labor Party, delivered the keynote address. Michael Harrington spoke at a "Socialism and Spaghetti" dinner in Los Angeles on October 11. . . . TWO SWEDISH SOCIALISTS will enliven Local Nassau's November 23 meeting with a discussion of "What's Happening in Sweden Today." They are Mai Britt Theorin, a Socialist member of Parliament and a delegate to

the U.N. General Assembly, and her husband Rolf Theorin, program chief of Sweden's 160 labor-owned People's Parks. . . . A WELCOMING PARTY WAS HELD OCTOBER 17 TO INAUGURATE PATRICK LACEFIELD, who coordinated Mobilization Against the Draft, as executive secretary of New York DSOC.

WELCOME TO MATT JONES, New England Regional organizer. . . . ABOUT 75 PEOPLE ATTENDED the Midwest Regional Retreat in Madison, Wisconsin, September 26-28, and on October 3-5, 100 New Englanders gathered for a Regional Education Conference in Center Harbor, N.H.

STAMPING SOCIALISM. ON THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF the birth of Hellen Keller, the U.S. Post Office issued a commemorative stamp in her honor. Keller, a *cum laude* grad of Radcliffe ('04), was also a devoted socialist. When anti-socialists charged that the "poor deaf and blind Helen Keller" was being exploited by socialists, she struck back: "So long as I confine my activities to social service and the blind, they [the newspapers] compliment me extravagantly, calling me 'arch-priest of the sightless,' 'wonder woman,' and 'a modern miracle.' But when it comes to a discussion of poverty, and I maintain that it is the result of wrong economics—that the industrial system under which we live is at the root of much of the physical deafness and blindness in the world—that is a different matter. It is laudable to give aid to the handicapped.



Superficial charities make smooth the way of the prosperous: but to advocate that all human beings should have leisure and comfort, the decencies and refinements of life, is an Utopian dream, and one who seriously contemplates its realization must indeed be deaf, dumb and blind."

The Swedish government recently honored a radical unionist—Joe Hill, an IWW member framed and executed in Utah. On this stamp, in English, appears this verse from one of Hill's songs:

"No one will for bread be crying,
We'll have freedom, love and health,
When the grand Red Flag is flying
In the workers' commonwealth."



TAKE CARE—District 1199's Bread & Roses Project has just issued a fine recording of "Take Care," the musical revue seen this spring by 35,000 hospital workers. The lively cast album is available at \$4.50 from District 1199 Cultural Center, Inc. 310 W. 43 St., N.Y., N.Y. 10036.

UNIONS HEAR SOCIALISTS—Michael Harrington's talks to the United Auto Workers and International Association of Machinists conventions this year brought excellent results. The impact was perhaps best described by Robert White, UAW V.P. and Canadian director, in his report to the UAW Canadian Council. "Probably the best received speech was delivered by Michael Harrington, the leader of the Democratic Socialist

Continued on page 14

Youth Section Leaders See Growth on Campuses

By Gretchen Donart

IN A RECENT IN THESE TIMES ARTICLE, David Moberg surveyed the cynical mood of America's college campuses. He found that "the fragmentation of interest groups and constituencies has diffused the thrust of student politics. There have been few efforts to pull together the various strands. The most important exception has been the Youth Section of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee."

We asked Mark Levinson, who retired as chair of the Youth Section at the August 21-23 Summer Conference, and Peter Mandler, his successor, to comment on the state of student politics.

DL: Why has the Youth Section of DSOC been growing so fast when, by all accounts, the campuses are so quiet politically?

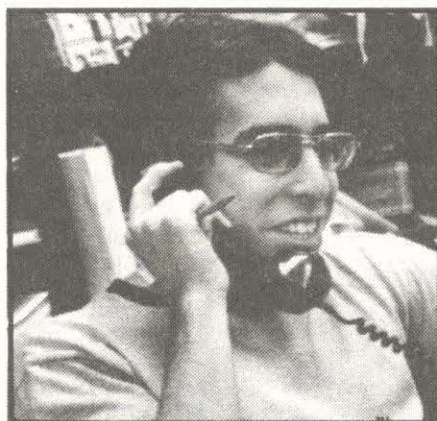
LEVINSON: The rapid growth of the Youth Section took place at a time of cynicism on campus, a rush away from the social sciences toward accounting, and more "marketable" majors. But two contradictory things were happening, both caused by the economic downturn. During a recession, some people look out for number 1, but others are politicized. We now have almost a thousand members on campus, organized groups at 30 campuses, and organizing going on at over 50 campuses from the Ivy Leagues to Big Ten schools to community colleges.

MANDLER: When activists in the anti-apartheid movement, the antidraft movement, even the antinuke movement come up against the limitations of their strategy and goals, they look to a more interconnected analysis of society, to a democratic vision of socialism.

LEVINSON: The DSOC Youth Section brings students in contact with non-student constituencies to work on common projects and provides them with a vehicle to be active after college. We've

stressed that political life does not end at age 23.

MANDLER: There's an interesting parallel with the world at large. The popular pundits in *Time* and *Newsweek* talk about the "Me Generation" of students



Gretchen Donart

Mark Levinson

“We've stressed that political life does not end at age 23.”

more interested in going on to a lucrative law or medical career. Student radicals are also looking to make a career, a lifetime, out of social change. People from the DSOC Youth Section are going into hardly high paying but certainly very satisfying jobs in community organizing, public interest work, and unions.

DL: How have DSOC students been able to work with these coalitions?

LEVINSON: We've helped form coalitions on campus around the J. P. Stevens boycott, the Cotrell and Leonard cap and gown boycott, and we've worked with a number of unions on organizing drives taking place on campuses. We've also worked with unions on Big Business Day and Big Oil Day.

MANDLER: Thirty-five DSOC campus groups did activities for Big Business Day, out of more than a hundred Big Business Day activities nationwide. With the decline of traditional liberal politics in America, the left's practical politics are anticorporate politics. Through the community organizing movement and through labor-organized events like Big Business Day, that national anticorporate politics has begun to take hold on the campuses. People look to DSOC. We are the anticorporate agent.

DL: DSOC campus chapters have been a very big part of the antidraft movement. Is it going to continue to attract student attention?

LEVINSON: If the antidraft movement is concerned only with the draft and not with the broader questions of antimilitarism, it could collapse quickly. If Carter were smart and simply dropped the program, I'm afraid the antidraft movement would disappear. Unless the issue is broadened, we could stop the draft and the MX missile would still be built, military spending could still increase.

DL: Are the dismal presidential choices this year having a depoliticizing effect on the campuses?

LEVINSON: I think so. The effect on campus is not going to be very different than in society at large, except that Anderson may do better there. Overall this election is turning off a lot of students.

MANDLER: This fall is demonstrably quieter than last fall, in every sphere. People are attracted to Anderson not because he has a program, but because he seems fresh and new and a break with the past. On November 4, people are going to realize that he's not what he seems, and that's going to have an even more depressing effect.

Meanwhile, we plug along. (Laughter.) That's our greatest virtue. We know that presidential politics alone will not

Continued on page 12

A SPECIAL REPORT

Psyching Out the Media

By Peter Dreier

IMAGINE TURNING ON THE SIX O'Clock News and hearing: "Good evening, this is John Chancellor. Prices in the four basic necessities—housing, health care, energy, and food—went up a whopping 15 percent this quarter as a result of concentrated power in those four sectors, according to the National Center for Economic Alternatives. The poor suffered the most, while corporate profits soared. Unionized workers fell behind.

"In this week's OSHA Index, another one hundred thousand American employees were either killed or injured by needless industrial accidents due to weak safety standards. The most serious accidents this week were found in the forest products and electrical machinery industries, with special mention to Crown-Zellerbach and General Electric.

"Eight thousand workers lost their jobs this week due to plant closings, according to the Progressive Alliance's weekly disinvestment survey. Of the 14

plants involved, 12 were making respectable profits, but the parent firms (all multinational corporations) decided to pull up stakes and invest overseas and in nonunionized areas. As we have reported previously, significant increases in suicide, alcoholism, emotional problems, and other stress-related problems are likely to follow in the wake of these plant shut-downs. A spokesperson for Zenith, one of this week's Corporate Runaways, explained that 'Business has to go where the profits are. Our plant just wasn't making enough.' The local mayor, in a joint statement with the union president, noted that several schools, fire stations, dental clinics, and libraries will have to close as a result."

Sounds ridiculous? Of course. We're so used to nightly Dow Jones averages (higher means good, lower bad), quarterly Consumer Price Index reports (explained as if inflation were a product of nature, with no structural causes except, perhaps, wage increases or "government

spending"), and periodic corporate announcements (and explanations) of job layoffs, that we forget that all this "news" is onesided and ideologically biased.

But, despite the obvious probusiness bias of the nation's news media, corporate leaders are worried. Since the late 1960s, when public opinion polls began to report a dramatic decline in public confidence in big business, they have discovered a convenient scapegoat—the news media. In speech after speech business spokesmen have accused reporters of being "economically illiterate," of sensationalizing stories to attract (and frighten) readers and viewers, and of wanting to put business out of business.

At every turn they see the wrongdoings of big business—windfall oil company profits, nuclear power plant accidents, chemical waste disposal hazards, bribery of public officials, death and injuries from unsafe automobiles—splashed across the front page, on the evening news, and on "Sixty Minutes."

Business leaders worry that in this hostile climate elected officials will translate what they see in the polls into anti-business legislation. They view the gains of progressive groups—embodied in the activities of such agencies as the Environmental Protection Agency, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, and the Federal Trade Commission (all but the latter products of the 1960s activism)—as obstacles to corporate profits and a healthy economy.

Those who view the news media as a "capitalist tool" may find this attitude mystifying.* Trade unions, consumer and community organizations, environmentalists, and womens and civil rights groups who struggle to overcome the stereotyped and trivialized coverage of their issues

*I do not have the space here to examine how the big business nature of the media shapes their content. See Peter Dreier and Steve Weinberg, "The Ties that Bind," *Columbia Journalism Review*, Nov./Dec. 1979.



Typical advertisements culled from the *Columbia Journalism Review* present business's side of the story.

and events cannot imagine what the corporate leaders have to complain about.

But what looks to them like a polite slap on the wrist feels like a punch in the jaw to the corporate elite. They genuinely feel maligned and misunderstood. And they are firmly convinced that the public's disapproval of their performance is based almost entirely on misunderstanding rather than on corporate behavior itself. If those responsible for shaping public opinion (particularly the news media) were accurately informed about the benefits of our economic system, they believe, business's standing in the polls and among elected officials would rise.

In response to what it views as the media's excessive focus on corporate wrongdoing, big business has now gone on the ideological offensive to change the public's perceptions of the profit system, the role of government, and the dangers of alternative ideas and arrangements. *Business Week* sounded the battle cry in a 1974 article (Oct. 12):

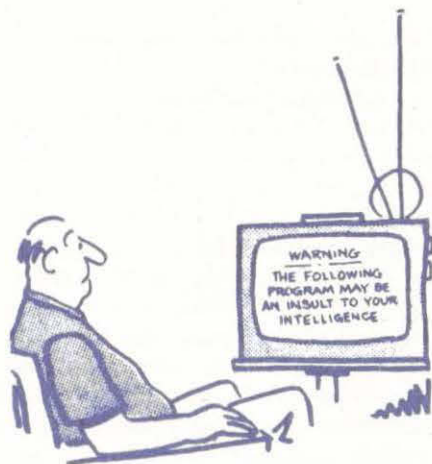
"It will be a hard pill for many Americans to swallow—the idea of doing with less so that big business can have more. . . . Nothing that this nation, or any other nation, has done in modern economic history compares in difficulty with the selling job that must now be done to make people accept this new reality."

Selling Business

The "hard sell" approach is, of course, the most obvious. Large corporations, particularly the oil/energy companies, have put expensive and clever ads in major newspapers and magazines (most visible are Mobil's op-ed pieces) that extol the virtues of free enterprise capitalism and the danger of government regulation. They have spotlighted their social responsibility with heavy doses of "advocacy advertising" on commercial television—selling the system rather than specific products. Corporate sponsorship of public television programs is designed both to reveal business's civic-mindedness as well as to divert public TV away from controversial (and potentially anticorporate) programming. Ads for the corporate-sponsored National Right-to-Work Committee, placed in major magazines that reach opinion-makers and journalists, depict powerful trade unions trampling on the rights of beleaguered individual workers.

It is the "soft sell" approach, how-

ever, which is probably more effective in the long run. In a variety of ways over the past few years, media and business executives have been calling for a "detente," hoping to build bridges toward greater "understanding" and "cooperation." An early effort in this direction was a series of exclusive seminars sponsored by the Ford Foundation in 1977 that brought together high-level corporate executives and lawyers, and a few reporters, to engage in frank "off-the-record" discussions for two days.* Other similar seminars soon followed.



Modern Times/cpf

The corporate executives' message—that the media needed to develop better coverage of business—obviously had an impact. Since 1978, almost every major newspaper in the country has expanded its "business" pages and added reporting staff to cover business. A few, such as the *New York Times*, the *Boston Globe*, the *Washington Post*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and others, have added special business sections. In contrast, there are only about 25 fulltime labor reporters on American newspapers. Although news executives justify this trend as a response to the public's demand for more in-depth news about the economy, the timing of the expanded business coverage appears to be more than coincidental. Much of it is simply boosterism—glowing stories of new investment plans, fawning profiles of corporate executives, optimistic summaries of quarterly and annual corporate

*A record of this meeting is found in the book *The Media and Business*, edited by Howard Simons (of the *Washington Post*) and Joseph A. Califano Jr. (corporate lawyer and former HEW secretary) published by Random House.

reports. Stories about personal finance—how to start a new business, where to invest your excess savings, problems of finding a second home—take up most of the remaining space. There is almost no investigative or muckraking reporting on these pages, and nothing good to say about unions or consumer groups.

In addition, big business is cultivating current and future journalists directly. Business (or economics) journalism programs are the fastest growing additions to journalism school curriculums. Corporations and their foundations have targeted well-known journalism schools, endowing them for undergraduate, graduate, and mid-career programs to "upgrade" journalists' understanding of business and economics. The National Association of Manufacturers joined with the American Newspaper Publishers Association and the Association for Education in Journalism to develop a program to "improve business reporting" through workshops at journalism schools. Although some, such as the Walter Bagehot program at Columbia, may try to present a balance of conservative, liberal and radical perspectives, the status-quo oriented nature of the economics profession today guarantees that most journalists will be mainly exposed to mainstream ideas.

Business has also realized that, as a profession, journalism—highly individualistic and competitive, but with few agreed upon standards to evaluate performance—equates prizes with excellence. Editors often judge, and promote, reporters by the number of prestigious awards they have garnered. As a result, in the past few years the number of awards for excellence in some aspect of business reporting has spiraled. Not surprisingly, most of these contests are sponsored by corporations, industries, or business schools with a particular view of what constitutes high-level business reporting. The prestigious Loeb Awards—the "Pulitzer Prizes of financial journalism"—are administered by the Graduate School of Management at UCLA. The Media Awards for Economic Understanding program—which last year received 1,400 entries from eager journalists—are supported by Champion International Corporation and administered by the business school at Dartmouth. DeKalb Research confers its "Oscar" for agricultural reporting.

The list of similar prizes could, and does, fill pages. Almost all the prizes in-

clude cash awards.* Westinghouse offers an award for science reporting, Carnation for nutrition reporting and the National Association of Home Builders for housing reporting. A few unions offer their own awards, too.

The sponsors may claim that they do not meddle in the contest, that winners are chosen by impartial judges, but the invisible hand surely operates on most occasions. These corporate-backed awards help, subtly, to shape the kinds of stories journalists pursue and the kinds of standards that editors recognize. This is less blatant than the more traditional means of seduction by which businesses finance luxury trips to various "conferences" revealing the wonders of corporate technology, new food products, new auto models, etc.

Indeed, one can view most such sections—food, auto, real estate, travel, fashion, sports, and business—as little more than puffery, where industry-initiated stories, sympathetic reporters, and advertising revenue combine to ensure a pro-business bias.

Finally, big business, convinced that ideas have consequences, has launched a massive effort to provide journalists with "research," and to make friendly "experts" more accessible. Best known are the recent activities of the American Enterprise Institute (AEI), a well-endowed conservative think tank, that has a virtual army of right wing social scientists and economists grinding out studies that "prove" the harmful effects of government regulation, corporate taxes, and labor unions; the misguided or subversive motivations of consumer and labor advocates; and the weakness of the U.S.'s current defense posture. Similar think tanks—the Hoover Institute at Stanford, the American Institute for Public Policy Research, the Institute for Contemporary Studies, and others—provide the same message and same ammunition. Their reports, books, magazines, and pamphlets are sent to journalists on newspapers and magazines across the country. Their authors are promoted and made accessible for interviews and background briefings with journalists. For journalists—always hungry for "informed sources" with the stamp of "scholarly" legitimacy—these

*"Contests help to improve business/finance writing," *Editor and Publisher*, Dec. 29, 1979. See also the *Editor and Publisher* 1980 Journalism Award Directory in the same issue.



LNS

right wing think tanks and intellectuals are a gold mine.

Although sophisticated journalists may scoff at a William Simon or Howard Jarvis as intellectual lightweights, the growing visibility (on public TV and op-ed pages) of conservatives Irving Kristol, Milton Friedman, Martin Feldstein, and Ben Wattenberg, added to the outpouring of right wing studies, convinces many reform-minded journalists that liberalism may have outlived its usefulness. These ideas—documenting the strengths of the free market and the inadequacies of government regulation—slowly turn into "common sense," especially in the absence of any alternative view with equal currency.

All of these devices to ensure sympathetic press are, of course, self-serving. But it is important to understand (if not sympathize with) business's view of the media. These recent attempts to control or manipulate the media emanate from a sincere belief that the ideological walls of capitalism are crumbling, that unions, consumer groups, environmentalists, minorities, and feminists have gained the upper hand, and that capitalism (and business profits) can only survive if business takes the offensive.

Can Unions Fight Back?

Recently, a number of labor unions have tried to beat the corporate giants at their own "hard sell" game, to change their poor public image. The Teamsters, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union have waged slick (and obviously self-serving) ad campaigns to convince the public that unions are their friends. Al-

though these efforts might have some short-term results—increasing the unions' public visibility—the money could be better spent elsewhere.** As Don Stillman, editor of *UAW Solidarity*, notes, "Unions just can't go on repeating the old clichés. This is a new generation of workers that doesn't buy the old truisms. Political education must employ the most modern techniques."

In particular, progressive groups should monitor the media's consistent bias against trade unions, civil rights groups, environmentalists, and others. I do not simply mean coverage of strikes, demonstrations, and court cases (although these are important). I mean the media's coverage of broader issues which are laced with unspoken ideological assumptions. These assumptions shape the day-to-day activities of the media. Sociologist Herbert Gans has called this world view "responsible capitalism." Capitalism, it is assumed, generates prosperity for most, and businesses are expected to "refrain from unreasonable profits and gross exploitation of workers and consumers. Within this view, business executives are expected to be honest and efficient. Economic growth and technological innovation are assumed to benefit the general public, with minor inconveniences that can be dealt with as they arise. Bigness—in business, government, or unions—is generally considered a problem, though perhaps an unavoidable one, but there is little explicit or implicit criticism of the oligopolistic nature of the American economy. Foreign policy and aid are generally well-intentioned, although often bungled. Government is expected to serve as a "watchdog" of business and to protect citizens from the worst abuses. Government has a responsibility to help the poor, the handicapped and others who cannot help themselves, but must be careful to avoid the dangers of bureaucracy (such as the "welfare

**On the other hand, the unions' attempts to subsidize a sympathetic history of the American labor movement on public TV, which was turned down because of their "vested interest" in such a project, is money well-spent. Other movement tactics to affect the media include boycotts of media advertisers or of specific newspapers or TV stations, FCC challenges using the "fairness doctrine" to gain access to radio and TV when business opposition spends its war chest for commercial air-time during various (rent control, utility rate) initiatives, and of course rallies and demonstrations such as Big Business Day.

mess") and to avoid inhibiting economic growth and efficiency. Certain words illustrate the media's world view. Poor people get "welfare," corporations "subsidiaries." Unions make "demands," business makes "offers."

This working credo, and the daily routines of reporters who cover the same beats and sources, means that on a day-to-day basis, the media provide *uncritical* and unquestioning support for the economic system. But it also means that violations of the credo of "responsible capitalism" are open targets for media investigation. It is reports of these violations that business leaders view with alarm. But progressives can't depend on the media to take the initiative.

On an ongoing, perhaps weekly, basis progressive groups, working together, should monitor and compile a report on the specific ways that the news media present biased and ideological coverage of progressive movements and broader social and economic issues. Just as Jimmy Carter gets a daily "news digest" delivered to the White House, the unions, environmental groups and other progressives should deliver a weekly "digest" of biased reporting to the editors of the major dailies, news magazines, and TV network news programs.* Rather than scattershot complaints that can be disregarded as "sour grapes," these weekly reports would reveal the *consistent* imbalance of typical news reporting. They may be easy to disregard at first, but if kept up, they cannot help but force editors to rethink the way they cover the terrain of social and economic events. Each week, John Chancellor would be reminded of the words, phrases, assumptions, and selective perception that, while passing for "objectivity" and "news judgment," distort the way the real world operates, the way the corporate priorities and values become newsworthy by virtue of their power to "make" news and "shape" common sense.

Also, progressives must learn that reporters are always on the lookout for a new angle, to play off one point of view against another, to provide a "slice of life" human interest story that personalizes a larger issue, to reveal a novel approach to a persistent problem. During

*The Machinists union has embarked on a program to monitor the portrayal of working people and their unions on TV news and entertainment shows. Not surprisingly, the first report shows an unflattering image.

the past several years, the corporate-sponsored neoconservatives have filled these gaps. Progressive movements have to become more adept, not only at pointing the finger of blame, but also at creating (discovering) stories, at proposing new ideas and solutions, and speaking the language of news.

Given the media's penchant for creating "celebrities," it is probably unavoidable that new ideas will be tied to new "stars." Steinem will represent "feminists," Nader "consumers," Commoner "environmentalists," Winpisinger the "maverick" unionists. These individuals serve as representatives of larger movements who can bring lawsuits, stage demonstrations, pressure regulatory agencies, boycott consumer products, and reward and punish politicians with their votes. They do so by becoming journal-

The public needs an alternative—to see progressive movements, and new economic arrangements, in a more favorable light. "It's tough to sell a story on the pros and cons of centralized economic planning," says Chris Welles, a business reporter who now directs Columbia University's Bagehot program in business journalism. "It's boring." Boring? Yes. Important? Yes, again.

As the economic crisis of stagflation deepens in the 1980s, the media will be open to—if not actively seeking—answers to some fundamental questions.

Do unions cause inflation? Do the costs of government regulation outweigh the benefits to consumers? Can employee-owned businesses be operated efficiently? Are women now "making it" in formerly all-male job categories? Will dramatic increases in defense spending improve na-

“Capitalists, Marx explained, will be their own gravediggers. Working people, however, have to provide the shovels. If Marx was right, . . . the media could be the most perfect capitalist tool of all.”

ists' "reliable" sources. Their studies are backed by specific figures and examples. They know how to turn a quotable phrase. And, equally important, they speak not only for themselves, but for the movements they represent.

"A lot of reporters would do more critical reporting if they knew where to go," explains Len Ackland, a *Chicago Tribune* business reporter. He suggests that unionists, consumer advocates, environmentalists and others actively make themselves available to journalism schools and working journalists, even to establish a "clearinghouse" that would direct journalists to the appropriate source, spokesperson or "expert" from a progressive perspective. So that when a Three Mile Island occurs, when the Bureau of Labor Statistics issues its latest unemployment figures, when a State Department official tries to justify more military aid to another repressive dictator, or when a corporate executive attacks a new regulation to protect consumers or workers as "inhibiting free enterprise," journalists will have a place to turn for progressive answers.

Taking shots at particular corporations or business practices—violations of "responsible capitalism"—is not enough.

tional security? Can consumer co-ops for housing, food, and other necessities replace the private sector? Does the minimum wage cause youth unemployment? Are government subsidies and reduced taxes for business necessary to stimulate investment and productivity? Can public enterprise work?

Much of the battle, of course, will take place in the streets, in the workplaces, and at the voting booth. But the battle of ideas—the legitimacy of existing arrangements and the credibility of alternatives—is important, too. The media will be forced to expose, interpret, and reflect the unfolding issues and conflicts.

Capitalists, Marx explained, will be their own gravediggers. Working people, however, have to provide the shovels. If Marx was right, media, which in their own way reflect society's struggles, could be the most perfect capitalist tool of all. ■

Peter Dreier is assistant professor of sociology at Tufts University and a former newspaper reporter. He writes frequently for In These Times, Working Papers, and other publications. An expanded version of this piece will appear later this year in Social Policy.



Gretchen Donart

Peter Mandler

“ Students can play a very big role in clerical and other university organizing. ”

YOUTH, from page 7
change the world; it's not going to move us toward democratic socialism.

DL: What intellectual impact does the Youth Section have on campus?

LEVINSON: We're concerned that the rightward drift in American politics is mirrored on the campus. We attempt through our public forums, our national publication and study groups to challenge the neoconservative orthodoxy, to carry on an ideological class struggle in the classroom. Many people come to DSOC for a socialist analysis which is not available in the regular college curriculum.

MANDLER: The 1960s did, to some extent, legitimate radical scholarship. The Youth Section has helped open dialogue with leftist academics by being present in numbers on the campuses. The Youth Section also provides an intellectual milieu within which young people grapple with socialist politics.

DL: What's the future of political feminism on campus?

LEVINSON: The presence of women's groups on campus is one of the enduring results of the 1960s. Many feminists have concluded that their values will not be realized in the context of a capitalist society, that the feminist vision requires dem-

ocratic socialism. Feminist involvement in the Youth Section has been essential in broadening our areas of activity beyond the traditional economic concerns.

MANDLER: Radical feminists are moving away from a kind of separatism toward asking: how do we fight the New Right? How do we make the Supreme Court an issue? What do we do in electoral arenas?

DL: What issues do you see emerging on the campuses in the next few years?

MANDLER: That's a tough one. First, I think students are going to begin again to raise questions of control over participation in university decisionmaking. In times of crisis, universities begin to act more like normal corporations. As part of the community, students want to check that tendency. Combined, students and university employees could be a very potent force. Students can play a very big role in clerical and other university organizing. Again, this is where DSOC's connection to the labor movement comes in. Students feel empathy with people with whom they share a subservient relationship to the university administration.

DL: In some places right-wing students have argued that raises for university workers mean higher tuition for students. Has that argument succeeded?

MANDLER: I think that argument has been exposed. Students see the university acting as a corporation in so many other ways, toward its investments in South Africa, in its tendency to shove stable, working-class families out of their housing to make way for university expansion, in its policy of servicing the military-industrial complex through defense research contracts. Students see the university functioning as a corporation and are much less likely to be sympathetic to the university as an employer of clerical and other staff.

Second, militarism, if we expand it beyond the single issue of the draft, will remain important. Again, university contracts in nuclear and other military technology will provoke opposition. Students will begin again to see their universities as parts of a system motivated by profit and not by human needs.

DL: The history of relations between youth and adult socialist organizations is full of splits and fights. Why is DSOC different?

LEVINSON: The relationship has been

extraordinary. Mike Harrington and the whole DSOC leadership have stayed out of the internal affairs of the Youth Section and have trusted the political judgment of our leadership. That trust has meant that people in the Youth Section have a very good attitude toward the organization as a whole.

MANDLER: We have a long leash. (Laughter.) The adults and the "kids" are serious enough about creating a socialist center for American politics that they don't want to alienate each other.

DL: A personal question for Mark: You've been chair of the Youth Section for three years. What are you going to be doing now that you've "retired."

LEVINSON: I will be concentrating on my long neglected academic work. I'll be finishing up my Ph.D course work at the New School for Social Research in economics. Now it's Peter's turn.

MANDLER: Now I'll take a vacation from academic work while Mark's takes great strides forward. ■

Gretchen Donart is a freelance writer and photographer active in the N.Y. DSOC Local.

Chapin Elects Not to Run

DSOC NATIONAL DIRECTOR JIM Chapin has announced that he will not run for reelection at the May 1981 DSOC Convention. In a memo to the DSOC key list, Chapin noted that "the decision is personal, rather than political. I have greatly enjoyed the job: the opportunity to meet so many of the activists who show that our time is not only the time of 'me' but, still, for some, of 'we.' I've enjoyed writing, speaking, and working for DSOC. But there are other things I want to do as well: different writing, political work in some different (but at least parallel) directions, and even (hopefully) some time with my family!"

Chapin will continue fulltime as national director until his successor is elected at the convention, which will be held in Philadelphia Memorial Day weekend.

DSOC Youth Section Directory

Key: Chapters—CH; Organizing Contact—C

CALIFORNIA

- UC Berkeley (CH), Sylvia Hurdle, 6107 Harvard Ave., Oakland 94618, (415) 654-6104 or Dave Corbett (415) 643-1237
UC Davis (C), Robert Graves, 107 Cuarto Hall, UC Davis, Davis 95616
UCLA (CH), Kathleen Bartle, 3400 Centinella #10, Los Angeles 90066, (213) 390-3795
UC Santa Barbara (C), Bob Langfelder, 6519 Seville #6, Isla Vista 93017, (805) 968-6373
UC Santa Cruz (C), Dan Hersch, 3090 Eleanor Way, Santa Cruz 95065, (408) 475-8394
Stanford (CH), Phil Ansell, P.O. Box 10756, Stanford 94305, (415) 326-6810

COLORADO

- Univ. of Colo./Boulder (CH), Stuart Steers, 2015 Mesa Drive, Boulder 80302, (303) 444-5432
Ft. Collins/CSU (C), Dan Teska, 412 Peterson, Ft. Collins 80524
Univ. of So. Colo./Pueblo (C), Karen Levinson, 1809 Comanche Road, Pueblo 81001, (303) 544-0852

CONNECTICUT

- Fairfield U. (C), Dennis Cronip, Campion Hall, Box 353, Fairfield U., Fairfield 06430, (203) 259-9283
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Yale U. (CH), Miriam Bensman, 2239 Yale Sta., New Haven 06520, (203) 432-1245

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

- D.C. Youth Section (CH), c/o Stan Chesler, Rm. 713, 1346 Conn. Ave., N.W. 20036, (202) 296-7693
American U. (C), Charles Hughes, 1741 Corcoran St., 20009, (202) 265-2009
Georgetown U. (CH), Chris Mihm, 3759 W St., N.W. 20007, (202) 337-2824

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U. of Chicago (CH), Richard Kaye, Quaker Student Fellowship, 5615 Woodlawn, 60637, (312) 363-5600
U. of Southern Illinois (Edwardsville) (C), Rose Feurer, 4161 Cleveland, St. Louis, Mo. 63110, (314) 773-0605

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- Indiana U. (Bloomington) (C), Tim Tilton, Dept. of Pol. Sci., Indiana U., Bloomington 47401, (812) 334-3721

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- Grinnell College (CH), Kristin Layng, 1020 High St., Grinnell 50112, (515) 236-4059

LOUISIANA

- University of New Orleans (C), Ken Carter, 6214 Wainwright, New Orleans 70122

MASSACHUSETTS

- Amherst College (C), Sam Mahlau, Box 1315, Amherst College, Amherst 01002, (413) 542-2553
Boston Youth Section (CH), c/o Peter Mandler, 120 Tremont St., Rm. 305, Boston 02108, (617) 426-9026
(Boston Youth Section includes contacts at most area universities)
Hampshire College (C), Ben Meskin, Box 869, Hampshire College, Amherst 01002, (413) 549-4600 ext. 338
Harvard-Radcliffe DSOC (CH), Peter Mandler, 12 Peabody Terr., #12, Cambridge 02138, (617) 492-3320
Williams College (C), Steve Sowle, SU Box 2516, Williams College, Williamstown 01267

MICHIGAN

- Central Michigan U. (C), Julie Zaleta, 209 W. Cherry, Mt. Pleasant 48858
Michigan State U. (C), Barry McGuire, P.O. Box 112, E. Lansing 48823, (517) 487-6828

- U. of Michigan (Ann Arbor) (CH), Lowell Peterson, 428 Second St., Ann Arbor 48103 (313) 994-6489

- U. of Michigan (Dearborn) (CH), Thom Lawton, 14175 Faust, Detroit 48223, (313) 838-7084

- Wayne State U. (CH), Robert Fitrakis, 12749 Kilbourne, Detroit 48213, (313) 372-4532

MISSOURI

- Columbia/U. of Mo. (CH), Joel Bleifuss, 1701 Hinkson Ave., Columbia, (314), 443-4254

- Washington U. (CH), Sue Schecter, 6600 Washington #140, St. Louis 63130, (314) 725-1867

NEBRASKA

- U. of Nebraska/Omaha (C), Barry Dunaway, 8320 Grand Ave., Omaha 68134

NEW HAMPSHIRE

- Dartmouth College (C), Bill Spencer, Hinman Box 3005, Dartmouth College, Hanover 03775

NEW JERSEY

- Princeton U. (C), Steve Schwartz, 304 Lockhart Hall, Princeton U., Princeton 08540, (609) 734-7796

NEW YORK

- Columbia U. (CH), Carol Dorf, 106 W. 96th St. #1C, New York 10025, (212) 662-7629

- Cornell U./Ithaca (CH), Kurt Edelman, 405 N. Albany St., Ithaca 14850 or Charles Rock (617) 277-2082

- New York City Youth Section (CH), c/o Raphael Piroman, NYC DSOC, 125 W. 72nd St., New York 10023, (212) 787-1691

- New School for Social Research (CH), Steve Oliver, 214 Riverside Dr., New York 10025, (212) 865-8013

- New York University (CH), Bill Engeler, 52 Barrow St. #2B, New York 10014, (212) 924-7727

- SUNY at Stony Brook (CH), c/o Hugh Cleland, 528 Pond Path, Setauket 11733, (516) 751-0340

- Union Theological Seminary (C), Rev. Horace Sheffield III, 600 W. 122nd St., New York 10025, (212) 662-7100 ext. 212

NORTH CAROLINA

- Duke U./Durham (C), Steve Peters, 708 Parker, Durham 27701

OHIO

- Antioch College (C), Barbara McCann, Student Mailroom, Antioch College, Yellow Springs 45387, (513) 767-7331, ext. 480

- Denison U. (C), c/o Leonard Jordan, 9 Samson Pl., Granville 43023

- Kent State U./E. Ohio (CH), Scott Bills, 937 W. Main St., Kent 44240, (216) 678-3641

- Oberlin College (C), Jeremy Karpatkin, Box 2934, Oberlin College Mailroom, Oberlin 44074, (216) 775-5405

- Ohio State U. (C), Dave Nibert, 1076 Neil Ave., #2A, Columbus 43201, (614) 291-8808

- Ohio Wesleyan (C), Stephen Tull, 283 N. Franklin St., Delaware 43015

OREGON

- Oregon State U. (C), Tim Davenport, Box 614, Corvallis 97330

- U. of Oregon (C), Ray Levitt, 447 E. 19th, #1, Eugene 94701, (503) 683-8565

PENNSYLVANIA

- Indiana U./Johnstown (CH), Rick Peterson, 1121 Boyd Ave., Johnstown 15905, (814) 539-7326

- Swarthmore College (C), Michael Mandler, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore 19081

RHODE ISLAND

- Brown University (CH), Jaime Pullen, Box 4293, Brown U., Providence 02912, (401) 863-4870

TEXAS

- U. of Houston (CH), Kyle Norman, 4314 1/2 Bell, Houston 77023, (713) 921-5796

WISCONSIN

- U. of Wisconsin/Madison (CH), Pennv Schantz, 251 Langdon St., Apt. B, Madison 53703, (608) 255-2647

A directory of DSOC locals, organizing committees and branches will appear in the next issue of **DEMOCRATIC LEFT**.

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Frank Llewellyn, Business Manager.

ON THE LEFT, from page 6

Organizing Committee. . . . As I watched the delegates' response to Harrington, and listened to some of the debate on unemployment and plant closings, I sensed that our U.S. local union leadership are looking for new political directions, and a fundamental change in the structure of society. . . ."

And, at the United Steelworkers convention, David Barrett, former British Columbia premier and leader of that province's New Democratic Party, was hailed when he called for universal health care in the United States, pointing out that those who oppose it are cut from the same cloth as those who, a hundred years ago, opposed public education on the grounds that everyone then would want to go to school. In a remark that drew both laughter and applause, Barrett said that those who are afraid to use the term "democratic socialism" or "socialized medicine" should instead call national health care "porridge," if that would make them feel better. "Words don't mean anything when it comes to politics," he declared "Action is what counts." Barrett condemned government handouts to big corporations and said, "When we give grants to companies," we had better start calling it welfare, and when we give grants to people, call them grants."

Items for this column should be sent to Harry Fleischman, c/o DEMOCRATIC LEFT, Suite 801, 853 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

CLASSIFIED

DSOC IS SEEKING A NEW NATIONAL DIRECTOR—political skills and experience a must, administrative and fundraising skills valuable. Candidates will be screened; may have to make presentation to National Executive Committee; final choice made at National Convention. All applications must be in hand by January 4, 1981. Send resumes to Jack Clark, DSOC, 853 Broadway, Suite 801, N.Y., N.Y. 10003.

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ORGANIZING, from page 3

ness as usual, in the good old Democratic party. If the democratic left comes up with that specific program for the rebuilding of America, it must take it with utter seriousness. It should refuse to support any candidate who rejects the main thrust of that program, and it should actively seek the defeat of those who fight against it, whether they are Democrats or not.

It should adopt ideological criteria within the Democratic party; it should organize locally as well as nationally; it should be as aggressive as the Goldwater-Reaganites in their long march through the Republican party. We should target a democratic left majority at the 1982 midterm as a first step in defining the programmatic basis which any candidate for the presidency in 1984 must agree to. But that is only one step in a decade-long battle to utterly change, not simply the Democratic party, but the vague, irresponsible party system that gave us the 1980 presidential election.

Defeat demoralizes most people and we should not look for early miracles. But the democratic left, alas, is not most people, and those of us who believe in the possibilities of a democratic economy and world on this morning after our failure cannot take the time to mourn. We have to get on with the organizing. ■

Do You Know A DSOC Dues Chiseler?*

**Dues chiseler* (DOOZ CHIZ'LER): a politically aware person over the age of 16 who claims to be a democratic socialist, but who has not *yet* joined the largest democratic socialist organization in the United States.

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JIMMY HIGGINS REPORTS

NOTES IN THE ELECTORAL MARGIN—When Leon Jaworski endorsed Ronald Reagan, reporters reminded him that he had called Reagan an extremist just last spring. "I would rather have a competent extremist than an incompetent moderate," Jaworski explained. What a rallying cry! Jaworski probably accurately reflected the enthusiasm of voters on both sides. . . . Irving Kristol, of course, sided with the GOP, but we missed his ad explaining that Reagan, like Nixon in 1972, was the candidate of prudence. . . . Election returns will be in by the time you read this. Prediction here is that despite all the hoopla about the New Right, the significant fact about this election will be that it marks the emergence of a new generation of liberal-left electoral leaders. Liz Holtzman, Mark Green and Karen Burstein in New York, Barney Frank in Massachusetts, Byron Dorgan in North Dakota. Plus many others at city and state levels. Also look for the unions to start paying more attention to lower level elections in the early 1980s.

■ ■ ■

MOVEMENTS OF LABOR—Last month this column reported that the Teamsters were about to reopen the Master Freight Agreement and offer substantial givebacks to the trucking industry. The deal fell through, and according to *Business Week*, agitation by Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) was a major reason. About a third of the local leaders in the trucking industry face reelection this fall, and with TDU campaigning against major givebacks any flexibility on issues like cost of living escalators would become issues in the campaign. . . . The Machinists have completed their monitoring of television programming. Its conclusion: TV is procorporate and anti-labor in both news and entertainment. Both the preliminary report and a program-by-program analysis are available from the IAM Communications Department, 909 Machinists Building, 1300 Connecticut Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. . . . While you're at it, write to the IAM requesting a copy of the union newspaper, *The Machinist*, reporting on the October IAM convention. Wimpy's hard-hitting speech mentions DSOC and suggests that we need more democratic socialism to rebuild America. . . . Don't look for the unity nego-

tiatis between the IAM and the UAW to proceed too quickly. Both unions have strong traditions of their own, and there are many issues to work out. Unity discussions will help keep them together in joint bargaining against aerospace biggies, though.

■ ■ ■

LESSONS FROM ESOP—Five years ago, South Bend (Ind.) Lathe faced liquidation, and its 500 employees faced loss of their jobs. So several employees organized to take advantage of a relatively recent tax incentive much favored by Senator Russell Long. Under the employee stock ownership plan (ESOP), the workers bought 100 percent control of the company with their pension fund, and the company became eligible for numerous tax breaks plus a \$5 million Economic Development Agency loan. South Bend Lathe stayed in business. Productivity jumped in the first years of this worker ownership, and the company did well. But in September, picket signs were out in South Bend notifying the world that the owners were on strike. J.R. Boulis, president and chairman of the board, blames the strike on the United Steel Workers and the union's alleged desire to punish and make an example of ESOP. Norman Kurland, a Washington-based ESOP expert who helped set up the employee ownership at South Bend, sees the machine tool company as an example of "industrial democracy in its absolute infancy." Problems occur "because people are still wedded to the old ways of thinking." But the union and the workers say that Boulis rules absolutely despite the theoretical worker control. Indeed, it does look that way. Boulis's salary and the salaries of other managers are not disclosed to the worker-owners; decisions on whether and when production bonuses will be paid remain at management's discretion; all decisions on what will be produced and how it will be marketed remain in management's hands. "Employee ownership does not mean employee management," says Boulis. "Someone has to give orders and make things happen. You can't run a business by committee." In all the chic talk of reindustrializing America, workers will be asked to make sacrifices and work harder, just as the workers at South Bend Lathe have sacrificed for five years. ESOP's moral: we should all be wary of capitalist fables.

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