

DEMOCRATIC LEFT

EDITED BY
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Only thirty-one more check-writing days before the Challenge 80 matching grant period runs out. Don't delay. Contribute now.

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Carter's Loss, Not the Left's

By Jim Chapin and Jack Clark

WOW, WERE WE WRONG! We thought that Jimmy Carter would succeed in making Ronald Reagan the issue in the election. Instead he became the issue himself and went down to a defeat similar in its proportions to Herbert Hoover's loss in 1932.

Reagan represents an extreme position in American politics. His views changed as the campaign went on. Usually that represents a disastrous combination. Ask Barry Goldwater, George McGovern, or Ted Kennedy; you change positions and are accused of duplicity. You stick by controversial positions and get clobbered. Reagan did both (backtracking on his position that Social Security should be voluntary, sticking by his belief that the minimum wage causes unemployment), yet no one, except his opponent, called him on it. Two reasons for this suggest themselves: one minor, one major. The minor (though important enough) cause is simply that Reagan is an affable, good-humored individual whom people, especially the press corps who covered him, like. Jimmy Carter, for all his pious talk of loving his fellow man, is mean-spirited and unbelievable. The press covering Reagan and the press covering Carter had no inclination to reinforce the president's attacks on his challenger. That helped greatly in Reagan's image building.

So it was that Carter's attacks on Reagan lacked the reinforcing impact of



Roi/Steelabor

“ Sixteen years ago Reagan and his colleagues were a marginal bunch. They persisted; they succeeded. . . . Are we any less dedicated than they? ”

the media, which was crucial to their success. Once Reagan stopped his early campaign blundering, the media shifted attention to the tone of Carter's attacks rather than to their content (something they did not do when Johnson attacked Goldwater, Nixon attacked McGovern, or Carter himself attacked Kennedy).

What helped even more is that the American Establishment has moved right since 1964. Where once leaders of the Eastern business community flocked to Lyndon Johnson and denounced Barry Goldwater's extremism, today few business leaders found Reagan's echo of Goldwater objectionable. The "class war" launched by the business community in the mid-1970s and denounced by Doug Fraser and Lane Kirkland persists.

It's too easy to leave things there, though. Reagan won an impressive vic-

tory and carried many co-thinkers on his long coattails. Not all who voted for him were bankers. In analyzing his victory two contradictory trends need to be considered: the defeat represented a defeat for Carter, not for liberalism; and the Reagan victory presents the right with a historic opportunity, which may or may not (our guess is not, though we're wary of making predictions right now) be translated into a major political realignment.

Loss for Carter, Not Liberalism

First, let's examine Carter. Not only did he suffer a Herbert Hoover defeat, he *is* Herbert Hoover. The depth of feeling about Carter's failures, Carter's responsibilities for the general mess the economy and the world are in is immense. When unemployed auto workers wanted

to protest the loss of their jobs last summer, they set up what they told the press was a modern Hooverville—"Jimmy Carter's tent city." As with Hoover, some of the perception is unfair. Herbert Hoover did not cause the Great Depression, any more (in fact, somewhat less) than Jimmy Carter caused the current economic crisis. In both cases, though, the voters judged that the incumbent failed to understand their problems and offered no real possibility of change. In both cases the voters chose the possibility of change represented in 1932 by FDR, in 1980, unfortunately, by Reagan. That Reagan offered hope and Carter offered continuing decline says it all. Carter had completely defaulted on the traditions of Democratic liberalism and tried only in the closing weeks of the campaign to patch up the old coalition.

LETTERS

To the Editor:

As the election returns rush in, and as the unthinkable becomes the reality, I want to reaffirm my commitment to democratic socialism. Please send me information on the local DSOC chapter. And rush me the next issue of **DEMOCRATIC LEFT!** Thanks.

Scott Haas
Detroit, Mich.

To the Editor:

I read with pleasure Mike Harrington's article on the Polish workers' movement (October). In this relatively short article the significance of the demand for workers' democracy in a collectivized economy was demonstrated more clearly than in many of the longer "think" pieces in the establishment press and what passes for a socialist press in this country.

I was all the more disappointed in the conclusion. Granted we have to attack the "ringing, empty dangerous declarations" coming from the right. But don't

we have any ringing, non-empty declarations of our own to make? The American military has its own share of responsibility for the militarization of Europe. When Reagan and Carter urge the placing of medium range nuclear weapons in Western Europe, they help put a noose around the necks of the Polish strikers. They provide a political defense for their Russian counterparts. Don't we, as American socialists have a responsibility to expose their role?

Joseph Clark, in the same issue, writes as if the only people opposing the American missiles were the Russians and the compromised French Communist Party. In fact, there is a mass movement in Europe against nuclear armaments with powerful supporters in the British Labor Party.

Détente did provide some relaxation of the arms race. But it did not come from the good will of Russian or American generals or their civilian sponsors. It came because the U.S. in Vietnam and the Rus-

sians in Czechoslovakia faced serious opposition. Without that kind of pressure on them the promises they make in the SALT agreements are worthless.

The American political establishment is threatened by the Polish strikers not simply because the Communist regime is in to them for \$20 billion. They fear an end to the Cold War because it would also be the end of them and their politics.

What about an open letter, the kind we used to have during the Vietnam War, proposing the demilitarization of Europe and unilateral American initiatives toward that end as the best way to aid the Poles and the rest of the Eastern European countries? Such a unilateral initiative might well be the withdrawal of the plan to put the medium range missiles in Europe.

Ernie Haberkern
Berkeley, 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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In trouncing Carter and in offering hope, Reagan's victory resembles the FDR win in 1932. That is precisely the parallel William Safire, Pat Buchanan, and William Rusher embrace. For Republican reactionaries, 1980 marks our long overdue realignment, ending the Democrats' dominance and bringing to the GOP the natural majorities it enjoyed from 1896 to 1932.

That scenario may turn out to be true. Let us offer a few cautions, though. First, the Republicans, even with the impressive win in the Senate, remain a weak national party. Democrats control the House. On the state legislative level, Democrats, despite their losses, retain a large edge (crucial since the reapportionment of both state legislative and Congressional seats will occur in this legislative session). Even in the Republican Senate, GOP dominance is deceptive and based, for now at least, on the unrepresentative nature of the upper chamber. Republicans hold 20 of the 28 seats from small population states (those with only one or two House members); in ten states that make up 40 percent of the U.S. population, Republicans hold only seven of twenty seats. At the grass-roots level both parties continue to decay, but the Republicans still trail both Democrats and unaffiliated in party identification.

If Reagan is to lead a reorganization of the political system along Republican majority lines, his party must grow. There is potential for that to happen, particularly in the South. The key to realignment lies not in the entrails of 1980's returns, but in the policies of 1981-1984. If Reagan's policies work, if in the 1984 debate he or his stand-in can repeat his 1980 appeal credibly (vote for the incumbent or the incumbent's party if things are better for you now than they were four years ago, otherwise, throw the bums out), the Republicans may be on the way to becoming our normal majority party. If (more likely, in our view), Reagan's policies fail to improve the living standards of the majority, fail to give society greater cohesion and security, the Democrats may be back in the White House by 1985. It could be 1932 again, but in Roosevelt's victory, the test of the coalition and the watershed election came four years later. It could also be 1892, when a big win by the out party (Grover Cleveland's Democrats in that case) climaxed a period of party-building but was followed promptly by economic

disaster. The panic of 1893 led directly to Republican sweeps in the 1894 off-year elections and the watershed year of 1896.

So What About the Left?

Where does all this leave us? Three possibilities suggest themselves: (a) Reagan's policies are every bit as dangerous as we've been warned, and his administration leads us to thermonuclear war; (b) Reagan calms down on international affairs and avoids destroying us all while simultaneously giving the economy a great boost; (c) Reagan avoids war, and success at home escapes him. We need to work hard to make sure (a) does not occur; if it does the future of the American party system, the democratic left, DSOC, etc. is settled permanently.

If Reagan's policies succeed domestically, we might see a major party reorganization or we might see an Eisenhower-type interregnum. In either case, we need to push the Democrats left and use the minority party (whether that's its status for the short-term or long-term) to articulate a different vision of how the nation can work. If we do face a major realignment, then our wait may be as long as Reagan's was. Sixteen years ago, he and his current colleagues were a marginal bunch. They had already spent nearly ten years in the long march through the institutions, and they were devastated by the Goldwater loss. For several years more, they seemed even more out of tune with the times. But the Republican right organized through the late 1960s and articu-

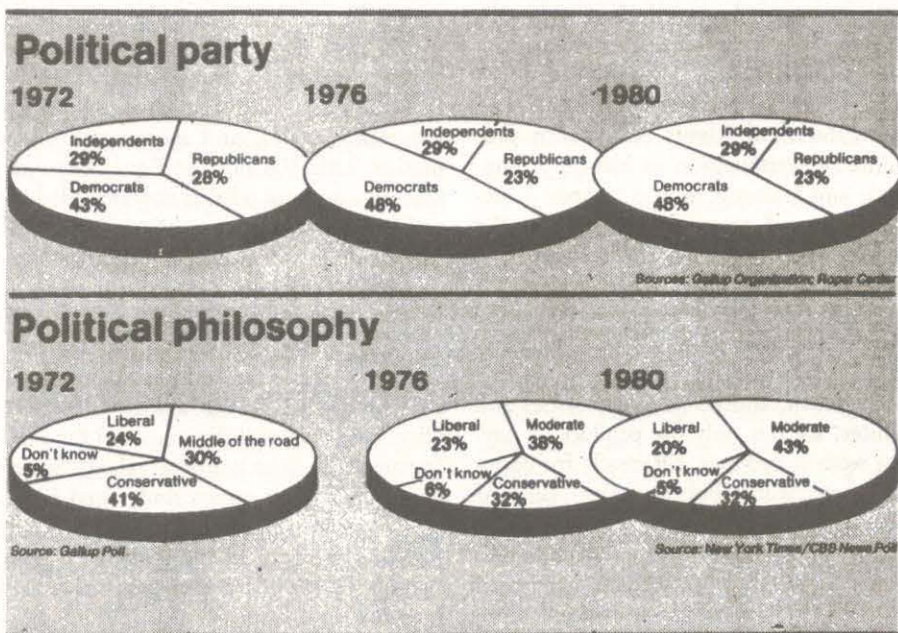
lated grievances the media did not yet fully recognize. They played a central role in electing Nixon twice. Again in 1974, with Watergate, all their work seemed to be wiped out. They persisted; they succeeded in defining the terms of the debate for an incumbent president. They purged their own party of the ideological deviants such as Clifford Case, Jacob Javits and Ed Brooke. And they won.

Are we less dedicated than they? Now that the traditional American consensus of rejecting "extremist" candidates has broken down, that is the only question that matters. A business community that has accepted the legitimacy of the Reagan right in 1980 might have difficulty in painting a left Democrat into a corner in the 1990s, when our next chance to dominate national politics would come even if 1980 represents a major realignment. (Woodrow Wilson swept to victory in 1912 despite the Republican majority established in 1896; the Republicans and conservatives dominated the New Deal alignment from 1946 to 1958.)

The final (again in our view most likely) outcome of a Reagan presidency will be failed policies and disillusioned voters. In that case, the Democrats would almost certainly return to power in 1984.

We must insist that, if the Democrats come back to power, they enter office with a program capable of dealing with the crisis of capitalism. Already we're hearing voices from Bob Strauss and his cronies on the Democratic right

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Women, Unions, Push for Equalizing of Wage Rates

By Ronnie Steinberg Ratner

WHEN CONGRESS AMENDED the Fair Labor Standards Act to include the right of equal pay for equal work in 1963, women were earning an average of 64 cents for every dollar earned by men. During the first decade of enforcement, the Wage and Hour Division of the U.S. Department of Labor recovered over \$174 million in back pay for 286,000 employees. Despite the vigorous effort, the wage gap between women and men has widened to 59 cents on the dollar. What went wrong? And what can be done about it?

As Gus Tyler rightly points out in his recent article on women in occupational ghettos (September), the scope of the original equal pay act restricted wage rate comparisons to those paid to women and men performing identical or essentially similar work. At best, the act provided that janitors and cleaning women must be paid the same wages. Most people in 1963 believed that this was sufficient to meet the problem of wage discrimination. A few union women knew otherwise, but their concerns were not recognized. Some hoped that Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibited discrimination in hiring, promotion, and training, would remedy a second cause of wage discrimination: the lack of opportunities for women and minorities to move into higher paying jobs in what Tyler and others have called the "upper tier industries" in the economy.

Differences in earnings between men and women, and between minorities and whites, are not only the product of paying women and men differently for doing the same work, but also the result of pervasive sex and ethnic segregation in the labor market. Disproportionate numbers of women and minorities are found working in low-paying industries. Con-



“Comparable worth promises to become a major political issue of the 1980s.”

sequently, activists and policymakers believed that moving women and minorities into better paying white male jobs would result in further closing the wage gap.

Existing legal remedies are limited for two reasons. First, there are few vacancies in high level positions or in historically male dominated jobs, especially in a time of recession. Consequently, only a small number of women can benefit from moving into higher-level or different jobs. Second, and more important, neither Title VII nor the Equal Pay Act takes into account what is now regarded as a third source of the wage gap: the systematic undervaluation of women's work.

Undervaluation

Employees in women's jobs are frequently paid less than employees in men's jobs, even though the amount of skill, effort, and responsibility required for performing the jobs are equivalent. Some examples from a recent study shed light on the scope of this problem. Among public employees in the state of Washington, the job of licensed practical nurse required an amount of skill, effort, and

responsibility equivalent to the job of campus police officer. Most licensed practical nurses are women; most campus police officers are men. In 1978, the state of Washington paid a licensed practical nurse an average of \$739 a month while a campus police officer was paid approximately \$1070 a month. The job of legal secretary, predominantly held by women, was found to be equivalent to the job of construction coordinator, historically a male job. Yet the pay for construction coordinators was almost \$700 more per month than that for legal secretaries.

Because skill, effort, and responsibility are regarded as productivity related characteristics of jobs, employers cannot justify the observed wage difference in terms of business necessity. Rather, it is believed that employees in women's jobs have been paid lower wages because of the value placed on jobs done by women historically. This, then, is another dimension of discrimination suffered by women in the labor market, one not yet explicitly encompassed by existing equal employment opportunity legislation. Women activists and trade unionists have begun a

campaign to extend government policy to include what they call the principle of equal pay for work of comparable worth.

Equal Pay—Comparable Worth

The range of organizations supporting this policy goal is impressive both in numbers and diversity. A one-day conference on this issue, held in Washington, D.C. in October 1979, brought together more than 200 experts and activists including over 60 women's organizations, trade unions, lawyers, and researchers to discuss strategies for achieving equal pay for work of comparable worth. A major objective of the meeting was to build a network of groups and individuals working in different political arenas to exchange ideas and information and to avoid duplicating efforts in achieving their common goal.*

The meeting takes on added significance since all of the constituencies of the left-liberal coalition displayed enthusiasm and commitment to working together on this issue. Each group also recognized that success was dependent on all groups working on all fronts for acceptance of this goal. The AFL-CIO passed a resolution at its recent convention supporting the goal of equal pay for work of comparable worth. The AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department also voted unanimously to support it. Comparable worth promises to become a major political issue of the 1980s.

Gus Tyler acknowledges that the goal of equal pay for work of comparable worth is a desirable one—both economically and ethically. Yet he argues that the costs of implementation far exceed the gains to be made in reduction of the wage gap. What are his reservations? First, he argues that the major source of the wage gap between men and women is industrial segregation, i.e., the fact that women and minorities work in "poor" labor intensive industries and white males work in "rich" capital intensive industries. Because of this, a policy addressed to intra-firm wage differences between comparable men's and women's jobs will do little to close

the wage gap.

Additionally, the method for determining whether or not jobs are comparable will hurt the very workers the goal is designed to help. The highly subjective technique of job analysis and job evaluation, Tyler argues, will shift the process of wage determination from collective bargaining to computerized decisionmaking. Finally, the way to eliminate current inequities in wage rates involves unionization of women and minority

“The goal of comparable worth should not be abandoned simply because it cannot eliminate all the sources of inequity in our highly unjust economy. If that were our standard, we would reject most of the reforms of this century.”

workers, and reform of minimum wage laws, of import regulations and so on. In reviewing his concerns, we will find that the strong and sweeping assertions made by Tyler do not hold up under the available evidence.

The Wage Gap

There is no doubt that the low wages paid to women garment workers are less the results of the systemic undervaluation of their work relative to male garment workers than a consequence of the industry in which they work. It is not surprising, then, that the assistant president of the union representing garment workers would conclude that as long as comparable work comparisons are restricted to a single establishment, they will not affect pay differences between sectors of our two-tiered economy.

To be sure, comparable worth will not eliminate the wage gap entirely. Economists have estimated that from one-quarter to one-half of the gap between men and women is due to their doing work requiring different levels of skill. But comparable worth could have a major impact on the wages of large numbers of women in certain occupationally diverse industries. In public employment, for example, almost 50 percent of the more than 15.2 million employees are

women. These women work as clericals, nurses, and librarians, along with other jobs Tyler identifies as being ghettoized. Studies conducted in the public sector in the states of Washington and Connecticut, and in several municipalities, have concluded that wages for female jobs are 80 percent of those paid for equivalent male jobs. Correcting this disparity would increase substantially the wages of women public employees.

Other industries likely to be affected by the extension of Title VII to encompass the goal of comparable worth are communications, electrical equipment and supplies, manufacturing, and retail sales. These industries are highly unionized. Women constitute approximately 50 percent of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), 40 percent of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE), and almost 50 percent of the recently merged United Food and Commercial Workers International. The companies in which they work are sex-segregated and occupationally diverse. Unions could take advantage of this reform to improve the relative wages of their female members.

Women in clerical posts and a large portion of female service workers are scattered across several industries with a wide array of occupational titles. Thus, the scope of comparable worth may be far greater than Tyler imagines, viewing it as he does from the vantage point of the garment industry and in terms of simple statistics on national employment. The goal of comparable worth should not be abandoned simply because it cannot eliminate all the sources of inequity in our highly unjust economy. If that were our standard, we would reject most of the reforms enacted in this century.

Job Evaluation Methods

Job analysis and evaluation have been proposed as means to assess job worth independent of the wage rate. Tyler rightly criticizes most existing job evaluation schemes as highly subjective and judgmental. He also concludes correctly that evaluating men's and women's jobs in low-paying industries would at best result in raising women's "lousy" wages up to the "lousy" wages of men in equivalent jobs. It does not follow from this, however, that "women (and others) in low-paying sectors would not

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*Growing out of this, in October 1980 a coalition of women's groups and unions held a founding convention for the National Committee on Pay Equity. Readers who wish to find out more about the issue of comparable worth and the committee may write to it at the Marguerite Rowalt Resource Center, 2012 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington D.C. 20036.

ON THE LEFT

By Harry Fleischman

AMONG THE DSOCERS WHO WON ELECTION OR RE-election despite the disastrous Reagan sweep was Ron Dellums, reelected to Congress in the Oakland-Berkeley area. He won by a closer margin than normal against a well-financed conservative. His DSOC membership was an issue in the campaign. Harry Britt was reelected as a San Francisco supervisor, running well enough to be elected to a four-year term (those lower down got two-year terms). Tom Gallagher was elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives while Perry Bullard was reelected to the Michigan House and Harlan Baker scored a two-to-one victory in his reelection campaign to the Maine House. State Assembly member Jerry Nadler scored a big reelection win on New York's Upper West Side. Unfortunately, with six at-large delegates to be elected to Alaska's state house, Niilo Koponen lost by 48 votes.

POSTERS AND PHOTOS. WE'RE PLANNING A PICTORIAL display of the political history and traditions of DSOC members for our 1981 national convention to be held Memorial Day weekend in Philadelphia, Pa. If you have any posters, photos, pins, statues, medallions or letters of Eugene V. Debs, Norman Thomas, or other socialist, union or civil rights leaders, please send them to me at the DSOC national office, 853 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003. We're asking only for a loan of the material, which will be insured. . . . DSOC MERGER. Although we rarely carry social notes, we are delighted to report the marriage of Mike Rivas, a DSOC vice-chair and head of our Hispanic Commission, to Sasha Futran, Atlanta DSOC organizer.

BALLOT REFERENDA ON A VARIETY OF ISSUES WERE DECIDED throughout the country in November's election. Among the hopeful signs were the following: Florida enacted a state constitutional right to privacy amendment. Originally offered as protection against wiretapping, the privacy measure became an issue for homosexual rights activists. In the state of Washington, voters approved strict limits on nuclear waste storage, and Oregon voters barred construction of nuclear plants without federally-licensed dumps for radioactive waste. Voters in Washington, D.C. endorsed the first preliminary steps toward becoming the 51st state. Residents of 17 Nevada counties went on record opposing a local MX mobile missile installation. In Oakland, Calif., a jobs with peace initiative, calling for federal funds to be spent on social programs with less stress on military spending, passed.

CHAPIN WEST COAST TOUR. DSOC NATIONAL DIRECTOR JIM Chapin spoke to many DSOC locals and university groups in his pre-election West Coast tour. In the audience at his well-attended Seattle meeting were two members of the state assembly. Three speakers from British Columbia's New Democratic Party also spoke. In Portland, Oregon, Chapin spoke to 20 Democratic party activists, including three state legislators, working on forming a progressive coalition. He spoke at meet-

ings of DSOC and NAM in San Diego, Irvine, Los Angeles and San Francisco and throughout the Bay Area.

FREE MASS TRANSIT SPREADS. ACCORDING TO THE UTU NEWS, official organ of the United Transportation Union, federal, state, and city officials are starting to view mass transit as a public service, much as police or fire protection, to be financed by taxpayer dollars.

In Denver, downtown bus rides are free, with assistance from a \$3.4 million federal Urban Mass Transit grant. Federal money also started free bus service in Trenton, N.J. A similar system has been in operation in Amherst, Mass. for years. Free bus fare within business districts exists in Birmingham, Ala.; Dayton, Ohio; Fort Worth, Tex.; Norfolk, Va.; Manchester, N.H.; and Rochester, N.Y.

In Portland, Ore., Commerce, Calif., East Chicago, Ind., and Independence, Mo., entirely free bus systems are operated. Prof. Paul Dierks of the University of Texas explains that the takeover by local or regional governments came about because the once profitable urban mass transit industry has been beset by rising energy costs, inflation and cuts in services and revenues.

THE DSOC YOUTH SECTION CONTINUES ITS STRONG GROWTH across the country. Well-attended introductory meetings were held this fall at over 30 campuses and communities, and new groups are developing at places as diverse as the University of Colorado, University of Nebraska (Omaha), and Amherst College. . . . As in past years, a major focus of Youth Section activity has been labor support work. DSOC members at New York University spearheaded a strong campus-wide coalition in support of the campus clerical workers union struggle for an improved contract. (Union officials credited the highly visible student support as a factor in forcing significant university concessions.) Stanford University is doing support work for a local nurses' union and a clerical workers' organization. At Yale University, DSOC members have initiated a campus support group for District 65 UAW's effort to organize campus clerical employees. And at the University of Colorado, a DSOC-initiated coalition has received state AFL-CIO support in its effort to prevent Coors Beer from returning to campus watering holes. . . . In New York State DSOC campus activists were the backbone for strong Students for Holtzman groups at Columbia U., New York University and the State University of New York at Stony Brook. Educational activities continue to draw well on campus. A forum with economist David Gordon and author Stanley Aronowitz drew 100 folks at Columbia U. . . . A forum on religion and socialism drew over 50 at U. of Wisconsin and speaking engagements by Jim Chapin, Youth Organizer Joe Schwartz and DSOC feminist activist Kate Ellis have drawn good crowds across the country from Berkeley to Brown U. . . . Columbia, Mo. DSOC now has a community radio program every Saturday appropriately titled "Saturday's Children Must Work for a Living."

Items for this column may be sent to Harry Fleischman at DSOC, Suite 801, 853 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003.

A SPECIAL REPORT

Eurosocialism's Promise

By Nancy Lieber

WHEN ANNOUNCEMENTS went out this fall about the first conference on Euro-socialism to be held in the United States, response from the Establishment press, labor, and political bodies ranged from polite disinterest to not-so-polite disdain. Although hundreds of labor and community activists from around the country sent registration forms, the initial lack of interest by "opinion makers" typified this country's standard attitude toward Euro-socialism. Much has been made in the press of the phenomenon known as Euro-communism, but little written about Eurosocialism. And, as initial fascination with possible change in a few Communist parties has receded, Americans remain largely unaware of the ideas, experiences, and impact of the longstanding mass movement that constitutes the social democratic, democratic socialist, and labor parties of Western Europe. When Americans do hear about Eurosocialism, it is usually in the context of stories about the swing to the right among European voters and the difficulties of the welfare state. There is no doubt that social democracy in Europe is in a time of transition—on this, more later—however, the successes of Western European social democracy are among the best-kept secrets in America.

It is time, therefore, for the political debate in America to focus on a few basic facts of political, social, and economic life in advanced, industrial nations.

1. According to the latest (1978) Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and World Bank figures, six Western European nations (Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, West Germany, Belgium, Norway) have pulled either even with or ahead of the United States in terms of production of goods and services per person. *That is, they are now as or more prosperous than the United States.*

2. *The wealth of these nations was not created via "trickle-down" economics.* Increasingly today, Americans are told that the key to renewed economic growth and hence prosperity lies in cutting corporate taxes, increasing business profits, weakening unions, and cutting back on government services and regulations. Rarely do we learn that the Western European social democracies maintain their levels of prosperity under quite different conditions. Throughout much of Western Europe there are more progressive income tax systems and stricter social controls on business. Governments intervene extensively in the economy and provide for a wide range of social services in the public sector. The labor force is more politicized, more organized, and is guaranteed a voice in management decisions.

3. *America remains, in Galbraith's phrase, a land of private opulence and public squalor, while Western Europe is a land of res publica, or an emphasis on the communal, "collective," life of the nation.* The quality of each citizen's life, the argument goes, is enhanced when all citizens are guaranteed access to good health care; when alternatives exist to polluting, heavy-gas consuming private cars (extensive and modern systems of mass transportation); when one of government's top priorities is achieving full employment (until the 1970s energy crisis, unemployment averaged less than half the rate in the U.S.); when poverty has been virtually abolished (through "safety-net" welfare provisions) and gross disparities in wealth and income have been eroded (through progressive taxation); when slums, urban sprawl, and

suburbs have not destroyed the beauty and life of the great cities, the towns, the countryside (through a long tradition of land-use planning); and when basic necessities such as energy and other utilities are often provided by publicly owned companies (nationalization of many basic industries).

Social Democratic Power

Western European social democracy—a system of extensive welfare provisions and a mixed economy, established through democratic political institutions—is the accomplishment of a mass socialist movement of political parties and organized labor.

In Western Europe, socialist parties are seen as "natural parties of governance," with experience dating back to World War I in municipal, county, state, and national government. A combination of their most recent national electoral totals gives the Eurosocialist parties together more than 50 million votes. Currently, socialists head governments in

“ The successes of European social democracy are among the best-kept secrets in America. ”



Swedish poster circa 1919

Austria, Denmark, Norway, Finland, and West Germany. They are in governmental coalitions in Belgium, Italy, and Switzerland. They represent the largest opposition party in most of the remaining countries (Sweden, Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands). In the predominantly multiparty systems of Western Europe, one socialist party has managed to pass the 50 percent mark in recent elections (Austria, 51 percent) and three the 40 percent mark (Sweden, West Germany, and Norway, all at around 43 percent). Denmark, Britain, and Holland follow with 38 percent, 37 percent and 34 percent respectively.

Organized labor has provided powerful political support to the socialists. Western European trade unions by and large reject neutrality vis-à-vis political parties. If they are not actually organic parts of the party (e.g. Britain, Norway, Denmark), they are so closely identified with it that formal distinctions are meaningless (e.g. Sweden, West Germany, Austria). The extremely politicized Western European labor movement has achieved impressive levels of unionization. In Sweden, 95 percent of blue collar workers and 75 percent of white collar workers are organized into the nation's two main labor federations. In Finland the figures are only slightly lower. Almost all of the Western European countries have higher levels than the U.S.

When these two factors—socialist parties with broad, popular support and unions that speak for large numbers of workers—are added to the impressively high levels of electoral participation (80-90 percent), we can understand why working people in Western Europe see the social democratic welfare state as their own accomplishment and feel that they have a strong voice in the running of their societies.

History of Struggle

Obviously, such power was not won overnight. Eurosocialist roots and struggles go back a century and a half—to the beginnings of that triumph of capitalist genius, the factory. The institution of the factory may have permitted mass production; it also revealed more clearly the discrepancy between the potential of an industrialized economy (a vast improvement in living standards and working conditions) and its performance (urban slums, child labor, longer, monotonous working days, ugly, unsafe working con-

ditions). Eventually it would create a socialist movement, as working people began to ask the question, "Why riches for some, why poverty for many?"

The earliest critics of capitalism were the colorful Utopian Socialists. Men like Robert Owen in England and Charles Fourier in France felt that the system's inequities were so blatant that all they had to do was draw up alternative models of society (which they actually did in blueprint form). The moral superiority of these Utopian communities would be immediately apparent to all and those in power would willingly relinquish their privileged positions on behalf of a better world.

The Utopian Socialists may have been naive in their strategy for social revolution, but they were pioneers in other aspects of socialist thought. They raised questions about the alienating nature of work itself, holding the quaint notion that work should provide an outlet for people's talents, not stifle them. They were avid environmentalists and city planners, raising questions about people's physical surroundings and how to live with, not in opposition to, nature. They spoke out against constraining "bourgeois morality," advocating social pluralism and nonconformity. They organized their model world at the most decentralized levels possible — with cooperatively-run communities federated into regions, regions into continents, continents into a loose world-federation.

Karl Marx supplemented the Utopian Socialists' extraordinary vision with an analysis of contemporary capitalist society and a political strategy for transcending it. Marx began with the assumption that the driving forces of history were social, not individual, forces which

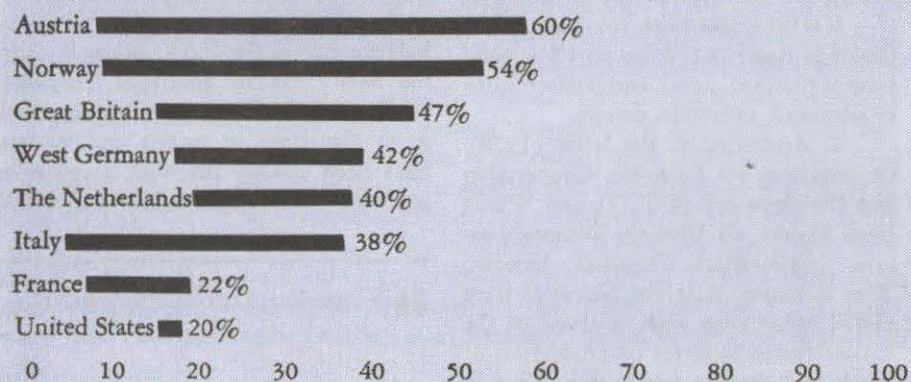
centered on the basic economic question of *who does the work and for whose benefit*. Historically, Marx wrote, the vast majority of people have worked for the very few who own and control the productive facilities (the fields, workshops, factories). Compared to the serf under feudalism, the wage earner had the illusion of freedom. Yet, to Marx, exploitation (or the extraction of profit from someone else's labor) was no accidental side effect of the capitalist system. On the contrary, exploitation was its core, its distinguishing mark, its very essence.

According to Marx, a social transformation would occur once the wage-earners, the proletariat, realized the basic contradiction between their *collective* work and *private, individual* ownership. They would then rise up as a social class and demand that those who worked be the owners, controlling and benefiting from their labor. Capitalism would be superseded by socialism.

Marx's notion that the most disadvantaged class in society should challenge those whom the status quo favors was generally accepted by the socialist movement as it grew in the second half of the 19th century. Instilling class consciousness meant organizing individuals into a mass movement. Trade unions sprang up as the organized voice of people in their producer role. Political parties were formed to represent people in their citizen role. Cooperative societies became a noncapitalist alternative for people in their consumer role.

On the Continent, where trade unions were prohibited and liberal democratic states scarce, the class struggle originally took the form of anarcho-syndicalism. The slogans were "Mines to the Miners" and "Factories to the Workers."

LEVEL OF TOTAL WORKFORCE UNIONIZATION, 1979



Source: U.S. Dept. of Labor

The means were direct takeovers of productive facilities following successful strikes or, ideally, the general strike.

If the army, police, and strikebreakers didn't completely destroy the anarchosyndicalist spirit, the advent of political democracy did. In Britain, trade unions (legalized in 1824), found an ally in the liberal movement. Their common goal: extension of the vote, universal male suffrage. To socialists, the logic was simple. The working class would organize itself into a political force, elect representatives to Parliament and proceed to change the rules of the game. With universal suffrage the need for a violent revolution would no longer exist. After all, had not Marx, in the *Communist Manifesto*, exhorted the workers to "win the political battle of democracy"? Liberal reformers such as John Stuart Mill came to agree with the emerging Fabian Socialist consensus in Britain that the state should be used as a countervailing political force to private economic power, that it should become a positive force for political change.

By the turn of the century, "evolutionary socialism" prevailed throughout Western Europe. The trade unions threw their weight behind socialist, rather than liberal, candidates, thus creating the mass social democratic and labor parties that exist today. But things were not quite as simple as the socialists originally thought. The capitalist system proved resilient enough to stave off what Marx called its self-destructive tendencies; nationalism prevailed over internationalism as socialist parties ultimately supported their respective governments in World War I. In 1920, in reaction to the Russian Revolution, the working class movement in Europe split into rival socialist and communist camps; even where the communist parties did not gain a foothold (most of Northern Europe), the socialist parties weren't able to gain absolute majorities in government.

Welfare State Emerges

Nevertheless, throughout the 1920s and '30s, the ground was laid for the emergence in the post-war period of the famous social democratic welfare state. A full array of public services provided greater economic security and social equality (health care, education, old-age pensions, disability/unemployment compensation, even child care, recreational/cultural, and housing facilities). The state entered directly into the economic realm,

“Unfortunately, the European debate is far removed from the realities of the American debate. Here the options run the political gamut from conservative to liberal—with nearly everyone accepting the basic capitalist structure of our society. The U.S., with its truncated political spectrum, remains a glaring aberration among political democracies.”



with extensive nationalization of basic resources (gas, electricity, oil, iron, steel, water) and services (transportation, communications, banking, insurance).

These major social democratic reforms led to a more egalitarian distribution of income and power in Western Europe, to "capitalism with a more human face." But reformed capitalism was still not socialism. At the end of the 1960s, many socialists began to advocate moving "beyond social democracy" and tackling the thorny, but basic, question of economic power and decisionmaking. *Political democracy*, they noted, had been the victory of the 19th century socialists; *social democracy* of the 20th century. Now it was time to further extend the democratic process and achieve *economic democracy* in the 21st century. In the 1970s, "workers' participation" and "co-determination" demands entered the party platforms. Following the West Germans' earlier lead, most Western European nations passed legislation guaranteeing workers' representatives on the boards of directors of large companies and increasing the powers of the works councils on the shop floor. Swedish legislation went the furthest. Swedish workers set their own health and safety standards. They have a strong voice, almost veto power, in decisions concerning hiring and firing, relocation, even investments and profits. Clearly, the traditional prerogatives of formal ownership in Sweden are now seriously undermined by de facto workers' control.

Threats to Gains

But the 1970s also ushered in a world-wide economic recession. The energy crisis hit the heavily oil-import-dependent Western European economies

particularly hard. They did not escape stagflation, as levels of unemployment and inflation reached post-war record highs. Basic industries, such as steel, textiles, and shipbuilding, faced severe structural problems due to surplus capacity. Not unexpectedly, welfare state capitalism came under attack. The Swedish Social Democrats and British Laborites lost elections to conservative parties advocating cuts in social services and taxes.

Yet the response of the Eurosocialists has not been to cater to any perceived "drift to the right." On the contrary, they argue that the achievements of the welfare state must and can be maintained, but only through deepening and expanding the public's role in the economy. Purely national responses are no longer effective, given the highly "internationalized" economic order. So the socialist parties have intensified their efforts at the European level—within the Confederation of Socialist Parties of the European Community and the Socialist Group of the European Parliament (the largest single voting bloc in that relatively powerless body). Similarly, the trade unions are attempting to coordinate their responses to the economic crisis via the European Confederation of Trade Unions, as well as their trade union caucus within the European Parliament. They are all proposing and debating innovative, radical measures—such as socialization of the investment process, collective, rather than private, formation of capital, greater workers' control, and overall democratic planning. These proposals are not only relevant and applicable to the economic crisis in Western Europe but to our own as well. Given our declining industrial base, deteriorating cities, and runaway shops, we cannot achieve social justice at



home without democratically restructuring our economy.

Unfortunately, the European debate is far removed from the realities of the American debate. Here the options run the political gamut from conservative to liberal—with nearly everyone accepting the basic capitalist structure of our society. The U.S., with its truncated political spectrum, remains a glaring aberration among political democracies. It is not as though Americans have engaged in extensive debate over the merits of capitalism versus democratic socialism. The very word "capitalism" is virtually absent

from the popular media, as are such concepts as ideology, class analysis, even social democracy. On the other hand, the word "socialism" is used constantly in the popular media to describe the Soviet Union, the Pol Pot regime, and other negative models of social change. How easy, then, to label as "socialist" even moderate efforts aimed at making capitalism a more humane, a more just system, and then to dismiss those reforms because of their label. Americans struggling for social justice would do well to look to the Eurosocialists for ideas and experiences, and to make social democracy and democratic socialism familiar and influential terms in our political debate. We would then only be 100 years behind the Western Europeans. ■

Nancy Lieber directed the conference "Eurosocialism and America: An International Exchange," held in Washington, D.C. December 5-7, 1980 and sponsored by the Institute for Democratic Socialism.

BELATED NEW YEAR

The January issue of **DEMOCRATIC LEFT** will be delayed in order to bring you coverage of the Eurosocialism conference.



CHALLENGE 80 HONOR ROLL

The following locals have already met or exceeded their CHALLENGE 80 quota. These efforts account for nearly half of what the campaign has raised. A final report will appear in the February **DEMOCRATIC LEFT** so that other locals will be able to make the honor roll.

Local	Percent of Goal
Atlanta	191.3
Chicago	191.0
Baltimore	173
Louisville	136
Springfield (Ill.)	135
San Diego	130
Austin	128
St. Louis	124
Champaign/Urbana (Ill.)	110
New York City	106
Nassau Co. (N.Y.)	100

DSO Challenge 80

DSOC stands to lose \$15,000 unless we receive \$7,500 by December 31. DSO's CHALLENGE 80 campaign has reached the 70 percent mark with nearly \$35,000 of our \$50,000 goal raised to date.

This campaign, initiated in June, is designed to eliminate the crushing debt that DSO accumulated over seven years of activity. DSO is extraordinarily lucky in that a few individuals have agreed to help us out on the sole condition that our 4,000 plus members show as much commitment as they have. Every dollar contributed to the CHALLENGE 80 campaign is being matched by these few "challengers," but December 31 is the cut-off date. *So if we don't make that final 30 percent, we could lose \$2 for every dollar not contributed!*

The extra money DSO has received in this campaign has been crucial to our ability to swim against the political tide. With the Reagan sweep, the retention of DSO's clear, sane voice in the political forum gains ever greater urgency.

This campaign is doing well, but none of us can afford to quit now. If you have given to CHALLENGE 80, an additional contribution would be more than welcome. If you haven't yet contributed, send in your check today. Please make a special effort if your local has not yet met its quota. But even if it has, (see honor roll above), your dollars are still needed. Keep the voice of democratic socialism alive!

YES, I WILL DO MY PART TO MEET THE DSOCHALLENGE 80 GOAL. ENCLOSED IS MY CONTRIBUTION OF:

- _____ \$500 (With \$500 from the Matching Fund your gift becomes \$1000.)
- _____ \$250 (With \$250 from the Matching Fund your gift becomes \$ 500.)
- _____ \$125 (With \$125 from the Matching Fund your gift becomes \$ 250.)
- _____ \$ 50 (With \$ 50 from the Matching Fund your gift becomes \$ 100.)
- _____ Other (All gifts are matched.)_____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Note: your contribution will be counted with others from your Local to meet the goals established for each Local and Organizing area.

Send to: DSOChallenge 80, Suite 801
853 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

EQUAL PAY, from page 5

even be able to use their union's bargaining power to lift themselves out of the gutter."

Tyler is not alone in the fears and reservations expressed in his article. Many trade unionists have noted the use of job evaluation unilaterally by employers to legitimize wage relationships among jobs. But Tyler has overlooked several new developments that, if taken into account, would force him to modify his strong conclusions about job evaluation and its potential for undermining the collective bargaining process.

The fundamental question raised by the issue of comparable worth is: how much of the observed difference in wages between women's jobs and men's jobs is due to the systematic *undervaluation* of women's work? In order to answer that question, we must not only look at the attributes of jobs, but also at the *value* placed on different job attributes. Job value is derived from the contribution of a particular job to the overall mission of a firm. Traditionally, this has been measured by the wage rate. Job evaluation offers another way to measure worth.

Job Evaluation Methods

The process of job evaluation typically follows a routine series of steps. First, a composite description is developed for each job title on the basis of information collected through questionnaires and interviews. Next, a heterogeneous evaluation committee evaluates and assigns points according to a broad set of factors. Jobs assigned similar point values are then compared to determine if their wages are similar and, if not, to establish the degree of discrepancy attributable to the sex or race of the incumbents.

The second stage of this approach—the evaluation of jobs—has been accurately described, by both employers and unions, as a highly subjective process. The point value of a job is dependent on the factors selected as important, on who sits on an evaluation committee, and on the distribution of points among the factors. Existing comparability research has focused primarily on changing the composition of an evaluation committee from one comprised largely of managers to one that includes an occupationally diverse group of union members, representatives of women's groups, and employer representatives.

Most evaluation schemes measure

jobs in terms of four broadly defined factors: skill and knowledge, effort, responsibility, and working conditions. Point values are attached to each factor.

Most of these evaluation packages were developed 35 to 45 years ago on groups of managerial and administrative jobs. Consequently, it is likely that point values are biased toward the kinds of activities involved in administrative and managerial work. It is also likely that job descriptions of nonmanagerial work do not include the full range of competencies required in these jobs. For example, the description for telephone operator fails to indicate that the job involves a significant amount of direct contact with customers. Yet, customer contact is a very highly valued characteristic of managerial jobs in the telephone company.

An emerging approach to job evaluation addresses these shortcomings.

- On the assumption that men are paid wages that actually reflect the value of their jobs to the firm, a group of men's jobs is described in terms of up to 120 precisely measured possible factors.
- This information is analyzed using sophisticated statistical techniques to determine which factors are most important to the overall mission of an establishment and how many points should be assigned to each. This step is likely to reduce the number of factors to eight or ten.
- The factors and point values are brought to a committee including labor, management, and women's representatives for review and modification. This group is asked to assess whether the results accord with their understanding of the basis on which wages are paid and to arrive at a consensus on the choice of factors and distribution of point weights.
- The agreed upon factors and weights are applied to a large number of all jobs in an establishment and total values are assigned to jobs.
- Point values are compared and the degree of discrepancy attributed to sex or race of incumbent is determined.

This approach to evaluation would not result in shifting wage determination from "collective bargaining to the computerized decision" as Tyler assumes. In many situations, it would enhance in several respects the position of unions at the bargaining table by giving them more information on how jobs are rewarded as



Earl Dotter

“How much of the observed difference in wages between women's jobs and men's jobs is due to the systematic undervaluation of women's work?”

well as the potential for influencing how jobs should be rewarded. The more comprehensive approach would articulate values implicit in a firm's wage structure. Unions—or employees or independent monitors where there are no unions—would become involved in deciding whether or not the factors being rewarded should be the ones that actually are.

Once the full range of jobs has been analyzed and an equitable realignment of jobs proposed, the union also would be able to bargain for wage changes that would bring the undervalued women's and minorities' jobs up to the standard applied to white male jobs. How any union uses these potential avenues for change would no doubt vary enormously by the general strength of a union relative to an employer, as well as by a union's commitment to the goal of comparable worth. There is nothing inherent in the process of evaluating jobs that sets a ceiling on the level of wage increases that can be bargained for in any round of contract negotiations.

Combining Tactics

Tyler contends that organizing women into unions and pressing for social legislation for higher minimum wages, a negative income tax, and restricting run-away firms are preferable to fighting for comparable worth. Women in unions do earn, on average, 30 percent more than nonunion women. Each increase in the minimum wage rate does substantially improve the wages of women in the lowest paid jobs.

Achieving the principle of comparable worth using Title VII is not a substitute for unionization, nor has anyone argued that it is. If current activities are any indication of what is to come, the issue of comparable worth is a powerful stimulus for organizing clerical workers, nurses, household, and other service workers into unions. Local groups of employed women across the United States are realizing that multiple gains can be made through organizing into unions.

Several unions have made a commitment to the issue of comparable worth and have made ground-breaking gains on behalf of their female membership. The IUE and CWA have bargained with employers over wage discrimination and the undervaluation of women's work.

In 1965, the IUE established a Title VII Compliance Program which was reaffirmed in 1973 through convention action. This program provides that wherever the IUE has concluded that discrimination—leading to wage discrimination—exists, it has:

- requested bargaining with the employer to eliminate the illegal practices or contract provisions;
- filed National Labor Relations Board refusal to bargain charges against employers refusing their requests and
- filed Title VII charges and suits under the Equal Pay Act and Title VII.

Winn Newman, IUE general counsel, regards litigation as a step in the collective bargaining process, and his union has repeatedly used this option to achieve employer compliance with Title VII. The U.S. Court of Appeals in Philadelphia recently upheld most of IUE's charges in *IUE v. Westinghouse*. (Westinghouse has petitioned the court for rehearing.)

In a similar case, IUE has charged General Electric with maintaining discriminatory wage structures, hiring, assignment and promotion policies, and training programs, despite its agreement

with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to eliminate discriminatory policies. GE has offered to settle out-of-court.

The contracts negotiated between CWA and American Telephone and Telegraph in 1977 and 1980 are also evidence of what can be accomplished vis-à-vis the issue of comparable worth. The 1977 contract required AT&T to review all job titles and to eliminate those that were obsolete. As a result, almost 1,000 of over 2,300 job titles were eliminated. The contract also regrouped a panoply of clerical jobs into three major clerical pay grades with specific job descriptions, articulated lines of promotion, and differentiated rates of pay. In 1980, CWA advocated upgrading operators and service representatives because certain job requirements were not taken into account in setting wages. They won these demands. The contract also enjoins union and management to establish together a job evaluation plan for their industry. Among the goals the union aims to achieve is the reclassification of clerical titles to better reflect the drastic changes in these jobs as a result of computer technology.

Business Attack

The business community has grasped the implications of securing equal pay for

work of comparable worth for women and minorities. As part of an ongoing offensive, a business-sponsored group, the Equal Employment Advisory Council, scheduled a symposium on comparable worth for November. The group, which according to *Business Week* has a \$1 million budget, received a \$130,000 grant from the Business Roundtable for an argument against equal pay for comparable worth, *Comparable Worth: Issues and Alternatives*. Members of its board of directors come from GE, Exxon, Sears, General Motors, Prudential Insurance, the Rubber Manufacturers Association, and the Edison Electric Institute. The comparable worth issue could cost employers billions of dollars. Accordingly, business has launched a massive campaign to thwart it. It understands the fundamental changes that would follow from successes on this issue, for it would cost not only dollars but its unilateral control over what constitutes a legitimate structure of wages. ■

Ronnie Steinberg Ratner is research director of the Center for Women in Government, State University of New York at Albany and served on the national board of DSOC. She is chair of the Research Task Force of the National Committee on Pay Equity.

You've already worked with us. Now, join us.

The corporations and the Far Right have a plan for a harsher, hungrier, and more militarized America. For progressives to fight back, we need to build our own coalition and own program for an alternative future for America.

The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee works to unite low and middle income Americans behind a program of full employment, tax justice and wealth redistribution, safe and affordable energy, improved public services, sexual and racial equality, and democratically planned investments in developing new energy sources, rebuilding the cities, and reviving our industries.

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I'd like to join the DSOC. Enclosed find my dues. (\$50 sustaining ; \$25 regular ; \$10 limited income . Dues include \$8 for DEMOCRATIC LEFT.)
Send to: Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, 853 Broadway, Suite 801, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel.: (212) 260-3270.

Name

Address

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Phone Union, School, Other Affiliation

WHAT'S LEFT TO READ

By Ronald Radosh

THE MOVEMENT IN EUROPE FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT has gained impetus recently, in no small part due to the extraordinary intellectual effort of Edward P. Thompson, the noted British historian of working-class culture. (Thompson even rated a brief interview with Dan Rather on *60 Minutes*, shown on the eve of the recent October antinuclear march in England.) He has created a stir with his eloquent and powerful writings against what he terms exterminism, the characteristics of a society, "expressed, in differing degrees, within its economy, its polity and its ideology—which thrust it in a direction whose outcome must be the extermination of multitudes."

Judging by the attacks coming from the Labor Party right wing, by Peter Jenkins in *The Manchester Guardian* and by Michael Howard in the November 1980 *Encounter*, one would think Thompson advocated Western unilateral disarmament and expected an equivalent response from the Soviet Union. To see what he is really saying, start with his incisive article, "Notes on Exterminism: The Last Stage of Civilization," no. 121 *New Left Review*, May-June 1980. In it he criticizes left-wing immobility on the question of disarmament.

It is also an attack on the "steady incremental pressure" in both the U.S. and U.S.S.R. towards the legitimization of nuclear warfare. Thompson is quite clear about the reality of a Soviet arms increase and acceleration in the decade of the seventies. Socialists "who refuse [the evidence of Soviet arms buildup] any credence (as figments of CIA propaganda)," he writes, "are sadly ill informed." That Soviet thrust occurs not simply as a reaction to Western exterminism, but for autonomous ideological and bureaucratic reasons. Unlike in the West, Thompson writes, the Soviet arms race remains "unchallenged by democratic exposure," no one may ask, "in public, why—after the first ICBMs were in place—the absurd yet decisive decision to match each weapon and to attain to 'parity' was ever taken?"

We are not replaying the 1950s Cold War. Today the danger is far more deadly. Thompson sees two armed camps united against genuine nonalignment and independence, both of which would strike at exterminism's legitimacy. Calling for "an anti-extermist configuration of forces," Thompson hopes for the eventual dissolution of both blocs. He advocates forging an alliance between the peace movement in the West with "constructive elements in the Communist world . . . which confront the extremist structures and ideology of their own nations."

The new movement he proposes will be opposed, he suggests, "with equal ferocity by the ideologists of NATO and by the Communist bureaucracy and police." What then, one wonders, prompts the attacks and vitriol that seek to paint Thompson as a 1980s style Soviet apologist? Could it possibly be his forceful and principled critique of Western tendencies towards exterminism?

■ ■ ■

THE MASS EXODUS FROM CUBA HAS PROMPTED MUCH NEW thought about the Cuban Revolution. But one of the most insightful assessments came out just before this summer's devel-

opments. Written by Gordon K. Lewis, whose *Freedom and Power in the Caribbean* has become a Marxist classic, it appears in the Winter 1980 *Caribbean Review*. In his article, "On the Limits of the New Cuban Presence in the Caribbean," Lewis reminds us that although "no one can underestimate the massive appeal" of the Cuban Revolution for the Caribbean, since it "shattered the myth of American supremacy," the Cuban adherence to the Soviet model is *not* a viable model for a future Caribbean socialism.

Because Lewis is concerned "that much of the Caribbean is set within the mold of hard-line Stalinism," he calls for a "marriage of socialism with democracy," for reconstruction of "the neo-colonial economy along decentralizing lines." He reminds us that the choice is not a simple one of either the American or Cuban path. There was a "third force of democratic socialism existing in the Caribbean long before 1959." As a radical who lives in Puerto Rico, Lewis argues that the Cuban Revolution "deserves support," since it functions as a major force opposed to U.S. *pentagonismo*. But any Cuban aid in the Caribbean, he cautions, must be "on our terms and not on theirs." By this he means rejecting the Soviet model as "the official custodian of the Marxist tradition."

Finally, Lewis argues that Cuba's "revolutionary appeal is limited," since in reality, there is little it can do "to alter dramatically a world system in which the less developed economies become increasingly obligated to an international loan banking and world trading regime dominated by the more developed economies." It is a sad lesson that Michael Manley and the Jamaican Peoples National Party learned too well.

■ ■ ■

BY NOW, MOST READERS HAVE UNDOUBTEDLY SEEN THE FAVORABLE reviews of Victor S. Navasky's *Naming Names* (Viking Press, 1980, \$15.95), the powerful and imaginative book about the House Un-American Activities Committee informers.

Navasky is hard on the Vital Center liberals. He argues persuasively that they were "major contributors to the cultural context and the moral environment that routinized betrayal." These Cold War liberals, he writes, saw McCarthyism as "deficient only to the extent that it confused an occasional 'innocent' (anti-Stalinist) with the 'guilty' (those unwilling to denounce Communism)." But as long as it succeeded in delivering up bona fide reds the ceremony was to be supported."

The democratic socialists grouped around *Dissent* come off with honor. They were not part of the liberal group who sought to stigmatize Communists and unrepentant former Communists. This "tiny minority of anti-Stalinist socialists," Navasky writes, "fought the persecution of Communists at every step . . . and their message was that while Stalinism was an unqualified social evil, domestic Communists were entitled to the same rights and presumptions as the rest of our citizens." *Dissent*, IN EXISTENCE FOR 25 YEARS, IS STILL GOING STRONG. Now available is the first of a new pamphlet series. *The Threat of Conservatism* (F.S.I.S.I., 505 Fifth Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10017, \$1.25) features assessments of the New Right written by Gus Tyler, Peter Steinfels, and Irving Howe. At a time of growing social and political conservatism, this pamphlet is must reading. ■

National DSOC Directory

Key: Locals, unless other wise noted; OC = organizing committee; B = branch.

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Left-socialist group, c/o John Keefe, Jr., Eastern Ave., Hopewell,
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ELECTION, from page 3

that the Democratic party should practice a me-tooism in regard to Reagan's policies. In arguing for conservative policies and right-centrist leadership, Strauss and Co. argue that their course represents pragmatism in the face of the Reagan victory and an attempt to put the party back together. If 1980 has taught anything, it is precisely that the Carter-Strauss pragmatism proved disastrous, not just for those who chose to live and die with it, but for dozens of able and principled Democrats who went down with the ship. Carter's policies demobilized all the key constituencies and caused deep and well-deserved resentment.

By trying to preempt the right by moving right, Carter culminated four years of a presidency that moved the country more to the right than any presidency since Truman's by giving the right an electoral victory of the greatest magnitude since 1952 and perhaps since 1946.

If Reagan fails, the Democratic party might indeed win in 1984 with Bob Strauss's policy (or indeed, any other). But, if they govern as Carter did, we could face a repeat of his disaster, in 1988 or 1992. Elite shuffling of party leaders won't do: lowest common denominator politics don't work in times of crisis.

For the Democrats to rouse themselves from the defeat of 1980, democratic left activists will need to recognize that Reagan represents a politics of class struggle from the corporate side. Despite the rhetoric, the government will not get out of the economy; instead President Reagan will direct his administration toward serving the needs of the corporate rich in dismantling OSHA, speeding up nuclear power, ending environmental protection legislation, stepping up strip mining, fighting against the

demands of feminist, black, and Hispanic organizations, and resisting unionization.

Our response must go beyond opposing such policies. We need to work with those liberals who remain to redefine the meaning and the demands of liberalism. We need to claim the Democratic party at every level as the vehicle of working people, environmentalists, community activists, and feminists. Out of the disparate and worthy coalition efforts of the late 1970s, from the Democratic Agenda to the Progressive Alliance and Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, we need to fashion a conscious political movement intent on winning political power. And that movement must operate on the basis of a political program spelling out what we intend to do with that political power.

Obviously, the struggle will be long and hard. Two major tasks recommend themselves: we must organize: and we must think. ■

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JIMMY HIGGINS REPORTS

CROCODILE TEARS—Too bad that “innocent” third parties got caught in the fight between J. P. Stevens and the Clothing and Textile Workers Union. The business press (and the bourgeois press in general) shed many tears for such “innocent” bystanders as multimillion and multibillion dollar banks and insurance companies that used their depositors’ and policyholders’ money to finance Stevens’s law-breaking. Somehow, it’s a cause for alarm when the union calls those institutions to account. Sorry, fellas, there are some other innocent bystanders involved: the communities deserted over the decades in Stevens’s long flight from unionization; the workers who chose the union only to face years of harassment, firings, unemployment; other workers, union or not, who have faced loss of fingers and limbs in the unsafe work environment. And ultimately, let’s remember that the same clucking tongues now condemning the union’s aggressive tactics (which we obviously commend and participated in) were silent or on the wrong side when businesses’s class war doomed labor law reform legislation. If you declare a class war, don’t be surprised if the other side fights back.

NO TEARS FOR GM—Much has been made of the half-billion-dollar loss recorded by General Motors last quarter. Don’t cry too hard. The business press has commented on how strong the company is, despite the loss. Translated from the Aesopian softspeak, this means that the company maintains its enormous wealth, its market share is increasing, its competition weakening. The record loss provides a perfect rationale for increased government aid for GM’s plans to reshape the worldwide industry. The complete vision of a reorganized industry would involve collapsing several weaker companies into fewer, stronger competitors. And the new auto industry will be truly international; GM’s world cars will be assembled and built in no less than five countries. Naturally, the companies will transfer as much production as possible to lower-wage Third World nations. In any case, fewer workers will be needed, and they’ll work faster. Computerization and automation will reduce fastest assembly line time from 18 hours to ten; we’ll move from 200 workers per shift producing 58 mid-size cars to 750 workers per shift producing 75 of the S car. For a detailed look

at the auto industry’s view of its future, see Harley Shaiken’s lead article in the October 11 *Nation*.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL won a Nobel Peace Prize a few years ago for its unstinting dedication to the cause of political prisoners around the world. Now the U.S. section of Amnesty has embarked on an ambitious project to extend that work. *Labor News* covers the plight of suppressed unionists around the globe. Murders in Guatemala, arrests in Czechoslovakia, psychiatric “care” in the Soviet Union, harassment, torture, massacres in South Africa, Malaysia, the Philippines, Romania, Peru. More than a compilation of horror stories (though several of the tales are grisly), *Labor News* organizes its readers to protest, to express solidarity. Often that makes a huge difference. AI needs more people to carry on this kind of solidarity work. To find out more about AI’s labor project, write Robert Maurer, Amnesty International, USA, 304 West 58th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019.

UNIONS AMONG UNIONS—The big merger talk in the labor movement centers around the UAW-Machinist courtship. Committees have been chosen, and UAW Secretary-Treasurer Ray Majerus, an advocate of merger, heads the auto workers five-person team. IAM leader William Winpisinger has spoken out in favor of a merger, *Business Week* indicates that the United Rubber Workers might also join a merged UAW-IAM; they might be followed in by the United Electrical Workers and the Allied Industrial Workers. Such a merged union would become the largest, most influential labor organization nationally, whether it stayed in or out of the AFL-CIO (all the unions mentioned except the UAW and UE are currently in the federation). . . . Merger talk goes on elsewhere as well. The Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, parent body of District 1199, the national hospital workers, has been discussing merger with the Service Employees, the other major hospital workers’ union. Discussions are stalled because some larger New York retail employees locals fear a loss of the autonomy they’ve been so used to in RWDSU, but 1199, which accounts for about a third of the RWDSU’s membership, is pushing hard for merger.

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