

DEMOCRATIC LEFT

EDITED BY
MICHAEL HARRINGTON

INSIDE

Jan. 1981 Vol. IX No. 1 \$1

Minds Across the Sea, p. 7

When trade unionists, economists, and political activists from Europe and the U.S. met in a small, intensive meeting, they discovered that, even though the picture remains incomplete, each was holding a piece of an answer to the puzzle of dealing with the crisis of late capitalism. Michael Harrington reports.

Beware the Democrats, p. 10

We know how bad the Republican victories were, but liberals may have as much to fear from people wearing the same party label. David Hoffman comments on the possible conservative tilt in the Democratic House.

On the Left, p. 11

More wins for DSOCers reported from local elections, numerous meetings and events bringing socialists together.

To Meet in Madrid, p. 12

For a few days this fall, Madrid was the "capital of world socialism." Michael Harrington headed the DSOC delegation to the Socialist International Congress and comments on it.

Muslim Minority, p. 14

Soviet troops are busy battling Muslims in Afghanistan. But within their borders is another group that wants its freedom. Eric Lee interviews an exiled Crimean Tatar about the conditions and prospects for this minority.

Eurosocialism Comes to U.S.

By David Bensman
and Bill Thomas

IMAGINE A SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT America, where the democratic left had just swept to power in the November elections. In early December an obscure right-wing activist foundation calls a conference bringing together prestigious world leaders, former prime ministers and the like to discuss program. More than 2,000 people show up; hundreds are turned away. Would you have heard about it?

We don't live in that imaginary America; we live in a nation soon to be governed by Ronald Reagan and the likes of Jesse Helms. In other respects, the conference, "Eurosocialism and America: An International Exchange," fills the bill for our imaginary scenario. It represented the coming together of an opposition seen to be out of step with the times; it was called by the Institute for Democratic Socialism and was the Institute's first major public event. It assembled three European former heads of state, leaders of mass oppositions, trade unionists, and activists from both sides of the Atlantic; and its success outraced the most optimistic projections of conference organizers. Despite major interest from the European press, it contradicted the perceptions (and the biases?) of the major U.S. news media and was treated by the networks and the newspaper of record as a non-event.

But for the participants, it was an event of some consequence, combining political and intellectual substance with



Gretchen Donart

“It would be wrong to allow ourselves to be hypnotized by that word 'crisis.' There is no hope of things simply righting themselves and returning to normalcy.”

Willy Brandt

a "movement" excitement and, as IDS President Michael Harrington said in his closing remarks, a "joyous" atmosphere.

"This is the most exciting thing I've done since I got married," exclaimed DSOCer Earl Bourdon, a 63-year-old New Hampshire activist. His sense of a once-in-a-lifetime experience was shared by others from all parts of the country in all age ranges. They thronged to plenary sessions featuring leaders of the European Socialist parties and to workshops that explored socialist proposals to deal

with problems ranging from capital formation to cultural hegemony. Their exhilaration at being with others who shared their beliefs surmounted exasperation at crowded rooms and slow-moving elevators.

Last year, when IDS first presented the idea to the German Marshall Fund, which subsidized the conference, it was thought that about a thousand people might come to Washington for such an event. "We can thank Ronald Reagan for boosting our attendance," mused confer-

ence organizer Nancy Lieber. Clearly, left activists wanted to know that they were not alone, and they wanted to know what to do next.

Solidarity and Democracy

For this conference was more than a morale booster, a coming together of survivors wanting to reaffirm solidarity with each other and their comrades abroad. Tony Benn, leader of the British Labor Party's left wing, told the standing-room-only crowd on opening night that

LETTERS

To the Editor:

I was glad to see attention given to the as-yet-small worker ownership movement in Jimmy Higgins's column (November). I was saddened at the inadequate conclusions of that short article on South Bend, however. The author concludes that Boullis is correct in saying that employee ownership does not mean employee management.

On the contrary, the lesson to be drawn from South Bend Lathe is that the benefits touted to be gained from employee ownership cannot be, *unless* that ownership is accompanied by real control — worker management. The South Bend case does not include control, that is true. Less than half of the "owned" stock is allotted to the accounts of the workers at South Bend. And less than that is actually vested, and can be voted by the employees. Trustees vote the majority of the stock. The upshot? Ownership itself is a myth at SBL.

But this set-up is not inherent in the ESOP laws as Jimmy Higgins implies. Democratic Employee Stock Ownership Plans (one person-one vote) are possible. Rath Packing is one example. Instead of condemning worker ownership as a "capitalist fable", progressives should be in the forefront of the movement, accenting its

progressive aspects. If we condemn it as a capitalist trick and let the capitalists take the initiative in promoting it, it will certainly be no more than a trick. But if progressives and unions take the initiative, then something worthwhile may be possible. The lesson of South Bend is that worker ownership contains within it a dynamic of democracy—if control does not accompany ownership, then tension and ultimate failure result.

Perry Mehrling
Cambridge, Mass.

To the Editor:

Ron Radosh (October) makes a polemical attack on Carl Boggs which seems to me both intemperate and inaccurate. Is Boggs wrong to criticize the bureaucratic undemocratic elements of social democracy? Must DSOC members embrace social democratic parties without criticism? That is Radosh's implication.

As for Gramsci, it is plain that he was a revolutionary. Those who would assimilate him to social democracy or Euro-Communism have the burden of proof. Radosh contents himself with stating that "this writer thinks it is Mr. Boggs . . . who misinterprets Gramsci." That is scarcely enough.

Carl Boggs in his numerous writings

has been a consistent critic of undemocratic elements in Leninism as well as in social democracy. I consider him a valuable contributor to a democratic left—although someone with views on strategy that set him apart from DSOC. To attack him the way Radosh does is to make DSOC appear narrow, sectarian and petty.

William R. Caspary
St. Louis, Mo.

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

CORRECTIONS

The word "left" was inadvertently dropped from Ron Radosh's column in the December issue. It should have read: "Because Lewis is concerned that much of the Caribbean left 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.'"

A line giving the number of small population states in Jim Chapin's and Jack Clark's article was incorrect. It should have read: "Republicans hold 20 of the 30 seats from small population states. . . ."

DEMOCRATIC LEFT

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Gretchen Donart

“This conference could mark the beginning of something quite important.”

Tony Benn

the assembly was meeting at a historic moment, soon after the collapse of Jimmy Carter's watered-down version of New Deal liberalism. The American political situation, he said, is similar to the one British Laborites faced eighteen months ago, when the Callaghan government went down to defeat. “Those eighteen months have been most valuable for the party, for they've seen a profound re-examination of the Keynesian consensus. I see a parallel here. This conference could mark the beginning of something quite important.”

From the very first speech, by Representative Ron Dellums, Congress's only openly declared socialist, speakers and participants sounded the themes of solidarity and democracy. Drawing on the work of Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, Dellums called on attendees “to forge a new reality as it 'ought to be.' . . . In doing so, we must act upon the collective realization that we are not acting in a historical vacuum. We are not only citizens of California, Washington or New York—or of France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands or Sweden—or of any of the nations of the Third World.”

Dellum's rhetoric of international solidarity was not abstract. Haitian dissi-

dent Jean-Jacques Honorat, expelled from his homeland only a few days before, came directly to the conference to inform socialists from all over the world about the intensification of repression in Haiti. Representatives from Nicaragua were on hand to receive congratulations on their victorious struggle (one knocks on wood). And on a more somber note, exiles from El Salvador reminded Americans of our responsibilities to deal with the slaughter we have paid for.

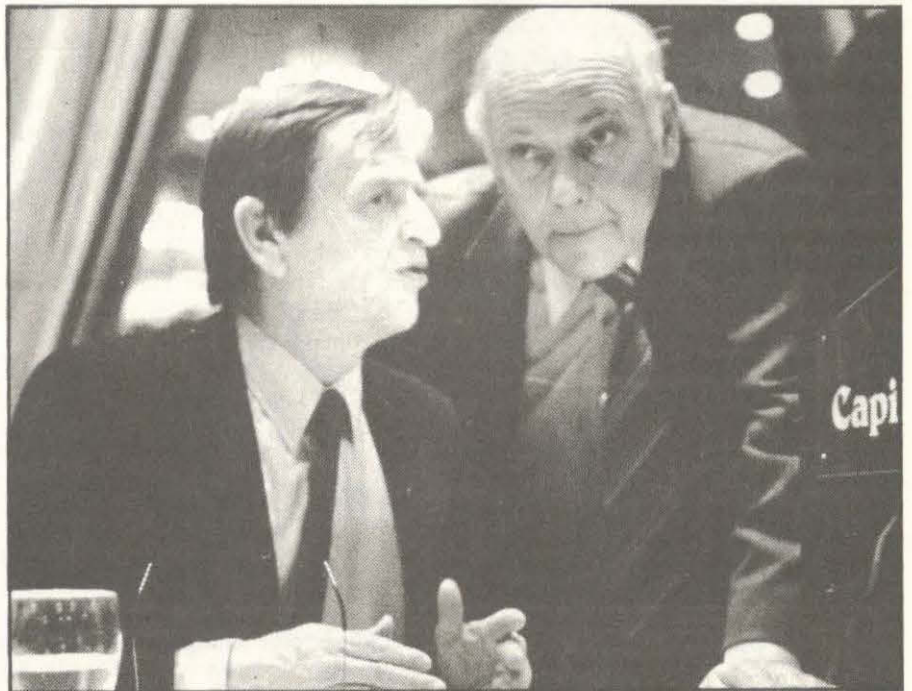
The conference's most dramatic moment came when former prime minister of Sweden Olof Palme departed from his prepared speech on economic democracy to tell of Enrique Alvarez, a businessman from El Salvador who had met with him in Sweden only a few months ago as part of a delegation. “One day in November (Alvarez) and other leaders of the Democratic Revolutionary Front had a meeting in the church office of a secondary school. Armed men, both in civilian clothes and in uniform, burst into the meeting and took away eleven people. Next day six of them were found dead. They had all been tortured and strangled. Enrique Alvarez was among them. His left arm had been cut off.”

As he spoke, a shudder passed through the audience. Palme looked up, bitterness in his voice. “Yesterday in the newspaper I read that a so-called (Reagan) transition team had proposed basic

changes designed to reduce the influence of human rights advocates and 'social reformers' in the administration concerned with Latin America. I sincerely hope that this is not true. . . .”

New Economic Order

Dramatic as Palme's example was, it did not exhaust the Eurosociologists' elaboration of the radical meaning of solidarity. All the major speakers addressed the necessity of creating a new international economic order, without which neither democracy nor peace is possible. As Socialist International President Willy Brandt outlined the steps necessary to make that new order more than a slogan, it became clear that the problem is almost unimaginably severe, the needed solutions radical. Not only will we have to transfer more resources to developing countries, Brandt said, we will have to plan global energy supplies. Brandt underlined the pressing need to end mass hunger, and to reform the international development and financial institutions. “There is no longer room for gross materialism, which in any case does not go well with a democratic *raison d'etre*,” Brandt warned, “European Social Democrats certainly are not pleading the virtue of high-minded renunciation: they are pleading the case for social justice and fair treatment, both within states and between states.”



Gretchen Donart

Olof Palme, I., and Joop den Uyl

HUMAN RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICA

"During the recent election campaign here in the United States I heard all the main contenders for the Presidency express their admiration for the courage and discipline of the Polish workers and voice their support of their democratic aims. I think these were timely and fitting remarks. I now look forward to hearing the leaders of the United States express their admiration for the courage of the poor and oppressed in El Salvador and Guatemala, not to speak of Argentina and Chile and their support of their democratic aims. This would indeed be of tremendous importance. . . .

This is indeed a great country and a great people. I would like you to be proud of America, of your democratic values, of what you stand for, the determined and generous action you take for other people. There is no better place to show the real value of American democracy than in the fight for human rights and peace in Latin America".

Olof Palme

Democracy constituted the second half of the conference's theme, but there was no ritualistic invocation of democracy as a panacea. Through the plenaries and workshops, the themes of democratizing the economy, democratizing society, and democratizing the political process were examined critically, with little rhetorical flourish. Here the practical experiences of the Swedish, British, Dutch, and Austrian labor governments proved particularly valuable for pointing out the pitfalls and indicating promising new departures.

Economic Democracy

Saturday morning keynoter Olof Palme pointed out that the Swedish welfare state, based on Keynesian principles and planned by socialist experts, had

brought great improvements in the life of common people. Nevertheless, by 1970, grave problems remained. "We could not be responsible for efforts in health and welfare while at the same time people in production were being worn out and the victims of increasing risks of accident. We could not work for a tremendous improvement of the modern infrastructure . . . while ignoring the place where people produced goods which laid the foundation of our welfare. We couldn't purposefully carry out the principles of equal treatment in our social legislation, while silently sitting by and watching an unreasonable division of people into categories in working life. We could not talk about decision sharing in various areas of public life, without at the same time making an effort to democratize the workplace.

"The concept of a welfare society includes ideas of security and equality, solidarity, and democracy. But all too often these values seem to be set aside when decisions in the business world were made on investments, on personnel policy, on production methods. These decisions were made on behalf of capital owners and with private profit as a guidepost. The free market forces at times became brutal to individuals, groups, or entire communities."

In order to overcome these contradictions, to renew working life, Palme's administration passed legislation on workplace safety, job security, the status of shop stewards, and the democratization of management. The laws passed and implemented under his government made into reality the ideas that seem visionary to Americans.

Workshops on aspects of economic democracy amplified points made by Palme. Each featured presentations by Europeans and Americans.

David Gordon, an economist at the Institute for Labor Education and Research, set the stage for these discussions with a presentation demonstrating that the current liberal and conservative advocates of cutting business taxes and freeing enterprise could not account for the slump in international capitalism. He argued that instead governments would have to restructure their nations' economies to bring about recovery.

Gordon's fellow panelist, Stuart Holland, a Labor Party member of the British Parliament, bolstered Gordon's argument by pointing out that British corporations now pay no taxes because of tax rebates enacted under misguided Labor governments. This generosity to corporations has not brought about an investment boom—on the contrary. In the face of deflationary fiscal policies carried out by such governments as Margaret Thatcher's and envisioned by Ronald Reagan's, businesses simply will not invest more.

But boosting investment will not be possible without restructuring economies, Holland added, echoing Gordon's conclusion. That restructuring will have to be "plural," being neither state enterprise, state planning, nor central control, but new forms of public, municipal, cooperative, sometimes state, sometimes federal, sometimes local enterprise. Planning would be a process of social negotiation that would cut into the power of the multinational corporations.

How to stimulate plural investments of the sort Holland advocated? Swedish economist Rudolf Meidner distinguished between profit sharing to benefit individual employees, and wage-earner funds, which gradually establish collective ownership and control of firms in order to shift the balance of power from capital to labor, and to make resources available for productive investment. Carol O'Cleiracain, economist at DC 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in New York, analyzed the potential of American unions' pension funds, which currently are not managed in the interests of labor.

Brian Turner, Director for Economic Policy for the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department, heartened conference participants when he observed that the proposals discussed by Meidner and O'Cleiracain were not so far from current AFL-CIO thinking. And Turner expressed a general consensus when he ar-



Gretchen Donart

Francisco Peña Gomez, leader of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, chats with Steve Ramirez, I., of the DC-Md. Local.

gued that pension funds were not needed for investment because there is a capital shortage. In fact, there is massive capital investment by private institutions in speculation, inflation hedging, and other non-productive ventures. "And that is not a problem that can be solved by tax cuts for business."

At another session, Jacques Attali, an economist for the French Socialist Party, argued that unemployment is not a problem for capitalism but a solution, a tool used to get out of crises by increasing the share of unpaid work. Attali pointed to the imminent automation of clerical labor as a grave challenge to advocates of full employment. Any solution would "involve nothing short of redefining, as well as changing, the nature of work," and imposing our own values on the future course of technological development.

Democratizing the Society

In his plenary speech on Saturday afternoon, Dutch former prime minister Joop den Uyl gave an analysis of the welfare state remarkably similar to Palme's analysis of Keynesian economic policy. He argued that in the years 1945-70, Holland and several other European countries created a comprehensive welfare state with full employment, planned wage policies, social insurance, and social services. This was a success. . . . And yet, "during the sixties, socialism began to lose its appeal for the younger generation. The revolt of the sixties was a movement that was anti-establishment, anti-institutional and anti-history. In Europe, it was first and foremost a movement which was directed against . . . a welfare state suffering from ossification. . . . It coincided with opposition to the numerous new institutions regulating the affairs of the community and attending to its needs without any real participation whatsoever

on the part of the people. . . . All European socialist parties have experienced the effects of this movement. . . . In my own party . . . the reaction to the ossification of the welfare state has led to radical rejuvenation of the party, in both the executive and among the members, and undoubtedly its program has become more radical as well."

Den Uyl went on to argue that "the need for social reform dominates the stance of the socialist parties" in such areas as penal law, land policy, workplace decision-making, health and welfare organizations, and educational institutions. On the latter issue, he cited "a striving in education to allow parents, teachers and pupils to have a say and replace the prominent figures in the community who traditionally sat on school boards."

Once again, the workshops elaborated and made specific the theme of the plenary. For example, in the session on "Equality Between Men and Women," Mai Britt Theorin, a socialist member of Sweden's parliament, discussed the steps her government had taken to bring about gender equality, full employment, equal educational opportunity, expanded day care, paid parental leave—all have contributed to a growing parity in income: Swedish women now earn 89 percent of what men earn. Nevertheless, she said, inequality remains, and seems likely to stay. For example, although paid parental leave is now available to men as well as women, fewer than 10 percent of fathers take advantage of it.

And there are still two labor markets: women remain in job ghettos despite government programs aimed at breaking them down. In these ghettos, half work part time, "which means they still have the responsibility at home, their position in the labor market is weak, and they are still economically dependent on



Gretchen Donart

“We can't let Orrin Hatch and Jesse Helms set our agenda.”

Marjorie Phyfe

men.”

Frustrated by the slow pace of progress, Swedish feminists are attacking the problem in a new way, by calling for a six-hour work day, to make equal and full employment possible, and to make shared parenting possible as well. In response to feminist pressure, many unions have added the six-hour day to their list of bargaining demands, though as yet, none have attained it.

Gains from Conference

By the end of the Saturday afternoon workshops, most participants were surfeited with new ideas and arguments, but still positive about the conference. Randy Barber, head of the People's Business Commission, commented: "I go to so many conferences that I came here expecting to be bored. But this was the first conference in a long time that excited me and started me thinking along new lines." Cleve Stockmayer, who works at the Washington Office on Latin America, answered reporters' questions about his response to the conference by filling out a DSOC membership card. Bernt Carlsson, the Swedish general secretary of the Socialist International, predicted the conference would be significant for American democratic socialism. In Carlsson's view, "Eurosocijalism and America" represented a breakthrough in three ways: it opened up a new level of contact between European and American socialists; it gave DSOC in particular legitimacy and visibility on the American left; and it height-

ON FEMINISM

"Feminism has nothing to do with one or two women getting into power but everything to do with change in the sexual caste system." Gloria Steinem

"Everyone in Sweden accepts the idea of equality between men and women. On paper, we have achieved almost everything. But almost everything remains to be done. And now, not knowing who the enemy is, it's difficult to choose the proper weapons." Mai Britt Theorin

"We haven't even reached a satisfactory definition of women's family rights. And, in the realm of work, in a country like mine, women have been trained for jobs that they can not find and they have not been trained for the jobs they have to do." François Mitterrand

ened European socialists' understanding of the prospects for socialism in America. Willy Brandt echoed Carlsson's thought in his closing plenary address, when he suggested that European and American socialist youth might organize exchange programs such as have proved fruitful for French and German youth in recent years.

Political Democracy

But even if such exchanges are fruitful and multiply, American socialists face the challenge of becoming a serious force in American society at a time when our political system itself has become inadequate to the task of making democracy real. In his plenary address, François Mitterrand, leader of the French Socialist Party, warned that this problem existed throughout the world; that in Western Europe the content of democracy was being eroded even as the parliamentary shell remained. And he pointed to new technologies, such as nuclear energy, genetic engineering, telecommunications, and computers, which threaten to make democracy impossible to realize in the near future.

Mitterrand's rival for Socialist Party leadership, Michel Rocard, had another warning for Americans attending his workshop presentation. Rocard cautioned



El Foto

Willy Brandt, l., and François Mitterrand

us against adopting the European Social Democratic parties as our models as we try to develop political vehicles in the future. These parties are not perfect, Rocard declared, in fact, they are now decadent. The rigid parties of Europe are good for teaching the public, for developing platforms, for pressuring elected officials, for

stabilizing the political environment, for facilitating the development of long-term programs, and for establishing legitimacy. But they are not well suited to modern society, for as they develop a life of their own, they become insulated from the communities they are supposed to represent. Rocard predicted that socialist political vehicles of the future will find ways of reconciling political life with the work of the trade unions, consumer associations, and environmental organizations. Furthermore, only to the extent that socialists learn how to politicize local issues such as housing, social services, and family life will they be able to create parties that can be effective tools for extending political democracy.

Rocard's partners on the panel spoke of transforming the Democratic party to be more like the European Socialist parties. Donald Fraser, mayor of Minneapolis and a backer of past Democratic party reforms, complained that the party had become a pawn in the hands of media manipulators. Though reformers had not meant to do so, they'd created a primary system that made the media, rather than the party, the selector of nominees. Fraser's solution: wrest control of party laws from the state legislatures and return it to the party so that measures to restore the power of leaders, activists, and party members can be enacted.

Marjorie Phylfe from the political action staff of the International Association of Machinists took a different tack.

SHORT TAKES

"Culture is another word for successful politics which go so deep they are no longer seen as changeable."

Gloria Steinem

"British laws are made in Brussels; our industrial policy is made by the multinationals; we are just an off-shore airbase to the U.S., and our economic policy is made by the IMF."

Tony Benn

"Milton Friedman is with us in Europe. He is your worst export. If you don't contain it, we will have to impose import restrictions."

Joop den Uyl

"I speak tonight from the perspective of an endangered species—that of an incumbent congressional Democrat who rejects any and all efforts to return America to a past that never was—or worse, a past that never should have been."

Ron Dellums

"At this point, we can only advise our missing friends [from other great American trade unions] to either lead or follow, but get the hell out of the way, because the times do not permit, nor do our members have the patience to wait on the niceties of behind-the-scenes power arrangements in a declining political economy."

William Winpisinger

"I remember when, after the liberation of Portugal in 1974, Rosa Coutinho and Otelo de Carvalho visited Sweden. . . . They were informed about our new labor laws, and one asked: how long will it take before the laws are fully in operation? The answer was 'Some twenty years.' They were thunderstruck. For a true revolutionary twenty hours is a long time. Reformism is a slow process. But it is the only way of really transforming society based on the ideals of democracy."

Olof Palme

Agreeing that party responsibility was important, she focused on whom candidates and elected officials should be responsible to. The labor movement could become the center of a coalition that could rebuild for the Democratic party a working class base to which politicians would have to answer, Phyfe predicted. "If we made the Democratic party a firm party, we might lose some Southern racists, and urban machine organizations, but would gain something of vital importance, the ability to set the agenda for country. We can't let Orrin Hatch and Jesse Helms do that anymore."

Program for Survival

The conference closed on a high point—Willy Brandt's moving examination of the prospects for human survival. Are we living in a period of crisis? Brandt said no:

"Anyone who turns his attention to this first year of the 1980s will surely agree with me: we are experiencing a dramatic development. It is not a process of measurable change, but a series of wide-ranging upheavals in science and thinking, in economic affairs and in international relations. The numerous crises precipitated in many parts of the world provide ample evidence of this radical change. It would then be quite wrong to allow ourselves to be hypnotized by that suggestive word 'crisis.' There is no hope of things simply righting themselves and returning to normalcy."

Brandt identified three features of this worldwide change. First, the internationalization of capital and the slowdown of economic growth; second, the

"Our most precious assets are human inventiveness and social responsibility. And it is these qualities which the peoples of the world must call to mind . . . or else they will not survive the present age."

Willy Brandt

escalating arms race and buildup of East-West tensions; third, the widening gap between wealthy and poor nations.

Brandt's tone was somber, but he was not pessimistic. He prophesied progress in European unification, in the relax-

ation of East-West tensions, in arms limitation, and in "global negotiations" towards a new economic order. But he did counsel patience: "It looks as if we shall be afflicted during the foreseeable future with more problems than can be solved quickly enough. The objective of all responsible people in politics must therefore be to prevent this gap from growing wider. . . . We live in a common world marked by a shortage of resources and a steady growth in the problems confronting us. Our most precious assets are human inventiveness and social responsibility. And it is these qualities which the peoples of the world must call to mind as they become fully aware of their mutual dependence. Either that, or else they will not survive the present age safe and sound."

Though Brandt's words were sober, his audience filed out of the Grand Ballroom elated. The conference had brought about the sense of solidarity that it had

proclaimed to be indispensable if democracy is to have a future. And for all the shortcomings of the welfare states Olof Palme and Joop den Uyl helped to establish and now criticize, for American socialists, those welfare states can only seem like great accomplishments. Learning about those advances gave us new hope for the future. ■

David Bensman teaches labor history at Rutgers University. Bill Thomas is active in Portland, Ore. DSOC. Both serve on the DSOC national board.

■ ■ ■ EUROSOCIALISM TAPES

Just because you couldn't make it to the conference doesn't mean you can't find out what went on. Tapes of conference sessions are available from Eastern Audio Associates, Inc., Oakland Center, 8980 Route 108, Columbia, Md. 21045. Write for an order form and price list.

Sharing Visions For Democracy

By Michael Harrington

DURING THE FIRST WEEK IN DECEMBER, democratic socialism came to the halls of the United States Congress. If socialism did not sweep the floor of the House and Senate—where Ron Dellums makes up the entire socialist caucus—it did hold two days of lively discussion in the Cannon House Office Building, prior to the "Eurosociology and America" Conference.

About 20 European experts—trade unionists like Clive Jenkins, the leader of one of Britain's most important white collar unions, and Pierre Hureau, secretary of the French Democratic Confederation of Workers (CFDT), economists such as Sweden's Rudolf Meidner and France's Jacques Attali, parliamentarians like Germany's Ulrich Steger and France's Edith Cresson—met with American policy experts, unionists, and activists. The discussion, sponsored by the Institute for

Democratic Socialism, focused on capital formation, industrial dislocation, and worker participation, allowing Americans and Europeans the opportunity to trade both concrete experiences, future hopes and, at times, friendly disagreements.

At the opening dinner on December 3, Dennis McDermott, head of the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC) and the leader of trade union support for the socialist New Democratic Party (NDP), described how Canadian labor is trying to involve shop stewards and the rank and file in the political process. The goal is to make the factory and office floor mobilization points for NDP activity and to lift politics out of its routine patterns. Because the CLC made some real progress in this direction, the NDP increased its representation in Ottawa in the last election even though the liberal sweep would normally have resulted in losses. American trade unionists at the dinner could be observed either shaking their heads in

disbelief at such a development just north of the border that involves many of their own international unions, or else turning green with envy.

Controlling Capital

The first plenary, chaired by Carl Shier of the United Auto Workers (UAW), took place in the caucus room of the Cannon House Office building. Rudolf Meidner, who developed the original idea of a wage earners fund for the Swedish union federation, LO, sketched the history of profit sharing schemes, sharply differentiating between individual and collective profit sharing. In the former the workers become—at best—passive and irrelevant shareholders; in the latter they exercise their rights and power as a group on the board of directors. For Meidner, the main point of collective profit sharing was not initially linked to capital formation but to questions of equity and economic democracy. He had urged, he said, that already existing capital be democratized and it was only later on that others, including party leader Olof Palme, added the dimension of capital formation, arguing that workers would be much more likely to forgo present consumption for investment if they knew that they would share, in every way, in the benefits of that investment.

That question of emphasis surfaced in the discussions. Austria's Egon Matzner noted that economic democracy could be a new productive force, a point echoed by this writer. Meidner and retired UAW Special Projects Director Nat Weinberg countered that there was no capital shortage, only a misallocation of funds, a comment that Barry Bluestone, co-author of an excellent Progressive Alliance study on plant closings, reiterated during the plenary on industrial dislocation. And Norbert Wiczorek of the German SPD, a top official at a worker-owned bank which is a major financial power, emphasized the difficulty of running a socialist institution in a capitalist environment.

But, Wiczorek added, one of the important side effects of the worker bank is that the unions get detailed information on the economy that was not otherwise available to them. Many participants echoed that point, among them Clive Jenkins, Pierre Hureau, Irving Bluestone, recently retired vice-president of the Auto Workers, and Nicole Questiaux of the National Board of the French Socialist Party. Throughout all the sessions there



Gretchen Donart

“ Current pension funds, O’Cleireacain demonstrated, have a yield well below the rate of inflation. Therefore, workers are often involved in unwittingly subsidizing capital with their own shrinking retirement monies. ”

was general agreement on the need to democratize economic power and processes. But, Wiczorek and the others emphasized, that is only possible if there is a radical change in the distribution of information. Indeed, Nicole Questiaux commented, capital already spends sums on disinformation that would suffice to underwrite genuine information.

The capital formation discussion also heard a fascinating presentation by Carol O’Cleireacain of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employee’s (AFSCME) DC 37. Current pension funds, O’Cleireacain demonstrated, have a yield well *below* the rate of inflation. Therefore, workers are often involved in unwittingly subsidizing capital with their own shrinking retirement monies. The point, she said, was to change both the priorities and the value of the assets nominally held by the workers. That, Leslie Nulty of the Machinists and Nicole Questiaux insisted, could only be done by expanding trade union organization, which is the *sine qua non* of all these proposals. Worker ownership, Questiaux urged, could not be a “middle-class gadget”; it had to enhance both the individual and

collective well-being of the workers involved.

The second plenary, chaired by IDS board member Ruth Jordan, debated problems of industrial location in a world capitalist economy going through structural changes in basic sectors like steel. These problems, Edith Cresson held, were intensified by the multinational character of corporations which now fled, not simply regions within a country, but nations and even continents. They are also a function of low growth, energy costs, and the evolving prices of labor and capital. Yet even though all of these factors point to a deep, structural crisis, most of the measures thus far put forward have been at best defensive.

Electronics Threat

Ulrich Steger, a German economist and socialist member of parliament, emphasized a theme which is at the center of most European discussions of dislocations but which has yet to grip the American public: micro-electronics. Within the next two years, he said, 15 percent of the jobs in Germany would be affected by this trend; within 10 years, it would touch 50 percent. Moreover, robotization would not be confined to the plant floor; it would radically transform offices as well (Tony Benn, the British Labor MP, found this last trend at work in his own country). Brian Turner of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO took a similar tack and concluded that these developments made broad coalition politics all the more imperative. And Harley Shaiken, a Detroit-based economist now at MIT, argued for a specific trade union program to respond to these technological changes. Benn and Shaiken felt that this opens up some particularly important possibilities for economic and political organization among white collar workers.

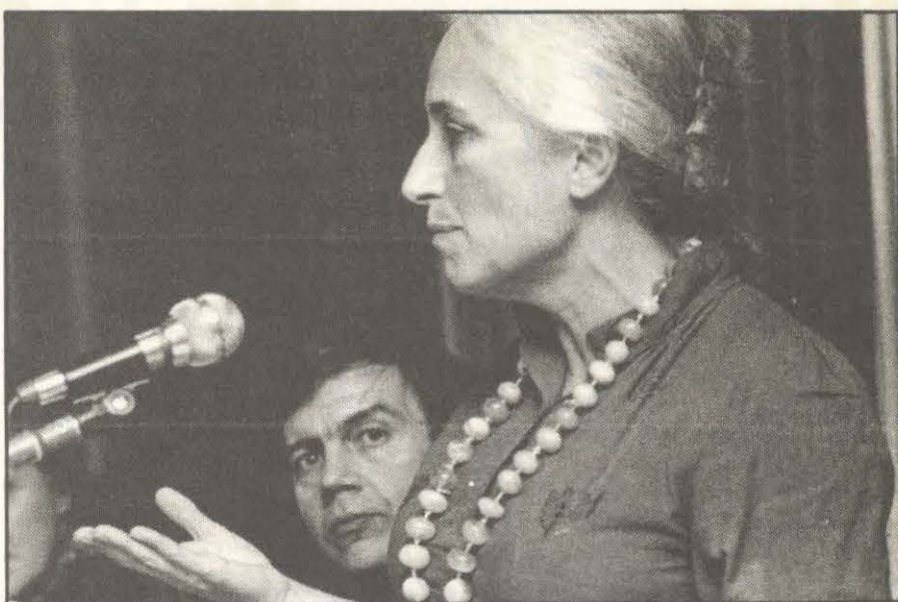
In a sense, the first two plenaries anticipated some of the discussion in the third session on workers’ participation, chaired by Bill Lucy of AFSCME. At this conference, and at the large public conference that followed, almost everyone saw democracy not simply as an ethical or political value, but as a critically important instrument of economic policy as well. After hearing Jan Bergquist, a Swedish socialist MP, talk of some of the gains already made in that country in this area—for instance, the occupational safety and health *ombudsman* can shut down

a dangerous process on her/his own—Ed Donahue of the Graphic Arts International commented wryly that we could use some Swedish conservatives in the United States since they seem to be to the left of most Americans.

The issue of worker participation as Irving Bluestone defined it has two, related thrusts: the democratization of the macro-economic decisions made on the board of directors; and equally important, the democratization of life on the plant and office floor. Technology all around the world, Bluestone remarked, is authoritarian in nature. Both Pierre Hureau of the CFTD and Jacques Attali, one of François Mitterrand's economic advisors, commented on the fraudulence of Soviet claims to worker participation in a society totally ruled by a distant bureaucracy. But, DSOC's Bogdan Denitch and others said, workers' participation cannot be considered as a substitute for the political power of the producers, with humane production lines taking the place of the fight for socialism. Indeed, Denitch argued, the democratization of work cannot occur without the democratization of the entire economy. But that task, Clive Jenkins noted, is all the more difficult today precisely because multinationals have deployed production on a global scale and made it impossible for workers in any one country to control the processes of production.

At the final luncheon in the Rayburn Office Building Attali delivered a brilliant talk, analyzing the current crisis as not simply a problem for capitalism but as part of the capitalist solution, a brutal way of readapting and restructuring the economy so as to once again unite capital, ideology, and technology in an even more profitable system.

IDS organized the small conference to encourage communication and debate among experts. This goal was more than fulfilled. Although participants differed over issues such as capital formation, the economic impact of workers' control, and the like, there was a strong central commitment to the democratization of the economy. Interestingly enough, at the post-conference press conference Edith Cresson noted that she thought the Europeans had learned as much as they had taught and had been tremendously impressed by the Americans whom they encountered. But everyone—European and American—realized that it was necessary to have an alternative to what Stuart



“Worker ownership, Questiaux urged, could not be a ‘middle-class gadget’; it had to enhance both the individual and collective well-being of the workers involved.”

Holland, British Labor MP, called “hangman economics”: pull out the floor of the welfare state by cutting back on its basic guarantees while you wrap high interest rates around the neck of the economy.

The conference did not come up with a program or a strategy and was not intended to; but it helped people who, on both sides of the Atlantic, will be working on a variety of programs and strategies. ■

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

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Notes on a New Congress

By David Hoffman

WITH THE NEW REPUBLICAN majority in the Senate and a major power shift in the still Democratic House, the 97th Congress will fashion the most dramatic facelift in the national legislature in a quarter century—surgery that will not make the patient more attractive to leftists.

The old Democratic order, fundamentally reversed in the Senate, remains in nominal control of the House. Most of the "Watergate babies" of the "Class of '74" were reelected and Democrats hold a 26-vote majority. On any number of issues, however, this will be only a paper majority and effective control will be beyond the grasp of the Democratic leadership.

In the last Congress, House Democrats enjoyed an almost two-to-one majority. Assuming Republican solidarity, it took some 60 defections from Democratic ranks to defeat the leadership. The number of such defections usually ranged between 30 to 50 votes depending on the issue. In the new House, it will take only 26 defections for the Democrats to lose their majority.

Heads turned, therefore, on Capitol Hill after the election when a bloc of

conservative Democrats—who will hold the balance of power—sought a meeting with Speaker "Tip" O'Neill. Calling themselves the Conservative Democratic Forum and unofficially dubbed the "red-neck caucus," the 33 Sunbelt representatives pressed O'Neill for greater representation on key House panels, and intend to have in place a separate "whip" system

“On any number of issues, however, this will be only a paper majority and effective control will be beyond the grasp of the Democratic leadership.”

to hold their caucus together on major issues in the new Congress. The head of the group—Texas Democrat Charles Stenholm—declares that "on issues we feel strongly about, if we can be the swing vote, that's exactly what we want to do."

Stenholm and others like him support over \$26 billion in spending cuts for the current fiscal year, including slashes in CETA public service jobs, food stamps, unemployment benefits, and education programs.

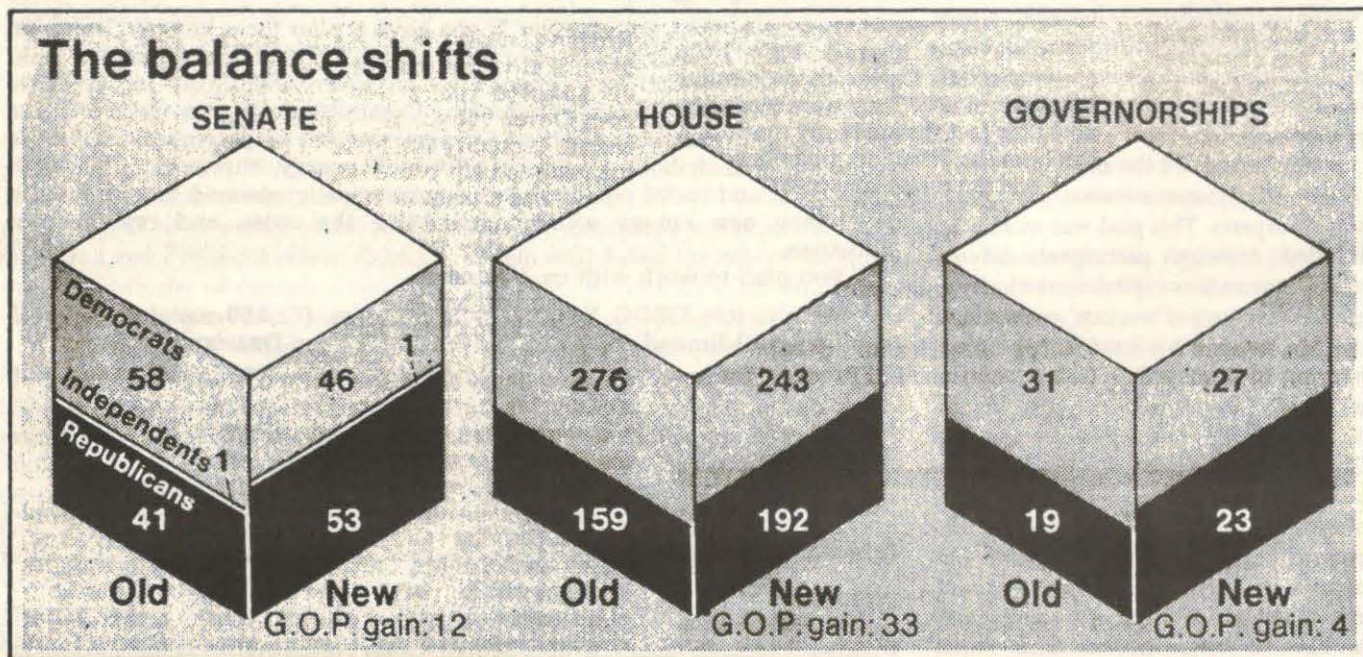
However, a real return to the right in policy requires much new legislation. Democrats have known for years that Congress is no place to look for quick decisions. As one wag put it, "Congress can take a week to make Minute Rice." Insurgent junior members and cross-cutting subcommittees will put the brakes on the most determined legislative blitzkrieg.

With inflation fighting and tax cutting sharing billing as top priorities, the Reagan team is reportedly bent on a ruthless approach to the federal budget. What is involved is more than the "waste and fraud" Reagan assailed in his stump speeches. What is involved are real tax cuts in real programs with the one certain exception of the Pentagon.

The cuts could be so deep as to make the economy's recovery from the recession even slower than it already figures to be. What remains to be seen in the first year of Republican rule is whether budget cutting on this scale is feasible, and whether Congress will go along.

In the past, Republicans did little more than blame a Democratic Congress for what went wrong. Now the shoe is on the other foot.

David Hoffman is a congressional staffer.



ON THE LEFT

By Harry Fleischman

AS MAINE GOES, SO GOES THE NATION" WAS POLITICAL wisdom until the 1936 Alf Landon debacle, when FDR won every state but Maine and Vermont and the slogan became "As Maine goes, so goes Vermont." Now DSOC brings a new slant to the Maine-Vermont axis. Scudder Parker, a young Congregational minister and active Green Mountain DSOCer, has been elected to the Vermont State Senate, joining Harlan Baker in the Maine House and Tom Gallagher in the Massachusetts House. New England's DSOC legislative presence is growing. Parker has been active in the J.P. Stevens boycott, the successful fight against so-called right-to-work legislation in Vermont, freedom of choice, and peace movements.

■ ■ ■
GUNS VS. BUTTER. JOBS AND SOCIAL PROGRAMS THROUGH reductions in military spending was the verdict on November 4 as Jobs With Peace initiatives (JWP) won by comfortable to large margins in seven U.S. cities. The vote in *Detroit*—149,204 yes to 127,790 no; *Oakland, Calif.*—58,568 to 36,442; in Massachusetts: *Newton*—18,216 to 15,151; *Brookline*, —12,418 to 8,318; *Cambridge*—14,962 to 6,844; *Somerville* —15,948 to 10,102; and *Medford*—13,120 to 10,040. The only city that defeated JWP was *Waltham, Mass.*—7,982 to 8,599—a narrow loss in a town heavily defense dependent. At least 20 more cities are slated to take up this initiative in 1981.

■ ■ ■
WHAT EVERY GIRL SHOULD KNOW, A MAJOR DOCUMENT BY Margaret Sanger, the socialist feminist who coined the term "birth control," was first published in the *New York Call*, a Socialist daily, in 1912-13. Fueled by Sanger's experiences as a public health nurse in New York slums and by her mother's untimely death after 18 pregnancies, this frank series on sex and reproduction stressed medical facts still accurate today in what the *New York Times* now calls a "fascinating blend of fire-eating radical tract, romantic prose and information on the misconceptions of the time."

When *What Every Girl Should Know* first came out, the U.S. Post Office instantly repressed the section on venereal disease under a law barring "obscene, lewd and lascivious" material from the mail. Ironically, the U.S. government distributed that same section to troops during World War I without crediting the author. Now, after 40 years out of print, the book has been republished by Belvedere Publishers, 70 W. 40 St., N.Y.C. 10018.

■ ■ ■
"THE BEST CONGRESS MONEY CAN BUY" WAS THE THEME of a Hofstra University (Long Island, N.Y.), conference on corporate political activity, addressed by John Sheehan of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and Machinists' president Bill Winpisinger. Sheehan emphasized opposition to public financing of congressional elections and said "I'm getting so sick of hearing we can buy a congressman," arguing that factors other than money often played a role in winning elections. Wimpy forecast that the final political fundraising figures for the 1980 elections would show corporate donations overshadowing labor by four to one. He favored both public financing of congress-

sional elections and a limit on spending for lobbying. He rejected Sheehan's claim that contributions to corporate political action committees were voluntary, noting that corporate requests for donations carried an implied threat: "If you want to work around here pal, you do what the top banana says."

■ ■ ■
MILDRED JEFFREY WAS HONORED WITH WASHINGTON DSOC's Eugene Debs/Norman Thomas award at a well-attended dinner in November, which also welcomed D.C.-Md.'s new organizer, Sarah Berger. Jeffrey, a union organizer since the thirties, worked for the Clothing and Auto Workers unions and served as president of the National Women's Political Caucus. . . . MICHIGAN DSOC held its first conference and convention December 13 at the University of Michigan Dearborn campus, with over 200 participants. The night before, it honored Irving Bluestone, UAW vice president (retired) and active socialist humanist, at its Debs/Thomas award dinner. More than 300 attended, including Representative John Conyers; Michigan Secretary of State Richard Austin; Erma Henderson, president of the Detroit City Council; state senators and representatives and many unionists. . . . ZOLTAN FERENCY won his first elective public office November 4 as Ingham County Commissioner. He joins DSOCer Phil Ballback, re-elected to that post. Re-elected as state representative from Clinton Township near Mt. Clemens was David Evans. Peg Kuebler was re-elected Ypsilanti commissioner. . . . ON INAUGURATION DAY, January 21, the Lansing DSOC local will show the "greatest achievement" of Ronald Reagan—his B-rated blockbuster, *Bedtime for Bonzo*, at Michigan State University.

■ ■ ■
ST. JOHNSBURY, VERMONT DSOCERS SHARON GOLDENBERG and Louis DiLeberto were subjects of feature articles in the *Barre Times-Argus* and *Rutland Sunday Herald* reporting on the TV co-op both direct. It uses the St. Johnsbury TV access channel to "give cable subscribers a handle on local events, community problems and interesting personalities." The co-op uses the services of six CETA enrollees training in the Television and Youth Program. (Other local activists—take note.) THE FALL ISSUE of *Religious Socialism*, issued by the Religion and Socialism Committee of DSOC, features articles on "Toward a Jewish Socialism." Subscriptions, at \$3 per year, are available from *Religious Socialism*, 1 Maolis Rd., Nahant, Mass. 01908.

■ ■ ■
CONTEMPORARY WORKERS' ART IS CURRENTLY ON DISPLAY at the United Auto Workers headquarters in Detroit. The unusual exhibit of works by more than 30 artists was put together from among 1,500 pieces UAW members and their spouses entered in a national contest sponsored by the union's Local Union Press Association (LUPA). Doubling as a catalog for this exciting exhibit, which gives fitting tribute to the dignity of workers, is a full-color 1981 calendar that includes 24 top works from the show. Each month opens to an 11" x 17" wall hanging and also features key events in labor and civil rights

Continued on page 15

Madrid Conference Gives Strength to Socialists

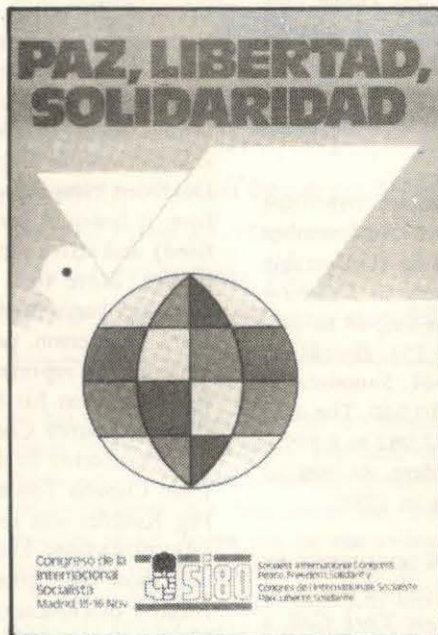
By Michael Harrington

THE FIFTEENTH POST-WAR Congress of the Socialist International (SI) took place in the wake of the election of Ronald Reagan and a right-wing Senate in the United States and that fact lent a new urgency to the SI's commitment to disarmament and peace. It was a repeated theme of the leaders of member parties in Latin America and the Caribbean, an area of growing SI strength and activity. There were other issues, of course, with the question of Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) being one of the most important.

Before getting to the politics of the Congress, a word about the place is in order, for that was one of the most moving aspects of the event. Madrid, Felipe Gonzalez, leader of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE), said in his greetings to the Congress, was for these days the "capital of world socialism." The same Madrid which for so many years had been the capital of European fascism! When we attended a reception given by the Socialist mayor of Madrid, it seemed to me that SI President Willy Brandt's voice almost broke as he told of the deep emotions socialists felt in this city. And when I went to the exhibition on the Civil War in a public building in a public park a mere five years after Franco's death, I had to fight back tears when I looked at the revolutionary banners and posters and listened to the militants of a generation ago singing the *Internationale* as they marched through the streets of this city.

There was even a lighter side to all this. When a barber saw DSOC's Motl Zelmanowicz's SI delegate's badge, he refused to accept money for a haircut. It made one think of Orwell's description of how the waiters abolished tipping in Barcelona during the Civil War out of respect for their own dignity.

But then, all was not nostalgia and



SI Congress commemorative poster.

“When I went to the exhibition on the Civil War in a public park a mere five years after Franco's death, I had to fight back tears when I looked at the revolutionary banners and posters.”

hope for Spain. In his inaugural address, Brandt spoke of being deeply fearful for world peace in the eighties. Later on in the debates, the SI president insisted that the Congress should call not merely for the ratification of SALT II—which everyone knew was improbable in the light of the American election—but should also push for the beginnings of SALT III. Speaker after speaker mentioned the fear of what the Reagan Presidency and Re-

publican Senate would mean. But there was also a tendency to hope that the wild rhetoric of the banquet circuit and early campaign would be replaced by more sober considerations when Reagan actually took power.

Life was made more complex for everyone by the fact that the Conference on European Security and Cooperation was meeting in Madrid at the same time as the SI and only managed to adopt an agenda after days of wrangling. In a moving speech, François Mitterrand brilliantly outlined the profoundly democratic character of the socialist commitment and then named just a few of the friends who had been invited to Madrid but could not come because of repression: Andrei Sakharov of the Soviet Union, Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Kim Dae Jung of South Korea. Jaime Paz Zamora, the democratically elected vice president of Bolivia, was able to address the Congress on behalf of the legal government of his country "in resistance."

Indeed, Latin America was one of the central preoccupations of the Congress. It was also the only question on which I took the floor as chair of the DSOC delegation. Reagan and many of his close associates, I told the delegates, have a particularly reactionary attitude towards Latin America and his election could be taken as a signal for vicious repression by the rightists in that region. David Rockefeller, I noted, had just publicly stated in Argentina—in Argentina!—that the human rights emphasis of American foreign policy was at an end. The SI, I concluded, should hope that Reagan might go back on his previous extreme positions, as he did during the campaign on a number of questions; but it should also put Washington on notice that its actions in Latin America would be a litmus test for the socialist and democratic movements of the world. The final resolution of the Congress took up that plea,

stating that "we will regard the new administration's attitude toward Latin America and the Caribbean as a signal for its posture in the whole world."

Concern for Nicaragua

Representatives from a number of Latin American and Caribbean parties were in Madrid, and the Salvadorean, Guillermo Ungo, received a standing ovation. At the request of the Nicaraguans, (the Sandinista foreign minister, Miguel d'Escoto, a Catholic priest, and Commandante Bayardo Arce were guests of the Congress) an International Committee for the Defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution was created. It will champion nonintervention by great powers into that country, the right of self determination for the Nicaraguans and will make more information available on events there. The Committee, to be chaired by Felipe Gonzalez, includes many of the major leaders of SI mass parties (Bruno Kreisky, François Mitterrand, Olof Palme), representatives from the Third World (Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela, Francisco Peña Gomez of the Dominican Republic, Michael Manley of Jamaica). I was also elected a member. It held its first meeting during the "Eurosocialism and America" conference held in Washington, D.C. in early December.

The Middle East came up in a number of ways. On the second day of the Congress, a statement issued by Brandt, Kreisky, Shimon Peres and Boutros Boutros-Ghali of the National Democratic Party of Egypt, called upon "all neighboring parties and especially Jordan to shoulder their responsibilities and to enter into constructive negotiations with Israel. . . ." This development was particularly significant given the public criticisms by Peres and the Israeli socialists of the Brandt-Kreisky meeting with Yasir Arafat in Vienna during the summer of 1979. But another statement, initiated by the PSOE and the Italian Socialist Party (PSI), called for negotiations between Israel and the PLO. It did not, however, insist that the PLO recognize Israel's right to exist prior to such negotiations, a fatal flaw in the opinion of the DSOC delegation. The PSOE-PSI declaration was endorsed by the socialist Parties of Austria, El Salvador, Malta, the Dominican Republic, Senegal, and Venezuela, and by the Radical Party of Chile (a member of the SI).

However, the official final resolu-

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL STATEMENT ON EL SALVADOR

The Socialist International condemns the murders of FDR opposition alliance leaders in El Salvador by armed forces of that country. Again persons who stand for democracy, social and economic progress have become victims of savage terror.

Among those murdered are Enrique Alvarez Cordova, president of the opposition alliance FDR and Enrique Barrera, member of the executive committee of the Socialist International member party in El Salvador, MNR.

The current sad events have further confirmed the attitude of the Socialist International regarding developments in El Salvador.

It is up to the members of the ruling Junta of El Salvador to make credible and visible efforts to end the carnage. The continuation of repressive policies makes meaningless and false their appeals for respect and support as well as for talks with the opposition.

The Socialist International maintains that the United States and other states presently supporting the Junta should review their policies in Central America in favour of the democratic forces of the region.

The Socialist International extends its unwavering solidarity to the families and political friends in El Salvador who mourn for their fallen comrades.

Willy Brandt
President

Bernt Carlsson
General Secretary

tion of the Congress—adopted after a lengthy debate in the Bureau of the International the night before the final session—place its hopes in "the Israeli Labour alignment . . . the only viable force for peace for and with Israel." It deliberately did not mention the PLO, not the least because it believed that a Peres victory would do more for everyone, including the Palestinians, than any other outcome and that no statement should be adopted which in any way might interfere with that development. Eventually, both the PSOE and the PSI participated in this consensus and did not press their statement for a vote at the final session.

In other words, the SI once again demonstrated a new fact of life in inter-

national politics: that since Brandt assumed its presidency in 1976, there is a serious political coalition of socialists on a world scale, one which more and more reaches out to, has dialogues with, and works for the Third World. An observer from the Republican National Committee asked me why Brandt was doing all of this. And I said—a view that this Congress reinforced—that he is a profoundly committed and moral man who has dedicated his life to world peace and the vast majority of humankind. That attitude is incarnated in Brandt and it permeated all of the sessions during that remarkable week when the one-time capital of European fascism became the capital of world socialism. ■

CAPITAL QUOTES ■

“For Mr. Haig, the Watergate period was the trial of his life. ‘There is nobody in the White House who has suffered more from walking close to Richard Nixon than I have,’ he told an interviewer. ‘Nothing on the battlefield was as tough as this. Nor did I ever see more human tragedy. But, if
New York Times I had to do it again, I would do it—to preserve
December 17, 1980 the provisions of our Constitution.”

Tatars Fight for Homeland

By Eric Lee

AYSHE SEYTMURATOVA WAS BORN in Kerch, Crimea in the Soviet Union on February 11, 1937. Soon after her seventh birthday, she and all her people were deported from the Crimea to Central Asia. The Stalinist regime had branded the entire nation as traitors and collaborators with Nazism (the Germans had occupied the Crimea). In the aftermath of the war, and even under the deStalinization, the fate of the Crimean Tatars was forgotten. Today, thirty-seven years later, they remain exiled from their homeland.

Driven from the Crimea, persecuted for being Muslims, the Crimean Tatars created a national movement to struggle for a return to their homeland. Ayshe Seytmuratova played a prominent role in that movement and twice was arrested by Soviet authorities for speaking out against the persecution of her people. In 1966, she spent nine months in Lefortova Prison on charges of "inciting nationalistic discord." In 1971, she was arrested and sentenced to three years in labor camp for alleged "circulation of fabrications discrediting the Soviet state and social system." She left the Soviet Union—ironically, on an Israeli visa—in November, 1978 and since then has conducted a virtual one-woman crusade on behalf of the Crimean Tatars. I asked her to describe the goal of the Crimean Tatar national movement.

"The goals of our movement involve our return to the Crimea, the restoration of statehood, dense settlement of our people in one area: all of this is necessary to preserve a sense of nationhood, and to restore our very basic culture and the history of our people. . . . We would like to show the world that in a democratic and peaceful manner, without machine guns and tanks we can live in peace and get our homeland back in a peaceful way, without terror."

She described the religious persecution suffered not only by Crimean Tatars, "Even though there is talk about freedom of conscience, the conditions to enable you to really follow your conscience



“We would like to show the world that we can get our homeland back in a peaceful way.”

do not exist." All of the copies of the Koran, she says, were burned in 1944 when the Crimean Tatars were exiled from Crimea. Today, it is virtually impossible to get hold of a copy. There are only three or four religious schools for Muslims in the whole Soviet Union, and only a few mosques. However, she notes, millions of Muslims practice their religious customs at home, in secret.

The recent deterioration of the world situation has severely undermined the Crimean Tatar movement, she says. "Within the country, the repression has increased, against everyone, not only against dissidents, but also against all members of national movements. There are many Crimean Tatars in prisons."

Discrimination Against Women

Crimean Tatar women suffer special forms of discrimination. They "experience not only dual discrimination, but a *twenty-fold* discrimination. I can say as a Crimean Tatar woman who wanted to become a scholar; I was not accepted into the humanities faculty because I was a Crimean Tatar woman. That's one example of discrimination against me. Crimean Tatar woman basically have incomplete educations. Many of them didn't finish their educations after the war and many cannot read or write. And now there are no schools where classes are conducted in their native languages. . . .

They are forced to do heavy labor; they work as painters, for example. As a matter of fact, this has really become standard for the whole Soviet Union; aside from mineworkers, women do a lot, most of the heavy labor. They repair roads, drive trucks. . . . There are no publications for Crimean Tatar women, no magazines, no social organizations, no clubs."

I asked about the participation of Crimean Tatar women in the nationalist movement. "Crimean Tatar women do participate in the national movement, very many of them do. Very many have been imprisoned."

Many leftists have expressed concern that the rising Islamic movements, both inside the Islamic world and inside the U.S.S.R., are socially conservative and that their victories would be a step backward for women, gays, dissidents, ethnic minorities. Would the return of Crimean Tatars to their homeland and the establishment of their own state lead to another Khomeini-type regime? "I must first say," replied Ayshe, "that we are Sunni Muslims, while the Iranians are Shiite Muslims." She pointed out that Soviet Jewish dissidents and Crimean Tatars "have much in common . . . with regard to the issue of return to one's homeland" and have worked together closely in the dissident community—thereby disproving the claim that Islamic be-

Continued on page 15

ON THE LEFT, from page 10

history. Copies, at \$3.75, are available from UAW-LUPA, 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit, MI 48214.

■ ■ ■

WINNER OF A CIVIL SERVICE "NOBEL PRIZE" WAS DEBBIE Meier, DSOC vice-chair. The Fund for the City of New York presented her with a \$5,000 tax-free award for starting the Central Park East School, an alternative school in East Harlem, six years ago. The school has 200 students from all over the city in an experiment in unconventional teaching methods that has won high praise from critics of education.

■ ■ ■

THE 96TH BIRTHDAY OF NORMAN THOMAS WAS COMMEMORATED in songs, poetry, prose and dance November 20 at New York's Norman Thomas High School. Labor troubador Joe Glazer joined students in a program of labor and socialist songs, including his "The Children of Norman Thomas," plus their selections from John Donne, Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen and Martin Luther King. The school, on the site of the 34th Street Armory where the AFL-CIO merger convention

took place in 1955, is ten stories high and is part of a 40-story office building. At the urging of union, religious, civic and political leaders, the Board of Education unanimously named the school after Thomas despite protests from ultra-rightists. A committee of Friends of Norman Thomas High School, including the principal, faculty and Teachers' union representatives, students and longtime admirers of Thomas, helps make the students and faculty aware of Thomas's ideals, goals, and accomplishments and their meaning to the United States and the world. Each year since 1976, the committee has raised from \$5,000 to \$8,000 for important school activities, including relevant books for the school library and scholarships. This year, the committee is planning an album by the Norman Thomas Gospel Choir of spirituals, labor, and socialist songs. This writer co-chairs the committee with Rose Shapiro, former president of the Board of Education and a longtime socialist. ■

P.S. If news of your local isn't included, maybe you forgot to send it in. Send items to Harry Fleischman at 853 Broadway, Suite 801, N.Y.C. 10003.

■ ■ ■

TATARS, from page 14

liefs necessitate anti-Israel or anti-Semitic attitudes.

It is a very rare event for the Soviets to allow a Crimean Tatar to emigrate. As a result, there is no Crimean Tatar constituency in any of the Western countries. Ayshe is therefore waging a lonely and uphill struggle. "If I didn't believe that we could return to our homeland, I wouldn't be involved in the struggle," she says. She directs her appeals to the United Nations, the peoples of all countries, and has recently made special efforts to reach governments of Islamic countries. "People should understand that if they can physically destroy, or spiritually destroy, the Crimean Tatars, this is the equivalent to destroying one special facet of nature. . . . If a particular people, a nationality is destroyed, this means that a special, unique language is destroyed. Consequently a culture will be destroyed. And we know that the culture of mankind is made up of a composite of cultures. So if today the Soviet Government succeeded in destroying the Crimean Tatars, tomorrow—never mind tomorrow—today they are destroying Afghanistan! The day after tomorrow they will choose someone else." ■

Eric Lee edits The New International Review. He acknowledges the assistance of Helen Sen in translating and editing the interview.

IN MEMORIAM

RUTH KADISH

Friend, comrade, socialist.

We are all diminished by her passing, but inspired by her life.

DSOC Houston Local

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SECRETARY BOOKKEEPER. Maintain lists of associates, keep records of expenses, simple bookkeeping. Type letters, proposals; run light errands; \$200 week. Contact: Herman Benson, Association for Union Democracy, 215 Park Ave. South, Room 1711. New York City 10003. (212) 473-0606.

JIMMY HIGGINS REPORTS

CRUEL ACTS IN CLOSING DAYS — According to the December 6 *Washington Post*, Senate and House conferees approved, without hearings, an idea advanced by Senator Russell Long to exempt owners of oil royalties from payment of windfall taxes on the first \$1000 of earnings. Since Congress functions under budgeting procedures whereby every direct expenditure or tax expenditure must be made up, the conferees dealt directly with any possible deficit. They killed language that would have authorized Medicare to pay for the first three pints of blood needed by older Americans.

WHERE WAS THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT at the early December Eurosocijalism conference? A good sprinkling of trade unionists did attend and learned, by their accounts, a great deal. But the Institute for Democratic Socialism (IDS) made a point of inviting each major union in the U.S. to send leadership representatives. Unfortunately, not very many responded, and at least part of American labor leadership (or its staff) actively worked to undermine the conference. Most European unionists would like to get the AFL-CIO back into the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU); the AFL-CIO left in the late 1960s because the European socialists had, in the view of AFL-CIO leaders, too much contact with Communists. At least one major European federation was told that their leaders' attendance at the IDS conference would prevent the AFL-CIO's re-entry into ICFTU. Around some Washington labor circles, the event was referred to as "that Eurocommunism" conference. In response to repeated invitations for AFL-CIO participation, IDS received a chilly note signed by Lane Kirkland stating that the Federation was capable of setting up its own contact with European union and political leaders. Kirkland's letter arrived in an envelope bearing the name of AFL-CIO staffer Tom Kahn. A founding member of Students for a Democratic Society and one-time

protegé of Mike Harrington, Kahn is now a leader of Social Democrats, U.S.A. One the one hand we are impressed and flattered by all this. Surely disputes among American socialists and between American socialist organizations have not until now received such attention at the highest echelons of American labor.

On the other hand, this grudge match has been carried on rather long at rather high levels. In the middle of the most serious economic crisis in America since the Great Depression, people who are in considerable agreement on domestic economic policy should join ranks against the common corporate enemy, even though they are still very much at odds over international issues such as El Salvador. The IDS conference clearly suffered a loss—although not a decisive one, given the enormous success of the event. But the AFL-CIO lost, too, to the extent that some of its leaders and staffers boycotted an opportunity to discuss how to deal with the current misery. Cool heads are needed.

CHUTZPAH WAS ONCE DEFINED as the quality possessed by an adolescent who kills both parents, then asks the court to show mercy because he's an orphan. William F. Buckley is rewriting the definition. Recently returned from a tour of South and Central America, where he led the cheerleading squad for the economic progress shown by every regime under right-wing terror, Buckley has turned his attention to Europe. And he has discovered that the Socialist International is the party of appeasement to Soviet aggression. According to Buckley, Willy Brandt just doesn't know how to stand up to Communist totalitarianism; furthermore, the European Socialists show their softness by resisting generous American offers to place nuclear missiles aimed at Moscow on their soil. We can't recall just how long Mr. Buckley served as mayor of West Berlin, but we're certain that he's willing to fight the Soviet threat down to the life of the last West European.

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