

DEMOCRATIC LEFT

EDITED BY
MICHAEL HARRINGTON

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Simple or simplistic, straightforward or naive, —the nuclear freeze is in the news. Susan Hershkowitz reports on friends and critics of an idea that is sweeping the country.

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It became official on March 20. We're now the Democratic Socialists of America. New staff, new offices, new name—same struggle.

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Getting government regulations "off our backs" means that more of us will be flat on our backs with increased accidents and disease. Frank Ackerman looks at the real and hidden costs of regulation and deregulation.

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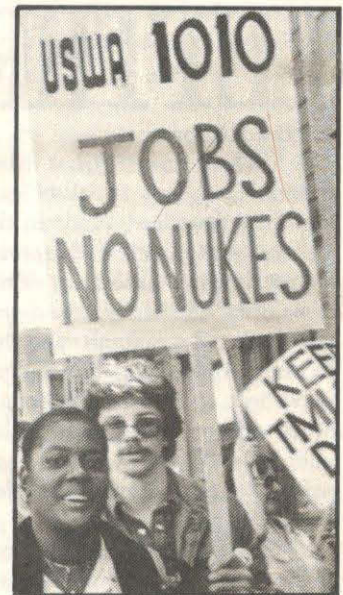
Campaigns, rallies, books, dinners, congressional testimony—DSAers spread the word about democratic socialism.

Halt Nukes, Save Jobs?

By Jordan Barab

A RECENT WASHINGTON POST headline screams: "TVA to Halt A-Plant Construction, Lay Off 4800." Is this a victory for the antinuclear movement? A defeat for labor? Must such events always result in a zero-sum solution? Imagine a headline reading: "TVA to Halt A-Plant Construction, 4800 Workers Transferred to Weatherization and Mass Transit Projects." Sixteen million men and women in this country either cannot find jobs, have stopped looking for jobs or are working part-time because they cannot find fulltime employment. As the recession deepens into depression and as more and more workers find their factories shut down and their jobs gone, it will become much easier for employers to blame environmental regulations for this country's economic problems.

Renewed hostility between workers and environmentalists would be especially destructive today because Ronald Reagan has chosen the labor and environmental movements as special targets. High on his hit list have been the environmental and health and safety regulations that protect workers in their workplaces and assure cleaner and healthier air in our communities. If the recession and the president's antilabor, anti-environment policies cause these two powerful movements to waste their energy and resources fighting each other, the only possible winners will be employers and the politicians they support.



Lionel J-M Delivonone

“ But even when environmentalists and trade unionists work together, stopping construction of a nuclear plant is only half the battle. ”

UNITY
(see p. 6)

Environmentalists and trade unionists have built a solid record of working together over the past decades. The AFL-CIO supported passage of clean air and water legislation, toxic substances control and strict stripmining legislation. Environmentalists have supported the labor movement's fight for Labor Law Reform, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and effective full employment legislation.

On the local level, environmentalists supported the Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers' strike against Shell Oil in 1973 and environmentalists and workers came together to win a health and safety strike at an Ohio nuclear fuel enrichment plant in 1979. Last year, the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO joined na-

tional and local environmental organizations to form the OSHA/Environmental Network. Local unionists and environmentalists are organizing meetings, holding rallies and lobbying their Congresspersons to defend the Clean Air Act and OSHA.

Splits on Nuclear Power

Environmentalists are realizing that workers are on the front lines of environmental hazards and that organized workers have the resources, the information and the power to stand up to environmental and job blackmail. Similarly, working people and their unions are increasingly seeing environmentalists as important allies in occupational health and safety struggles that not long ago would

have received little support from outside the plant gates.

One of the thorniest issues still bitterly dividing environmentalists from much of the labor movement is that of nuclear power. The AFL-CIO has a long history of support for nuclear energy as a vital part of our future energy growth, which the labor federation sees as a necessary prerequisite of economic growth and jobs. Official AFL-CIO policy has recently begun to recognize nuclear danger problems and to promote energy conservation. But the uncompromising nuclear advocacy of the Building and Construction Trades Department—the unions representing the plumbers, pipefitters, electricians, boilermakers and operating engineers that build the multibillion dollar plants—has assured strong AFL-CIO support for "all" energy sources and has inhibited many individual unions from coming out against nuclear power. The building trades, which depend on such huge projects for the bulk of their jobs, are one of the nuclear industry's biggest boosters, even though more and more nuclear power plants are being built using nonunion labor.

Despite strong labor and governmental support for nuclear power, the last couple of years have not been good to the nuclear industry or to the people employed in building the plants. Eight nuclear power plants were cancelled in just the first two and a half months of 1982, compared with only six cancellations in all of 1981. As construction costs continue to skyrocket and decreasing electrical demand defies the high energy predictions of the utility industry, many more plants are expected to be scrubbed.

Meanwhile, the nuclear industry is plagued by increasingly costly hazards and accidents, such as the recent emergency at Rochester's Ginna plant last January. For environmentalists, the dim prospects for nuclear power are one of the few bright areas in a political landscape scarred by the effects of runaway Reaganomics.

LETTERS

To the Editor:

"When in history has it been more frustrating to be a socialist?" asks Steve Max in a dour lead article in the March DEMOCRATIC LEFT. I disagree. This is a great time to be a socialist—a time when a majority of the American people are repudiating Reaganomics and the Reagan recession, protesting the dangerous involvement in Central America and the brutal trillion-dollar arms buildup, and linking arms with millions of Europeans in a magnificent anti-nuclear movement.

Max argues that disunity on the left is the problem. I maintain that lack of imaginative leadership in DSA is the problem, and that his article, "Choosing Our Partners," is only the latest crying example.

Max proposes that DSA strategy be built around opposition to corporate power in the economy, and express itself in coalition election efforts. He then writes: "Many in DSA will object to not seeing the issue that most concerns them mentioned here, such as peace, or

reproductive rights, or civil rights." They are important, he agrees, but then adds: "There is, however, a difference between a program—everything we are for—and a strategy—how to get from A to B."

I fear that this is merely intellectualized jargon, constituting a rationale for the failure to include in this major DSA policy analysis even one sentence denouncing, deploring, chastising—even mildly questioning—the Reagan-Haig-Weinberger plunge towards another Vietnam in El Salvador and/or Nicaragua. Lest this be regarded as picky, since we are talking about a single article, let it be said that DEMOCRATIC LEFT has never to my knowledge carried an article on El Salvador and the Reagan intervention there, *let alone state clearly that DSA will assume its rightful leadership role in the peace movement.* This despite the fact that El Salvador has come to represent an important rallying ground for democratic socialists and other progressives the world over, including Mitterrand of France.

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DEMOCRATIC LEFT

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The cancellation of one nuclear power plant—the Bailly I reactor near Gary, Indiana—provides perhaps the most significant victory of the past two years for environmentalists and trade unionists looking for successful coalitions to beat Reagan and Co. Opposing the reactor was a strong coalition of local steelworkers and safe energy activists who had come together to form the Bailly Alliance. Leading the steelworkers in the fight against Bailly was the 18,000-member Steelworker Local 1010, the largest basic steel local in the country. The steelworkers had a direct interest in seeing that Bailly was never built: they worked and lived near the plant and they knew what would happen to their jobs—and their lives—if anything went wrong.

But what distinguished Local 1010 from other unions around the country that were located near nuclear power plants and supported them? In 1971, Local 1010 formed an Environment Committee to fight Inland Steel's flagrant disregard for air and water quality in the Gary area. The workers were familiar with the job blackmail tactics that the steel companies had used to oppose workers' rights to have safe workplaces and clean and healthy communities.

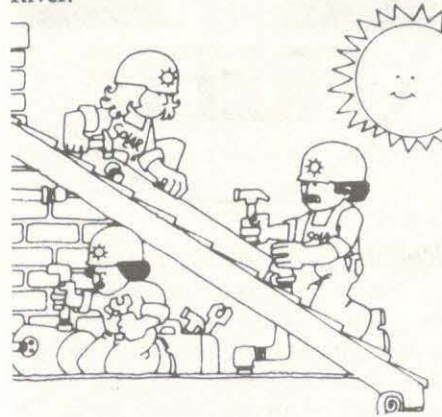
But even when environmentalists and trade unionists work together, stopping construction of a nuclear plant is only half the battle. With the recession deepening, the 4,800 construction workers laid off at the three TVA plants will have no place to go except the unemployment line.

This need to integrate work on nuclear dangers with employment issues led to the formation of the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment two years ago. The Labor Committee is a group of trade unionists working to educate and organize their co-workers about nuclear dangers, job blackmail and the availability of energy alternatives that produce jobs in conservation, coal (mined safely and burned cleanly) and solar energy.

In October 1980, 900 unionists from 55 different unions gathered in Pittsburgh for the First National Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment. Sponsored by the Labor Committee and nine international unions—including the Mine Workers, Machinists, Service Employees, Auto Workers and Graphic Arts International—the unionists talked, listened, learned, and thought

about how to shut down nuclear power and plan an equitable and democratic transition to an economy based on safe energy and full employment. Enthusiasm for the project was high, and many of the workers returned home to form safe energy committees in their union locals and to join with safe energy activists to form regional labor committees.

In Harrisburg, Pa., labor leaders, rank-and-file and safe energy activists joined together to form the Greater Harrisburg Labor Committee. Together with twelve international unions—representing more than six million workers—they organized a demonstration to commemorate the second anniversary of the Three Mile Island accident. Fifteen thousand workers and their allies marched through the streets of Harrisburg to oppose the re-opening of TMI Unit 1 and the dumping of radioactive water into the Susquehanna River.



At the Second National Labor Conference, held last November in Gary, the AFL-CIO's largest union, the United Food and Commercial Workers, joined nine other unions as sponsors. Currently, Labor Committee activists are organizing state safe energy and full employment conferences in Ohio, Washington State and New York.

The Labor Committee did not appear out of a vacuum. In the 1950s, the United Auto Workers actively opposed Detroit Edison's fast breeder reactor. The United Mine Workers, the Graphic Arts International Union and the west coast Longshoremens have long opposed nuclear power. After the Three Mile Island accident, union locals and districts across the country joined international unions such as the Machinists, Woodworkers, and International Chemical Workers to pass antinuclear resolutions.

In the summer of 1979, Environmentalists for Full Employment, which

for five years had been researching and publishing materials on safe energy and jobs, joined a group of labor leaders and rank and file unionists to publish a brochure on nuclear dangers and job blackmail aimed at trade unionists. More than 120,000 of these brochures were distributed and a substantial network of trade unionists concerned about nuclear power was developed. This network later became the basis for the Labor Committee.

Despite the growing union opposition to nuclear power, the AFL-CIO and especially the building trades maintain their strong pro-nuclear positions. The building trades remain actively hostile to safe energy activists—inside and outside the labor movement—picketing Labor Committee meetings and placing full-page ads in major newspapers denying that any significant nuclear opposition exists within the ranks of organized labor.

Safe energy activists will continue to make slow progress on the national level, but the most important work must take place in local communities. In several cities across the country, local building trades unions—sheetmetal workers, carpenters and bricklayers—are coming together with community energy activists to work on weatherization and other energy projects. Barriers to communication and trust are being broken down.

The growing number of antinuclear unions, the successes of the Labor Committee and local safe energy-labor coalitions show that the nuclear debate can no longer be seen simply as a question of jobs versus nuclear power, or of labor versus environmentalists. But permanent peace and cooperation between labor and environmentalists will not come until laid-off nuclear construction workers actually have jobs on weatherization or mass transit projects, until nuclear plant workers who fear for their health can walk off the plant site into another job.

When the fight for more jobs becomes an inseparable part of the fight for a cleaner, safer environment, we will be well on our way toward creating the strong, broad progressive movement that we will need to build a just society. ■

Jordan Barab is on the staff of Environmentalists for Full Employment. Some of the material in this article was taken from Job Blackmail and the Politics of Environmental Protection by Richard Kazis and Richard Grossman to be published by Pilgrim Press in the fall.

Freeze Campaign Heats Up

By Susan Herschkowitz

Across the country—in town meetings, business luncheons, living rooms, and churches—Americans are affirming that there is really only one way to survive a nuclear catastrophe—prevent it from ever taking place. They are part of a growing movement that supports an idea previously considered unthinkable and unworkable: a freeze and, ultimately, a reduction of both United States and Soviet nuclear arsenals.

A March 1982 *Washington Post/ABC News* poll found that 45 percent of all Americans believe the risk of nuclear war has grown since Reagan assumed the presidency and a Gallup poll taken this past December showed that, by a 4-to-1 margin, the American people would support former State Department official George Kennan's call for a 50 percent reduction in the current stock of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. Interest in the concept of a nuclear freeze has been stimulated both by last year's massive anti-nuclear demonstrations in Europe and by the increased knowledge, provided by such organizations as Physicians for Social Responsibility, of the severe medical and psychological consequences that would result from detonation of nuclear weapons.

The dismal realities of Reagan's supply-side economics and the negative impact that increased defense spending is expected to have on an already failing economy have intensified disenchantment with Reagan's military priorities. "We are tearing the guts out of our economy, primarily because of increased military expenditures," says Erwin Salk, a Chicago mortgage banker. Growing U.S. involvement in Central America has increased American fear of a possible U.S.-Soviet nuclear confrontation.

Finally, the freeze movement has gained momentum as Americans realize there are no winners in a nuclear war. "Bombs do not discriminate between capitalism or communism or rich or poor," says Salk, who is organizing business support for the freeze and whose

cousin, Jonas Salk, is active in the California Freeze referendum campaign. Presbyterian minister and freeze supporter Jan Orr-Harter agrees that "people are realizing that there is little difference between destroying the world 40 or 45 times."



Reaching the Mainstream

Freeze activities are principally grassroots, attracting the most mainstream of mainstream America. According to Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign Clearinghouse Co-Director Barbara Roche, petitions urging Congress to support a nuclear weapons freeze are being circulated in 43 states and in two-thirds of all congressional districts. The Clearinghouse aims to expand petitioning to all 535 congressional districts in all 50 states. Initiatives for a freeze have been approved in 159 of 180 town meetings in Vermont, 28 of 34 town meetings in New Hampshire, and similar gatherings in Western Massachusetts and Connecticut. Freeze resolutions have been adopted by both houses of the Connecticut, Oregon, and Massachusetts state legislatures; one state house in New York, Wisconsin, Kansas, Vermont, and Minnesota have approved similar measures. Many local elected bodies, such as the Loudon County, Virginia Board of Supervisors, have also passed freeze resolutions.

Statewide referendum drives to place the freeze question on state ballots this November are being organized in California, Michigan, Delaware, New Jersey,

and Washington, D.C. In California, the freeze initiative has already gathered more than a half million signatures. On rural Cape Cod, freeze resolutions are on the town warrants for this spring.

Along with the freeze effort itself, localities throughout the country are refusing to comply with administration efforts to expand civil defense plans. Federal Emergency Management Agency requests for towns to develop a nuclear evacuation plan have been denounced as "senseless," "unethical," and "illusions" of protection by local officials from Marin County and the State of California; Boulder, Colorado; Greensboro, North Carolina; and Newton, Massachusetts. Newton used its civil defense planning funds to print and distribute a booklet describing the impact a nuclear bomb would have on local residents.

Proponents of a nuclear freeze received a major boost last month when Senators Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) and Representative Jonathan Bingham (D-N.Y.) introduced a nonbinding resolution calling for a freeze in the levels of American and Soviet atomic weapons. The bipartisan measure currently has 150 cosponsors in the House of Representatives and 22 cosponsors in the Senate. Other arms control measures have been proposed by Representative Albert Gore (D-Tenn.) and Senator Gary Hart (D-Col.).

Freeze activists, who number some 20,000 volunteers, represent a broad consortium of Americans—housewives, business and professional people, the clergy, middle-aged and senior citizens, scientists, physicians, and even former military and Pentagon officials such as William Fairbourn, Major General, United States Marine Corps (Ret.) and former Assistant Secretary of Defense John Rubel. Campaign organizers believe that such people are attracted to the freeze issue not only because of the common fear of nuclear war, but because of the relatively simple theme evoked by the movement.

Skeptics, however, criticize the

freeze as simplistic and dangerous. Secretary of State Alexander Haig has called it "a bad arms control policy" that would have a "devastating" effect on our European allies. Richard Burt, Director of Political-Military Affairs for the State Department, noted the administration's understanding of "the spirit that motivates the freeze effort. There is no difference in the administration's and people's attitude in wanting a freeze." However, Burt argues, the administration cannot support the freeze itself because it would "freeze the United States into a position of military disadvantage and dangerous vulnerability." As this article went to press, the administration expressed support for Senators Henry Jackson's (D-Wash.) and John Warner's (R-Va.) proposal to build up American defenses and then negotiate and freeze arms reductions with the Soviets.

Administration and other critics of the freeze claim that a freeze now would remove any incentive for the Soviets to reduce their nuclear arsenal, and increase the difficulty of verifying any arms movement by the Soviets. "Forget the freeze," writes columnist George Will. "Such seductively simple panaceas pander to the widespread desire to believe that there can be an easy, cheap escape from the dangers posed by modern physics and the modern Soviet state."

Others disagree. "The current nuclear balance is not even at parity," states Gordon Adams, a military analyst for the Council on Economic Priorities. "The United States has maintained, and has even expanded a significant lead in strategic nuclear warheads and missiles accuracy over the past decade. Adding more fuel to this enormous bonfire is no way to obtain reductions."

Freeze activists point out that a nuclear arms freeze would be mutual, not unilateral. Although some would rather see U.S.-Soviet disarmament, most agree that the freeze would be a significant first step in halting the arms race and opening the way to serious and meaningful U.S.-Soviet negotiations on arms reductions. Moreover, current satellite technology, which can now read the license plates of automobiles in Soviet cities, would permit the freeze to be verifiable.

Organizers strongly believe that the arms freeze is a realistic political issue. "All the local grass-roots activity has shown that it is politically acceptable," says Barbara Roche. They are also opti-

DSA ON THE FREEZE

To improve national and international security, the United States and the Soviet Union should stop the Nuclear Arms Race. Specifically, they should adopt a mutual freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons.

The United States should initiate movement toward the freeze by taking modest, unilateral steps that would: demonstrate its good faith, start movement in the right direction, and make it easier for the Soviet Union to take a similar step. Specifically, we implore our government to:

1. Undertake a three month moratorium on all nuclear test explosions, to be extended if reciprocated;
2. Announce that military spending in the next fiscal year will not exceed that of the current year, and agree to evidence of compliance to the U.N. Center for Disarmament;
3. Stop further deployment, for a specified period, of one new strategic weapon system or improvement of an existing weapon system.

*Statement adopted at the May 1981 convention of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, now part of Democratic Socialists of America.

JUNE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

On June 12 more than 100,000 people are expected to rally in New York City in opposition to the nuclear arms race and the policies of all the nuclear powers. The demonstration will take place during the Second United Nations Special Session on Disarmament. Democratic Socialists of America, along with a broad coalition of religious, peace, trade union, women's, professional, civil rights, and political groups, is sponsoring four days of activities for what promises to be the largest U.S. disarmament protest to date. For more information, or materials, contact the people listed below or write to the DSA New York office. The calendar looks like this:

- *Mid-week*—Conference for religious activists, co-sponsored by DSA Religion and Socialism Commission. Contact: Barbara Van Buren, days, (212) 369-5100, or Maxine Phillips, (212) 260-3270.

- *Friday, June 11*—Interdenominational activities sponsored by the Religious Task Force and supported by DSA Religion and Socialism Committee. Contact Barbara Van Buren or Maxine Phillips.

- *Saturday, June 12*—Mass march and rally against the arms race. DSA contingent will gather near the United Nations at 50th St. and First Ave. starting at 11:30 a.m. March starts at 1 p.m. to the Great Lawn in Central Park. Rally from 2-5 p.m. Contact: Jeremy Karpatkin at (212) 260-3270, or 749-0905.

- *Sunday, June 13* (tentative)—Student Peace Mobilization conference in the afternoon. Organized by DSA Youth Section. Contact Jeremy Karpatkin (see above).

- *Monday, June 14*—Civil disobedience sit-ins against the arms race at the United Nations Missions of the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Britain, and France. DSA affinity groups being organized for the U.S., U.S.S.R., and France. Contact: Patrick Lacefield, (212) 869-3790 (office); (212) 273-5047 (home).

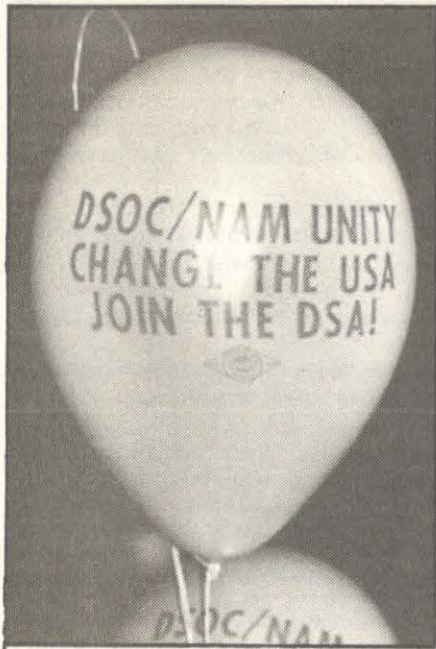
Get in touch with DSA office for updated information. DSA will try to arrange for housing for out-of-town groups. Come to New York and raise your voice against the arms race!

mistic about upcoming events that could further promote the freeze as an alternative to the arms race. Freeze strategists look toward the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament (June 7-July 9) and the November congressional and state elections as important occasions for making the freeze more visible.

However, a variety of factors may

slow the progress of the freeze. Opposition has begun to emerge, and a well-financed, well-organized counter-offensive is anticipated, perhaps with the assistance of major military-defense contractors who rely on the arms race for their business. Public support for the freeze may die down if some unexpected

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Steve Cagan



Gretchen Donart

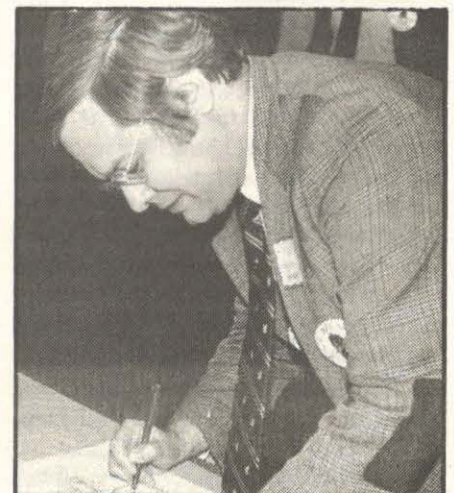
Above: A week after unity DSAers gathered behind the new banner at a rally in Washington, D.C. against U.S. intervention in El Salvador; left: caught up in the celebratory spirit, a DSA member pledges money to the new organization at a rousing fundraising session led by Rhys Scoles; bottom: "Solidarity Forever" closed out the Debs-Thomas dinner honoring Ray Majerus; Jim Chapin, reputed to be the first person to have pushed for merger, signs the merger document.

AFTER ALMOST THREE YEARS OF negotiations, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and the New American Movement (NAM) joined in Detroit on March 20 to become the Democratic Socialists of America. More than 300 delegates and observers were on hand for the formalities. A brief sampling of pictures shows some of the highlights of the weekend, which included a well-attended Debs-Thomas dinner sponsored by Michigan DSA, conventions of both organizations at which the constitution of the new organization was ratified; an enthusiastic fundraising session Saturday afternoon; and addresses by, among others, Congress members John Conyers and George Crockett, DSA vice-chair Harry Britt; AFSCME secretary-treasurer Bill Lucy; former head of the National Women's Political Caucus Millie Jeffrey; DSA Chair Michael Harrington, DSA leaders Holly Graff, Deborah Meier and Roberta Lynch, and representatives of the Demo-

cratic Revolutionary Front of El Salvador. Caucus and committee meetings on Sunday morning marked the beginning of joint work.

The new organization now has four constitutional officers and three regional offices—in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. In New York are Organizational Director Selma Lenihan, who remembers working for DSOC when it operated from a basement on New York's upper West Side; Political Director Gordon Haskell, who was elected by DSOC in its Saturday morning convention; and Field Director Leo Casey, who joins the staff on June 1.

Gordon Haskell has been an active socialist since 1935. He managed and edited *Labor Action* for the Independent Socialist League during the fifties and was an American Civil Liberties Union officer throughout the sixties. During the seventies he was resource development director for CARE, the international relief agency. Haskell served as president of the Association for Union Democracy from its inception. He was elected as interim political director of DSA following the resignation, for personal reasons, of



DSOC political director Ben Tafoya. The next election for political director will be held at the 1983 DSA convention.

Leo Casey, who is finishing a doctorate in political theory at the University of Toronto, has been on the NAM national committee, and co-chaired the Gay and Lesbian Task Force. In Toronto he served on the editorial collective of the newspaper *The Body Politic*.

Also in the New York office are Youth Organizer Penny Schantz, DEMOCRATIC LEFT Managing Editor Maxine Phillips, and receptionist/clerk Kevin O'Connor.

In Chicago, Program Director Holly Graff staffs the regional office with temporary help from outgoing office manager Bob Quartell. Graff taught philosophy at the University of Pittsburgh for six years before becoming part of NAM's political committee two years ago. She served for several years in NAM's national leadership doing feminist work.

West Coast Regional Office staffer Jim Shoch was a community organizer for the Gray Panthers in San Francisco and served on the steering committee of San Francisco NAM. He is coordinating DSA's first national conference to be held in Berkeley August 27-29.

Temporary DEMOCRATIC AGENDA staff working on the April and May conferences in California and New Jersey, respectively, are Harold Meyerson and Miriam Bensman. Outgoing Political Committee members Bill Barclay, Chris Riddiough and Rick Kunnes were honored at that organization's Saturday morning convention.

DSOC Special Projects Director Frank Llewellyn resigned at the DSOC board meeting in January, saying "Nine years is enough." Llewellyn was with DSOC practically from the beginning, working for his first year almost full-time as an unpaid volunteer, and shepherding the organization through its growing pains. He was elected to the National Interim Committee of DSA during the Detroit convention.

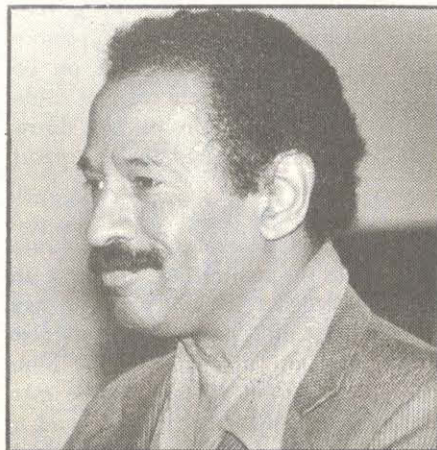
Priorities for the new organization this spring are peace work, DEMOCRATIC AGENDA, and strengthening communication between locals and the national and regional offices. ■

Right: A representative from the FDR in El Salvador speaks. Richard Healey is in the background; Rep. John Conyers urges DSAers to concentrate on local political work.



Gretchen Donat

DSA staff gathered for their first official portrait at the end of the unity weekend. Standing, l. to r.: Penny Schantz, Kevin O'Connor, Gordon Haskell. Seated, l. to r.: Holly Graff, Leo Casey, Maxine Phillips, Selma Lenihan, Jim Shoch. The kilted comrade in the corner of historic St. Andrews Hall stood in for Jimmy/Janie Higgins.



NUCLEAR FREEZE, from page 5

international crisis leads to some form of U.S. intervention.

The administration may again attempt to co-opt the movement by proposing strategic arms negotiations to the Soviet Union, similar to the zero-option proposal that Reagan suggested during the height of the European disarmament rallies. Its support of the Jackson-Warner resolution is perceived as a restatement of its current arms control policy and not serious enough to quell the growing activism. "The president has been taken by surprise and is under pressure to respond," comments Barbara Roche.

There is optimism, however, that the grass-roots strength of the freeze will prevent diversion into an insubstantial Reagan alternative. "People have become fairly sophisticated and are really doing their homework," claims Marta Daniels, a member of the American Friends Service Committee in Connecticut. "The American people will not be fooled by an impractical means to arms control," concurs Jan Orr-Harter. ■

Susan Herschkowitz is a political activist in New York City. For more information contact the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign at 4144 Lindell, Suite 201, St. Louis, Mo. 63108.

A SPECIAL REPORT

Regulation Mythology

By Frank Ackerman

Avoiding defects is not costless. Those who have low aversion to risk—relative to money—will be most likely to purchase cheap, unreliable products. Agency action to impose quality standards interferes with the efficient expression of consumer preferences.

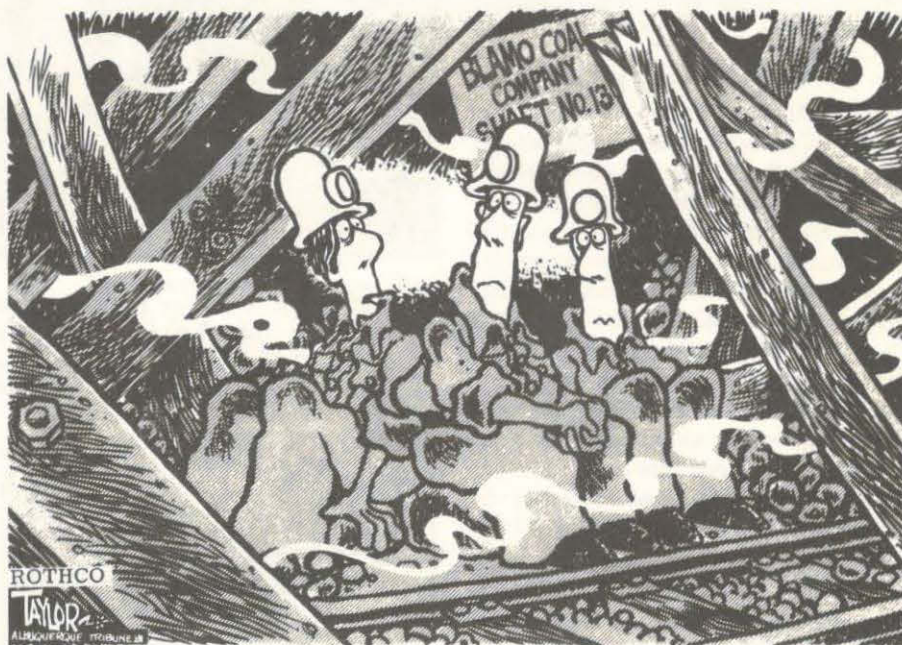
—from a 1980 report co-authored by James C. Miller III, who is now chairman of the Federal Trade Commission

UNFETTERED FREE ENTERPRISE is all the rage in Washington, but hearing that the FTC had advocated the freedom to sell shoddy merchandise to poor people was an embarrassment even to the administration's friends in business.

"It's crazy," a U.S. Chamber of Commerce executive told the *N.Y. Times*. "Industry is not in favor of making defective products—think of the product liability suits—and it has no intention of doing so."

Industry definitely is in favor, however, of the bulk of Ronald Reagan's program of deregulation. The theory is that deregulation, together with tax cut and budget cuts, will free business to expand its profits, production, and employment. While regulatory bodies throughout the federal government are under fire, the attack is concentrated most heavily on a handful of newer agencies—such as the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the Consumer Product Safety Commission (CPSC), and the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA).

The most remarkable fact about these regulations is that by so many standards they have been successful. At least four kinds of evidence confirm this success. First, even the rather mechanical cost-benefit analysis favored by administration economists seems to show that the newer regulations are worthwhile.



"As I understand it, Reagan weakens OSHA safety standards for big industry and we workers get the shaft."

Second, the much-touted paperwork burden created by regulations turns out to be quite small. Third, many businesses have developed new lines of profitable production in response to regulations. Finally, there is direct evidence of declining levels of pollution in the years since environmental regulation began.

This is not to say that all government rules are sensible or worth preserving. But the occasional attack on obviously silly rules is only the loss leader of the deregulatory sales pitch, a throw-away designed to attract popular support.

Count It Again, Murray

Although denunciation of silly rules may create the impression that there are no real benefits of regulation, a new brand of statistics-mongering suggests that there are immense costs. "More than \$100 billion a year!" is the most common version of the burden said to be imposed on business. A closer look

at the argument behind this figure, however, reveals that very little of the supposed \$100 billion cost results from newer social regulatory agencies—and that the measurable financial benefits of the newer agencies' rules well outweigh their costs.

The top professional economist in the Reagan administration, Council of Economic Advisors chairman Murray Weidenbaum, specializes in writing about the costs of regulation. In a 1979 article in *Challenge* he said, "It is hard to overestimate the current rapid expansion of government involvement in business in the United States." Yet he seems to have risen to that difficult task. His studies are the source of the \$100 billion cost estimate for regulations. Furthermore, he claims that four-fifths of federal regulatory budgets are devoted to "the newer areas of social regulation, such as job safety, energy and the environment, and consumer safety and health."

Another economist, William Tabb, has examined Weidenbaum's studies and found them to be, in polite terms, shoddy. For example, Weidenbaum counted as "newer areas of social regulation" not only the Food and Drug Administration (created in 1931), but also the Coast Guard, the Customs Service, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, and many other agencies that are neither new nor socially oriented.

Weidenbaum employed a unique and arbitrary "multiplier" method to arrive at his \$100 billion figure. He assembled separate estimates of the amounts spent to comply with various agencies' regulations in 1976. The total of these costs was 20 times the budgets of the agencies. So for all later years he simply multiplied the agency budgets by 20 to arrive at the cost of compliance. By including the Coast Guard and the like, he got the total agency budgets up to \$5 billion by 1970, hence the \$100 billion "cost" to business.

Even accepting the multiplier method, Tabb showed that this figure is a wild overstatement. Reorganizing Weidenbaum's data to focus on the 11 regulatory agencies created since 1960, Tabb found that the costs they imposed on business in 1976 were 6.6 times the agencies' budgets, not 20 times. The 1979 budget total for the 11 agencies was slightly under \$1.8 billion, so Weidenbaum's own methodology implies that the cost to business of the "newer areas of social regulation" was under \$12 billion.

Looking at the costs of regulation alone, without considering the benefits—as Weidenbaum and other advocates of deregulation often do—has been compared to "measuring the pain of a hypodermic needle without considering the value of the injected penicillin." Many of the benefits of regulation are hard to measure in dollars: what value should be placed on avoiding illnesses, injuries and deaths? Economists have tried, nonetheless, to estimate the monetary worth of such benefits, often by counting insurance premiums, medical expenses, and lost wages as the cost of illness or injury. This approach is far from satisfactory. The "cost" of an injury in lost wages is greatest if it happens to a white male, for instance. Moreover, the economists' estimates completely fail to capture the nonfinancial, human impact of disability or death.

Still, for whatever they are worth,

there are many studies estimating the benefits created by government regulation. A survey of this literature produced a best guess of \$21 billion in annual benefits from the Clean Air Act in 1978. A similar figure for water pollution regulations is \$12 billion (most of the benefits in this case being improved recreational use of rivers and lakes). Reduced numbers of deaths due to auto safety standards may be "worth" \$6 billion a year, and reduced workplace accidents worth \$10 billion. In these four areas alone, which are not the only ones one could consider, benefits resulting from the newer regulatory agencies were estimated by economists to be worth \$49 billion a year—or more than four times the costs imposed by the whole group of 11 newer agencies in Tabb's calculation.

“Of the more than 200 companies studied, not one would achieve significant labor savings if regulatory paperwork requirements were lifted.”

The Paper Chase

The burden of paperwork has of course become legendary among businessmen grumbling about the need for regulatory relief. More than a third of Weidenbaum's estimated costs of regulations consist of paperwork done to comply with federal rules. However, the government's 1976 study of paperwork requirements, which Weidenbaum relies on, found that two-thirds of the time spent by all businesses filling out forms for federal regulators was spent by a single agency, the Federal Communications Commission. The daily logs of programs, operations and maintenance which the FCC demanded from radio and television stations simply dwarfed the efforts of any other agency.

Whether it served a useful purpose or not, the huge FCC paperwork load is on its way to being a thing of the past, as the Reagan administration moves to deregulate broadcasting. In contrast with the FCC's former appetite for paper, four leading newer social agencies (EPA, OSHA, CPSC and NHTSA) together were responsible for just over one percent of all paperwork required by federal regulators in 1976.

More evidence that the paperwork burden is mainly mythical comes from a dissenting voice within the business

community. Jewell Westerman is vice-president of a management consulting firm that studies the efficiency of corporate bureaucracies. Writing in *Fortune*, he reports that, of the more than 200 companies his firm has studied, not one would achieve significant labor savings if regulatory paperwork requirements were lifted. He points out that Goodyear's trumpeted complaint about spending 34 employee-years annually filling out reports for the government should be compared to Goodyear's total payroll of 154,000. Getting rid of 34 jobs would be a trivial 0.02 percent reduction in labor costs for the company.

Westerman argues that padded corporate bureaucracies making unnecessary work for their subordinates are much more important obstacles to improvement

in productivity and profits. He mentions a large bank that was spending 300 times as much labor answering internal inquiries from executive as it was on making commercial loans.

Pollution vs. Profits

Squawking from big business and its friends to the contrary, the environmental regulations of the 1970s often led the way to increased profits for the regulated companies. Examples can be found in many affected industries, though perhaps most frequently in chemicals. For instance, the ban on fluorocarbon aerosol sprays prompted American Cyanamid's Miss Breck division to develop a new spray can, free of fluorocarbons, that was cheaper than aerosols. Conoco's coal trains used to scatter coal dust over the countryside, losing tons of coal per trainload; pollution controls forced them to stop that loss. Ordered to control air pollution from its factories, General Motors developed new boilers that made the air cleaner and also cut the factories' fuel bills. DuPont used to dump iron chloride wastes into the ocean until the EPA found out about it; now the company reprocesses and sells iron chloride at a profit, just as its competitors had been doing all along.

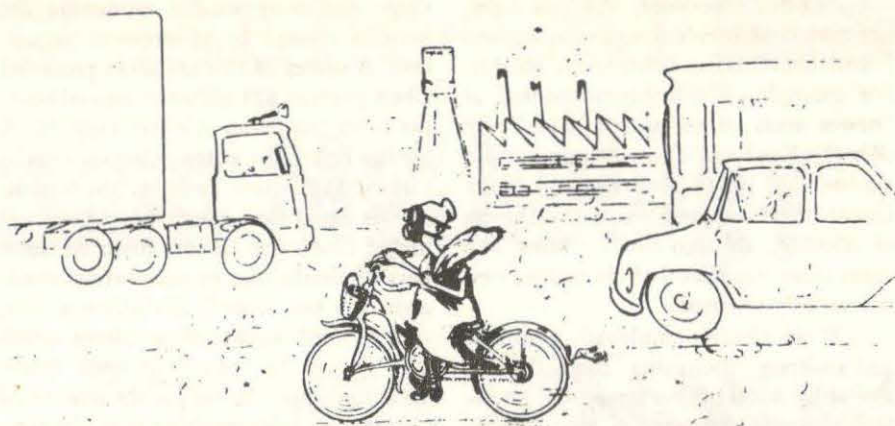
In at least two cases dire predictions had been made that entire industries

would be ruined by regulations—and the industries have gone on to prosper. Polyvinyl chloride (PVC) is one of the most widely used plastics, found on phonograph records, bottles, food wrappings, and hundreds of other common products. It is made from vinyl chloride (VC), a gas that was discovered to be a potent cause of cancer in the early 1970s. OSHA responded in 1975 by lowering the allowable exposure of workers to one part per million of VC in the air, down from the 500 parts per million formerly permitted.

Consulting firms studying the VC standard for OSHA and for the plastics industry predicted that it would cost \$90 billion and lead to the loss of more than two million jobs. Nothing of the sort happened. B.F. Goodrich, a leading producer, developed new production techniques that plugged many leaks and reduced VC waste sharply, for a cost to the company of only \$34 million. Moreover, Goodrich found the new techniques cut labor costs, and could be leased to other companies. From 1975 to 1978 the VC/PVC industry grew more than twice as fast as U.S. manufacturing in general, and four major new producers entered the market.

Similarly, the EPA feared that its tough standards limiting the dumping of toxic wastes into municipal waterworks could put as many as 20 percent of all electroplating firms out of business. But again, the regulation forced the development of new methods of recycling wastes. One Milwaukee electroplating company found that the equipment needed to comply with the toxic waste standard would pay for itself in recycled water and chemicals within two and a half years.

Environmental regulations, of course, are not just good for particular businesses. They are also responsible for noticeable reductions in some (not all) forms of air and water pollution. During the 1970s particulate emissions (soot, dust, etc.) into the air fell by one-half, and sulfur dioxide by one-sixth. The newest cars were much cleaner than their predecessors; even the average pollution per mile, for all old and new cars on the road, dropped by one-third to one-half over the decade. Bodies of water such as Lake Erie, the Willamette River in Oregon, the Detroit River, the Connecticut River and many others, saw increasing signs of life, reversing the trend of earlier years. Pollution was by no means



The Workbook/cpf

stopped in the 1970s, but it was definitely pushed back—by some of the regulations now under sharpest attack.

No Success Like Failure

If the newer areas of regulation are producing monetary benefits worth many times their cost, imposing no significant paperwork burden on business, stimulating profitable new innovations, and achieving measurable success in reducing pollution, why, then, are so many people saying such terrible things about these rules?

This question can be answered on several levels. Most immediately, many regulations do not lead the affected companies into more profitable methods of production. A corporation forced to control air pollution from its factories will gain little comfort from the knowledge that the health benefits to society outweigh the costs of anti-pollution devices. The costs show up on the company's balance sheet; the benefits do not. What is true for society as a whole, therefore—that the health benefits are greater than the costs of controls—is not true for the corporations that must install the controls.

Beyond the immediate threat of any particular regulation, there is the general problem for business that if regulations are accepted as legitimate and useful, they will continue to spread. New standards for pollution control, for product safety, for occupational health, will keep on cropping up. Even if your company has not yet been harmed by such rules, you may want to join the crusade against regulation as a form of insurance policy for the future.

Going still further in this direction, rhetoric about the failure of regulation sometimes conceals a deep-seated fear of the very fact of regulatory success. The

belief that all social problems are solved best by the market, that businesses must be left free to do as they choose as often as possible, is an article of faith for the right wing. What greater heresy could be imagined than the idea that corporations create problems and the federal government is reasonably effective in solving them? If this notion becomes widespread, it may not stop with things like pollution: voters may demand controls on prices, standards for socially useful investments . . . clearly, a dangerous line of thought. Better to head it off before it starts, by claiming that even the controls on pollution were unsuccessful and ill-advised.

Many of these themes can be seen in one of the most important cases of regulation: auto safety and pollution standards. In an interview with the *N.Y. Times* last November, General Motors chairman Roger B. Smith claimed that pollution control equipment added \$725 to the cost of a car, and safety devices another \$400—a noticeable chunk of the \$8,900 average price of a new car in 1981. If all environmental and safety regulations had been eliminated at once, and if GM had then chosen to remove all those features from its cars and pass on the entire savings to consumers, the price would have fallen by \$1,125 per car. GM would have sold more cars, boosted its profits, and perhaps rehired a few laid-off employees (though it would also have to find new jobs for the workers who used to put in anti-pollution and safety devices). But the hidden costs to the public of those deregulated cars—the illnesses, injuries, and deaths caused by increased air pollution and more fatal traffic accidents—would add up to more than \$1,125 per car.

Even the Reagan administration can

not undo all regulations overnight. But it did start out with a verbal bang, announcing in April 1981 that it planned to ease 34 auto-related regulations. The three most important, according to Roger Smith, were the elimination of the requirement of air bags or other passive safety restraints in future model years, the rollback of emission standards to 1980 levels, and the reduction of the speed at which bumpers must be able to survive a crash undamaged from five to two-and-a-half miles per hour. Of these three, however, only the elimination of the air bag rule was actually carried out during 1981, leading Smith to begin mentioning his impatience to the press.

The costs of deregulation are revealed in two of Smith's favorite changes. GM says it will save \$500,000 a day thanks to abolition of the air bag regulation. Accepting that figure, the total savings to U.S. automakers over four years will be roughly \$1.5 billion. In contrast, William Nordhaus (a member of the Council of Economic Advisors in the Carter administration) calculates that consumers will end up paying \$4.5 billion in medical costs, insurance costs, and lost wages due to deaths and injuries caused by the lack of air bags in the next four model years' cars. Roger Smith, needless to say, will pay very little of that \$4.5 billion.

GM also claims that consumers would save \$100 per car from the lighter bumpers that could be used under the two-and-a-half-m.p.h. crash-worthiness standard—resulting from the lower purchase price and the fuel savings due to the car's lighter weight. But almost any trip to an auto body shop costs more than \$100. So if the heavier bumper saves you from just one accident that requires body work during the lifetime of the car, it is more than worth the price.

Don't Just Stand There

Auto industry opposition to the safety and emission controls is just one glaring example of the corporate stake in Reagan's push for deregulation. Similar stories could be told about the goals and grievances of so many other businesses. Regulations whose benefits to society as a whole in health, safety, and environmental protection far outweigh their costs can still look like obstacles to be removed, from the narrow viewpoint of the corporate boardroom. In some cases com-

panies have opposed regulations that eventually turned out to be good for profits, suggesting that stepping back from the daily sales grind to think about the needs of society is even at times a good business practice.

For the corporate world the risks of regulation stretch far beyond the costs that have already been imposed. There is no obvious stopping point to the regulatory process so long as dangerous pollutants, unsafe products, and hazardous work practices continue to exist. A company that has not yet suffered significantly from regulation might quite reasonably fear that the social costs and benefits of its operations will in time come under public scrutiny.

This leads to the ideological threat of regulation. In the eyes of the administration's dedicated free marketeers, it is not the failures of regulation, not the occasional silly rules, that are the problem, but rather the very success of federal agencies in affecting deadly serious issues such as health and environmental protection. Reagan's deregulatory crusade aims at eliminating the abundant evi-

dence that controls on business can be good for society. In the words of Murray Weidenbaum, "Don't just stand there, undo something." ■

Frank Ackerman is editor of Dollars and Sense. This article is taken from a section of his forthcoming book, Reaganomics: Rhetoric vs. Reality, to be published in May by South End Press.

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Down South and Rising

By Bill Barclay and Glenn Scott

FOR MORE THAN A DECADE socialists have talked, written, and organized around the industrial decline and urban crisis of the upper Midwest and Northeast. Sometimes our Snowbelt focus makes us forget other regions of the country, particularly the South, a region that many of us see as the undeserving "winner" in the new geography of U.S. economic growth. In addition, of course, the South remains alien territory for many socialists—the land whose political identity is forever fixed by segregationist violence. Yet without an organized presence in the South, democratic socialism in the U.S. will never be a national movement and our vision will be constrained by the politics of a declining region. It is this reality that last year provided the impetus for the NAM-DSOC sponsored Southern Democratic Socialist Conference at the Highlander Center in April 1981—the first Southern socialist conference in 39 years. And it is to build upon that conference and the radical strands of Southern politics that we will gather at Scarritt College in Nashville on May 29-30 for the second Southern Democratic Socialist Educational Conference.

The "New South"

The prosperity and growth of the new South are real. The 1960s saw the first net immigration to the region since the Civil War. This population movement continued in the 1970s and by 1980 the states of the old Confederacy contained more people than either the Northeast or the Midwest. Job growth has accompanied population growth, but not the job growth that provided the base for Snowbelt industrial power. New jobs in the South are concentrated in business services, finance, and real estate; in leisure and tourism, in the booming energy economies of Texas and Louisiana, and in the new high tech industries often linked to defense. With jobs and people have come rising incomes. In 1930 the region averaged only half the national income; a half century later much of that

gap has been closed—regional income is now more than 80 percent of the national average. Finally, corporate decision makers have also come to the South. When *Fortune* first published its list of the largest corporations in the mid 1950s, only 10 of the first 300 were headquartered in the South; today 30 are there.

The continuities with the past are real, however. The rapidly growing labor force remains largely unorganized (eight Southern states are among the bottom ten in level of unionization). Southern economic growth has produced a



Southern Exposure

more unequal income distribution than elsewhere in the U.S. This inequality is linked to the racial and sexual division of labor in the Southern labor market as blacks end up in the slow growth manufacturing sector and women in the low-paying service jobs. Economic growth has not produced Southern support for the ERA nor has it prevented efforts to gain legal sanction for racial exclusion in education. It is the contradictions between new and old South that provide much of the basis for socialist politics.

Organizing in the New South

There is an impressive amount of organizing going on in the South. The Kentucky Rivers Coalition (KRC), founded in 1975, has fought for the land, especially farmland, by promoting public use of freeflowing streams, opposing wasteful dam projects, and advocating flood control. KRC includes conser-

vationists, canoe groups, and farmers' organizations. The coalition has organized residents to win federal aid for riverbank erosion and helped stop the Yatesville Dam boondoggle. Currently KRC helps rural landowners roll back open-ended leases for oil shale (strip mining) development. Phillips Petroleum (and other oil companies) used slick talking agents to tie up thousands of acres of land in Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky. Confused farmers signed away mineral rights and a lot more for a dollar an acre per year. KRC helped force an agreement with Phillips to allow changes and/or cancellations of these leases. Over three-fourths of the landowners have renegotiated or cancelled.

According to DSA member Mary Beebe, KRC has been able to bridge some of the gaps between city dwellers who want to enjoy canoe trips and are concerned about Kentucky's environment and farmer communities threatened by dam projects, oil shale development, resort interests and poor flood control.

Electoral politics in the South is more than the conservative Democratic "Boll Weevils." The Black Democratic Caucus of Tallahassee, Fla., in alliance with DSA members and other progressives worked in black community activist Jim MacLean's February city council campaign. John Buckley, DSA member and volunteer coordinator for MacLean, said that the election results will be contested in court. He believes that MacLean's 50 vote loss may be overturned because of strange counting procedures on absentee ballots.

Progressives in Charlotte, N.C., have formed the "74% Club," a PAC "dedicated to supporting an alternative to the right-wing minority." DSA member Skip Auld said that 74 percent came from subtracting the 26 percent of the adult Americans who voted for Reagan from the total eligible voters.

In Cookeville, Tenn., DSA members, feminists, and other progressives have elected a majority of the Putnam County Democratic Party executive committee. Their goal, says Wanda Noblit,

is to gradually duplicate this majority on the state executive committee, to establish a state party platform, to hold state conventions, and to establish a "bottom line" of issues that any Democratic Party candidate must support to run as a Democrat.

Progressive religious activism has a long tradition in the South. The Commission on Religion in Appalachia (CORA) is an ecumenical alliance of 19 denominations and several church agencies. For 15 years CORA has sought to organize and educate on "issues of poverty and powerlessness" according to director Jim Sessions. Currently, CORA helps support some 21 projects including co-ops, neighborhood organizing, economic development, housing, child care, and labor advocacy.

There is much more. Feminist lobbyists in Tennessee, the Florida ERA countdown campaign, the Southeast Women's Employment Coalition, a state-wide caucus of lesbian and gay Democrats in Texas that helped elect Houston's first woman mayor, the defeat of an anti-gay housing ordinance in Austin, the election of a progressive to the Dallas city council—all of this is part of Southern politics.

Roots of Southern Radicalism

This wealth of organizing efforts did not come out of nowhere. There is a long, if little known, history of Southern radicalism. Populism actually began in Texas in the 1870s. It spread from dirt farmer to dirt farmer, into Oklahoma, on to the Great Plains and through the Deep South. In the late 1890s, left-wing populists began joining the Socialist party (SP). By 1918, Oklahoma and Texas had the second and third largest SP state memberships.

The Mexican Revolution also helped spread socialist and anarchist politics to Texas. Socialist and left newspapers sprang up in the Mexican communities of San Antonio, Laredo, and El Paso. Both Communist party and Socialist party members were active in the South during the '20s, '30s, and '40s. They organized miners from Texas to Kentucky, textile workers in the Carolinas, and packing shed workers throughout the South. And of course there was the Southern Tenant Farmers Union (STFU), the precursor and inspiration for the United Farm Workers successes of the 1960s and '70s. The STFU was founded

in 1932 and claimed several thousand members in four states by the time of World War II. Harking back to the Populist tradition, the union brought together black and white farmers. STFU founder H. L. Mitchell (a DSA member) spoke at last year's Southern socialist conference.

Southern black radicalism goes back to the slave rebellions and the freedom railway of the mid 19th century. In the 1920s, Marcus Garvey had large followings in New Orleans and Memphis. The movement instilled black pride and spurred union efforts among black workers. One of the earliest and most important black unions was the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car porters led by A. Philip Randolph. By the late 1920s there were locals in Dallas, Ft. Worth, and at least six other Southern cities.

Finally, it is not too much to say that it was the South, particularly Southern blacks, that spurred the rebirth of U.S. radicalism in the last two decades. The Civil Rights movement began in Alabama with the bus boycotts of the late 1950s. The experiences, images, rhetoric, and vision of that movement informed the New Left of the 1960s, feminism, the antiwar movement, and are an important part of the heritage of contemporary U.S. socialists.

Yes, the South is different. Politics

in the South means forging ties between rural and urban constituencies. Union drives in the South will require organizing community support—but these efforts are critical if organized labor is to remain a viable national political force. Building a base for the defeat of the Boll Weevils and the election of progressives must be a part of any national strategy to defeat the Republican plans for a conservative majority. It is the way that organizers are embracing the uniqueness of Southern politics and history in their organizing strategies that will be vital to the growth of a national progressive movement in the 1980s, a movement in which the DSA must play a big role. That's why we will be in Nashville on May 29-30. Y'all come, y'hear. ■

Glenn Scott was NAM's Southern organizer, and traveled extensively throughout the South. She is a member of the DSA National Executive Committee. Bill Barclay, also a Southerner, served on the Political Committee of NAM and is a member of the NEC. Registration for the Southern Conference is \$12 per person until May 10, \$15 after that. Campus housing is \$15 single, \$12 double. Limited sleeping bag space is available. Make checks payable to Conference Fund and send to Bruce Haskin, P.O. Box 15995, Nashville, Tenn. 37215.

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ON THE LEFT

By Harry Fleischman

COSTA RICA JOINS THE RANKS OF NATIONS WITH A Social Democratic president. Luis Alberto Monge and his National Liberation Party, a Socialist International affiliate, won over 58 percent of the votes in the recent election and will take office May 8. Monge is a former union organizer and official of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The country, which has no army and no serious insurgency, is battered by economic woes and the unwillingness of the U.S. administration to give serious economic aid. After all, Costa Rica is a democracy, not a dictatorship. . . . The opposition Labor party swept to power this month in the state of Victoria in Australia. Labor gained at least 13 seats for a majority in the 81-member state assembly.

MAURICE ISSERMAN'S NEW BOOK, *Which Side Were You On?* recently received good reviews in the *New York Times* and the *Village Voice*. The DSA Youth Section member's book analyzes the Communist Party during World War III. . . . A full page ad in the *New York Times* March 28 by the Committee to End U.S. Intervention in El Salvador was stimulated by Americans for Democratic Action and the Democratic Socialists of America. DSAers Lee Benson, Jacques Sartisky, Patrick Lacefield and Nancy Lieber pulled it together. It contained thousands of signatures from unionists, civil rights, women, academics, religious, legislators and others. . . . Larry Wittner of Albany DSA has written *American Intervention in Greece, 1943-1949*, an account of U.S. suppression of the Greek democratic left.

SAN DIEGO DSA has just endorsed public ownership of San Diego Gas and Electric. A task force is working with many local groups to put together and implement a plan to make SDG&E a democratically controlled publicly owned system. . . . The DSA, throughout the state, is circulating petitions for a Split Roll Tax Initiative which would extend tax relief to some homeowners and renters and eliminate some giant tax breaks to big business. The petition is sponsored by Taxpayers for California, a coalition of labor, community and other organizations.

SAN FRANCISCO DSA initiated an Affordable Housing Alliance which mobilized over 300 people for a hearing by a Board of Supervisors' Committee on strengthening the San Francisco rent control ordinance. . . . The *Santa Cruz Socialist* features a column by Socialist mayor Mike Rotkin and articles on International Women's Day. The city council voted 4-3 in support of International Women's Day with the conservative minority rejecting support for contemporary women's issues such as comparable worth and reproductive rights. Tongue in cheek, Mayor Rotkin suggests that he will introduce a resolution supporting the American revolution of 1776, but not its principles (national self-determination, anti-imperialism, the inalienable right of rebellion against illegitimate authority.) He wouldn't want to divide the community. . . . South Mississippi NAM sent the joint resolution on Solidarity in Poland

as a letter to the editor of the *Mississippi Press Register*, where it appeared next to a column by rightwinger Paul Harvey.

THE FEATURED SPEAKER at the Chicago Thomas-Debs dinner May 1 honoring UAW international representative Carl Shier will be William Winpisinger, Machinists Union president. The dinner will be held at the McCormick Inn, South Lakeshore Drive. . . . The *Des Moines Register* reports that two University of Iowa economists, Peter Fisher and Michael Sheehan (both DSA members) have urged the creation of an Iowa Development Bank and policies to give tax breaks only to firms that create new jobs. . . . Paducah, Ky. is learning the differences between Socialism and Communism from a series of columns written regularly for the *Paducah Sun* by DSAer Berry Craig. What socialism means, he points out, was expressed by a sign pro-Solidarity Dutch demonstrators recently carried before the Polish embassy in the Hague: "Under Socialism, People Decide—Not Generals."

DR. HARVEY COX, Harvard Divinity School professor, received the Massachusetts DSA Eugene Debs-Norman Thomas-Julius Bernstein Award April 15 at St. Paul's Cathedral in Boston. . . . Detroit DSOC and NAM merged in January, beating the gun on the national unity convention in March. More than 400 attended the Debs-Thomas award dinner honoring UAW secretary-treasurer Ray Majerus, who proclaimed his pride in being a unionist, a Democrat and a socialist. Victor Reuther was the featured speaker. . . . DSAer Jim Youngdale has published two books: *Third Party Footprints* and *Populism: A Psychobistorical Perspective*.

DEMOCRATIC AGENDA will hold its East Coast regional conference May 15 at the Robert Treat Hotel in Newark, N.J. Speakers include John Atlas, N.J. Public Interest PAC; Archer Cole, president IUE District 3; Ed Gray, UAW Region 9 director; Dick Greenwood, Machinists; Mike Harrington; Terry Herndon, executive director, National Education Association; Robert Lekachman, economist; Essex County executive Peter Shapiro and many more. . . . Eight hundred people attended the DA conference in California April 16-17. . . . The Institute for Democratic Socialism will mark the 20th Anniversary of the publication of *The Other America* in New York on June 8. Kurt Vonnegut will be one of the featured speakers.

MORE THAN 300 PEOPLE ATTENDED the 90th Birthday Salute to Katharine Smith, creator of PeaceSmith House on Long Island. Local Nassau DSA gave her its first Debs-Thomas award in honor of her lifelong dedication to democratic socialism, justice and equality for all. . . . The Long Island Progressive Coalition, DSA and 40 other groups are sponsoring a May 8 Action Conference of Long Islanders in Solidarity at Nassau Community College. . . . The Humanomics Award is being presented to economist Robert Lekachman by Local New York DSA on April 26. . . . Bogdan Denitch testified for DSOC on March 16 at an ad hoc hearing of the House Armed Services Committee (chaired by Ron Dellums) on the arms budget and the danger of nuclear war.

LETTERS, from page 2

The problem goes deeper than articles—or the absence of articles—in DEMOCRATIC LEFT. The Democratic Agenda Program statement (excerpts of which were published in the January-February issue of DL) contained an exposure of Reaganomics, and—as in the Steve Max article—attacked corporate power as a root cause of stagflation and recession. The rise in the military budget is criticized as overblown and dangerous, but the danger—a militaristic, adventurous foreign policy—is not mentioned; foreign policy is not mentioned at all.

It has been explained to me that Democratic Agenda is a coalition that seeks the broadest possible consensus. Coalition politics are not alien to any of us in this movement, but there are limits beyond which coalition deteriorates into putrescence.

And what about the coalitions that you *lose* when you are constrained to omit criticism of Reagan's nuclear bomb waving in Europe, his arms sales to half of Latin America and much of the Middle East, his support of military juntas everywhere, and the latest—the threat to interfere with Japan's commerce in the U.S. if it does not rearm! Are you not forgoing ties with students demonstrating on 200 campuses, millions reported in polls to be opposed to both Reaganomics and Reagan warmongering, town councils and state legislators calling for a nuclear freeze, and 11,000 doctors—imagine!—declaring nuclear war to be unthinkable?

What do we say to these people—that we pass on the peace issue?

Que pasa, DSA?

Bernard Stephens
Albertson, N.Y.

ED. NOTE: *The November 1981 DEMOCRATIC LEFT carried a special section on abortion politics that examined the question of what emphasis a left-wing, pro-choice organization committed to coalition politics should give this issue. We invited comments from our readers, excerpts of which appear next. The letters*

were written before DSOC merged with NAM to become DSA.

To the Editor:

I want to seriously criticize Peter Steinfels's article "Allowing for Differences." The article is misleading and does not help us understand women's oppression. It is very weak in its far-reaching analogies and is not socialist but liberal. Our arguments on abortion will not be "painful" as Steinfels suggests in the future because we are opening women's options which in my opinion is progress at any historical epoch. Steinfels says concerns of "opponents of abortion are motivated not by bluenosed hostility to sex or rednecked repression of women but by concerns that are at least as much 'left' as 'right.'" Well, Steinfels fails to give us these motivations and as far as I'm concerned, the pro-choice philosophy is more progressive than the anti-abortionist positions wherever anybody puts them on the political scale. Steinfels shows little concern for women's rights and too much concern for the repressive elements which finance the anti-abortionist movement. Let them have bake sales to raise money for quality child care.

Richard Steinberg
Buffalo, N.Y.

To the Editor:

The November 1981 issue of DEMOCRATIC LEFT begins a much needed discussion of the abortion issue. Moral and political opposition to abortion should be accepted as a legitimate position, within both DSOC and the democratic left. . . .

There is no inconsistency in supporting worker controlled industry, or nationalization of the oil companies and opposing abortion. Kate Ellis's nature/culture distinction is far too crude: human culture is an expression of human nature, not an external power capable of reconstructing nature from without. And socialists are not required to prefer solar to nuclear energy, or to support the manufacture of babies in the manner of Brave New World.

It is by now stingingly clear that there is no future in America for a politics that is premised on contempt for the values of church, family, and neighborhood. And events in Poland have shown how socialist solidarity works best when it works with, rather than against, older forms of social cohesion. A satisfactory approach to family issues requires that the left seriously reconsider its inherited assumptions, not protect them by anathemas against opponents of abortion.

Philip E. Devine
Scranton, Pa.

To the Editor:

In equating anti-abortion groups with racist and anti-Semitic organizations, Ms. Kathleen Bartle comes close to embracing a McCarthyism of the left. Pursuing her reasoning, Roman Catholics and others who object to abortion should be purged from DSOC or at least be relegated to second class membership status.

On the subject of political realignment, I submit that the right has used the liberal-left position on abortion to attract many Catholic voters who detect in the rhetoric of many pro-choice advocates a rejection and contempt for their culture and values. If Ms. Bartle and those who agree with her have their way, we may be facing a decade or more of Republican rule.

Donald C. Swift
Albion, Pa.

To the Editor:

The November Symposium on Abortion Politics was a valuable contribution on the subject. Ms. Rosenberg's introduction mentioned New Jewish Agenda as one group on the left which faced "internal divisions" over abortion. Actually, we have achieved a strong consensus among our members (who hail from both religious and secular backgrounds) as indicated in our working statement on Reproductive Rights. Basically, we have acknowledged that the choice involved in abortion is always a serious moral issue, but that the freedom to make that choice must never be abridged by government fiat or economic circumstances.

Reena Bernards
Executive Director
New Jewish Agenda

Copies of the statement are available from New Jewish Agenda, 1123 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10010. Send a self-addressed, stamped envelope.

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For information, contact Jim Shoch, DSA, 29 29th Street, San Francisco 94110

JANIE HIGGINS REPORTS



REDS HIDING IN THE GREEN?—John B. Crowell, Jr., assistant secretary of agriculture with responsibility for the national forests, made the news in March by charging that the Audubon Society and Sierra Club were infiltrated by socialists and communists. Crowell originally made the remarks to the *Albuquerque Journal*; the *Washington Post* picked up the comments in its March 24 edition. That day, Crowell apologized at an Agriculture Department press conference called for other purposes. In his apology, Crowell said he had no reason to think either of the environmental groups "in any way unAmerican." So, why are we considered unAmerican because we're socialists?

ELSEWHERE ON THE ENVIRONMENTAL FRONT—Several industrial unions played a key role in guaranteeing that the Democratic National Committee went on record opposing Reagan's attempted gutting of the Clean Air Act. Some building trades unionists oppose the Clean Air Act as antigrowth and wanted the DNC to remain silent. COPE (the AFL-CIO's political action arm) proposed as a "compromise" that the major industrial unions supporting the Clean Air Act back off, since labor was split. The compromise would mean no DNC action. The industrial unions, represented by Jack Sheehan, chief lobbyist for the United Steel Workers, and Bill Holayter, the legislative and political action director of the Machinists, said that was no compromise. They fashioned a deal whereby the DNC went on record in support of the Vento Clean Air resolution without supporting specific implementing resolutions. Fights on that front will continue in Congress. Holayter told the *National Journal* that the Democrats should discipline caucus members on the Clean Air Act and make it a clear partisan issue in the 1982 elections.

RALLYING THE TROOPS FOR PEACE—To revitalize labor's political action, the AFL-CIO has been holding a series of regional meetings. Dearborn, Michigan was the site for a six state regional meeting pulling together labor operatives

from the industrial heartland where unionism is strongest. In the middle of the gathering, heresy was heard. Senator Donald Riegle was interrupted by applause several times; never so loudly as when he listed as a high priority keeping General Haig from getting us in a war in Central America. The AFL-CIO officially supports Reagan's stance in El Salvador (with major dissent from AFSCME, UAW, ACTWU, Service Employees and other unions). Under George Meany, no public official would have spoken out at an AFL-CIO gathering opposing Meany's policy. And applause would not have greeted such dissent. Kirkland's willingness to live with disagreements is a welcome sign.

MARXISM-KEMPISM—At an April 1 Congressional hearing, Representative Jack Kemp asked Treasury Secretary Donald Regan to listen to two statements about monetary policy and tell him which he found more sound. Regan responded: "I have to agree with the first; I don't understand the second." The quote surpassing understanding was from the Council of Economic Advisors; Regan agreed with a quote from *Das Kapital*. Kemp exhorted the treasury secretary: "Don't apologize. Karl Marx was right on that. It's the C.E.A. I'm having trouble with."

THREE GUESSES AS TO WHO REFUSES to learn new techniques or use tools properly to increase productivity. Who spends too much time in routine tasks, idle time, organizing work, or on personal matters? An economics consultant charges that they are "paid too much for too little work." All that may sound like a right wing description of the industrial work force in the United States. It's not. Rather, it is from a top management consulting firm's description of the work habits of American executives. Booz Allen & Hamilton spent a year studying the work habits of managers and professionals at 14 large corporations, banks, insurance companies and government agencies. One final quote—"Far more unwieldy than the often maligned government bureaucracy, our large corporations suffer a growing surplus of overpaid, underworked executives."

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