

# DEMOCRATIC LEFT

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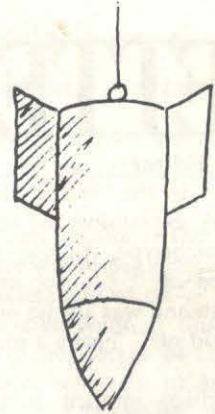
# Beyond the Nuclear Freeze

By Michael Harrington

**T**HE MOVEMENT FOR A BILATERAL, Soviet-American nuclear freeze is one of the most significant, and hopeful, political developments in this country in years. It is only a first step—but unmistakably a first step—in the direction of disarmament, both nuclear and conventional. It would be tragic if the promise of the freeze movement were not to be carried to the next steps.

Even now we must look beyond the immediate movement to project alternatives that will not simply freeze, but completely dismantle the precarious balance of terror that threatens the very existence of planet earth. But before discussing next steps, we should understand clearly the nature of this first giant stride.

At first glance the idea of a bilateral nuclear freeze might seem to be excessively moderate. After all, who could possibly be against a negotiated agreement to halt the escalation of the arms race? Many powerful people in the administration—and even some Democratic politicians—is the answer. For the fact is that the freeze campaign takes a clear position on an extremely controversial issue. Cold warriors argue that the Soviets have achieved a basic superiority over the United States and that it is necessary for the U.S. to build up its arms in order to be in a position to negotiate to end the arms race. This "bargaining chip" argument for more weapons has always led to the construction of



BAS.

*“ We must dismantle  
the balance of terror  
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earth. ”*

more "bargaining chips" and never to negotiations. The freeze movement says "no" to the basic premise of that proposition, not just the consequences that flow from it. There is, it holds, a basic, and terrifying, equivalence between the ability of the Soviet Union and the U.S. to destroy each other many times over.

There are, to be sure, asymmetries between Soviet and U.S. (Warsaw Pact and NATO) weapons systems. Moscow has more tanks, Washington more anti-tank rockets; they have more land-based missiles, we have more submarine launched missiles; and so on. But we are not exposed through any "window of vulnerability" as the administration would have us believe. Even if the Soviets initiated a first strike, at least two of the three American deterrent systems—the submarine and the air force components—would be in a position to in-

cinerate a majority of the Soviet population. Merely to engage in this numbers game highlights the insanity of it and of any so-called "defense" system built on nuclear weapons.

However, if the United States proceeds with President Reagan's current proposals to build an MX missile system in vulnerable silos, it will deploy a first strike weapon of great power. Under such circumstances, the Soviets would take counter-measures. Any doubts about this scenario can be resolved by looking at the origins of the MX proposal itself. In the late sixties, the United States decided to steal a march on the Soviets by putting several warheads on its missiles. Predictably, Moscow responded by "MIRVing" its missiles. Then Washington decided to build an MX system to protect this country against the MIRV technology that this country had intro-

duced into the arms race in the first place. According to the Congressional Budget Office, President Carter's estimates of the cost of the MX were predicated on the assumption that there would be no Soviet counter-move. But that is on a par with belief in the tooth fairy and the present fact of the matter is that there is significant danger to America's national security in the U.S. proposals to escalate the arms race.

The point, let me emphasize, is not to establish historical blame for the Cold War or any particular escalation. Whatever one's theory on the relative responsibility of the superpowers, it should not be allowed to divide the freeze movement. It is imperative that *both* sides agree to disarm and work to abolish nuclear weapons. If either the United States or the Soviet Union persists in a stance that could lead to the destruction of life as we know it, it is cold comfort that one or the other is seen as less historically responsible for endangering the future of humanity.

This point relates to the domestic politics of the freeze movement. If this campaign is seen as indifferent to the legitimate national security interests of the United States, it will fail. Its genius, its broad support, has resided precisely in its insistence on a *bilateral* freeze, that demands be made of both Washington and Moscow, and that to do so promotes, rather than ignores, the national security of the United States. We act as we do, not because we have illusions about either one of the superpowers—about a United States that unconscionably intervened in Vietnam and now allies itself with the forces of repression in Central America or of a Soviet Union involved in a war of aggression in Afghanistan and pushing for the suppression of a genuine workers' movement in Poland—but because we understand that neither of them can be trusted with the awesome power to start World War III.

The freeze, then, challenges the mad assumption that we must escalate

## LETTERS

To the Editor:

... In the "historical perspective" (March) explaining the use of the fictional archetype, Jimmy [Higgins] is described as "... not an extra good workman and was always one of the first to be laid off." That's a model? Incredible. ...

Perhaps implicit in this mythical unselfish activist is the assumption that ... a Jimmy Higgins makes his real contribution *off the job*. Thus the article answers the question "What did he do? Jimmy Higgins did everything, anything. Whatever was to be done, THAT was Jimmy's job."

But maybe as active as Jimmy was (he's been busy since 1904?), his rather modest achievements result from acute far-sightedness: looking always beyond the job. In his too single-minded preoccupation with the ownership of the work-place he has neglected the basically flawed conditions of the work-place.

And we do not mean lack of attention to the safety and physical health of the worker, which has been his concern. We mean the psychological and spiritual well-being of the worker, the morale which derives from a work-station that requires of the worker personal responsibility and recognizable participation in the end product.

If Jimmy Higgins is not the appropriate model—and I am not proposing Alexei Stakhanov or Paul Bunyan or John Henry as replacements—can we not conceive for this post-industrial society a wholly fresh folk hero, one who could see the job as rewarding in itself, as something more than a means to productivity records or as a means to paychecks which pay the rent and finance organizing and fraternal activity?

Or this hero as yet nameless might well be the democratic socialist strategist who will successfully argue for more

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## DEMOCRATIC LEFT

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the doomsday race in order to end it and poses a demand to both superpowers to back away from a confrontation which, regardless of who is more or less responsible for it, cannot be tolerated. But what if the freeze campaign succeeds? Clearly, we are not simply for freezing the balance of terror. We are for dismantling it. That requires, not simply more disarmament proposals, but basic foreign policy initiatives and a new kind of peace movement. With no pretense at being exhaustive, let me explore both of these points.

### ***New Foreign Policy***

U.S. foreign policy is based on a perception that our rightful position is that of the pre-eminent status quo power of the planet. One of the reasons for U.S. insecurity is the conviction, found in both Democratic and Republican administrations, that the Soviets are on the ascendent and the West has its back to the wall. *They* are moving ahead in Angola and Ethiopia; *we* have been routed in Vietnam and Iran. Therefore, the argument goes, we must get tougher. That vision of the world omits some rather large, and inconvenient, facts. They "lost" both China and Egypt and have their own mini-Vietnam in Afghanistan.

Our relations with the Third World reflect our world view. We sincerely counsel the Third World to follow our example, to climb the ladder of the "stages of economic growth," to carry out capitalist revolutions as a means of modernizing. We ignore the fact that, once the capitalist West (which, in economic terms, includes Japan) climbed the ladder of growth, it created a world market in which the bottom rungs are missing. In the nineteenth century, had there been a world system, replete with multinational corporations transferring wealth from Britain and the United States to some superpower, those countries never would have succeeded in their economic revolutions. We tell the poor of the world, then, to have a bourgeois revolution that we have all but made impossible.

The developing countries refuse our advice because it is impossible. However, since the United States cannot admit the anti-capitalist truth that explains this refusal, it turns to conspiracy theories for understanding. This view sees social movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America not as genuine social move-



**“Military expenditures of one half a day would finance the entire malaria education program of the World Health Organization; even less than that would suffice to conquer river blindness.”**

ments, but as Soviet (or Cuban or Chinese) plots. Therefore, we must take military measures against the conspirators; therefore, we must embrace what the Reaganites call "moderately repressive authoritarian regimes"—which are sometimes simply fascist—as an alternative to the Communist infiltrators. It is this theory that has led to American defeat in Vietnam and humiliation in Iran and elsewhere.

More to the present point, this world view feeds the illusion that more military power is the key to American security. In fact, if this country were to ally itself with—or even merely stop opposing—the anticolonialist movements of the Third World, it would increase its genuine security. More broadly, if the United States would link the disarmament issue with the Third World economic development issue, it could make a major contribution to two of the most imperative moral questions in the contemporary world. Just consider a few of the facts documented by Willy Brandt's Commission on North-South matters: military expenditures of *one half a day* would finance the entire malaria education program of the World Health Organization; even less than that would suffice to conquer river blindness, a dis-

ease that afflicts millions; the price of one jet fighter would pay for 40,000 village pharmacies; and so on.

The socialist point of this analysis is that, in the next stage of the movement, we have to begin to attack the global structure of inequality and injustice that is the *structural* basis of much of the military and political tension in the world. But how can we forge a U.S. movement committed to such a program in a time of high unemployment and growing worker hostility toward foreigners?

If the peace movement is to take the necessary next steps, it must link disarmament to domestic economic and social issues.

For example, we must point out to trade unionists that, as the Machinists union documented, a dollar spent on defense creates fewer jobs—and more inflation—than any other federal dollar. It puts skilled technicians to work and creates bottlenecks in a fierce competition for a tiny minority of the labor force. It doesn't do a thing for most of the unemployed, for minorities, for women, for all of the most vulnerable people in the society. It is, in short, in the economic self interest of U.S. working people to end this mad arms race.

Survival is, of course, the basic reason for opposition to escalation; but economic survival is not an unimportant reason and it is one the movement should emphasize.

This linkage is particularly important because, although the freeze has a broad base of support, most of the activists come from relatively privileged backgrounds. A mainly white and college-educated movement cannot, for instance, oppose a draft imposed by law and support a so-called volunteer army that is in reality made up of "draftees" who, as a result of unemployment and poverty, have no choice but to join the

armed services. If, then, in going beyond the magnificent beginning that is the freeze campaign, we are to build a truly majority movement in the U.S. and in the world we have to face up to the economic and social dimensions of disarmament, within the U.S. and within the world.

A concluding thought. The cold warriors love to bring up the Munich analogy: a lack of preparedness can incite to war, therefore we must arm for peace. But what of the Sarajevo analogy? As I write, Britain and Argentina are locked in a struggle over the fate of tiny islands without economic or strategic

importance. The superpowers are drawn into that dispute. A "little war" suddenly has the capacity to be a trip wire. Preposterous? When the assassination took place in Sarajevo in 1914, none of the European powers really wanted a major war and some even sensed what was to happen: that the carnage would end by subverting every established power in the Old World. But the war happened anyway, with an appalling loss of life. This time, if there were another Sarajevo, it would not be millions of people who would be victimized. It would be humanity itself, civilization itself, the world itself. ■

# Aid Cuts Rouse Campuses

By Jeremy Karpatkin and Penny Schantz

**P**ROTESTS AGAINST THE REAGAN administration's cuts in student loans and financial aid have added a new dimension to the small, but growing student movement of the eighties. In several months of actions ranging from national lobbying to grassroots mobilizations, students released long pent-up anger over the threat to their futures.

By reducing federal student aid by 47 percent, the proposed cuts would deprive one million undergraduates of Pell (BEOG) grants, and 600,000 graduate students of guaranteed student loans. Cuts would also eliminate Social Security benefits to college students and wipe out \$189 million in aid to campus-based programs such as College Work Study. Overall, thousands of students would be forced out of school and others would be prevented from entering.

The 8,000 person strong national student lobby day in Washington, D.C. on March 1 drew the most media attention. However, this spring also witnessed an outpouring of local activity against the cutbacks. Behind many of these was the DSA Youth Section-initiated Student Mobilization Against the Cuts (SMAC), a coalition that included, among others, the United States Student Association (USSA) and the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) Youth Caucus.

Despite blizzards across most of the

U.S. east of the Mississippi, SMAC's national day of action on April 6 was an enormous success. Thousands of students participated in events ranging from accountability sessions with members of Congress and demonstrations to teach-ins, informational pickets, letter-writing and voter registration campaigns. A sampling of SMAC activities includes:

- rallies on four different campuses in St. Louis, Mo. with ten additional cam-

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*“The aid cutback campaign highlights again questions about the nature of the University. As government money is withdrawn from education, the private sector and the military fill the vacuum.”*

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puses joining in a march through downtown St. Louis to Senator Jack Danforth's office. The six hundred protesters presented Danforth with one thousand letters, and made the lead story in the local news; students at the University of Missouri-Columbus heard DSAer Charlie Pearl, president of the Central Missouri Labor Council;

- more than 5,000 students at the State University of New York at Stony Brook rallied to hear Michael Harrington and

Congress member Tom Downey, for the largest demonstration in the area since 1971;

- the University of California at Santa Barbara drew over 1,000 students to a rally featuring Ralph Nader. Students in California are currently organizing a permanent student organization to oppose the cuts, funded by an assessment on student tuition. When the temporary issue of the cuts is resolved this permanent organization will turn its attention to other issues;

- Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y. held a teach-in featuring DSA vice chair Manning Marable;

- a hastily rescheduled rally at Columbia University in N.Y. after the blizzard drew a crowd of one hundred. Council-member Ruth Messinger addressed the group;

- several hundred gathered at the University of Houston for a rally featuring Representative Micky Leland.

Other actions included rallies at Harvard/Radcliffe, Yale, and Stanford, a rally with a tent city at the Capitol at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and a media-covered educational campaign at Idaho State University-Pocatello.

The wave of protest energized the national student lobby groups. These organizations have been active in state legislatures and in Congress since the early seventies, lobbying on issues of narrow concern to students, primarily student

aid. They have tended to rely on lobbying and letter writing over mass protest, and largely avoid either the broader implications of the student aid issue or other issues of concern to students (i.e. the draft). The protests over the aid cuts forced them to adopt a tougher and more militant stance. The March 1 lobbying effort was organized by a coalition of these organizations, from the somewhat cautious Coalition of Independent College and University Students to the traditionally liberal ADA Youth Caucus and USSA to the more left DSA Youth Section.

The protests demonstrated a departure from "one-shot deal-type" rallies lacking political follow-up. SMAC organizers urged all local actions to push voter registration, particularly in districts with wavering congressional representatives. Students employed carefully targeted letter writing and lobbying campaigns. They forged strong coalitions with other groups on campus also under attack by the Reagan administration, particularly campus workers. In many areas, these coalitions led to activity lasting well beyond the SMAC campaign.

### Strategic Problems

The success of the spring protests is undeniable, but several problems remain within the movement opposing cutbacks. Although the SMAC campaign clearly opposed playing student aid against Social Security, the salaries of university workers, and social programs, these points were noticeably absent from other parts of the broader cutback movement. Except for vague references to a bloated military budget, the National Lobby Day did not make concrete proposals for financing the reinstatement of student aid. Solidarity with other budget cut victims was not emphasized.

The aid cutback campaign highlights again questions about the nature of the University. As government money is withdrawn from education, the private sector and the military fill the vacuum. Corporate and military donors increasingly influence university decision making. To veterans of the campaigns to make universities divest their holdings in firms that do business in South Africa, or to unionize campus workers, it comes as no surprise that the universities behave more like corporations than as impartial academies of learning. The eagerness of university administrations to work with

## Rally Success: Largest Protest Since '71



## Speakers blast federal cuts

Students on financial aid protests raises a serious question for a coalition strategy. Students and administrators have many fundamental conflicts of interest. An alliance built around students working with their administrators is not one guaranteed to build a strong student movement.

Finally, there remain inherent problems. Ever since 1972, when the 18-21 year olds received the vote, the potential liberal force of the young voting bloc has been widely recognized and never fulfilled. Recent census figures show, for instance, that a third of the eight million 18 and 19-year olds reported voting in the 1980 presidential election. Three-fourths of the nation's 3.6 million 64 and 65-year-olds reported voting. The number of voters from the two blocs is almost identical, leaving little doubt as to why politicians are more sensitive to cuts in Social Security.

The isolation of a student population with rapid turnover whose members are often separated from mainstream political activity, tends to direct student organizing towards sporadic, defensive action. Students regularly engage in short-term mobilizations on single issues, but do not engage in longterm campaigns to organize themselves into a permanent, cohesive, voting bloc. Anger over the aid cuts has given impetus to the formation of student Political Action Committees, but it has by no means resolved this problem. The groundswell

### Nader Encourages

of opposition to the cuts has not translated into a program that addresses student concerns, links them to the problems of the society at large and of the corporate role in universities and is capable of uniting other constituencies also under attack.

Perhaps most important, almost no steps have been taken to construct a well-funded organization committed to channeling the grassroots energy into concrete proposals, ongoing local activity and electoral impact. Rather than simply looking at the numbers and romanticizing about the revived student movement "forced upon us" by the financial aid struggle, we must begin to work out the problems inherent in that movement. ■

*Jeremy Karpatkin is active in the DSA Youth Section. Penny Schantz is DSA youth organizer.*

## Lenihan Resigns

DSA Organizational Director Selma Lenihan resigned from that post in April for reasons of health. She had worked for the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee almost since its beginning. At its May 1- meeting, the DSA National Executive Committee (NEC) voted to express its appreciation to her for years of "outstanding work." Although she will no longer be on staff, she plans to continue activity with DSA. A successor will be chosen by the NEC.

# Promises of 'Deliverance'

By Jo Weber

**M**ORE THAN A YEAR AND A half have gone by since the October 1980 elections in Jamaica in which Edward Seaga's conservative Jamaica Labor Party (JLP) swamped Michael Manley's socialist People's National Party (PNP) in a landslide with 58 percent of the vote. This victory was hailed by conservative observers in the U.S. as a return to sanity for a country on the verge of ruin under a socialist government. Indeed, Ronald Reagan has spoken of Jamaica as the testing ground for the "magic of the marketplace" and has made it the centerpiece of his Caribbean Basin Initiative, a package of private sector-oriented aid, trade, and investment incentives sent to Congress this winter.

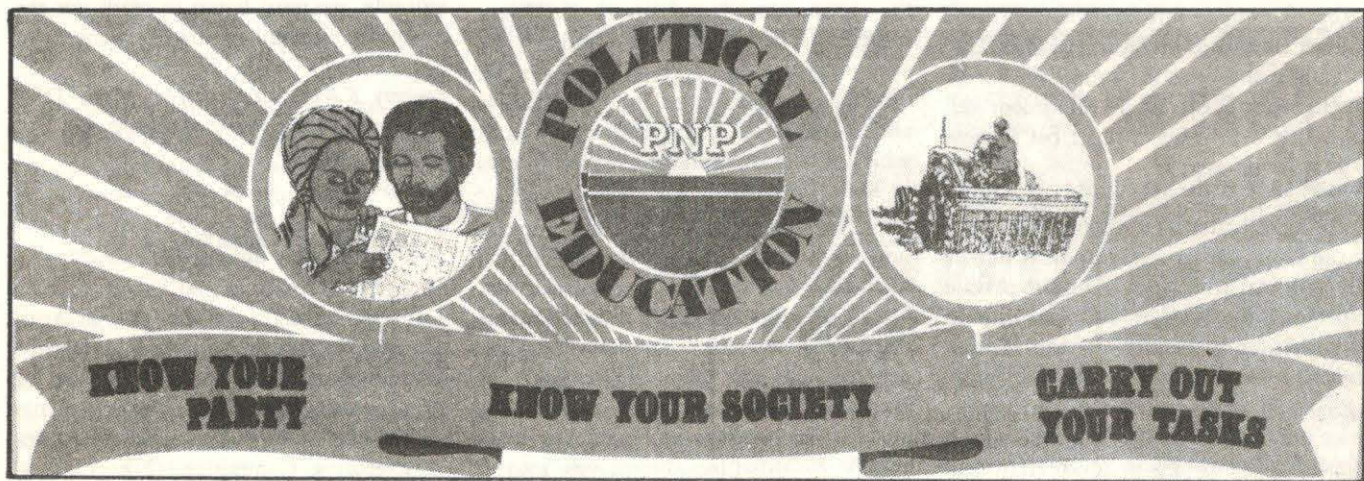
Has the return of unfettered capitalism meant a difference in the lives of Jamaicans? As one social scientist on the island put it, "There are two views of Jamaica: when you leave this island and read the foreign press, you get the idea that it is all rosy, but people here know that things are bad." Even some of the flattering press reports are beginning to change tone, as witnessed by a *New York Times* analysis this spring of the ways

in which the Reagan administration has helped prop up the Jamaican economy.

Seaga has consistently blamed Jamaica's economic difficulties on "socialist mismanagement" by the Manley government and promised to "free up" the economy and, most importantly, to restore business confidence and consequently economic growth. The election took place in the context of an extremely severe foreign exchange shortage, negative economic growth, high unemployment and inflation, and shortages of food and other basic consumer goods. In his election campaign, Seaga promised "deliverance" and the experience of "money jingling in your pockets."

The solutions he offered were in stark contrast to those tried by the PNP. In 1974, the PNP government declared its commitment to a democratic socialist development model including a mixed economy, emphasis on employment creation and income redistribution through the public sector, and a land reform program. From 1962 to 1972, under the JLP government, the economy had experienced consistent growth, but unemployment doubled from 12 percent to 24 percent. The PNP started down a different road to development, but soon after its massive 1976 election victory, a set

of adverse economic developments forced the government to negotiate a loan agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that prevented it from continuing along that road. Under successive IMF-imposed austerity programs, economic growth and real wages continuously decreased while unemployment and shortages increased. In February of 1980, the PNP decided to break with the IMF and to call an election to be fought on the issue of a non-IMF path with emphasis on self-reliance and Third World solidarity. Seaga advocated a diametrically opposite path emphasizing Western aid, investment, and trade. He argued that the only obstacle to economic recovery was political; that is, that the Manley government's socialist orientation and in particular its close friendship with Cuba had been solely responsible for massive capital flight and a decline of both domestic and foreign investment. By creating a favorable investment climate, cultivating close relations with the U.S., and clearly distancing himself from Cuba, Seaga would revive private sector initiative and investment which would turn into the engine of economic growth. In the short run, the foreign exchange gap would have to be covered by loans from the IMF, commercial banks, and



“In 1974 the PNP government declared its commitment to a democratic socialist development model including a mixed economy, emphasis on employment creation and income redistribution. . . .”

friendly governments, but in the long run, increased production for export would solve the problem.

### Surface Results

On the surface—particularly to the casual middle class observer—things have improved markedly since Seaga's government came to power. There is food on the shelves in the supermarkets, including fancy imported items that had been absent for years under the PNP's foreign-exchange-saving import restrictions. The country has had slight economic growth, an improvement over the continuous decline of the preceding years (although mid-year optimistic predictions of 2-3 percent growth were not borne out). Official figures showed a slowdown in the inflation rate from 23.2 percent in the first nine months of 1980 to 4.2 percent for the corresponding period in 1981. Nevertheless, under the surface there is considerable rumbling, and one must ask what the prospects are for real economic recovery. These rumblings of discontent are reflected in the opinion polls carried out by Jamaica's most respected pollster, Carl Stone, who has otherwise been generally sympathetic to Seaga in his columns in the pro-JLP *Gleaner*. In his November 1981 poll, 25 percent of JLP supporters, 77 percent of PNP supporters, and 50 percent of politically independent respondents said that they were buying less food, clothes, and household and personal articles than a year ago. Furthermore, despite JLP promises of "deliverance" for the masses, a poll carried out in July 1981, only nine months after the large election victory, showed that 54 percent of the people believed that the PNP was most interested in the interests of the poor, as compared to 36 percent who thought the same of the JLP.

If one looks at how the Seaga government achieved this performance of adequate supplies of goods, low inflation and positive, if very modest growth, it is apparent not only that the majority of the people are correct in perceiving that they are not better off, but also that the future may not be so rosy either. The inflation rate was kept low by massive importation of foodstuff as well as of other consumer goods. In fact, food is so heavily weighted (overweighted, most experts say) in the Jamaican cost of living index that the lowering of some food prices masked substantial increases in

items such as housing. This great increase in imports hit the small farmer hard and, in the absence of a corresponding rise in exports, greatly increased the trade gap.

The increase in imports was by no means limited to essential items such as food. The JLP government has liberally issued so-called "no funds" import licenses. The no funds license is a permit to import a given type of goods but entails no obligation on the part of the Bank of Jamaica to provide the foreign

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*“When Michael went begging, it was a sign of socialist mismanagement, but now when Eddie gets a loan, it is a sign of confidence in the Jamaican government.”*

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exchange to pay for the imports. Since the Bank of Jamaica is the only legal source of foreign exchange, the no funds license is an invitation to buy foreign exchange on the black market, now usually termed the "informal" or "parallel" market, given the government's tolerant attitude toward it. Since the exchange rate on the parallel market is 2.5 or 3 Jamaican dollars to one U.S. dollar instead of the official rate of 1.78 Jamaican dollars to one U.S. dollar, the policy is tantamount to a partial devaluation of the Jamaican currency. This would not be so bad if it were only a matter of foreign exchange from the illegal marijuana trade being diverted into the importation of essential consumer goods and raw materials and parts for manufacturing. However, foreign exchange is being diverted from the official market (especially from the tourist trade and through overinvoicing imports and underinvoicing exports), and a significant portion of this is being used to finance luxury imports. Thus, a person working as a domestic or in the government's relief work program, making the minimum wage equivalent to \$17 in U.S. currency per week, now has the privilege of being able to spend a whole week's wage on a bottle of Jack Daniels. It is no wonder that despite (or because of) "deliverance," half the people believe they are worse off.

The trade gap caused by the increase in imports was financed by mas-

sive increases in foreign borrowing and aid from the United States. After successfully concluding the negotiations for the IMF loan in March, the Seaga government began borrowing at a rate unparalleled during the Manley period, despite the fact that one of the JLP's biggest criticisms of the PNP government was that it was borrowing too much. When "Michael went begging," it was a sign of socialist mismanagement, but now when Eddie gets a loan, it is a sign of confidence in the Jamaican government.

The extent of that confidence hasn't translated into longterm benefits. Despite Seaga's goal of attracting \$638 million in foreign investments in three years, the *New York Times* reports, only 18 new American investments totaling \$10 million had started in Jamaica in the 12-month period ending March 1982. Unemployment has remained at 26 percent, and the new American investments have created only 1,000 jobs at most.

Although foreign aid as a whole has been cut, Reagan has increased aid to Jamaica over twofold, to almost \$100 million. The president's enthusiasm stimulated the formation of a joint committee of U.S. and Jamaican businessmen headed by David Rockefeller, which has not yet managed to involve many of the 25 member companies in making investments in Jamaica. The group, according to the *Times* report, concluded that "pure private investment in the more traditional sense will not do the trick by itself, especially in the short run."

Private money may not be ready to take the plunge, but Reagan has no hesitation about using taxpayer money. Although bauxite is low on the list of strategic materials stockpiled by the U.S., the General Services Administration, at President Reagan's direction, organized the \$67 million purchase of 1.6 million tons of Jamaican bauxite when the downturn in the world aluminum market threatened to cause a temporary shutdown of mining operations in Jamaica and layoffs of its workforce. The bauxite is to be mined by the Reynolds Metals Company and the Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corporation and shipped, processed and stored by Reynolds. This purchase is the only acquisition of a strategic material specifically directed by presidential order in more than 20 years, according to GSA officials. Because competitive bidding is required for stockpile acquisitions, this deal is under investigation by Congress.

In another assist to American business, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), an independent federal agency in the executive branch, has tentatively agreed to guarantee a \$50 million loan and to grant insurance against political risk such as war or expropriation to Kauser, Reynolds and the Anaconda Aluminum Company to aid those companies in expanding a jointly owned bauxite venture. In the early seventies, OPIC's board of directors adopted a rule limiting the agency's insurance coverage in any one country to 10 percent of the agency's total exposure. OPIC's current coverage in Jamaica is already over the 10 percent limit, but, as OPIC president Craig Nalen told a *Times* reporter, "we are going to bend a little when there's political pressure." The importance of U.S. aid to Seaga can be measured by the fact that per capita U.S. aid to Jamaica now rivals per capita Soviet aid to Cuba.

How likely is Seaga to succeed with this private industry model of development? In order to repay all the loans, there will have to be a sufficient level of investment to generate production for export as well as for local consumption. The government agency that handles new investment proposals—domestic and foreign—has received inquiries about 424 projects totaling \$1.3 billion, which would employ about 30,000 people. This

would make only a dent, albeit a significant one, in Jamaica's 260,00 unemployed. But only 47 of these projects, employing 5,500 people are in or near operation, and it is very unlikely that anywhere near all 424 will ever be established. One prominent Jamaican businessman told the author that he believed the only thing that could substantially increase nontraditional (i.e. other than tourism, sugar, bananas, and bauxite) exports would be for the U.S. to grant Jamaican products the same tariff status that Puerto Rican products have. Meanwhile, Puerto Rico is lobbying hard against this. The JLP's recovery plans are made more difficult by the fact that the hoped-for return of businessmen and managers who left during Manley's second term has not materialized.

Let us be clear that "success," as defined by revived economic growth, does not mean an improvement in the lot of the population at large. High unemployment during a period of consistent economic growth was a problem under the last JLP government. Similarly, Seaga's plan is not likely to succeed because it is predicated on the wrong assumptions. Although it is true that political opposition from business did contribute to the economic problems encountered by the Manley government, and one cannot overlook the U.S. interest in economic destabilization of a socialist

government, the Jamaican economy is suffering from deep structural problems generated in large part by the pattern of dependent development experienced in the fifties and sixties—patterns that the JLP government is now trying to re-establish. For instance, the Seaga government terminated the sugar cooperatives put up by the Manley government in 1975, arguing that they were responsible for the decline of the sugar industry. In fact, the decline actually began in 1965 when the United Kingdom-based Tate and Lyle began to divest itself of the industry.

As a showcase for "the magic of the marketplace," Jamaica will not be likely to remain on display without massive infusions of U.S. aid. That this aid is of more benefit to U.S. corporations than to Jamaica reinforces the skepticism with which Third World nations received President Reagan's Caribbean Initiative. It appears that the only hope for Jamaica's future still lies in the type of more self-reliant, state-sector-led development model correctly conceptualized and initiated, but for a variety of reasons not successfully implemented, by the Manley government. ■

*Jo Weber is the pseudonym of a DSA member conducting research in Jamaica this year.*

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# On Love and Revolution

By Dorothee Sölle and Jim Wallace

**T**HREE RECENT FILMS—*CIRCLE of Deceit*, *Missing*, and *Reds*—deal with civil war, revolution, and counter-revolution in our century. Looking at them as art works, not historical documents, we asked ourselves what could be learned from them for our own struggles. In traditional form, each film follows the development of a central character, a male hero, but the personal stories are told in the context of political struggles that are by no means only backdrops for the heroes' fates. In the seventies we learned through the feminist movement that the personal is political. These films of the early eighties incorporate this lesson and are worthwhile viewing for anyone who works for human justice.

The personal behavior and relationships of those who live in the First World are consciously, or, more usually, unconsciously, shaped by oligopoly capitalism. If misunderstood, however, this can be a dangerously fatalistic statement. It may reflect the trend in our culture that sees only the political, as subject, inexorably determining the personal, as object. The new element in these films is their counterstatement: that we are not simply objects in the death-producing machine of this society. People try to escape (Schlöndorff), to unmask (Costa-Gavras), and to fight the system (Beatty). Their strength lies in the fact that they sometimes claim more than the powerlessness and cynicism of late capitalism; they envisage hope arising out of defeats.

This is least true of Volker Schlöndorff's *Circle of Deceit* which is pervaded by pessimism and portrays the frustrations and corruptions of journalists, writers, and media people. The film was made after the disillusionment with the reforms coming out of the student movement and clearly before the rise of the European peace movement. It is based on a novel by Nicolas Born, a writer and activist in the ecological movement. He lived near the East German border in the village of Gorleben where the gov-



*“The new element in these films is their counterstatement: that we are not simply objects in the death-producing machine of this society.”*

ernment is trying to build a nuclear waste disposal site, a place of resistance and defeat similar to Seabrook in the United States. The film alludes to this by placing the opening and closing scenes in Gorleben.

What can an intellectual do who is sympathetic with Third World struggles but sees little possibility of doing anything about them at home? He or she chooses a place where the struggle is going on. This has a certain tradition in German literature. A major poet of the Idealist period, Hölderlin, dreamed of fighting in Greece for freedom and escaping from what he calls in a poem “The Leaden Time” (used as the title of a recent German political film by Margarethe Von Trotta). Schlöndorff's hero, a journalist named Georg Laschen, looks for his Greece (or Spain a generation ago) in Lebanon and finds himself caught in a “circle of deceit.”

When the film starts we see Laschen in a personal crisis with his marriage falling apart. Bedroom scenes show an

appalling mixture of sexual gymnastics, self-hate and the wish to humiliate another person. This sets the mood of frustration and meaninglessness experienced by the hero and, perhaps, of his country. His newspaper sends him to report on the civil war in Lebanon, and he tries to use this occasion to break out of the vicious circle of his life. In Beirut he is confronted with the choice of taking sides with the Lebanese Moslems against the Christo-fascists. But Laschen is deceived at every turn; for the Moslem fighters seem as fascist as the Christians. The brutality of the civil war makes clear to him that he does not belong to either side. At the same time his professional pride and identity break down. In a powerful scene, a photographer auctions pictures of death and dying to reporters; massacres and corpses are made into marketable items. Laschen sees the obscenity of the media. The same theme appears again at the end of the film when Laschen returns to Germany and turns in his report to the editorial board. The way these

press managers deal with war, death, and human suffering as commodities without any political significance or educational impact shows capitalist journalism without its liberal face. The reporter's work, the last possibility for him to be in touch with those who fight for justice, is simply another deceit. Schlöndorff does demonstrate to us an element of freedom by having his hero tear up his story and walk out.

Schlöndorff hesitates to simply tell us why people act the way they do. He films the ambiguities of people and their situations. But this aesthetic strength, which makes us think, also reflects the despair of German intellectuals in the seventies.

Death pervades the whole movie. There is a constant expectation that the hero will die. In the end he "dies" without any drama, professionally as well as in his personal relationships, though he continues to live on physically. The closing scene is almost identical to the opening one. In grey, dreary Gorbien he still carries the letter he has been writing to his wife ending their relationship. He has never been able to send it to her. Change is impossible and the circle is closed.

The message in Costa-Gravas's film, *Missing*, is quite different. It is a personal story as well as a depiction of the rise of fascism in Chile (although the country is not named in the film) after the overthrow of Allende. The political focus is one of human rights, which means that not much is said about the democratic socialism of Salvadore Allende or the necessity of the coup from the point of view of international capitalism. The film's perspective is that of its hero, an apolitical, white, middle-class, successful American business man named Ed Horman, who comes to Chile in search of his journalist son Charles, who disappeared after the coup. The power of the film is in the personal development of the father, which is nothing short of a conversion experience. Our interest in the film was not so much in its historical accuracy (which has been disputed) but rather in the question: how can a conservative, almost naive, idealist change his attitudes, worldview, and even his very life.

At first, Ed Horman has a clear-cut set of values: you live to work; you make money and build a career; your emotional needs are taken care of by your

family; and all of these values are protected through the democratic system in which we live. He is suspicious of his son, his daughter-in-law, and their friends, because they have rejected these solid values. These young Americans went to Chile in search of a different culture, a different dream represented in the film by Saint Exupery's *Le Petit Prince*. The father tries to find out the

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“The dream of the revolution was and is of a society where it will be easier to love one another.”

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“truth” about his boy, who has been arrested, although he seems to be more of a hippy than a revolutionary. Horman claims this search to be his own religion, his faith. When asked, “faith in what?” he responds, “in truth.” This naiveté and honesty is precisely the seed of hope the film plants in us. Conservatism does not necessarily lead to reaction; it may lead to the discovery of deep contradictions in the seemingly well-ordered world and this may in turn create a need for change.

The father discovers two truths in Chile: that his son was shot in the Santiago Stadium and that the American Embassy personnel were complicit in his son's death because they feared that Charles knew too much about American business and military involvement in the destruction of human rights and democracy in Chile. “If it hadn't been your son,” the ambassador finally tells Horman, “you would be complacently sitting at home. We have 3,000 American companies doing business in Chile. We are here to protect their interests. You can't have it both ways.” The connection between the violation of human rights and the economic-political interests is finally made, but it takes the whole film for the father to get the truth.

*Missing* is not a propaganda film that just states truth and pours it into people as if they were empty vessels. Costa-Gavras understands enough pedagogy to know that we have to unlearn before we learn. The father has to unlearn his set of values. His whole world crumbles. The world of decency and democracy, in which he believed, doesn't exist. He criticized the young generation for being too idealistic, but one of the

subtle ironies of the film is his own extremely idealistic idea that the government stands for conservative values. He has to correct his prejudices about his son, Charles, who he thinks is a lazy, dreaming, sexual libertarian. All of that is proven untrue, but it becomes visible only through the pain the father experiences. When he finally discovers that his son has been killed, he tries to find out why and by whom. In doing so, he becomes able to weep, and the more he discovers the truth about his country, the more human he becomes.

The film teaches that capitalism with a human face is a sham. It teaches this not through economics, as would be appropriate for those who are hurt by Reaganomics, but through the human rights issue. This is a film for those who believe in the system. It confronts our mainstream American, this decent, stubborn searcher of truth, with the new capitalist technocrats, represented by the people of the Embassy who have no other values beside protecting business. The connection between private business, a high standard of living, imperialist intervention and abuse of human rights is clearly made. Horman doesn't abandon the old values of “truth,” “faith,” and “love.” He just discovers that those in power who still use this rhetoric of conservatism—in the sense of conserving—could care less about its values.

Perhaps the long lines of people standing to see this film are a sign that these people are ready for change. The change we see in *Missing* is from conservatism into radicalism without the liberal detour. The film raises the political question of whether that change will be possible for a majority of American citizens. Can it be mediated through the political concerns of the middle class: human rights, ecology, and disarmament. Can one move from an old-style American patriotism, with the values it incorporates, toward the insight that oligopoly capitalism doesn't work for the country and that a radical reordering must occur?

Looking to the more distant past, Warren Beatty's *Reds* tries to recall a radical American history forgotten or never learned by the American public. It is also a love story—and some of our friends dismissed this aspect of the film as a sentimental, packaged Hollywood romance; we thought, however, that the intertwining of the personal relationship and the political struggle and defeat was

well presented for several reasons. It rejects a common myth by showing leftists as laughing, loving, struggling human beings who are not just power hungry, somber bureaucratic types. The love story may help even hardened conservatives to gain a sense of the vision these strange "Reds" lived and died for. It develops an understanding of personal relationships that transcends the two people involved.

The demythologizing of the "Reds" in the American context is given in a lively portrait of the anarchist, bohemian scenes in the teens and early twenties of this century. Emma Goldman, John Reed, Louise Bryant, Eugene O'Neill, Max Eastman and many other writers, artists and journalists show us a different lifestyle, free from possessiveness. "Property is theft, walk in" is written on the door of Reed's apartment. They had a need to be liberated from certain institutions and conventions, such as marriage and the division of labor between the sexes, that led them to create new rules, break them and find new ones again. There was a free spirit in these people, a generosity in giving their time and resources to others, a sense of life's beauty and of free art available to everyone.

This North American version of the revolutionary dream seems, from the very beginning, to be close to the notion of cultural revolution. The film's main characters are rather naive about working class conditions and the limited role of intellectuals. Still, they are close to the spirit of the Industrial Workers of the World and openly resist the impending capitalist war. When Jack Reed, our hero, is asked about the causes of the threatening war, his reply is one word, "Profits."

What relevance does this film hold in 1982? Do we have to have Reaganomics before we are allowed to get a good film about the dream of another America? What does the film teach us in our present situation?

The film portrays the ups and downs of the working-class movement and the Socialist party, with its splits and sects, against the backdrop of the Russian Revolution. It shows the maneuvering of Reed within the Comintern, and the shift from the international spirit of the Revolution to the blunt assertion of Soviet power over other national groups. The Leninism vs. anarchism issue comes out most directly when Emma Goldman is the first to be disillusioned about the

revolution, with the increasing suppression of dissent, and points this out to the still enthusiastic Reed. The film does give a sense, not just of another tragic failure of a great idea, but of why it is necessary to have a vision of a more just and democratic society. This point of political substance could have been stressed more than through the mere tragic drama of a dying hero in a petrifying revolution.

The most important thing in the film was how the love of two people changes through and with the cause. When Louise Bryant first meets Jack Reed she is on the edge of freeing herself from an empty, conventional marriage and she uses him to get out of it. He uses her as a bedmate. There is a lot of fighting, jealousy that conflicts with their ideas of an unpossessive love, redefining of roles, settling their problems through moving from one place to another, separations and reunions. But the real drama is how they both grow together as they grow into a third cause. In the beginning Bryant lacks the capacity to work and Reed to love. "You love yourself and fuck me," she tells him. She, however, can only

manage a feeble, "I write," when repeatedly asked by his friends what she is doing in New York. They mutually and belligerently develop each other's capacities. Their public and private lives become interwoven. Human relationships are not fulfilled on a one-to-one basis; there is a need for more. As Saint Exupery has put it: "To love does not mean to look at each other. It means rather to look together at a third cause." In the beginning, when Jack urges Louise to come to New York she asks, "As what? Your mistress? Your concubine? Your plaything?" In the last scene, when dying he repeats the request and she the question, he tenderly replies, "As comrades." Love finds its meaning outside of itself. They can be true lovers only when they are comrades. The personal is more than just the personal. The dream of the revolution was and is of a society where it will be easier to love one another. ■

*Dorothee Sölle is a theologian and poet. Jim Wallace teaches engineering science and is co-chair of the DSA Religion and Socialism Committee.*

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# Agenda Hits Two Coasts

By Harry Fleischman

**M**ORE THAN 300 TRADE unionists and political activists gathered in Newark, N.J. on May 15 for an Eastern Regional Conference of the DEMOCRATIC AGENDA (DA) to discuss a common left Democratic position and learn about building effective local coalitions.

"The Democrats," said DA convenor Michael Harrington, "are waiting for Reagan to fall on his face, and will offer no new proposals or solutions at the June Mid-Term Conference. . . . The country is hungry for a moral vision of jobs, peace, justice, and equality. . . . We must present a program and insist that candidates who want our support tell us where they stand on that program."

DA's primary goal is to achieve full employment. Its program includes stand-by price controls; a national health program with effective cost controls; affordable food; cutting the almost \$1.8 trillion in tax deductions for the rich; democratizing control of the Federal Reserve Board and bringing down interest rates; pursuing a lean, responsible defense policy that rejects destabilizing weapons systems and cuts \$50 billion from the Pentagon budget while increasing our national security.

As attendees talked in the halls, listened to speeches and responded to workshop presentations, they traded information about what works well to bring about change. "People came away with a sense of the possibilities of local activism," commented conference organizer Miriam Bensman. Edwin Vargas, president of the Hartford, Conn. Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, told how a broad coalition of liberals and labor, the Legislative Electoral Action Program (LEAP) was successful in saving the seats of four Democratic state senators who won re-election in close races in 1980. This year, the coalition is again emphasizing contributions of its members' time to work for candidates, rather than financial donations. Vargas urged

U.S. labor to push the Democrats to separate themselves from the Republican policies and to push for programs along the lines of Canada's New Democratic Party and the labor and democratic socialism movements of western Europe.

Other speakers included John Atlas of the New Jersey Public Interest Political Action Committee, Archer Cole, president, District 3, International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers; Andrew McGuire, candidate for the Democratic nomination for U.S. Senate in New Jersey; Robert Lekachman, economist and author of *Greed Is Not Enough: Reaganomics*; Joseph Merlino, former president, New Jersey Senate; Linda Tarr-Whelan, director of government affairs, National Education Associa-

tion; Scott Hoyman, executive vice-president, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers; Steve Rosenthal, legislative representative, Communications Workers of America, District 1; Herman D. Farrell, NY State Assembly and chair of NY County Democratic Committee; Carol O'Cleireacain, chief economist, D.C. 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Jose La Luz, chair, Hispanic Taskforce, Americans for Democratic Action; Marge Harrison, Long Island Progressive Coalition; Seymour Posner, commissioner, NY State Workers Compensation Board; Peter Shapiro, Essex County executive; Karen Burstein, executive director, NY Consumer Protection Board and many others. ■

## Californians Create Statewide DA

By Claire Kaplan

**I**T WAS A SIGHT CALIFORNIA LEFT-ists savored: Michael Harrington receiving a standing ovation from a packed house in the same room where Nancy Reagan had been honored by the University of Southern California administration only three weeks before. But the excitement and energy that electri-

calized the alphabet soup of the democratic left: 45 participants each from ADA (Americans for Democratic Action), CED (Campaign for Economic Democracy), and CDC (California Democratic Councils), 140 from DSA.

Conference speakers came from a correspondingly wide range of organizations. "We have here," said Los Angeles Democratic Party County Chair Ed Burke in introducing the speakers at the closing plenary, "the best the Democratic party has to offer." Those included state assembly member Maxine Waters and Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED) Chair Tom Hayden, both of whom addressed strategies for building an anticorporate politics in California in the eighties. From what are commonly viewed as disparate wings of the labor movement came Bricklayers President John Joyce, whose scholarly speech emphasized the need for greater workplace democracy, and West Coast Longshoremen President Jimmy Herman, who stressed the primacy of organizing and coalition building.

Continued on page 15

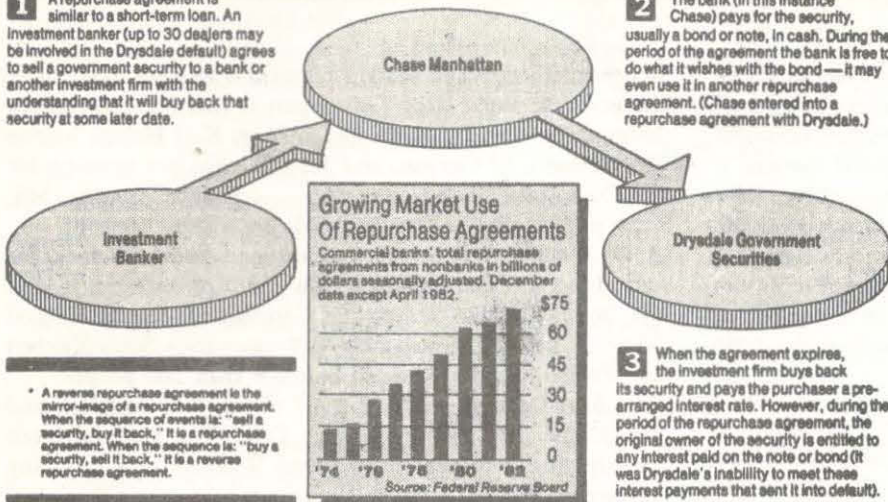


fied the California DEMOCRATIC AGENDA conference April 16 and 17 in Los Angeles was as much due to the conferees as the speakers. This large and diverse gathering drew more than 900 participants. Among these were nearly 200 trade unionists, over 100 students and a like number of senior citizens, and

## Repurchase Agreements: At the Heart of the Drysdale Debacle

**1** A repurchase agreement is similar to a short-term loan. An investment banker (up to 30 dealers may be involved in the Drysdale default) agrees to sell a government security to a bank or another investment firm with the understanding that it will buy back that security at some later date.

**2** The bank (in this instance Chase) pays for the security, usually a bond or note, in cash. During the period of the agreement the bank is free to do what it wishes with the bond—it may even use it in another repurchase agreement. (Chase entered into a repurchase agreement with Drysdale.)



**3** When the agreement expires, the investment firm buys back its security and pays the purchaser a pre-arranged interest rate. However, during the period of the repurchase agreement, the original owner of the security is entitled to any interest paid on the note or bond (it was Drysdale's inability to meet these interest payments that sent it into default).

The New York Times/May 21, 1982

# Wall St. on Relief

By Gordon Haskell

**T**HE "FINANCIAL COMMUNITY" was reported to be "shaken" by the revelation on May 19th that Drysdale Government Securities, a relatively small dealer in government bonds, was unable to pay "more than \$160 million" in interest it owed on such bonds it had borrowed from banks and other dealers. By May 20 the figure had risen to \$270 million.

Chase Manhattan Bank, the clearing agent for Drysdale, revealed that Willard C. Butcher, its chairman, had met with Federal Reserve officials on May 17th "to try to put together a fund, including money contributed by Chase . . . to prevent a chain reaction of failures while it was decided who was responsible." (*New York Times*, May 19, 1982.)

The meeting, it appears, was not in vain. Along with the news of Drysdale's default came "an unusual late afternoon statement" by the Federal Reserve "to tell Government bond dealers that it 'stood ready as lender of last resort' to help commercial banks meet unusual credit demands related to market problems."

This should be heartening news to the millions of unemployed, people thrown off welfare, and the like. We

have all heard of the government's "safety net" that will rescue them from disaster. And here is a striking example of how it works. Quick as a flash, before you can say "welfare cheat" or even "speculator," out comes the safety net to cushion the high-flyers' fall.

We have also heard about the government debt, and how many billions of current taxpayers' money is needed each year to pay interest on it. Few of us, perhaps, are aware that, in addition to being a method to distribute funds from the average taxpayer to the handful of people who "own" the bulk of the national debt, it is also a rich source of speculation to the "financial community."

In Drysdale's case, the way it worked was this: Drysdale borrowed bonds from other dealers. Some of them borrowed them from still others, or borrowed money to finance their dealings with Drysdale. Drysdale appears to have used the securities to speculate on bond futures "unsuccessfully," as they politely say. Chase Manhattan was the middleman, charging a fee for each transaction between Drysdale and its lenders.

As long as things were moving along, with billions worth of securities changing hands, and everyone making a buck, this was just an example of the "finan-

cial community's" indispensable role in the free enterprise system. These are not a bunch of three-card monte dealers; they are the pillars of Wall Street. But when their bubble burst, they appeared to act just like drug pushers in a police bust. Suddenly, these upright members of the "financial community" are innocent victims of a misunderstanding, and what's more, they never heard of Drysdale.

"Setting the tone for Wall Street," the *Times* reports, the biggest brokerage firm involved, Merrill Lynch (remember the "bulls"), "said in a prepared statement . . . that it had 'had no dealings with Drysdale Government Securities whatsoever . . . in this instance, we have dealt with Chase, and we expect that they will honor their obligations to us.'" "Me, neither," says Goldman Sachs; Drexel Burnham Lambert; Donaldson Lufkin & Jenrette; and others. Peter J. Wasserman, president of Drysdale Securities Corporation, a 92-year-old Wall Street house, also disowned its offspring, Drysdale Government Securities, claiming it had had no ties with it "since early this year" though its principals retain "small non-voting interests" in it. (Similar, we assume, to an "absentee" father with "small non-voting interests" in his family on welfare?)

### Picking Up the Tab

So, it would appear, poor old Chase is in the middle, with all fingers pointing (or hands clutching) in its direction? Well, don't shed a tear for them—better save it for yourself. Because you, dear reader, have been chosen to pick up the tab—or most of it—for all of them.

How? First of all, there's the fail-safe Federal Reserve safety net to catch them. Who do you think pays for that? Second, even if Chase is found liable for the \$270 million (or however much it turns out to really be when all the chickens come home to roost) "half of the loss would be written off, given Chase's 50 percent tax bracket."

That means that you, as taxpayer, will pay \$135 million of the "losses" of this collective "financial community." Of course, when Drysdale speculated and lost, someone else in the "community" gained. Did you share in that gain?

If you did, let me know. In the meantime, write off another \$135 million from federal social services for poor folks. It's badly needed to keep free enterprise "free." ■

# ON THE LEFT

By Harry Fleischman

**I**N AN ELECTION THAT THE *New York Times* CALLED "the most honest and tranquil this country has seen," Socialist Salvador Jorge Blanco was elected president of the Dominican Republic by a substantial margin. A candidate of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, affiliated with the Socialist International, Blanco has worked closely with Francisco Peña Gomez, who was elected as mayor of Santo Domingo. Peña Gomez, a leading Socialist International official, has participated in a number of socialist meetings in the United States, including the 1980 conference on Eurosocialism.

■ ■ ■  
A WEEK AFTER THE DSOC-NAM MERGER convention in Detroit, 25 people met to form the Chico, Calif. local of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). . . . The Sacramento Valley DSA will hear Prof. Ernest Isaacs on June 17 at 7:30 p.m. on "The Ku Klux Klan: Masked Terror as Morality." He speaks at the La Semilla Cultural Center. . . . San Diego DSA heard Raoul Teilhet, president of the California Teachers Union on "Coalition Politics." . . . In Stanford, the DSA Youth Section chapter held a day of rallies, education and song for its "Hooverville '82." Major national television networks covered the event, shanty towns and all, which drew more than 3,000 people.

■ ■ ■  
JOSLYN WILLIAMS, A DSA MEMBER and the recently elected president of the Metropolitan Washington Labor Council, AFL-CIO, gave the keynote address at the local merger convention of DSA. He asked the Maryland/DC DSA members to work closely with the Council in developing and moving its economic and political agenda. . . . Six DSA members have been elected to the 45-person Statehood Constitutional Convention. DSA members have also been elected to the Democratic Party state committee and to DC's delegation to the June 1982 Democratic Party midterm convention. . . . Atlanta DSA heard French economist Dr. Christian Michon speak recently on Mitterrand's Socialist economic program and how it could serve as a model for an alternative U.S. economic plan. . . . Stella Nowicki of "Union Maids" spoke to many Atlanta groups on the movie and on organizing women today. . . . A Youth Section chapter of DSA has started at Georgia State University. . . . Mike Harrington successfully debated William Rusher, publisher of *National Review* on Reaganomics in front of 900 people at the University of Illinois-Champaign-Urbana. . . . June 27 is Gay Pride Day, with parades in many cities. In Chicago, the Gay and Lesbian branch of DSA is attempting to counter efforts by Nazis to hold a rally at the same time and place in which the Gay Pride parade has been held for the past several years.

A Central Kentucky DSA local is under way in Lexington, Ky. with a pot luck dinner May 12. It will participate in the Appalachian Alliance meeting in Barbourville, Ky. June 4-6. . . . Down East DSA celebrated May Day with a picnic at the home of Scott and Helen Nearing in Harborside, Maine. Scott, now 98, ran as a Socialist candidate for Congress from New York in 1918 against Fiorello La Guardia. . . . Harlan Baker is seeking a third term in the Maine House of

Representatives, while Mark Fitzgerald is retiring to continue his graduate work. Russ Christensen is running for Probate Judge in Penobscot County, and DSAers Karl Heiser, Joanne D'Arcangelo, El Gorham and John Plestina are running for the Democratic State Committee. . . . Howard County, Md. DSA participated in Maryland Solidarity Day March 13. . . . A DSA merger celebration in Boston is being planned for early June. . . . The Columbia, Mo. DSA, in cooperation with the Boone County Democratic Committee and the Central Missouri Labor Council, held a Reaganomics Soup Kitchen and Forum recently attended by more than 200 people. . . . Rep. Ron Dellums spoke at the University of Missouri and pushed the need for groups like DSA. The local has been participating with the United Steel Workers in a picketing boycott of Proctor & Gamble soap products, since that company refuses to sign a contract with the union.

■ ■ ■  
Albany, N.Y. DSA, which now boasts 110 members, will present its first annual Eugene V. Debs Award at a dinner honoring Bob Redlo, regional director of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, on June 11. . . . Michael

More than 800 friends and comrades turned out on May 1 to honor Carl Shier at the annual Chicago Thomas-Debs Dinner. Shier, a longtime socialist and DSA leader, retired this year from the UAW, but not from socialist activism.



Harrington and Lillian Roberts keynoted a conference on "Long Islanders in Solidarity—Survival in the 80s" with 400 people from more than 50 community, labor, student, civil rights and environmental groups. . . . Now Community Media Productions has produced an exciting 13-minute slide/tape documentary on Solidarity Day. For a preview, write CMP, 325 Grafton Ave., Dayton, Ohio 45406.

■ ■ ■  
H. L. Mitchell presided over a warm reunion of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union aided by old timers like Clay Earl and Evelyn Smith and labor troubadour Joe Glazer. . . . Liz Weston, former chair of NAM's Socialist Feminist Commission, spoke at the Madison, Wisc. DSA recently on "The Family: 'Who's Right, What's Left.'"

■ ■ ■  
The 3rd National Conference on Religion and Labor, "Coalitions for Today's Challenges," will be held June 24-27 at the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee. Speakers will include DSA Vice Chair and IAM president William Winpinger, AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Tom Donahue, and AME Bishop John H. Adams. . . . A DSA Labor Newsletter and an outreach paper, *Overtime*, are now being published by the DSA Labor Commission.

**LETTERS**, from page 2  
widespread opportunities for responsible and meaningful work, argue for right livelihoods, not just livelihoods.

But whoever he is, he should be first an "extra good workman."

Gerry Doyle  
Beaumont, Texas  
P.S. I read "Jimmy Higgins Reports" with interest each month. I just wish I didn't know his background.

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

■ ■ ■

**CALIFORNIA**, from page 12

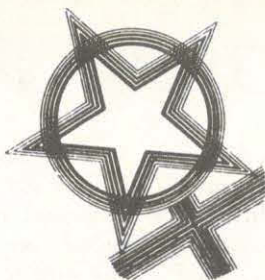
Those themes—a democratized society and economy, and the need for coalition politics to achieve them—resounded through otherwise dissimilar presentations from trade unionists Raoul Teilhet and Elinor Glenn, feminist editor Deirdre English, Santa Monica Mayor Ruth Goldway, and, of course, Harrington. Furthering the development of the burgeoning peace movement was another connective thread running from speech to speech.

When the speaking (and singing) had finished, well over half the conferees had signed on to continue building California DEMOCRATIC AGENDA networks. Those networks, AGENDA organizer Harold Meyerson says, will have as an initial likely focus lobbying for Maxine Waters' bill limiting corporate discretion in plant closing. ■

*Claire Kaplan is a feminist activist and membership coordinator of the Los Angeles DSA local.*

*Anyone interested in obtaining tapes of the conference speeches or in plugging into the CD networks should contact Harold Meyerson at California Democratic Agenda, P.O. Box 1300, Long Beach, Calif. 90801; phone (213) 775-6085.*

**MOVING?** Don't let DEMOCRATIC LEFT be the last to know. Send your old address label or zip code along with your new address to: Subscription Dept., DEMOCRATIC LEFT, 853 Broadway, Suite 801, New York, N.Y. 10003.



**WOMEN ORGANIZING**

This Issue: Number 9

**Focus on Women at the Workplace**

- Women Can Change the Face of the American Labor Movement*, Ruth Jordan
- Is Affirmative Action Dead?** ... **Not Quite**  
Andrea Gundersen     Judy Gregory
- Older Women**     **1981 NOW Convention**  
Judy Maclean     Bill Perkins and Betty Arenth
- MNC's Exploit Women on Global Assembly Line**     **Pittsburgh Working Women**  
Barbara Ehrenreich     Elaine Smith

Coming in future issues of ...

**WOMEN ORGANIZING**

**Feminism and the Family**  
women in the family  
right-wing strategies  
gay/lesbian liberation

**Racism & Sexism**  
black women  
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women as elected officials  
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Labor Day is the perfect time to send greetings to DEMOCRATIC LEFT and the newly formed Democratic Socialists of America. Send your own message. Use our pages to honor other comrades and events. This is the only fundraising event for DEMOCRATIC LEFT during the year. In this Unity year, let's make the Labor Day issue the biggest ever.

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# JIMMY HIGGINS REPORTS



HOW MANY REAGAN economists does it take to change a light bulb? Answer: none. They sit in the dark and wait for the Invisible Hand to accomplish the job. . . . Economists like that often cite Brazil has having a "good business climate." The government stays out of the way on quarrelsome issues such as environmental standards and worker safety. Government intervention instead follows the time-honored form favored by *Fortune* 500 executives to break strikes. The result is wages held low and legitimate unions brutally suppressed. Undoubtedly, General Motors, Westinghouse, TRW, and some of the other 600 U.S. firms with substantial operations in Brazil would love to see some of the favorable investment climate exported to the U.S. Brazilian workers, on the other hand, would like to win basic democratic rights. Some North American unionists have organized to help in that fight. More information on how to get involved is available from the Brazil Labor Information Center, P.O. Box 221 D, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11217.

**FEELING THE PINCH**—Unemployment has hit levels as high as at the tail-end of the Great Depression. This year, one out of every four workers can expect some period of joblessness. Those who hold onto jobs are seeing hard-won gains taken back by aggressive companies, and organized labor is definitely hurting. For contracts negotiated in the first quarter of 1982, annual wage increases average a mere 2.2 percent. The May 9 *New York Times* reports that things are tough all over, though. Executive pay envelopes will be fatter this year but not by as much as was hoped. One survey projects a 7.1 percent hike in 1982 for professional, managerial, and executive personnel, down from an expected 8.5 percent raise. A different survey, based on a larger sample, showed that top-level salary increases were down to 9.9 percent for 1982 budgets as opposed to a hoped for 10.9 percent boost.

**WHOSE RIGHT TO KNOW?** Pat Frank, a member of the Florida state senate, cannily turned the tables on her male colleagues recently, according to the May 22 *Nation*. The august body was debating restricting abortions by requiring a woman to notify her husband before the abortion. Frank, who calls herself a moderate Democrat, proposed an amendment eliminating the notification requirement. She argued that the husband might not be the father and the Constitution guaranteed privacy. Her amendment lost as male senators argued that the husband might want the child and would be legally presumed to be the father. Senator Frank then proposed a different amendment requiring that if a married man impregnates a woman other than his wife, he notify his wife before the other woman has an abortion. In the case of a fertility problem, the wife might want her husband's child by another woman. Shouts from the floor: "How could you do this?" "That's not fair." Frank insisted on a recorded vote and lost by two votes on the second amendment. But the anti-abortion bill was removed from the senate calendar.

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## DSA SUMMER YOUTH CONFERENCE

August 19-22

Ohio University, Athens, Ohio

Join young activists from around the country for the Seventh Annual Youth Conference. Together we'll develop both our educational and organizing skills, share experiences, and elect new officers at the Youth Section's convention. For more information, contact Penny Schantz, National Youth Organizer, DSA, 853 Broadway, Suite 801, New York, New York 10003; phone: 212-260-3270.

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