

# DEMOCRATIC LEFT

EDITED BY  
MICHAEL HARRINGTON

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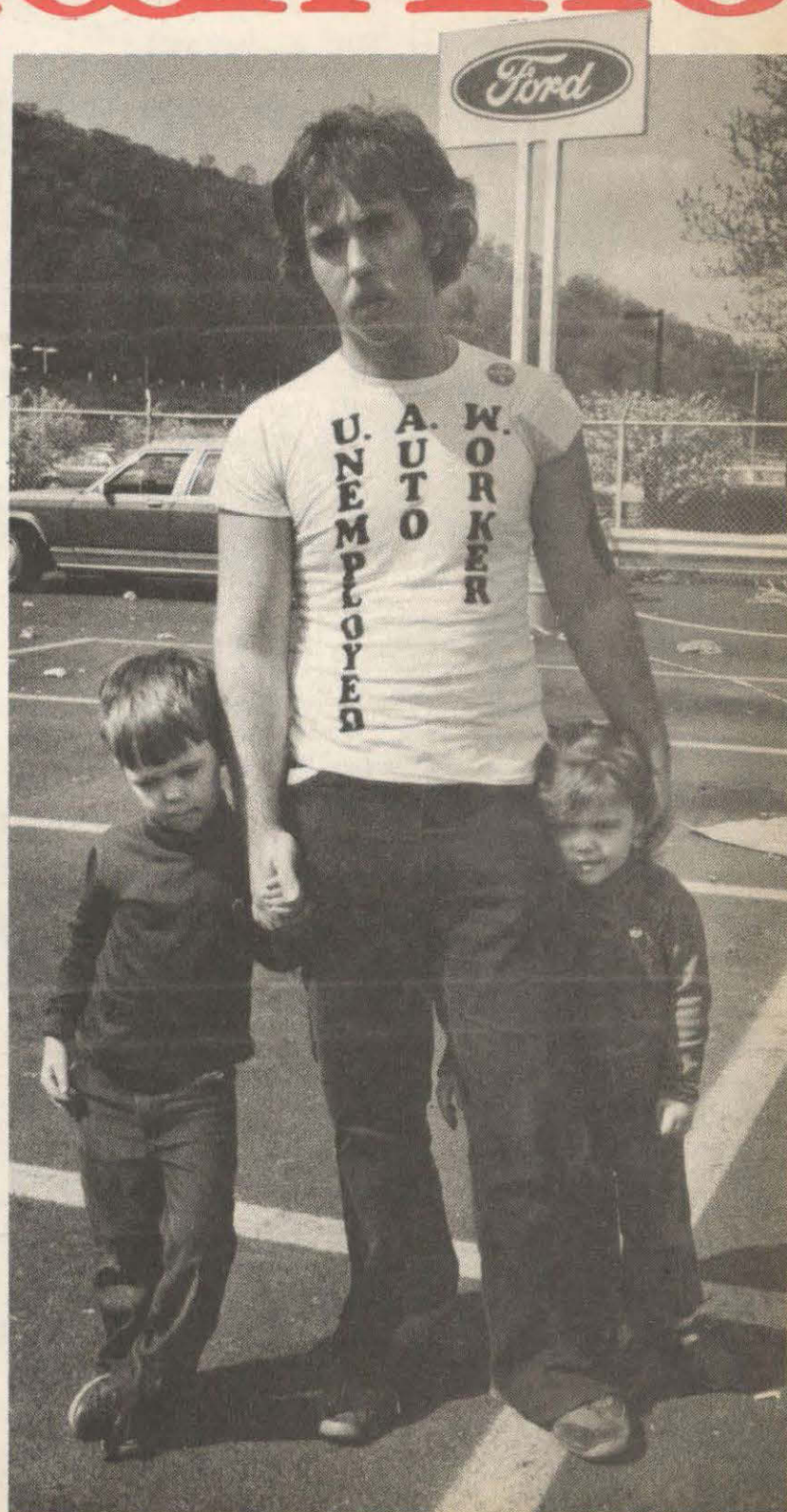
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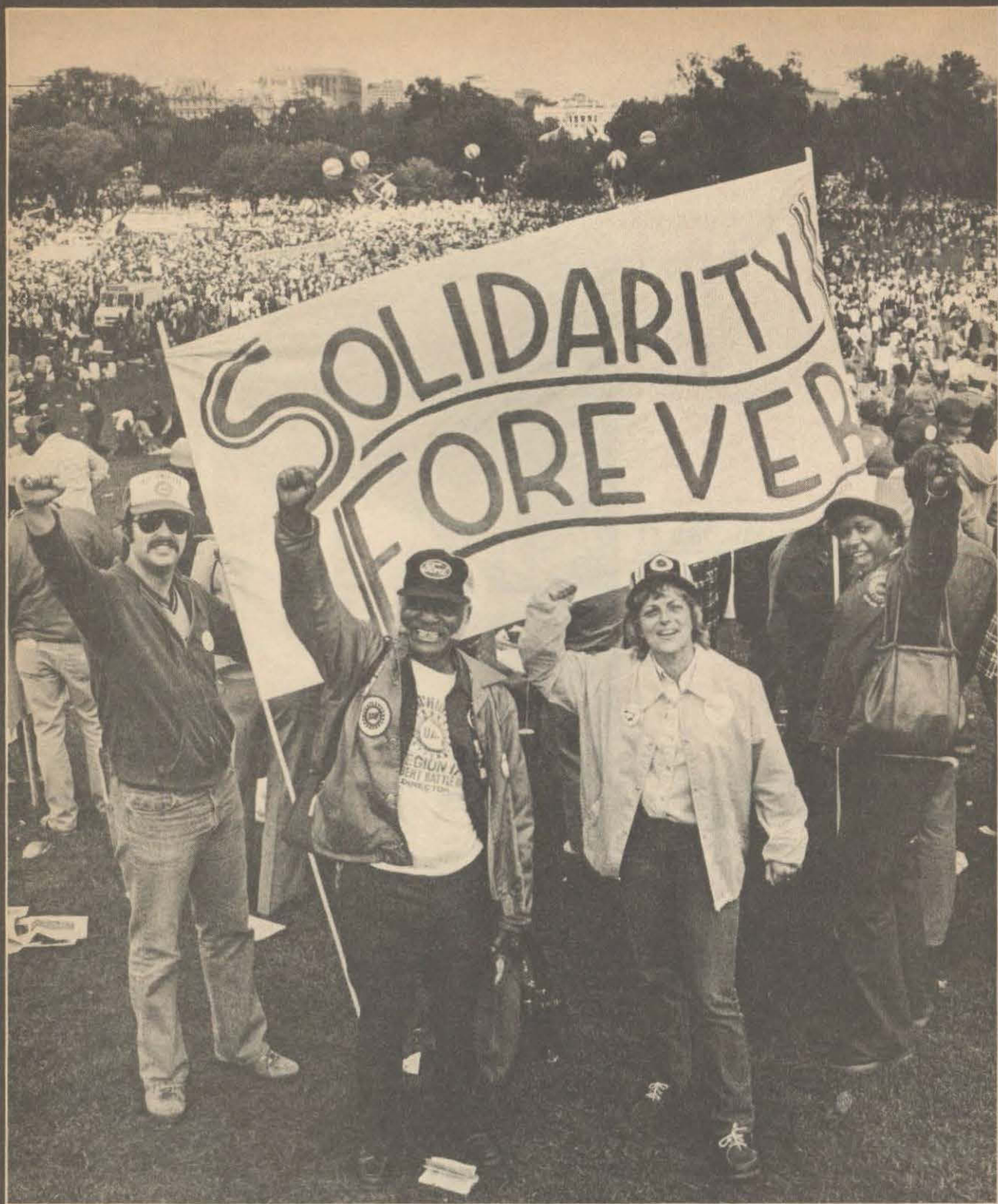
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Douglas A. Fraser, *President*



# Toward Solidarity Day II

By Michael Harrington

**L**ABOR DAY 1982 WAS THE MOST CRITICAL celebration of that holiday in half a century, at least as far as American unions are concerned. The unions have begun to respond. The speeches and parades had new elements. What follows are one socialist's thoughts on where we are going, and where we should go.

To begin with, let us summarize some basic themes familiar to readers of *DEMOCRATIC LEFT*. The current crisis is structural in nature. That is, it is not one more cyclical downturn that will be followed by a return to "normalcy," but a destructive transformation of the very character of the economy. When "recovery" comes, hundreds of thousands of workers in basic industry will not return to their jobs. The jobs have been destroyed.

In the first phase of the Reagan administration, the president—who did recognize that the crisis was structural—tried to deal with the situation through "supply-side" tax cuts outrageously biased in favor of the corporations and the rich. The recipients of this largesse were supposed to invest and pull the economy out of its slump. Instead, disinvestment has continued, with plants being shut down, but not built. Eventually, reality, which dictates that federal spending increase \$30 billion for every one percent increase in unemployment, took its revenge on ideology and Reagan was forced to back a tax increase. Wall Street was impressed by this development and by interest rate analyst Henry Kaufman's prediction that interest rates would go down. The Dow Jones had its best day ever.

But let us note an enormously important factor in Kaufman's shift on the future of interest rates. He changed his mind because he decided there would be no significant recovery in the second half of 1982. Since the economy would remain depressed, he argued, there would be little corporate demand for credit and federal borrowing to finance the deficit would not "crowd out" private investors. In short, Kaufman said that the basic structural crisis would go on and that another six months of stagnation—and joblessness—would bring interest rates down. That may have been cause for jubilation on Wall Street, but it is grim news for America's workers.



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*"No return to the past can bring us out of this national plight..."*

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Supply side economics failed to spur investment. The tax increase of this summer may make some marginal reductions in the deficit but will not, if Kaufman is correct, trigger that elusive investment boom. So Reaganomics II will be as much a failure as Reaganomics I. This doesn't mean, though, that *any* anti-Reaganomics measure is the proper answer. Neoliberals like Senators Gary Hart and Paul Tsongas share Reagan's basic assumption: that uncontrolled private investment is the way to restructure the economy. Thus Hart has proposed substituting a "consumption tax" for the income tax in order to maximize savings and reduce personal spending. Investment banker Felix Rohatyn pushes for a Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) that is "above politics." It is designed to force even more labor concessions in return for investment funds. That is not an answer either.

Reagan, the neoliberals and Rohatyn are right on one point. There must be a radical restructuring of investment in the United States. All of them are wrong in trying to accomplish that goal either through a speculative, wasteful financial market or else by elite planning. Are these the only choices facing us?

Before turning to some thoughts on the proper way to achieve that restructuring, it is necessary to take a look at the trade unions' political response to these developments. It defines the context in which I make my contributions to the dialogue.

There has been a significant, and on the whole progressive, shift in the AFL-CIO under Lane Kirkland's leadership. Solidarity Day last September was not simply an impressive demonstration. Kirkland brought together an extremely broad spectrum of the democratic left: minority activists, feminists, liberals, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and the New American Movement, as well as the unions. Under George Meany there was a tendency to shun any coalition that was not tightly controlled by the AFL-CIO. Solidarity Day showed a new openness.

The return of the UAW to the AFL-CIO also has had a positive impact. For the first time in the Federation's history, the Executive Council was critical of defense spending. To be sure, those criticisms were quite mild—the Council called for ratification of SALT II but, with four dissenting votes, refused to back the nuclear freeze. Kirkland has made it clear that



he has not changed his hardline views on foreign policy. There has been no revolution in the AFL-CIO, but there has been reform, a first step in the right direction.

At the same time, the AFL-CIO and its affiliates have become more deeply involved in the Democratic party than ever before. When we remember that almost half of America's union members voted for Reagan and that economic crises almost always make workers more conservative at first as they understandably try to save themselves, we can understand why there is no major tendency toward independent political action. At this point, building a militant, labor-based wing of the Democratic party is as far left as possibility goes (and maybe it is even further left than that). However, when workers identify themselves in politics on a class basis—when the unions as unions become more of a force in the Democratic party—that, from this socialist's point of view, is a gain. And that holds true even if one disagrees with some of the policies carried out in the process.

That tension between a progressive organizational development (workers as workers asserting themselves in politics) and an ambiguous programmatic development (what those workers advocate in politics) was quite clear at the Philadelphia conference of the Democratic party in June. The labor caucus was the best organized, most disciplined meeting union delegates have ever held. Given that the AFL-CIO program on domestic economic questions is well to the left of American politics, that was to the good. But the caucus agreed with Democratic National Committee head Charles Manatt that the Democrats should not discuss any of their differences or define their alternative to Reaganomics. All disputes were papered over.

The argument in favor of this tactic is that there must be unity against Reagan. I agree. When push comes to shove in 1984, the Democratic candidate will be the *only* alternative to four more years of reactionary economics and neanderthal social policies. Therefore, short of the utterly unforeseen, unity will be necessary in the fall of 1984. But unity behind whom and for what? That cannot be determined during the '84 campaign when it is too late. It has to be decided in 1982 and 1983. One of the reasons for the union strategy in Philadelphia

was a conviction, shared by all wings of the party, that 1976 must never happen again. An outsider without program or relations with the major Democratic constituencies must not get the nomination. Fair enough. But in locking the barn door of the 1976 campaign, one runs the



Steve Early

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*“At this point, building a militant, labor-based wing of the Democratic party is as far left as possibility goes...”*

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danger of achieving Carterism without Carter. The result would be a competition for the Democratic nomination based solely on personality, on insider access without regard to program. Is it a minor fact that Gary Hart wants to increase savings, a strategy skewed in favor of the rich, while Edward Kennedy is for a much more forthright job creation plan?

I think not. It is critically important that there be vigorous discussion and programmatic evaluation of candidates within a framework of accepting the need for unity in the 1984 campaign.

If we don't debate these issues now, we will continue to suffer economically. One of the ugliest realities of this Labor Day 1982 is that

for many unions all collective bargaining choices have become intolerable. There has been a management offensive against union gains. Either make concessions, the corporations have said, or else we will shut down plants and take away your jobs. Different unions have responded in different ways. At Ford there was an overwhelming vote in favor of accepting takeaways; at General Motors, the workers are divided; the Steel Workers challenged the companies. Generally, there is no DSA “line” on these internal union issues, which have to be settled by the workers in the various unions. Indeed, DSAers have been on different sides in these debates, sometimes prominently so. But the one thing we all agree on is that no matter where one lines up on the immediate issues, there has to be a political struggle so that these impossible choices will never have to be made again.

That is why I think that the labor movement should fight within the Democratic party for the program it adopted last year: democratic planned investment for the restructuring of the economy and the rebuilding of America. But, as I have already noted in the case of Felix Rohatyn, “planning” is an umbrella term that can shelter either technocrats and corporate economists who want more takeaways from working people or representatives of labor and the public. The experience of the Nixon wage and price controls reminds us of an old, but vital truth, one that Samuel Gompers retained from his Marxist youth: government in a capitalist society is profoundly and systematically biased in favor of capitalists.

How, then, in a late capitalist society, where corporations have enormous political, as well as economic, power, can we achieve truly bottom-up, popularly controlled planning? Let us emphasize that democratic planning must start at the base not only because democratic participation is socially valuable in and of itself, but because unless that planning is controlled by the people it will be turned against the people. The fight for bread and butter and the struggle against alienated and oppressive social relationships go hand in hand.

The AFL-CIO program called for an RFC. Although I don't care for the name, the

*Continued on page 8*

# DEMOCRATIC LEFT

Michael Harrington  
*Editor*

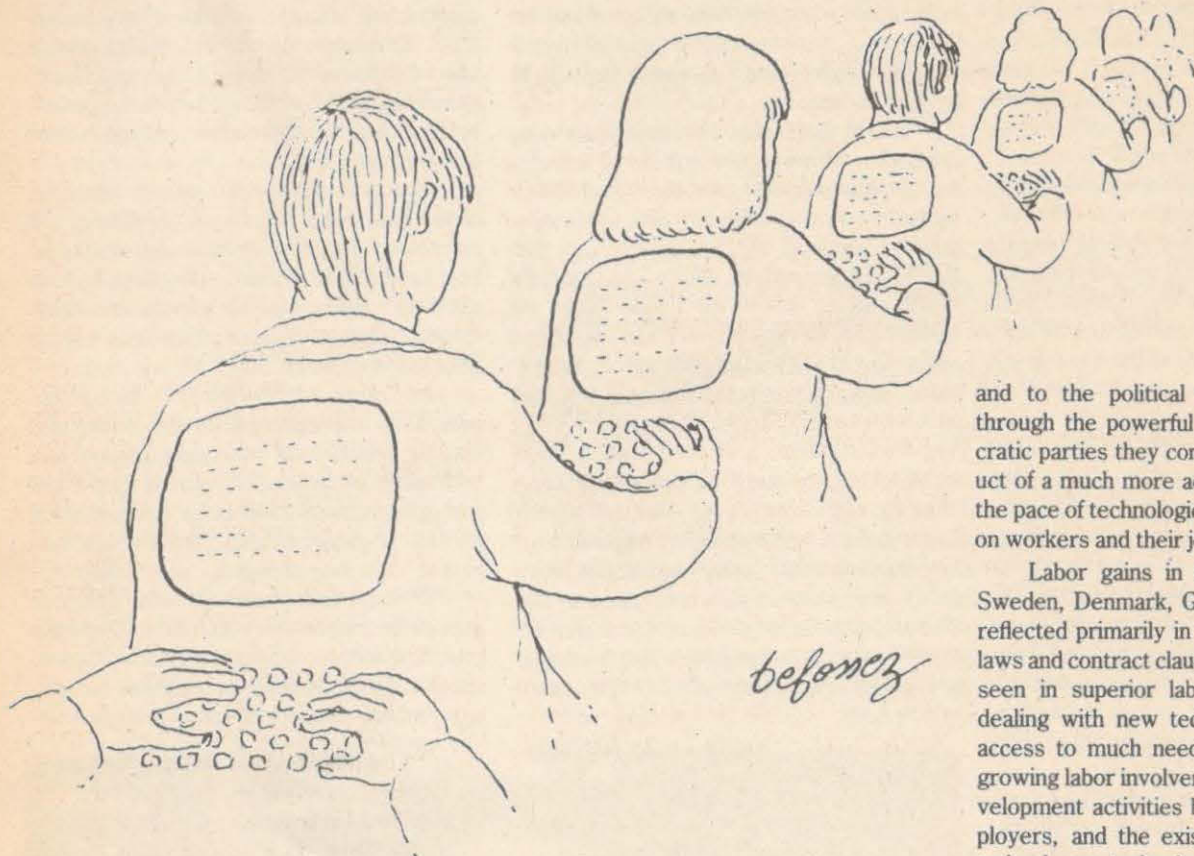
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# Combatting Computers



By Steve Early

**I**N WHITE-COLLAR AND BLUE-COLLAR workplaces throughout the United States and Europe, conflicts over new technology are fast becoming a major feature of industrial relations. As computer-based automation spreads from factories to offices to the retail and service sectors, hundreds of thousands of jobs are being eliminated. Pay grades and skills are affected. Working conditions are undergoing dramatic changes—sometimes for the worse.

In auto plants, industrial robots do the work of assemblers, welders, and spray painters. In machine shops, skilled machinists watch while computers guide the operations of many new machine tools. Engineers and drafters, secretaries and newspaper reporters, telephone operators and electronic technicians now spend their days in front of computer keyboards and screens—the universal symbol of both the paperless office and the peopleless factory of the future.

Faced with these changes, American and European union members, through collective bargaining or legislation, are trying to win the rights:

- to be consulted before decisions are made about the introduction of new technology;
- to have technology designed and used in ways that increase rather than replace workers' traditional skills, and improve rather than worsen job safety and health conditions; far beyond what is possible under current U.S.
- to be protected from job losses and lower rates of pay because of downgrading;
- to share in the wealth and social benefits that new technology can create; and
- to be assured that new technology will not be used to undermine union membership and bargaining power.

Unfortunately, American unions have had less success than their European counterparts in achieving many of these goals. This is due in part to higher levels of unionization in Europe

and to the political influence unions wield through the powerful labor and social democratic parties they control. It is also the product of a much more active public debate over the pace of technological change and its impact on workers and their jobs.

Labor gains in countries like Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, and Britain are reflected primarily in stronger labor relations laws and contract clauses. But they can also be seen in superior labor education programs dealing with new technology, greater union access to much needed technical expertise, growing labor involvement in research and development activities by government and employers, and the existence of active, union-trained new technology committees or "data shop stewards" in many workplaces.

More American trade unionists are beginning to view the European response to the introduction of new workplace technology as a valuable model for the labor movement here. In the last several years, members and staff from many U.S. unions have traveled to Europe for a firsthand look. In meetings, interviews, and workplace tours, here's what they found.

**Legislation.** By law, unions in Scandinavia and Germany have the right to participate in management decisions about the development and introduction of new production processes and equipment. Access to information necessary for bargaining about these issues is guaranteed by codetermination laws that give union members representation on company boards of directors or other management decision-making bodies.

In Norway and Sweden, national "working environment" laws also grant unions a major role in any company investment decisions affecting job safety and health. Scandinavian unions have used this legislation to broaden the scope of bargaining over new technology



labor law, court decisions, and the "management rights" clauses in most union contracts. (Norway's equivalent of our Occupational Safety and Health Act requires, for example, that employers do more than provide a "safe and healthful workplace"; they must also ensure that employees are not exposed to "undesirable physical or mental stress," are not subjected to repetitious work or speedup through machine pacing they can't control, and are not deprived of a "reasonable opportunity for self-determination and professional and personal development through their work"!)

In both Germany and Scandinavia, unions are represented on advisory committees overseeing the allocation of government research and development funds to industry and university projects involving improvements in the work environment. This enables them to lobby for incorporation of health and safety features into new workplace technology while it is still being developed.

**Collective Bargaining.** Despite recent gains by unions like the UAW, CWA, IAM, IUE, OPEIU, and Newspaper Guild, fewer than 20 percent of all union contracts in the U.S. have any language dealing with technological change. Most bargaining has been limited to the impact of new technology on jobs. In Europe, the existence of government full employment policies and legislative guarantees of job retraining, severance pay, and other benefits for displaced workers makes job security less of a contract issue.

Thus, European unions are able to negotiate new technology agreements that deal with a much broader range of issues, such as advance notice of proposed changes (beyond what is required by law), protection against income loss resulting from lower pay scales for automated jobs, and a shorter work week. The most impressive bargaining gains have been made in opposition to employer attempts to use new technology to "deskill" and downgrade jobs as part of management's traditional strategy of "Taylorization"—the purposeful fragmentation or division of work tasks into their smallest parts so each can be assigned to less skilled, lower paid workers.

When introducing computer-controlled production processes in America, employers often try to assign new installation, maintenance, and programming work to salaried, nonunion workers or insist that it be performed by outside contractors or equipment suppliers. In Britain, Germany, and Scandinavia, there is far greater retention of this work by union members through contract clauses that require upgrading of their skills. In Norway, for example, members of the Metal Workers Union have won the right to be trained to perform shop floor programming tasks on computer-controlled machine tools.

In the U.S., where punched or computer tapes rather than skilled machinists are used to guide machine tool operations, controls on the machines are often kept locked so that the operators cannot create or alter computer programs. Programming is performed by supervisors or programmers who are not union members, while many machinists increasingly become mere machine tenders or button punchers, working at reduced pay rates and with far less job control.

**Health and Safety.** European white-collar unions have been equally aggressive in dealing with problems arising from the introduction of electronic word processors and other video display terminal (VDT)/cathode ray tube (CRT) equipment in offices. Occupational health studies in both the United States and Europe have shown that VDT/CRT operators suffer from higher rates of headaches, backaches, eye strain, stress, dizziness, and other ailments than ordinary clerical workers.

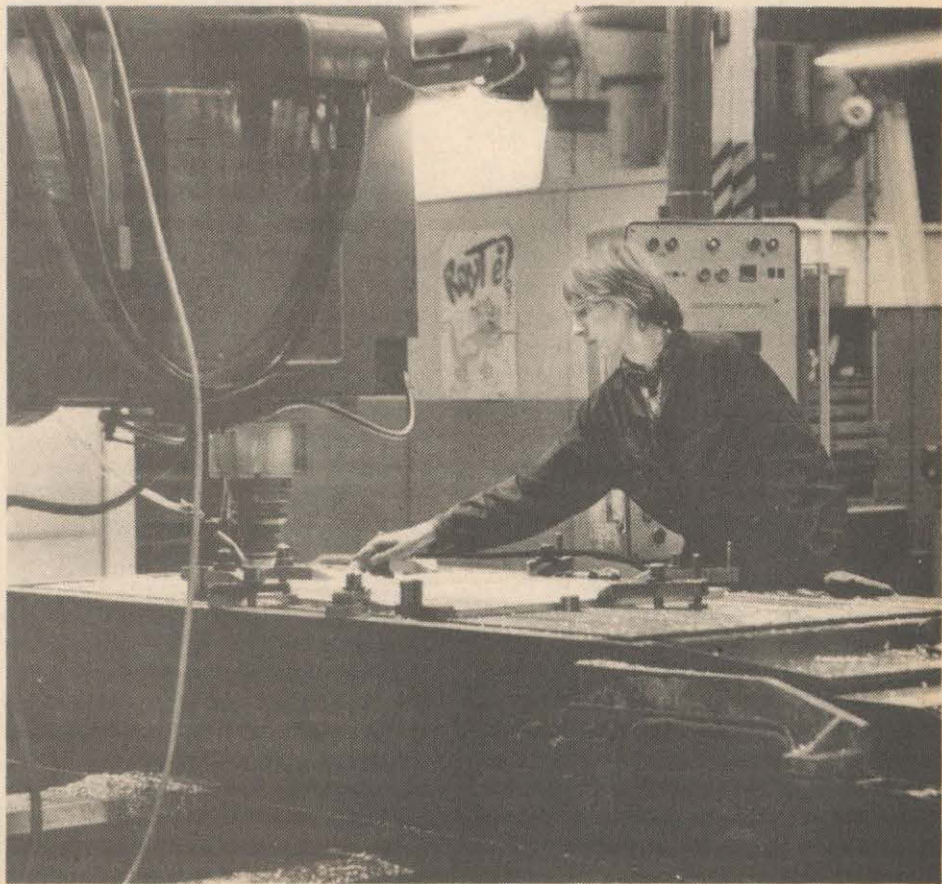
Nevertheless, up to seven million American workers who use VDT/CRT equipment—often for eight hours a day—are not covered by any federal health and safety regulations. A few union contracts negotiated by the Newspaper Guild and the OPEIU provide some minimal protections, but most unionized office and clerical employees have no contract language dealing with the adverse effects of office automation.

In Norway and Sweden, and under some local agreements in Britain, the maximum amount of time an operator is permitted to spend at a terminal is four hours a day—scheduled in a two-hours-on, two-hours-off rotation. Union pressure has also forced office equipment suppliers to incorporate proper human engineering features into their new equipment. Employers are now expected to provide special lighting, adjustable tables and chairs, detachable keyboards, glare-proof screens, better contrast between text and screen, and low-noise printers.

European white-collar unions, conscious of the potential for electronic monitoring and machine pacing of work in the automated office, have also negotiated restrictions on management's ability to gather information on individual worker performance or output without prior union approval.

In Europe—unlike the U.S. so far—unions have concentrated on developing and training special local union stewards and new technology committees to lead the shop-floor struggle over new technology issues. One of the first countries to set up a nationwide system of "data shop stewards" was Norway.

Workers there now elect such stewards in each unionized factory and office. They have complete access to all parts of their workplace, receive special training in computer technology, collect detailed information about man-



Steve Early



agement's plans, and help develop the union's response to technological changes. In larger workplaces, these stewards devote full time to their union work—often as part of a new technology committee—and are paid by their employer. Lost-time wages for committee work and the cost of new technology training courses and materials for the workers involved are also paid for by the employer.

Three years ago, UAW members who belong to Ford Local 600 in Detroit tried to follow the Norwegian data steward model by negotiating a similar system of fulltime, union-elected data committee members to monitor the company's automation plans at the plant level. Management rejected the proposal, and members of the UAW have since had to rely on Ford's "Employee Involvement Program," a quality-of-worklife arrangement, for information about the introduction of robots and other forms of new technology. Likewise, most national union negotiations in this area with other firms like General Motors, AT&T, or U.S. Steel have mainly produced top-level joint labor-management committees on technological change, not strong union programs at the local level.

The network of technology and local committees set up by European unions is bolstered by many extensive union-controlled training courses. In Scandinavia, the money for these comes from national work environment or labor education funds financed by employer contributions. In Britain and Germany, union training programs and materials have been subsidized by national government ministries of industry, research, and technology. In Britain, where the government has set up a "Microprocessor Awareness Program" to finance technological innovation by employers, the Trades Union Congress (TUC) demanded and received a share of the funds for labor.

By far the largest single financial contribution to European trade union education on new technology comes directly from the employers in the form of lost-time wages. Unlike American unions, which must pay for most labor education themselves, unions in Europe use national laws requiring management to pay for the training of stewards, local officers, and safety committee members on company time.

In Europe, as in the United States, labor still often lacks sufficient technical expertise to bargain effectively over complex new technology issues. As a result, many European unions have developed close relationships with pro-labor computer experts from university research programs and technical institutes.

Staff members of groups such as the Norwegian Computing Center in Oslo, the Swedish Work Life Center in Stockholm, and the Center for Alternative Industrial Technological Systems in London act as consultants to

local and national unions. In Sweden, public employee unions have also negotiated an agreement that requires management to pay for the services of these outside experts.

One of the most extensive union programs is the German Metalworkers' system of government-financed "innovation advice" bureaus. Begun in 1979 with a three-year grant, these regional bureaus employ ten fulltime engineers, economists, and other technicians who help local unions evaluate and bargain over employers' new technology plans.

In the U.S., a few unions such as the UAW have hired outside consultants or assigned existing staff members to provide simi-

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*"Organizing efforts will succeed only if American unions are more aggressive in defending the jobs, skills, pay rates, and working conditions of their existing members who are affected by technological change."*

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lar assistance to the membership. Others, like the Machinists, have stepped up their coverage of new technology issues in union publications, sponsored educational conferences on the subject, and distributed model contract language as a guide for local negotiators. But all unions here are hampered by the scarcity of union-oriented academic researchers and university programs of the sort allied with organized labor in Europe.

European unions try hard to reach agreement among themselves to reduce jurisdictional conflicts over jobs that have been altered or replaced by automation. All new technology training materials distributed to British unions by the TUC stress the importance of coordinated bargaining when different unions represent workers in the same workplace and the employer can use divide-and-conquer tactics in introducing a new computerized system.

Unions of blue-collar and white-collar workers at Scandinavian metalworking companies have established guidelines on how much programming work machine tool operators can perform while remaining members of their traditional union. In the U.S. newspaper industry, craft divisions among unions have made a unified response to new technology difficult. In Europe, typesetters and journalists have cooperated closely when faced with management demands that typesetting be done on electronic word processing machines operated by clerical employees or reporters themselves.

The growth of multinational newspaper chains has also encouraged greater international trade union solidarity in disputes over new technology. When newspaper workers struck *The Times of London* in a bitter battle in 1979, their German counterparts engaged in

mass picketing to prevent a scab edition of the paper from being produced in Germany. Members of NATSOPA, a British newspaper workers union, likewise tried to support American members of the Newspaper Guild involved in a recent contract dispute with Reuters by refusing to handle wire service copy coming from strike locations in the U.S.

Another advantage European unions have over those in America derives from the higher degree of white-collar unionization in Europe. Many high technology electronics and computer firms, such as NCR, Phillips, Burroughs, Honeywell, ASEA, and even IBM, have been successfully organized. As a result,

the labor movements of Britain, Germany, and Scandinavia include many skilled technicians, computer programmers, scientists, and engineers.

Union members who are actively involved in developing and implementing an employer's research and development plans have the advance notice, access to information, and technical expertise needed to ask what the employer is doing with this technology. Some of these professionals serve as a valuable resource for fellow trade unionists in white-collar and blue-collar jobs affected by it.

The current and projected increase in computer-based automation of factory jobs in the U.S. and Europe is going to accelerate a long-standing shift in the labor force from blue-collar to white-collar work. This means there will continue to be little growth—and probably a decline—in organized labor's traditional base of strength among production workers in older manufacturing industries.

An increasing percentage of workers will be employed in retail, clerical, service, and "information processing" jobs. But with the exception of the public sector in the U.S., the vast majority of these white-collar workers—secretaries, clerks, sales personnel, administrators, engineers, drafters, computer programmers, and other technicians—are not union members.

In the fastest growing new manufacturing sector—the assembly of micro-electronic components and finished products like mini-computers—most manual workers are unorganized as well. "High-tech" companies like Texas Instruments, National Semiconductor, Wang, Digital, and many others located in California's Silicon Valley and around Boston's Route 128 have so far succeeded in creating an



airtight, "union-free" environment. Many have modeled their labor relations policies after those of IBM, which remains today one of the largest firms in the country operating on a 100 percent nonunion basis.

To increase or even maintain their current membership, American unions will have to find ways to recruit more members at companies like these and in other traditional non-union sectors now affected by the introduction of new technology (such as the banking and insurance industries).

If the European experience is any guide, however, these organizing efforts will succeed only if American unions are more aggressive in defending the jobs, skills, pay rates, and working conditions of their existing members who are affected by technological change.

American unions may currently lack the political clout and membership strength of organized labor in Europe. But they have the same need to struggle for more worker influence and control over the direction of technological change. The outcome of that struggle will determine whether American union membership grows or continues to decline as a percentage of the total workforce in the years to come. ■

*Steve Early is a labor journalist and lawyer who works as a union organizer. Research for this article was assisted by a travel grant from the German Marshall Fund.*

# Change the USA Join the DSA

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## SOLIDARITY DAY II, from page 4

RFC concept—federal planning of major investment priorities through credit allocation—could be part of the struggle for truly democratic planning. The AFL-CIO has been quite aware of the class nature of the capitalist state (even though it would never put it that way). When it said that it would accept controls, it made that agreement contingent upon the controlling of all forms of corporate income as well as workers' wages. In talking about the need for an RFC it has insisted upon genuine union and public representation and participation.

What, exactly, does that mean? We have an answer in broad outline in the program adopted by the Democratic Agenda coalition last spring. My own version of that program appears in the fall issue of *Dissent*. Briefly, it calls for full employment planning that would create jobs through expanding the public sector to meet the needs of the society, make any handouts to corporations contingent on job-generating investments in areas of need, take the rich off the tax expenditure dole, allocate credit for first homes and autos and restrict it for mergers and takeovers, and similar measures to stop the upward flow of wealth.

Although we have the broad outline, we do not have the details. Yet it is precisely the

details that will determine the content of the economic planning that is, inexorably, coming to America in this period of enormous crisis. No return to the past can bring us out of the national plight. Indirect Keynesian intervention into the economy, which worked, more or less, from Roosevelt to Johnson, hasn't worked since. Direct intervention is on the agenda.

Shall that intervention be carried out, not only by, but also for, the corporate rich? That is Reaganomics. Shall it be carried out by liberals and for the corporate rich? That is neoliberalism. Shall it be carried out by rightwing liberals and leftwing bankers? That is Rohatyn's corporate power with a democratic face. Or is it possible that the unions and the people can win a significant role in making the economic decisions that determine their own fate? That is the approach of the democratic left.

Should differences over exactly how to accomplish this goal get in the way of defeating Reaganites, both Democrats and Republicans, this fall? In no way. Should they be allowed to shatter the unity that will be essential in the fall of 1984? Of course not. But should they be vigorously discussed and debated within the democratic left and help determine who the Democratic nominee is and what his or her

program will be? Yes, for that is the way forward for working people in this country. ■

## UNITY NOTES

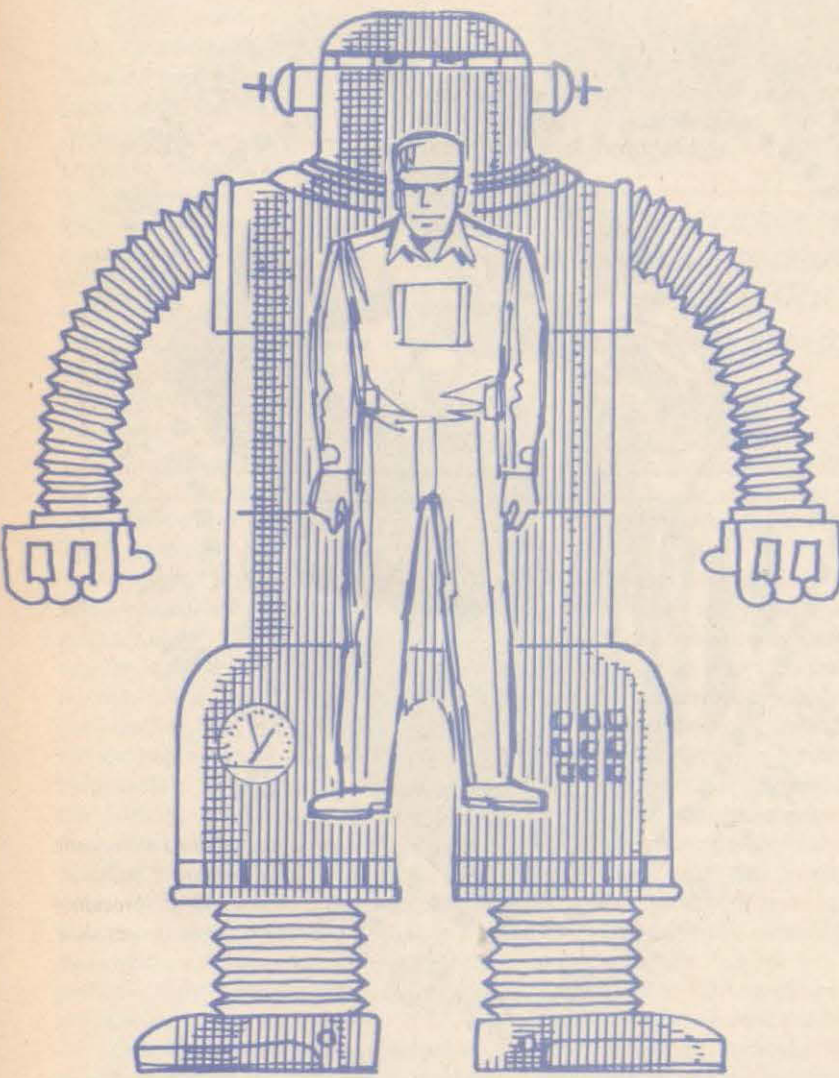
*This is our special Labor Day-Unity issue of DEMOCRATIC LEFT. We want to thank all our friends, members, and supporters who made it the largest ever. In this year of unity, we wanted to mark the contributions of those who made special gifts to the new organization. Although we are all founding members in 1982 (providing we've paid our dues), the Founders pages show the names of those who responded so generously to our requests for additional support. Many people have wondered whether they could still be included on that list if their contributions came in after the deadline. We will be running another list in the December issue. If you want to make a special contribution, or, if through a bookkeeping error your name did not appear on one of these lists, please let us know.*

*Special thanks for this issue go also to our summer intern J. Whitney MacDonald, who worked very hard on the ad campaign, to our office manager Kevin O'Connor, and to our current intern, Gabrielle Steinfelds.*



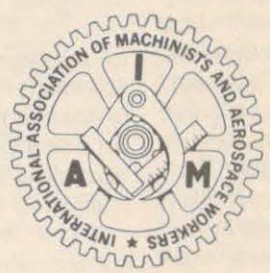
# The robots are coming...

## MASTER OR SERVANT ?



“Let us work to adapt new technology to the worker, rather than adapting the workers to new technology.”

William W. Winpisinger  
*International President*



### INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS AND AEROSPACE WORKERS

Eugene D. Glover  
*General Secretary-Treasurer*

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# ERA Defeat: Losing the Battle but not the War

By Barbara Ehrenreich

**O**N JUNE 30 APPROXIMATELY 1,400 people crowded into the grand ballroom of the Shoreham Hotel in Washington to celebrate the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment. I was among them, brazenly wearing a press pass identifying me with *Ms.* magazine, and trying to look professional—like a bona fide reporter—rather than hysterical, which is how I felt. For three-and-a-half hours of the ceremonial dinner, I sat a potato's throw away from Phyllis Schlafly herself, listening to speaker after speaker claim the defeat of the ERA as a victory for God, country, and, not least of all, women.

But what was evident from the demographics of that event was that the defeat of the ERA was, above all, a victory for the right. Among the hundred people seated at the huge horseshoe shaped dais was almost every significant male leader of the New Right: Jerry Falwell, Richard Viguerie, Paul Weyrich, Jesse Helms, James Watt, Jeremiah Denton, George Gilder, to name just a few. There were some significant female New Rightists present too, such as Connaught Marshner of the Pro-Family Coalition and Kathleen Teague of the American Legislative Exchange Council, but except for Schlafly, they were seated in the audience, with the largely female STOP-ERA rank and file. Jerry Falwell was perfectly frank about what the anti-ERA drive had accomplished for the right. "Phyllis Schlafly," he declaimed, "has marshalled together the conservative women of America into a powerful political group." And this is what the New Right luminaries were there to celebrate. Their "sweetheart" has indeed helped build up a grassroots, female constituency for them, a constituency ready and able to go on to more familiar rightwing issues such as "rebuilding our nation's defenses."

A few decades ago, no one would have imagined the defeat of the ERA as a victory for the right. Then it was the left (including left feminists) who opposed the ERA, on the grounds that it would abolish protective legis-



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*"Simply put, equal rights in the workplace and public domain would undermine woman's most precious 'right'—the right to be supported by her husband... This argument was, and is, specious."*

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lation for working women. In 1972, when the ERA swept through Congress with the blessing of President Nixon, the Communist party opposed it and the AFL-CIO was still wavering. But the left and the right changed sides with remarkable speed. Leftists and liberals realized that protective legislation hadn't done much for working women except to keep them from working overtime or getting better paying jobs reserved for men. The right, which had not yet been reborn as the New Right, came to a different realization: that the "Red Menace" issue wasn't selling well in the U.S. of the early seventies, and that some kind of fresh approach was called for.

Early opposition to the ERA came from what we used to think of complacently as the "lunatic fringe" of the right—Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum and the John Birch Society. Both organizations had hitherto devoted themselves to exposing Communist expansion in such unlikely places as the Republican party—a focus which, along with her Birch Society associations, hurt Schlafly in her efforts to rise to Republican leadership. Exactly why Schlafly decided to let her Eagles loose on the ERA is something we may never know, but the issue did give her a new image and made her into a media-worthy novelty: a woman opposed to equal rights for women.

The reasoning of the John Birch Society is easier to follow because so much of it is in print. (And what this peculiar outfit thought is hardly an arcane concern; some of the first local anti-ERA organizing was done by Birch Society members and helped lay the groundwork for STOP-ERA.) First, the Birch Society saw the feminist movement as an extension of the left, not an unusual perception for them, but I think its members were both disconcerted and impressed by the amount of fuss that mere women could make. Second, articles in the Society's magazine, *American Opinion*, pointed out as early as 1970 the possibility of mobilizing women against feminism and for what was apparently their own self-interest. Simply put, equal rights in the workplace and public domain would undermine woman's most precious "right"—the right to be supported by her husband.

This became the principal argument in Schlafly's arsenal. It was, and is, specious, because women do not have any legally defined right to support, even though many states still designate the male as "primary provider." But it was an effective argument because it tapped the real fears of many women who are financially dependent housewives. The STOP-ERA activists who lobbied their state legislators with homebaked bread and apple pies may not have heard of the "feminization of poverty," but they probably had a pretty clear idea of what awaits most housewives



Hugh Cleland

*"On the day when we have our victory party to celebrate the passage of the ERA, I hope we can put some men on the dais..."*

outside of marriage: a dead-end job at the minimum wage. Stopping ERA would, by undisclosed means, strengthen the family, help abolish external temptations (like homosexuality), and keep men in line as reliable breadwinners. I think it was this kind of wishful thinking, far more than any possible hanky panky by corporate interests, that led to the defeat of the ERA. And the right, which through the addition of such issues as the ERA, abortion, and school prayer, became the New Right, does deserve credit for that defeat.

I left the STOP-ERA celebration with the perversely comforting thought that the economy might well collapse before Helms, Falwell and Co. get their way. Symbolically, Schlafly had turned her troops over to the New Right to battle on new fronts, some of which I find even more menacing than the anti-ERA effort. Among the post-ERA agenda items outlined that night were the necessity of stopping abortion "once and for all," stopping the nuclear freeze movement, defeating secular humanism (that from Denton), and mounting a drive to have mothers educate their children at home, preferably with the McGuffey readers (Schlafly's answer to the pernicious influence of public education).

Yet, as we recover from the defeat of the ERA, and brace ourselves for New Right assaults on other fronts, it is important to remember that the largest mobilization of women to occur in the last decade has been, not on the right, but on the left. Schlafly was able

to organize in a highly focused, labor intensive fashion at the state level, but the national polls show a stunning "gender gap" in the other direction. Women voted against Reagan, and continue to disapprove of his performance in office by a margin of approximately ten percentage points above men. This reflects women's concerns about many issues—militarism and social service cutbacks as well as women's rights. The fact that the gender gap emerged now rather than at any other time in the 62 years women have had the right to vote is due, I think, to the confidence and sense of citizenship women have derived from the feminist movement.

In some ways, the right was correct in its paranoid assessment of the women's movement as a new force on the left. Readers who doubt this statement should try the following exercise. Take the demands that arose from the 1977 International Women's Year Conference in Houston and cross out every phrase that refers specifically to women or to gender inequality. What is left is still a broad program of social reform covering the need for health insurance, welfare reform, full employment, measures to combat racism, and a host of other issues. Of course, these, too, are all "women's issues," and that's the point. Any program designed to meet women's needs necessarily challenges the corporate and military priorities that currently dictate public policy. This doesn't mean that every feminist is a closet socialist or even a left-liberal, but it does mean that almost every woman who counts herself a feminist knows she has much more in common with, say, DSA than with any of the multi-issue organizations of the New Right.

I wonder, though, how strong the loyalties run in the other direction. If feminism is, in the current political alignment, a force for the left, how much is the left prepared to be a force for feminism? In particular, how committed are both the men and women of the left to those issues that are, in the narrow sense, "women's issues," such as abortion rights, and the by-no-means dead ERA? On the day when we have our victory party to celebrate the passage of the ERA, or the defeat of the Hyde Amendment, I hope we can put some men on the dais other than Alan Alda and a handful of other reliable male feminists. Not too many men, of course, because the feminist movement, unlike the STOP-ERA movement, is not the women's auxiliary of anything. But it would be nice to think that some prominent men (and women) of the left would be there to celebrate with us, and to be honored for their part in the struggle. ■

*Author and feminist Barbara Ehrenreich is a vice-chair of DSA.*



# Tall Order for Texas Unions

By Glenn Scott

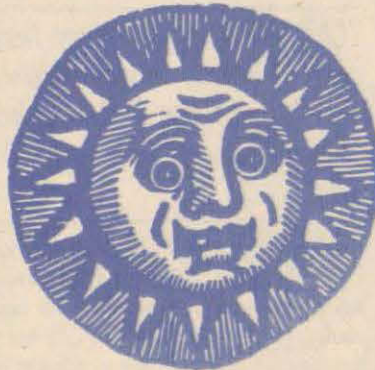
**A**SK UNIONISTS OR LEFTISTS IN TEXAS about a citywide organizing drive by the labor movement and they'll probably tell you about the massive CIO drives in Chicago and Detroit in the 1930s. But if the AFL-CIO has its way, Houston will be to the eighties what Chicago was to the thirties.

The AFL-CIO's Department of Organization and Field Services and 30 international unions are pumping a million dollars this year into what's known as the Houston Organizing Project. Director Bob Comeaux says, "We are going to be here until we get the job done." The job is to organize an estimated 500,000 new members into unions.

Houston has one of the fastest growing labor forces in the country. The 1970s brought 700,000 new workers to the area, most of them nonunion. Texas ranks 48th among the states in union members as a percentage of the total workforce. In the last three years, 1,000 people per week poured into the much touted "Golden Buckle" on the Sunbelt. But for thousands of workers, that shiny buckle turned out to be fool's gold.

Comeaux, formerly on the staff of the United Food and Commercial Workers of San Antonio, described what he found: "A largely non-union workforce means low wages, few benefits and no dignity on the job. If you're lucky to get one of the better paying heavy industry jobs, you have to work in very unsafe conditions. There is a whole lot of favoritism and no job security." Workers' demands for representation "just outpaced supply." The local union staff were not able to meet the needs of such a fast growing workforce. "That's why I say the AFL-CIO didn't pick Houston. Houston picked us."

Heading up a staff of twenty organizers, Comeaux provides supplementary staff, research, and organizing power to the thirty participating internationals. The Houston campaign has been off the ground less than a year, but, says Comeaux, it is already making significant gains. The drive has added more than 4,000 new members since January 1, including 350 teachers and 900 service and maintenance employees of the school district. The campaign is also helping to strengthen existing locals. One local, close to contract time, had



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*"In the last three years, 1,000 people per week poured into the much touted 'Golden Buckle' on the Sunbelt. But for thousands of workers, that shiny buckle turned out to be fool's gold."*

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300 nonmembers in its bargaining unit. His staff helped the local recruit all but 80 people by contract time. "We think it probably helped avert a strike," says Comeaux.

Despite these gains, organizing Houston is going to be a tall order. One tried and true management tactic in a state with a long anti-union history is to raise wages. Bill Chandler, director of the 1199 and SEIU (Service Employees International Union) Hospital Project and a DSA member, noted that hospital administrators have raised wages for the last two years in an effort to keep out unions. He told of three nurses at one hospital who recently organized a Sunday meeting with a few people to discuss the lack of overtime pay. On Monday, the small group talked to a few other nurses

and planned a larger meeting for Thursday. Thursday morning management circulated a memo promising wage increases and overtime pay. "No one showed up for the meeting that night," Chandler said.

Management is also calling in outside help. Management Center International, which told a Houston newspaper that it specialized in "union prevention," claims to be doing a brisk business. The firm's director, Frank Parker, formerly was an organizer for the Operating Engineers in West Texas. Other union busters include the law firms of Leon Jaworski, former Watergate prosecutor, and John Connally, once a presidential hopeful.

Despite the strong anti-unionism of many Houston companies and agencies, Comeaux and Chandler both stressed their belief that Houston workers are badly in need of unions. Texas is the leading state for the number of injuries on the job, yet during the last legislative session, Chandler said, the state legislature reduced the amount of money a worker can receive for workers' compensation.

Ten years ago department store employees and grocery store clerks in Houston started out at about the same salary levels. Grocery clerks have been unionized for several years and now make two to three times as much as department store clerks.

One of Houston's largest department store chains, Foley's, may be feeling threatened by the drive. According to Comeaux, the store has printed a new handbook on anti-union policies for its "associates."

"They've fallen way behind in wages, but they are associates—not employees," said Comeaux.

Although conditions in Houston have made it ripe for this drive, organizers admit that there is a lot of fear among workers. One fear is of layoffs. According to Comeaux, the recession is finally hitting the "recession proof" oil industry and spreading far beyond. According to a recent *Houston Post* article, an estimated 96,000 people applied for jobs or benefits at Houston area employment offices during the month of June.

Although fear of layoffs may present an obstacle to the unions in the short run, Comeaux believes that in the long run it will bring more people into the unions. "When you're rehired and realize that the years of faithful



service you have given really mean nothing, then you're going to be ready to hear about the protections of a union contract."

One indirect impact the Project has had on Houston, Comeaux believes, is to make the media treat labor fairly. The media are "now treating us with dignity where before we were either union bosses or we were ignored." Both dailies have assigned a reporter full time to a labor beat, which may be a first for Texas.

Comeaux stressed that the drive was putting a special emphasis on reaching minority and women workers in Harris County. In one plant they know of, says Comeaux, there are "an incredible number of sexual harassment complaints." He said that they are going to start taking cases of racial and sexual discrimination to court.

To reach the large Hispanic workforce, including undocumented workers, the campaign has produced Spanish language materials and hired five Hispanic organizers and two bilingual Anglos. His staff held a seminar in February for the internationals in the Houston Project on the rights of undocumented workers and how to help them process their immigration papers. But organizing the undocumented is still very controversial in the labor movement in Houston. "Whether they have papers or not, we feel they should be organized," says Bill Chandler. However, the head of the Gulf Coast Building Trades Council disagrees. "We'd like to organize them in a bunch and send them back," Gale Van Hoy told the *Houston Post*.

SEIU is concentrating part of its drive on the city's 50,000 building service workers (janitors and maids). Organizer Lencho Hernandez estimates that 80 percent of these are undocumented.

Chandler stressed that the main obstacle to unionization was undocumented workers' fear of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). He termed the INS round-up of undocumented workers this spring—Operation Jobs—a campaign of "terrorism." Many workers coming from Mexico and Central America have strong union backgrounds and would be willing to join here, he says.

Despite the enormous obstacles, Comeaux is optimistic. He attributes a good part of his optimism to Solidarity Day last September. "I think the mood of the county shifted when Solidarity Day took place. Once that happened, all of us went home with the sense that, yes, it can be done." ■

*Glenn Scott is an organizer for AFSCME in Austin, Texas. She is also a member of the National Executive Committee of DSA. An earlier version of this article appeared in the August issue of Noticias.*

## LETTERS, from page 18

cerned about material reality. When Lacefield refers to those "mired in a never-never land... where there is no Soviet threat," he must understand that in the real world, many DSA members are *NOT* suffering from a "Soviet threat"! Further, we ought to be helping other Americans to see through right-wing gibberish about such "threats," not enlisting leftists in a crusade to acknowledge the reality of nonsense. Of course, I used to believe in this "threat," but then I grew up and got out from under my school desk. Lacefield should do the same—really, Patrick, they didn't invent it, WE did.

Further, Lacefield seems to equate electoral politics with the same old either/or choice of cancer or polio. He chides Sidney Lens for calling the difference between Reagan and Kennedy "arithmetic" and suggests that Lens "eschews" the ballot box. Lens has done the exact opposite—he ran for office in Illinois—but he did it as a candidate of the Citizens Party. That is only "eschewing" if one simplistically defines electoral politics as the Democrats and the Republicans. Again, many DSA members feel quite the contrary and more important, so do most Americans. Speak to some of them, Patrick, don't just talk to sectarians or democratic socialists. Ordinary Americans are hardly dedicated to electoral politics, let alone the moribund corporate variety being peddled by the number jugglers that Lens crit-

icized. Of course, polio is not quite as crippling as cancer, but it is still a *disease*. We are not going to change this country, let alone bring about a humane and democratic socialist society, by agreeing with the sappy politicians that brought Reagan into power in the first place.

**Frank Scott**  
San Rafael, Fla.

### To the Editor:

Thank you for your article, "Beyond the Nuclear Freeze," in the May '82 *DEMOCRATIC LEFT*.

Your article begins to discuss how defense spending creates jobs for a small class of skilled workers, without offering employment or training to others. Let's have more discussion along these lines: if workers aren't building missile systems, what shall they build? Who will pay for it? Who will have the jobs?

Perhaps such discussion has already begun. I'm unfamiliar with the Machinists' union study mentioned in your article—where could I find out more about it?

**Debbie Mytels**  
Palo Alto, Calif.

*Ed. Note: The study to which the article referred has been published as Costs and Consequences, by the Council on Economic Priorities, 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011, \$4 postpaid.*

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# Electoral Politics Primer

By Peter Dreier and Jim Shoch

**T**HIS FALL, MANY DSA MEMBERS AND chapters will be working for candidates for everything from Ward Committee to U.S. Congress and for initiatives on everything from rent control to the nuclear freeze. Most of the candidates will be Democrats, but a few will be independents or third party activists. Some will be DSA members—a growing trend—but most will not. Members' activity will run the gamut from paid campaign manager to phone-bank volunteer.

DSA's involvement in electoral politics is strategic. On the one hand, DSA is committed to building powerful grassroots movements *outside* the electoral arena, through the trade union, feminist, gay, community action, peace, civil rights, and environmental movements. On the other hand, DSA recognizes the importance of translating *issues* into *policies*, and using the leverage of political office to do so. Candidates and officials help legitimate movements and issues by providing public exposure and putting new topics and new perspectives on the political agenda. During campaigns, and while in office, progressive politicians give us an opportunity to reach the public and the press, and a chance to build our movements by winning concrete victories that both improve people's lives and offer a vision of something more. As our statement of political principles, "Why We Are Socialists," explains: "[O]ur national electoral strategy consists of working within and strengthening this left wing (of the Democratic party), creating a socialist presence in this arena, and shifting the terms of public debate to the left."

Nothing better illustrates the importance of this approach than the right-wing's victories in November 1980. There is no evidence that there has been a "shift to the right" by the public. But their successes point out the importance of effective political mobilization. The right simply *out organized* the liberal-left; they had better grassroots fundraising, more effective voter registration and get-out-the-vote drives, more attractive candidates, and better use of emotional symbols. Where progressives have organized effectively—such as for Jim Hightower's successful campaign in Texas recently—they can win.

Thus, DSA is committed not only to offering a coherent political program for candidates to endorse and run on, but also to mobilizing its growing membership and its larger following to win electoral victories. Winning elections means doing the "dirty work." It means hard work and dedication—and fun. Over the years, many DSA members have gained that valuable experience. Below are some guidelines for DSA locals culled from those campaigns.

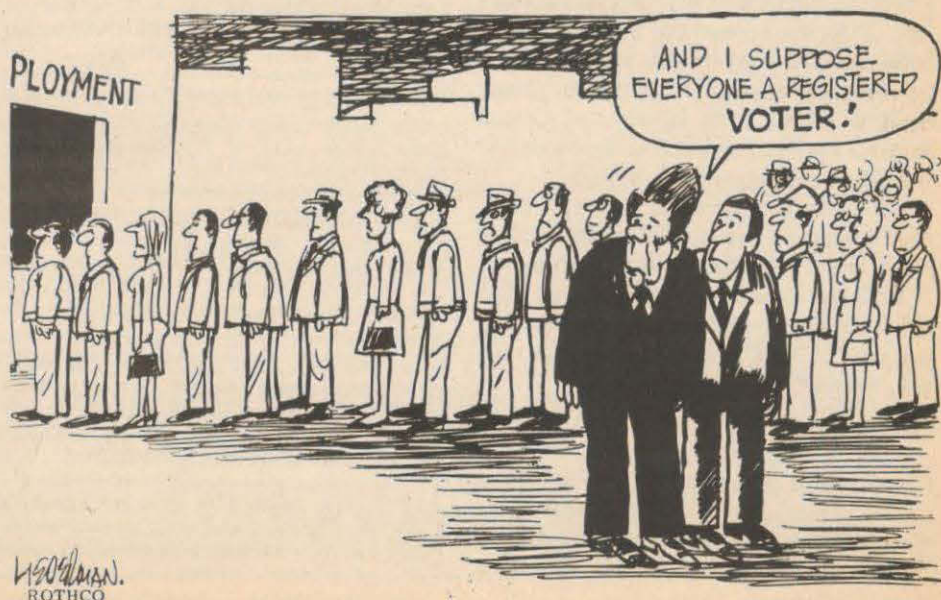
As political organizations, DSA locals can have an impact on electoral campaigns in four ways:

- **Influence.** Many DSAers are already involved with social movement groups—trade unionists, women, gays, tenants and neighborhood groups, seniors, environmentalists, and others, all of whom have mailing lists, activists, and followers. DSAers can help move these groups into campaigns, either directly (by getting organizations to endorse, work for, and contribute to candidates), or indirectly (by helping candidates develop issues with appeal to these groups, doing leaflets and mailings to activists). Issue-oriented movement groups can create *slates* of endorsed candidates (or target enemies for defeat) and pull the vote toward several favored candidates. Much of DSA's influence in elections comes from our active involvement with these grassroots movements, by becoming

the crucial links between special constituencies and candidates. In the best of all possible worlds, of course, the candidates emerge from the movements themselves; this is a growing trend among, for example, the Citizen Action network of community organizations. DSA has played an important role in encouraging this development.

- **Skills.** DSA locals can train their members to be able to take on many specific aspects of political campaigns: fundraising, media relations, targeting, literature production, polling, canvassing, phone banking, direct mail, voter registration, get-out-the-vote efforts, and other nuts-and-bolts activities. Many DSAers already have these skills and, as a group, can conduct "how-to" workshops for DSA locals as well as other activists. One of the most popular courses in Boston's DSA school last year, "How to Win Elections," was taught by Ray Dooley, campaign manager for fellow DSAer State Representative Tom Gallagher. Candidates cherish people and groups who can provide these critical skills.

- **Campaign Workers.** DSA can mobilize its own members and friends in large numbers for phoning, canvassing, getting out the vote, and other tasks. In many campaigns, just a few hardworking volunteers can contribute a great deal to a campaign, and often make the difference between success or failure. For some members, it will be their first participation in





election campaigns; doing it as a DSA local—from taking responsibility for an entire precinct to spending election day passing out poll cards and driving voters to the polls—makes it more fun and gives DSA more visibility inside the campaign. Volunteers pick up important skills. Involvement demystifies politics and political campaigns. DSA locals looking for ways to activate their membership find campaigns a simple way to get members off the sidelines and into the game.

*“Passing out poll cards may seem a long way from democratic socialism, but it is simply part of the nuts-and-bolts work that must be done to get us from here to there.”*

• **Fundraising.** DSA locals can set up Political Action Committees (PACs) to endorse candidates and then—through direct mail to members and friends, canvassing, parties, and other means—raise money for endorsed candidates. Rather than have DSA members giving their money directly to candidates, members can channel the funds they would otherwise give to individual candidates to the DSA PAC, which can then distribute the money to candidates and initiative campaigns according to the local's priorities.

To accomplish any of these goals, however, DSA locals have to make electoral politics an organizational priority. Many locals have already established electoral committees as well as PACs. These committees survey the political terrain, find out which political seats are up, who is running, which progressives have a good shot and which rightwingers are vulnerable, where coalitions are possible, and where DSA can be most effective. They also must survey DSA's membership to find out who lives where (in what electoral districts), who is already working for candidates (or even running for office), who has what kind of electoral skills and experience, and who is interested in getting involved. Through this process, DSA can often place its members and friends in key campaign positions, as well as recruit members and friends to run for office (it can be surprisingly easy to win a place on the local ward committee, for example, and thus become an important part of the party apparatus) and work for candidates.

The electoral committee should also help the DSA local decide on its priorities. Some DSA locals use a scattershot approach. If there are ten good progressives running for office at any level, they believe that DSAers should be involved in all the campaigns. Mem-

bers should decide on their own whom to work for. But other DSA locals try to coordinate their efforts and set priorities among the good candidates (or initiatives) as to how to spread DSA's energies most effectively. In doing so, they use several criteria. For example: which candidates are closest to DSA's political views (e.g., members get top priority); which candidates need our help the most; where could DSA's involvement make a critical difference; which campaigns can help build the grassroots movements of which DSAers are a part; which campaigns can be most effective recruiting grounds for DSA itself?

Finally, the local electoral committee coordinates DSA's involvement and resources (influence, skills, troops, and money). It can assign members to act as liaison with different campaigns, to be responsible for specific tasks, to supervise overall activities (e.g., direct mail) or one-shot activities (get-out-the-vote day).

Of course, the level and sophistication of a local's involvement depend on its size, experience, type of membership, kind of political campaigns, and issues on the local scene. But every DSA local, from the fledgling chapter barely able to pay for mailings to the long-established chapter with an impressive track record, should be involved in some way in getting progressive candidates into office and/or issue-referenda on the ballot.

Much of DSA's recent impressive growth has come from our active involvement in both grassroots movements and electoral campaigns. New recruits to DSA are found among people who have worked with DSA members they meet in these activities. It is more often a product of friendship and of personal trust in political judgment and skills than the result of an eye-opening intellectual change (although it is frequently a mixture of the two).

The 1980s will be a decade of struggle for the “hearts and minds” of the American public around critical economic and social problems. There are many ways that DSA can contribute to that struggle, but our active involvement in electoral politics is a critical weapon in our political arsenal. Passing out poll cards may seem a long way from democratic socialism, but it is simply part of the nuts-and-bolts work that must be done to get us from here to there. ■

*Peter Dreier teaches sociology at Tufts University, works with Massachusetts Fair Share and the Massachusetts Tenants Organization, and is working for several candidates this fall. Jim Shoch, DSA's Western regional Coordinator, has been an organizer for the Gray Panthers and the Affordable Housing Alliance. Both are members of the DSA National Executive Committee.*

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# ON THE LEFT

By Harry Fleischman

**V**ictory was sweet for Sweden's new prime minister, Olof Palme, who was triumphantly swept back into office September 19 when the Social Democrats took 46 percent of the vote. The Social Democrats, who were defeated in 1976 after holding power for 44 years, now have more seats in the new parliament than the three nonsocialist parties combined. The most controversial issue of the campaign was the wage-earner funds through which workers would gradually come to own industries. Swedish industry mounted a virulent attack, claiming that a Social Democratic victory would turn Sweden into an Eastern European style country within a few years. Palme estimates that by 1990 the funds could own 10 to 15 percent of industry, "which does not seem excessive to me." Currently, a little over 1 percent of the households in Sweden own 75 percent of all shares of stock. Analysts believe that Palme won because he promised to stop the rise in unemployment and to maintain welfare benefits, and because the nonsocialists in power were seen as inept.

## NATIONAL ROUND-UP

### California

East Bay Socialists joined the United Auto Workers local 1364 and other progressives in a July rally protesting the closing of the General Motors plant in Fremont affecting the lives and jobs of 5,000 workers. A statewide march of laid-off workers to the state capitol in Sacramento was planned around Labor Day... Oakland, Berkeley, San Francisco and Los Angeles DSAers are working hard in many electoral campaigns in their areas. In some cases, Democratic Socialist Political Action Committees have been organized... LA DSA and the Socialist Community School held a panel discussion on current events in the Middle East and a summer sing-out with "Songs of Love, Labor and Liberation"... San Diego DSA has printed its own leaflet of "We Are the New Socialists" using pictures and quotes from local activists Trudy Robideau and Nick Nichols on the back of the national leaflet. Ben Sasway, the first person indicted for refusing to register for the draft, spoke on "The Draft and American Military Power" at San Diego DSA August 8... Herb Caen, columnist on the *San Francisco Chronicle*, reports that the scoop on Philip Habib, Reagan's negotiator in the Lebanon crisis, being on the Bechtel Co. payroll was gotten by Joan Smith, a reporter and typesetter on the weekly *Mill Valley Record*. Smith, a DSA member, was browsing through a Bechtel employees' newsletter and found a reference to Habib that inspired her to call a Bechtel public relations man who confirmed that ol' Phil works for us. She then phoned the *Washington Post*, which used her info but didn't give her a byline... Santa Cruz DSA members are working actively in SCAN, the Santa Cruz Action Network, which now has over 200 members and works with unions, minorities, neighborhood groups, environmentalists and anti-nuclear groups. DSAers Don Lane, Kevin Finney and Daniel Hersh were elected to the Santa Cruz County Democratic Central Committee. The local heard Jim Shoch, DSA regional coordinator, on developments around the U.S.

### Georgia

THE METRO-ATLANTA DSA LOCAL ran eight candidates in the Democratic primary for positions on the Democratic County Committees of

Fulton and Dekalb counties. Mike Harrington appeared with conservative black economics professor Walter Williams in the premiere of "Counterpoint," a debate-style show produced by an Atlanta cable station and seen across the country.

### Iowa

IOWA CITY DSA SPONSORED THE "First Annual Iowa Socialist Educational Conference" in May, and another forum on Religion and Socialism featuring Rev. Gil Dawes of Cedar Rapids in June. Members Tom Jacobs and Rick Taylor were elected president and vice-president respectively of the Iowa City Federation of Labor. Jacobs replaced Dennis Ryan, another DSA member, who was a candidate for president of the national Laborers' Union. DSA member Jeff Cox was re-elected chair of the Johnson County Democratic Central Committee in a closely contested race.

### Maryland

FRESH BREAD AND NEW ROSES WAS THE TITLE of the public meeting scheduled for September 15 in Columbia, Md. and sponsored by the Feminist Committee of the Howard County DSA. Since its beginning a year ago, Howard Co. DSA had held 10 public forums... Representative Parren Mitchell and Mike Harrington will speak at a DSA convocation in Baltimore on October 22... Many local labor leaders, with DSA help, have organized a Labor Task Force for a Nuclear Arms Freeze. It includes officers of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Machinists; American Federation of Teachers; Hospital and Health Care Employees; Furniture Workers; United Food and Commercial Workers Union; International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and United Steel Workers. The group is pushing for freeze resolutions by the Baltimore City Council, the Harford, Howard and Montgomery County Councils and the Maryland State Senate. Co-chairs are Ernest Crofoot, Director of AFSCME Council 67 and Philip VanGelder, retired Grand Lodge representative IAM. Secretary is Al Kutzik, AFT...

### Mississippi

SOUTHERN DSA MEMBERS ARE ACTIVELY SUPPORTING Mayor Eddie James Carthan of Tchula, Miss. and the Tchula Seven against attempts to railroad them to prison, and—in Carthan's case—the gas chamber on alleged charges of hiring someone to commit murder. The recent DSA Southern regional conference in Nashville, Tenn. contributed more than \$200 to the Tchula campaign and to support the October 11-16 March from Tchula to Jackson in defense of the Tchula Seven. Tchula is a small plantation town, 80 percent black, surrounded by white-owned plantations. The white owners opposed Carthan because he brought industry to the area, and plantations couldn't get workers at the usual low wages... Mike Harrington will speak at Mississippi State University on October 21...

### New York

ALBANY DSA WORKED WITH THE New Democratic Coalition in support of John Dow in the Democratic primary for Congress... The local recently heard Aliza Sulkozitz, a longtime activist in Israel's Peace-Now movement on peace in the Middle East... Albany member Jim Tierney has been elected president of the Student Association of the





Sandra Chelnov

Guillermo Ungo, head of the Democratic Revolutionary Front in El Salvador, spoke to 1,600 people at the DSA Western Conference held in San Francisco August 27 through August 29. Sharing the platform with him were Michael Harrington, William Winpisinger, and Barbara Ehrenreich.

State University of New York, and Larry Wittner has been elected to the state Religion and Labor Coalition as an AFL-CIO representative... A study group on disarmament, for which Buffalo DSA was a co-sponsor, held six sessions this summer... DSAer John Beverley, professor of Latin American studies at the University of Pittsburgh, came directly from Nicaragua to speak in August at two Buffalo meetings... The Nassau County Progressive Democratic caucus and the Long Island Progressive Coalition together with DSA are working in key campaigns against the reactionary Margiotta Republican machine... Many DSAers were involved in the labor campaign for Mario Cuomo for the Democratic nomination for governor against Ed Koch... In New York City, major efforts were made on behalf of Steve DiBrienza in a bid to unseat longtime Brooklyn City Council member Tom Cuite... Suffolk DSA and other groups have joined with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in sponsoring a Second Annual Conference on Nuclear Disarmament and Conversion from Militarism to an Economy with Peace and Justice, to be held on United Nations Day, October 24... Irving Howe, Alan Wolfe and Bogdan Denitch were scheduled to speak at a New York DSA membership forum on "Israel, the Palestinians and Peace in the Middle East" on September 28... The 50th Anniversary Reunion of the Veterans of Norman Thomas's Socialist Campaign for the Presidency in 1932 will be held on November 19-20, 1982 at the Norman Thomas High School, 111 E. 33 Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. For details write to Harry Fleischman at that address.

#### Ohio

OHIO'S LABOR COMMITTEE FOR SAFE ENERGY and Full Employment is sponsoring a conference on "Full Employment, Safe Energy and Military Spending" in Toledo October 29-31 at the Holiday Inn, Reynolds Road, Toledo. IAM president William Winpisinger is scheduled to keynote... DSA Program Director Holly Graff spoke at a meeting sponsored by Toledo DSA on September 20. Toledo members are involved in Project Vote to register people

#### Texas

AUSTIN DSA PUBLISHES AN ATTRACTIVE PAPER, NOTICIAS, THE LATEST issue of which features peace activities... Houston DSA sponsored a forum on "Unionization—The Road to Equality for Women Workers" featuring Diana Osborne, president of the Houston Coalition of Labor Union Women... Houston member Ben Levy is running for judge.

#### Vermont

BILL KEMSLEY, SR., VERMONT DSAer, has been reappointed to the Vermont Labor Relations Board, on which he has served since 1967.

#### Wisconsin

BIG RED NEWS is the newsletter of the Madison Democratic Socialist Alliance, which includes not only the DSA—former members of DSOC and NAM—but also members of the Socialist Party, USA. In state legislative races DSA member Charlie Uphoff is running for the Democratic nomination to the state assembly. In Milwaukee, DSAer Dismas Becker is running as a Democrat for reelection to his south side seat, while Darryl Holter is competing for the Democratic nomination in a north side district...

### CONFERENCES

MORE THAN A HUNDRED YOUNG PEOPLE gathered in Athens, Ohio for the 7th Annual DSA Summer Youth Conference August 19-22. Elected as officers of the Youth Section were: Guy Molyneux, chair; Jeremy Karpatkin, corresponding secretary; Thomas Dahdough, organizational secretary; Miriam Bensman, secretary-treasurer; female at-large officers, Maureen Graves Pomeranz, Louise Guggisberg, Deirdre O'Shea, Brenda Wyss; male at-large officers, Matt Birnbaum, Michael Kennedy, Michael Lighty, and Eric Pierson... Minority members of DSA will gather for an East Coast conference on October 1-3. Among the speakers are Manning Marable and Cornel West... Four electoral politics schools have been planned by DSA for the fall. The first was held in San Francisco August 27-29 in conjunction with the Western Regional Conference, and others are to be held in Pittsburgh, Chicago, and New England... There will be an International Conference on Office Work and the New Technology, October 28-29, at the Parker House Hotel, Boston. Registration is \$150. For more information, write to Daniel Marschall, Working Women Education Fund, 1224 Huron Road, Cleveland, Ohio 44115... Rutgers DSA will host a statewide conference October 1-2 featuring Stanley Aronowitz, Noam Chomsky, Bogdan Denitch, Kate Ellis, Michael Harrington, Frances Piven, Bernard Sanders and Cornel West.

### MEDIA

A JOY TO BEHOLD is DSAer Nancy Brigham's *How To Do Leaflets, Newsletters and Newspapers* (Popular Economics Press, P.O. Box 289, Boston, MA 02112, \$5.95). Nancy, on the UAW public relations staff, has written this book with the help of Ann Raszmann and Dick Cluster. It covers everything you need to know to communicate with the people you want to reach and tells you how to do it simply and effectively... Community Media Productions has produced an exciting 13-minute slide/tape documentary on Solidarity Day. For preview, write CMP, 325 Grafton Ave., Dayton, Ohio 45406... Congratulations to New Day Films on its 10th anniversary. The cooperatively run distribution company includes in its catalog "With Babies and Banners," "Song of the Canary," "Growing Up Female," and other films dealing with social issues. For a copy of the catalog, write to 1454 Sixth St., Berkeley, Calif. 94710.



# LETTERS

## To the Editor:

Democratic socialists can take heart that Michael Manley's Jamaican government was not ousted by a coup, but by an election ("Promises of 'Deliverance,'" May 1982). The class struggle has been kept within a peaceful, democratic framework, and bloodshed avoided. So post-Manley Jamaica is an immensely more fortunate place than, for example, post-Allende Chile.

Human rights activists in the United States and elsewhere can be proud that their movement helped prevent any putsch from succeeding in Jamaica. While Edward Seaga's new administration is not socialist, it has been—at least to date—democratic. The road is thus open for the People's National Party to return to power in 1985.

**Gabriel Sucher**  
Washington, D.C.

## To the Editor:

Your article in the May 1982 issue entitled "Beyond the Nuclear Freeze" was right on in its action emphasis concerning support for the Freeze and beyond to the link between arms expenditures and domestic and global economic needs.

However, your analysis of the causes for U.S. military buildup does not go quite far enough. It may suffice in pointing up the dangers to the untutored (i.e., your point about Soviet countermeasures to U.S. developments being a near surety), but socialists must face up to some darker truths.

Specifically, we should recognize that the United States seeks actual, tangible offensive superiority, not parity, in nuclear weaponry. Historically, in several instances following the Second World War and until the Soviets achieved rough parity, the U.S. has used the nuclear threat, *sotto voce*, to assert dominance in international situations (see, e.g., *Protest and Survive*). The development of so-called "theater" nuclear weaponry in Europe, which I hope all progressives will continue vigorously to oppose as they promote the Freeze, is an attempt to unbalance power once again, in favor of U.S. might. Pressures on the Soviet economy, for example attempts to squelch their oil pipeline, are designed to make it that much harder for them to fund military programs while Reaganoids push hard for these expenditures at home. Of course, this just means that the Soviet peoples will suffer even more than Americans as both powers continue to escalate.

Our leaders play a brinkmanship game, with "humanity itself, civilization itself, the world itself" the no-win stakes. But they no longer believe no-win is the only outcome. They believe in winnable nuclear war...

While our actions for the Freeze and against further arms deployment should continue, and as you point out should be linked to economic injustice, we should not forget that there is a calculated method to the seeming madness...

**Jay Allan**  
Chapel Hill, N.C.

*Ed. Note: The following letters were written during the summer, before the most recent events in the Middle East.*

## To the Editor:

Having read the NEC resolution on Lebanon and the excerpt in the DEMOCRATIC LEFT (June) I am troubled by the attempt at evenhandedness in the statement "We condemn both the massive bombing of civilian population centers in Lebanon by Israeli forces and the continual reckless use of the mostly unwilling civilian population as shelter by the Palestinian combatants." I never read in any news account that the Palestinians were holding the civilian population of West Beirut hostage. If the civilian population of West Beirut was mostly unwillingly used as shelter, the blame lies with Israel. At those times when the Israelis let the civilians in West Beirut leave some did. Most stayed. Obviously if Israel had not attacked Beirut with its dense concentration of civilians, the people of Beirut would not have been victims of Israeli terror. The PLO and its Lebanese leftist allies had no obligation to the Israeli invaders to make it easier for the IDF to attack them. The truth is that the Israeli forces attacked residential areas of Beirut, and the civilians in that city willingly sought shelter and protection from the PLO and the Lebanese militia—which successfully held off the IDF from laying waste all of Beirut until withdrawal was negotiated.

To call for negotiations based on the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people through its own elected representatives evades a principal issue. Ask the pro-PLO elected mayors from the West Bank who were dismissed by Israeli authorities *who* represents the Palestinians. They will all say the PLO.

**Gene Damm**  
Albany, N.Y.

## To the Editor:

"The Conflict in Lebanon" resolution adopted by the DSA National Executive Committee on June 19, 1982 is a mischievous pastiche of confusion. I state this as one who was in Israel from June 4 through 17 as part of a study group hosted by the Moshe Sharett Institute, the Histadrut and the World Labor Zionist movement.... The war, for us, was not an abstraction, but a grim reality...

[P]olitically speaking, the war was a pre-emptive strike, basically justifiable on the part of Israel. One may quarrel with the timing, the extent, and specific tactics, but the clear fact is that the massive arms and army of the Palestine Liberation Organization had as its purpose the destruction of the State of Israel. This is in its covenant, never repudiated, and is the glue which keeps Al Fatah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine together as the PLO—an organization which has, since its formation, employed terror and clever diplomacy to further its nefarious goal.

Nowhere in the DSA resolution is there a characterization of the PLO. The one "olive branch" offered by Yasir Arafat is a bi-national secular Palestinian state with those Jews who lived in the area prior to 1917 to be permitted to remain. Nowhere is there a description of the schools of terrorism run by the PLO for activity in Europe, Africa, Asia, and South America. Nowhere is there any depiction of the PLO holding sectors of the Lebanese population under dictatorial military control for years in violation of Lebanese sovereignty...

The *key* political question remains the West Bank and Gaza. There socialists must call for negotiations between freely elected Palestinian representatives and Israelis, Egyptians, the USA, and hopefully Jordan, to establish a permanently disarmed democratic government which can accommodate the Palestinians physically and their nationalist aspirations in peace, security, and recognition of Israel. If this position is taken, decent, democratic, and peaceable Palestinians will come to the fore. The Begin position of Israeli total control of Judaea and Samaria will only breed a new terrorist PLO. The Begin-Sharon purely military approach is a blind alley...

**Israel Kugler**  
Long Island City, N.Y.

## To the Editor:

Patrick Lacefield's article on the nuclear-peace movement warns of the excesses of sectarian leftists while indulging in a bit of intellectual extremism that socialists could do without. Whether we call ourselves democratic or not, as socialists we ought to be con-

*Continued on page 13*



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PETER LAVIGNE

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<p>Grateful thanks to Chicago Thomas-Debs Dinner attendees, and to those who sent telegrams. It was an evening I'll never forget...</p> <p>CARL M. SHIER</p>	<p>GREETINGS Ann Arbor DSA P. O. Box 7211 Ann Arbor, Mich. 48107</p>
	<p><b>CONGRATULATIONS</b> <b>DSOC and NAM</b> <b>FRIENDS OF BALTIMORE D.S.A.</b></p>
<p>SOLIDARITY FOREVER MADISON DSA</p>	<p>SOCIALISM IN MID-USA LOUISVILLE AREA LOCAL DSA  2115 Village Dr. Louisville, Ky. 40205                      502-458-9093</p>
<p>In 1990 there will be as many socialists in Rochester, N.Y. as there were in 1910! ROCHESTER DSA</p>	<p><i>"Every step of actual movement is more important than a dozen programs."</i> —K. Marx, May 1875 PAUL &amp; YVONNE BAICICH</p>
<p>Greetings from PITTSBURGH DSA A city rich in labor history</p>	<p>Pittsburgh DSA Reproductive Rights Committee supports freedom of choice and equality for all women.</p>
<p>GREETINGS SOUTHERN RHODE ISLAND DSA  SOLIDARITY DSA Feminist Commission</p>	<p><i>"They who renounce the struggle for Socialism renounce the labor movement and democracy."</i> —Rosa Luxemburg LOS ANGELES DSA</p>
<p>Greetings From WESTCHESTER DSA Box 323 Harrison, N.Y. 10528</p>	<p>DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS OF AMERICA SEATTLE CHAPTER P.O. Box 31038 Seattle, Wash. 98103</p>
<p>Surf City Socialists Riding the Red Wave Through 1982 "Today Santa Cruz—Tomorrow the World."</p>	<p>Our Labor Day Salute to all working people. Together we will build a new world. DAYTON DSA</p>



**IN THESE TIMES**

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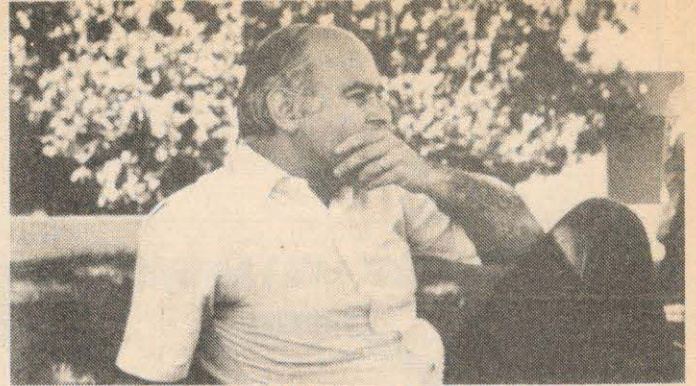
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IN THESE TIMES  
1509 N. Milwaukee Ave.  
Chicago, IL 60622



*A Militant Democratic Trade  
Union Movement Is Essential  
If Social Change Will Be Made*

*Chicago Local DSA*



IN MEMORY OF WALLY KOPPELMAN 1925-1981

Grew up in Brooklyn  
Became a lawyer  
Fought for labor rights & civil liberties  
Loved his wife Dorrie & his three sons  
Became a professor of philosophy  
Taught Hegel and Marx  
Became an activist in the United  
Professors of California  
Fought for academic freedom & better  
working conditions  
Helped to found the San Diego  
Chapter of NAM  
Worked tirelessly for socialism  
Struggled to bring about the new unity  
of the Democratic Left

FROM SAN DIEGO DSA AND THE FRIENDS AND  
COMRADES OF WALLY KOPPELMAN



## BALTIMORE D.S.A.



*is going forward, building on our  
collective history of work on many issues:*

*Utilities/Energy  
Labor Support  
Gay & Lesbian Liberation  
Community Organizing  
Abortion Rights  
Nuclear Freeze  
El Salvador  
Alternative Institutions/Culture*

*Rent Control/Housing  
Feminism  
The Draft  
Repressive Legislation  
Southern Africa  
Political Education  
Electoral Campaigns*



*"THE PITCHER CRIES FOR WATER TO CARRY AND A PERSON FOR WORK THAT IS REAL."  
- MARGE PIERCY*





In honor of  
DSA members

# Ron Dellums

Member of Congress, 8th District

for his leadership in opposing military madness and for his successful effort to force a congressional debate on military policy by bringing an alternative defense budget to the floor of Congress for the first time ever.

# Gus Newport

Mayor of Berkeley

for his pioneering work in the field of plant closures and alternatives in local economic development and for his concern with issues of world peace and their importance to our community.

We pledge to help assure  
their re-election this November.

## Members and Friends of EAST BAY DSA

Nancy Bardacke  
John Brauer  
Liv Brown  
Sandra Chelnov  
Bill Delaney  
Carol Dorf  
Elaine Draper  
Bob Dunn  
Samuela Evans  
Emily Filloy  
Charles W. Flippo  
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Louis Freedburg  
Darlaine Gardetto  
Katy King Goldberg  
Mark Goldowitz  
Sean M. Gordon

Allen Graubard  
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John Katz  
Jimmy Krupnick  
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Peter Lee  
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Carole Selter Norris  
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LABOR DAY-UNITY  
GREETINGS FROM  
THE HOME OF  
THE REVOLUTION

*SOLIDARITY  
FOREVER*

BOSTON DSA

FORWARD TOGETHER!  
From your sisters and brothers at the  
VILLAGE INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATS  
New York, N.Y.

*Greetings From*  
MONTANA DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS  
HELENA DSA

To our friends in the labor, women's,  
racial justice, and peace movements,  
who will make democratic socialism possible.  
ALBANY DSA

*Greetings from*  
THE WASHINGTON TEACHERS' UNION

*William H. Simons, President*

make

the world

a

nuclear free

zone



MEMBERS & FRIENDS  
OF BALTIMORE D.S.A.



IN MEMORY OF JERRY WURF  
DYNAMIC PRESIDENT OF  
AFSCME  
1919-1981  
AFSCME Council 24, WSEU

IN SOLIDARITY, JUSTICE,  
AND PEACE  
Denis B. Schlenker

WE SALUTE OUR DEAR FRIEND  
CARL SHIER  
ON HIS UAW RETIREMENT  
SHERRY AND SEYMOUR KAHAN

For Dorothy,  
FRIEND, LOVER, COMRADE  
Larry Wittner

SOLIDARITY GREETINGS  
IN THE STRUGGLE  
FOR A NEW HUMANITY

CUBAN CHRISTIANS  
FOR JUSTICE AND FREEDOM

Keep up the good work!  
MARK PETERSON  
Director  
Pennsylvania Alliance for  
Jobs and Energy

BARRY LITT  
PAULA LITT  
MICHAEL MAGNUSON  
HEATHER CONWELL

In Loyal Opposition  
RICHARD 'GABE' PETERSON

"In our hands is placed a power  
greater than their hoarded gold."

VINCENT DALY  
Box 2656 University  
Riyadh

FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA  
FRED NEWDOM

PEACE & JUSTICE  
DSA Religion and Socialism Committee

IN MEMORY OF  
ZOLTAN FUZESSERTY  
March 8, 1914 - August 1, 1982  
Theresa Fuzessery

Here's To Making All  
Our Dreams a Reality  
With Hard Work and Solidarity  
HEATHER AND PAUL BOOTH

State Representative  
HARLAN BAKER  
Member  
109th, 110th, and 111th  
Maine State Legislature

CAPITALISM HAS DESTROYED THE  
GOLDEN RULE—THE GOLDEN CALF  
FOUND BY MOSES HAS GROWN INTO  
A MONSTROUS GOLDEN BULL  
RAGING WITH GREED  
Arthur Lasher

IN SOLIDARITY  
Ruth & Nat Weinberg

GREETINGS  
MAY I LIVE TO SEE THE DAY  
THAT THE DSA SPONSORS POLITICAL  
LABOR PARTY CANDIDATES.

Martin Greenberg  
Retired UAW Representative

The 31st Street Bookstore says  
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GREETINGS FROM  
Port Charlotte, Florida

IDA & ABE KAUFMAN

"Today, the workers have more to  
lose than their chains; but they still have  
a world to win!"

TIMOTHY SEARS  
Editor, *Washington Socialist*

CONTINUING THE STRUGGLE FOR  
SUNBELT SOCIALISM

Greetings from your friends  
in the Atlanta DSA Local

N.Y. DSA  
SOCIALIST FEMINISTS  
Labor Day Greetings

NEW DEMOCRATIC COALITION  
ALBANY, N.Y.

"Comfort the afflicted and afflict the  
comfortable" or such change as to render  
the former unnecessary."

STUART COHEN  
Pittsburgh, DSA

GREETINGS  
Marilyn M. Einhorn  
&  
Lawrence R. Maxwell

Nicaragua vencio;  
El Salvador vencera;  
Guatemala seguira.  
Con los Palestinos.  
JOHN BEVERLEY  
Pittsburgh DSA

UNDERGROUND MINERALS LIKE  
OIL AND ELECTRIC POWER SHOULD  
BELONG TO ALL THE PEOPLE  
Jerry Voorhis

BEST WISHES  
Jonathan Robison  
Democratic Candidate  
for City Council, 1983  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Greetings to Albany's  
Socialist Social Workers:  
Adele, Barbara, Louise,  
Madge, Mark, and Paula  
DOROTHY TRISTMAN



---

***Fraternal Greetings***

FROM

**UAW-CAP Councils**

of

**Regions 9 & 9A**



**EDWARD F. GRAY**  
**Director, Region 9, UAW**

**E. W. "TED" BARRETT**  
**Director, Region 9A, UAW**



*Greetings from*

**District 1199**  
**National Union of Hospital  
and Health Care Employees**  
**RWDSU/AFL-CIO**

Doris Turner, President

WE STAND TOGETHER WITH THE DSA  
FOR PEACE, FREEDOM AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

THE  
**NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL JOINT BOARD**  
OF THE  
**AMALGAMATED CLOTHING AND TEXTILE  
WORKERS UNION, AFL-CIO-CLC**



ED CLARK, MANAGER

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**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY &  
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President

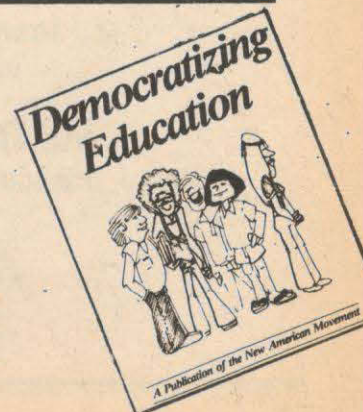
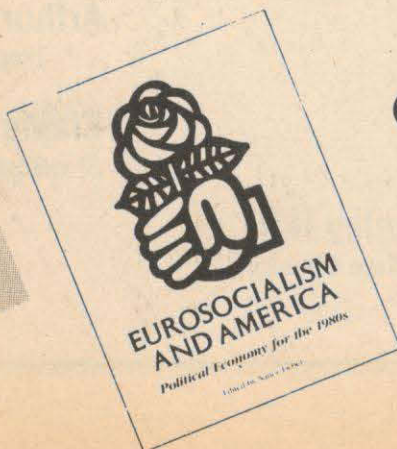
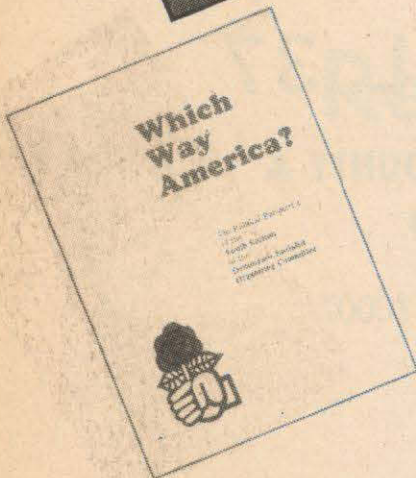
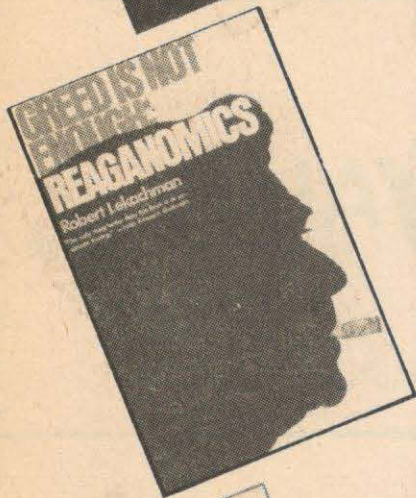
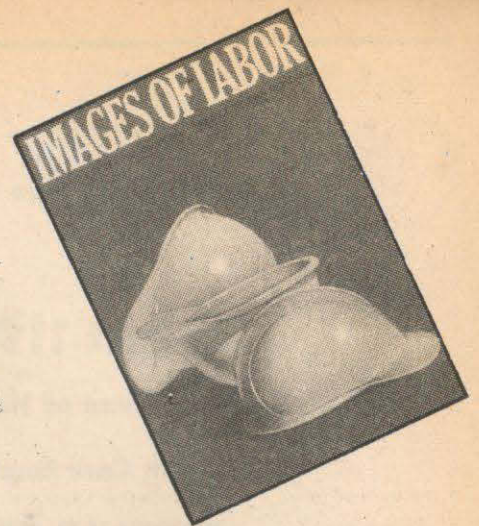
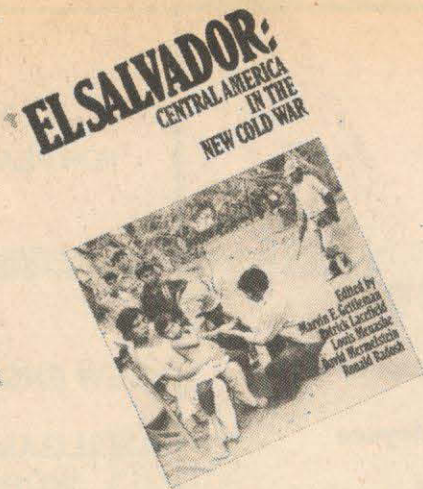
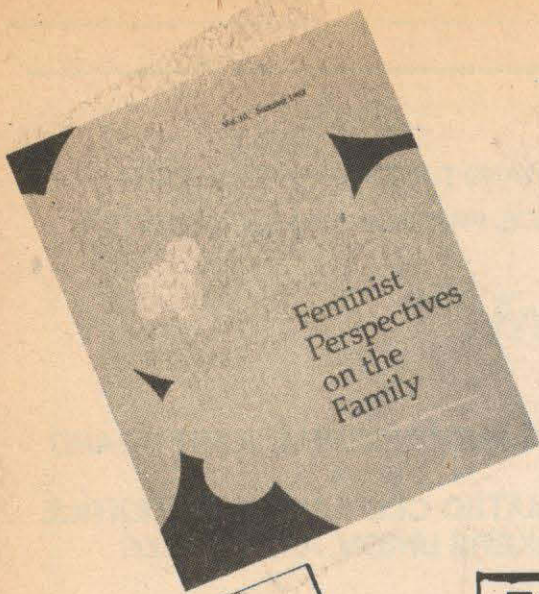
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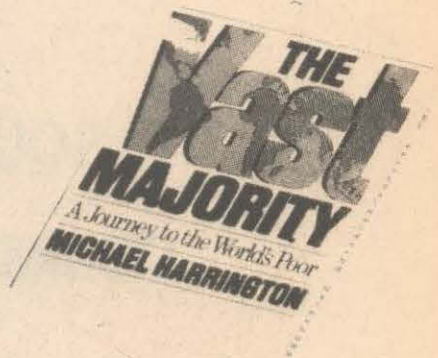
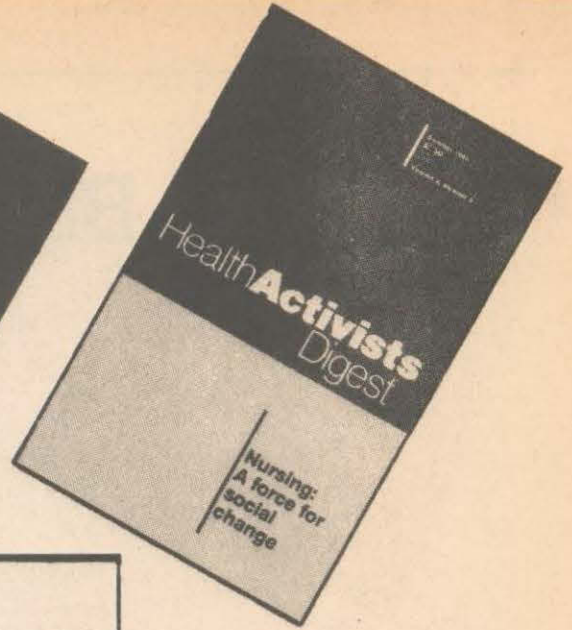
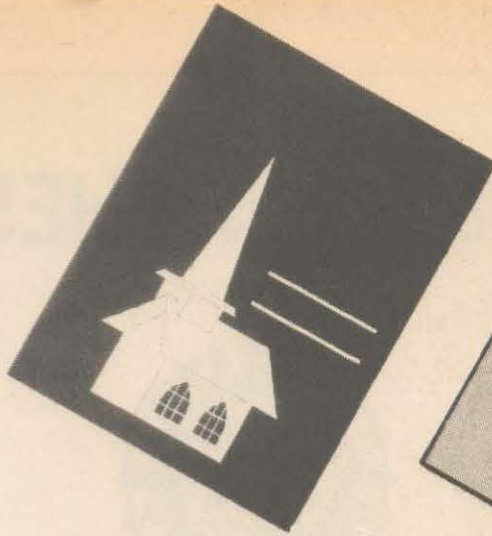
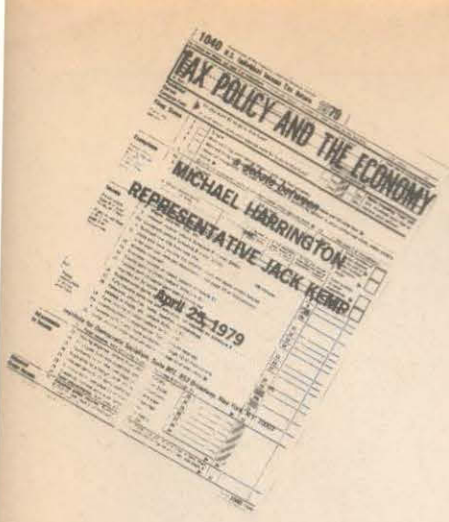
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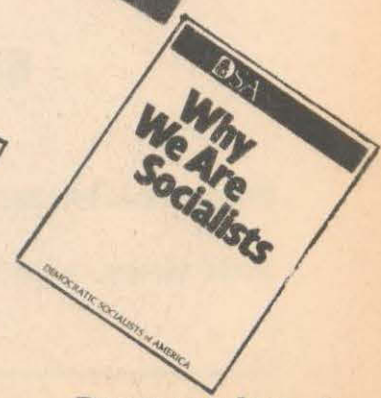
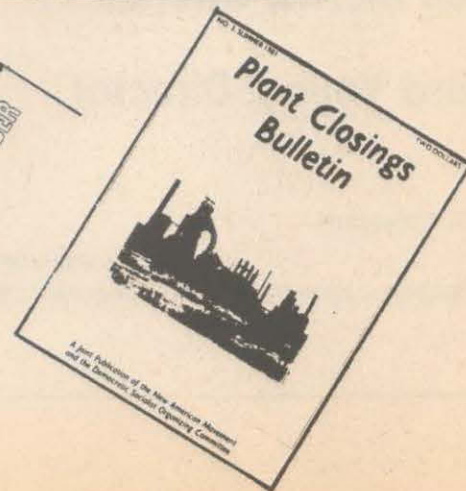
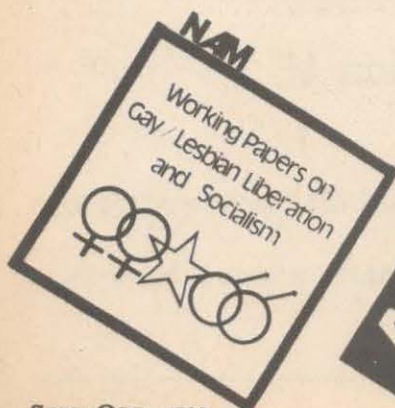
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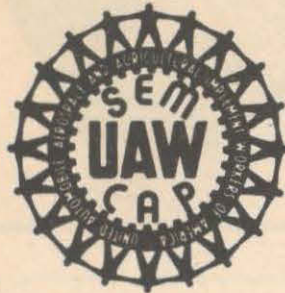
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# BEST WISHES



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---

**Greetings**



# JIMMY HIGGINS REPORTS



OF LUXURY STAMPS AND CUBE GRANTS—A good sense of humor is one of the greatest—and most disarming—of political assets. Nancy Amidei, the anti-hunger crusader who heads the Washington-based Food Research and Action Center possesses that trait. She's written up a sheet on her version of Reaganomics: "Cube grants are like block grants in that government programs are handed over to authorities who don't believe in them and who have less money to do the job.

Newark would get the Agriculture Department and Jesse Helms would have to go to Ken Gibson to ask for tobacco subsidies under a program called Aid to Farmers with Dependent Crops (AFDC); Iowa would get the Navy. Treasury Department efforts to benefit big business would be turned over to DSA and so forth." "Rich people could be given their tax breaks in the form of luxury stamps so that when they buy steak, lobsters or fancy French wines, everyone can see where their tax dollars are going." She adds, "Did you know that the Administration tried to cut the budget for children's immunizations by 30 percent? I figure they were trying to introduce The New Paralysis. Reagan admires FDR... so what more fitting way to celebrate FDR's centennial than to bring back polio. We could have a special ceremony at Warm Springs with guests in designer crutches."

*WE DO NOT SEE WAYS TO ACHIEVE LONG-RANGE economic recovery for people in America and elsewhere in the world except through a process of democratic control of work in local communities." No, this isn't a quote from the latest DSA position paper. It's from a Labor Day pastoral letter signed by 30 Episcopal bishops from industrial and urban centers. The letter called for localized, cooperative control of the nation's industries and criticized "the growing wave of anti-unionism" in the nation. "We know of no more sinister power and threat to the welfare of the human community than that flowing from corporate structures which remove control of resources and decision-making from the people most affected," it said. Asked about the tone of the letter, Bishop Paul Moore of New York told The New York Times that he wouldn't put a "political label" on it. "It could look like it was leaning to the left," he said, but "it could also look to the right since*

*we're talking about the capitalist system working for the people." We know which side we would put it on, and we're certainly glad to see the issue raised.*

A YEAR LATER, fired air controllers are still facing exclusion from federal jobs and harassment. The great communicator may have spoken about compassion last Christmas, but Reagan's compassion seems about as important as his union card in setting policy. As late as June a fired controller was informed by the Syracuse Post Office that "former controllers cannot be hired by us." Reagan's compassion set only one explicit limit: the controllers could not go back to work in their old jobs. The Pentagon is making sure that the controllers don't go back to work at their trade. The Defense Department forbids private contractors who run control systems for the military to hire former PATCO strikers. One Michigan controller told the New York *Daily News* that his bid for a franchise with North American Van Lines was turned down because the company said it feared losing Defense Department business.

## BEIRUT MASSACRE

As we go to press the massacre of Palestinians in their camps around Beirut has outraged the conscience of the world, not least that of hundreds of thousands of Israelis. We in DSA are in solidarity with Peace Now, the Labour Alignment, and other forces in Israel that understand that those responsible for the massacre must be brought to justice and that a negotiated peace as soon as possible is in the interests of all parties in the Middle East.

This tragic development reinforces DSA's previously expressed insistence on the withdrawal of all — Israeli, Syrian, and Palestinian — armed forces from Lebanon; and support for a moratorium on further U.S. military aid to Israel until it withdraws from Lebanon.

There can be no substitute for political negotiations that are based on the right of self-determination for the Palestinian population through its own elected representatives and on the recognition of the right of the state of Israel to a secure existence.

— M.H.

## DEMOCRATIC LEFT

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