





# LETTERS

## New Design

We've come a long way in design, from the days when THE NEWSLETTER OF THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT was a one-color, two-column, no photograph, eight-page communication to this latest design. Thanks to Sandy Cate, who, we believe, has brought together the best of DEMOCRATIC LEFT and MOVING ON to create a new look for the publication of a new organization. Along with the new design will come an increased emphasis on news from within the organization. We look forward to hearing from you, about what you want to see in your publication, about what you're doing.

*The Editors*

## Old Mistake

As a result of a proofreading error, a line was dropped from Joe Holland's article on Latin America in the November-December issue that completely changed the meaning of the sentence. We are red-faced. The section should have read (dropped portion in italics): Dwight Eisenhower sent *the CIA into Guatemala to overthrow the democratically elected government of Jacobo Arbenz; Lyndon Johnson sent the marines into the Dominican Republic to overthrow the democratically elected president Juan Bosch.*

*The Editors*

## Scrap Higgins Cartoon

*To the Editor:*

On the cover of the Unity Issue [Sept.-Oct.] was a photograph of an unemployed auto worker. A good photo, moving. It communicated a message, a real and severe message.

Yet on the back cover ever present as part of "Jimmy Higgins Reports," I see a caricature of working people: the little, mustachioed guy with a broom and cap. It seems to me a mocking figure of the real thing on the cover. I have never really appreciated that graphic. It is idyllic and misrepresents what a worker really is. . . .

I encourage the graphics editor to search for an alternative graphic and approach Jimmy Higgins, if that is the process, and get his o.k. to switch.

*Mike Fogelberg  
Madison DSA*

*Ed. note: See the explanation of the Higgins figure that appears at the end of the column.*

## Threat to West

*To the Editor:*

Frank Scott, in a letter to DEMOCRATIC LEFT takes issue with Pat Lacey's assertion that Soviet nuclear weapons pose a threat to the West. Scott feels there is no such threat, but neglects to present arguments of any kind to back up his claim. . . .

The logical thrust of those who argue

that Soviet nuclear arms are "no threat" is of course that the West disarm unilaterally. . . . Against this I would say that the Soviets are not noted historically for their kindness and consideration of weak and defenseless nations.

DSA has clearly stated its position of supporting a bilateral nuclear freeze. The roughly equal and verified reduction of nuclear arsenals on both sides seems a relatively safe and expeditious way to end the arms race. A nuclear freeze proposal, if and when adopted by the US government would of course also require approval by the Soviets.

*Helmut Wenkart  
New York, N.Y.*

## Get Your Hands Dirty!

*To the Editor:*

I am a socialist from the old country and I do have a nutmeg to grind with you, my American comrades. All this debate about how, just HOW we are going to work in the Democratic party reminds me of Huck and Tom in that barn. All the while they were figuring out intricate plans on how to escape, the door was open. All they had to do was to walk out. All we have to do is to go to the next meeting of our local Democratic Committee, get to work and get our hands dirty. There is no other way.

*Eva Ollen  
Rochester, N.Y.*

## Thank You in 1982

The Labor Day-Unity issue carried names of friends and members who contributed to our Socialist Unity Drive and sent greetings to DEMOCRATIC LEFT. We were afraid that we might have left some names out because of our book-keeping problems and we were right. Listed below are names of those we know we missed. We appreciate their support. If we missed you, we apologize again. If you missed us, we hope you'll send greetings next Labor Day.

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*Guy Molyneux*      *Susan Palmer*

Greetings  
*Ruth Jordan*      *Paul Garver*  
*Helmut Wenkart*

*For my sons Israel and Joshua, in the hope that their future is one of peace and justice.*

*Richard W. Smith*

# DEMOCRATIC LEFT

*Formerly Newsletter of the Democratic Left and Moving On.*

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DEMOCRATIC LEFT is published nine times a year (monthly except July, August and October) by Democratic Socialists of America, formerly DSOC/NAM. The editorial office is located at 853 Broadway, Suite 801, New York, N.Y. 10003, Telephone (212) 260-3270. Other national offices are located at 1300 West Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 871-7700 and at 29 29th Street, San Francisco, CA 94110, (415) 550-1849. Subscriptions: \$15 sustaining and institutional; \$8 regular. Signed articles express the opinions of the authors and not of the organization. ISSN 0164-3207. Microfilm, Wisconsin State Historical Society, 816 State St., Madison, WI 53703. Indexed in the Alternative Press Index, P.O. Box 7229, Baltimore, MD 21218. Second Class Permit paid at New York, N.Y.



# UNCONSCIONABLE COSTS

by RONALD V. DELLUMS

Since 1945, American foreign and military policies have been predicated on a series of hypotheses, revolving around the basic theme of preserving the "national security" of the United States. Eight successive presidents have contended that the cornerstone of this policy must be an unrelenting response at all levels to the alleged Communist crusade for "global hegemony" and the defense and maintenance of the "Free World." Thus, with the passage of time, the purported "vital" "national security" interests of the United States have assumed global dimensions. Both Democratic and Republican administrations have repeatedly sought, through covert or overt intervention, military solutions to international problems that are essentially political, economic, social or cultural in origin.

This "national security" psychosis has made possible the evolution of a permanent war economy that has made the United States, because of its superior technology, the principal force in global arms escalation, both nuclear and conventional. It was a Democratic administration, headed by President Harry S. Truman, that tripled the military budget in 1950. It was a Democratic administration, headed by John F. Kennedy, that first proclaimed a missile gap with the Soviet Union when it knew the opposite was true, and then brought the planet to the verge of a nuclear holocaust during the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962.

It was a Democratic administration, headed by Jimmy Carter, that prepared and began to implement the notorious Presidential Directive 59, which opened the way to discussion of a first-strike strategy.

In 1977, when the Carter administration assumed office with a pledge to reduce military spending by \$5-\$7 billion in its first year, the total military budget was slightly less than \$100 billion. Four years later it was \$173 billion, but Carter left office asking for a further increase to \$194 billion. The Reagan administration immediately raised that figure to \$226.3 billion, as part of a five year-military spending projection of \$1.6 trillion. Because of cost-overruns and projected supplemental appropriations, that figure has already been raised to \$2.3 trillion for the same period. A recent study by the Congressional Budget Office indicated that, at pres-

ent growth/inflation rates, we may well be spending \$422 billion a year on the military by 1987.

The dimensions of disaster being plotted by the Reagan administration almost defy any rational analysis, as Robert Scheer discovered when researching and interviewing for his excellent new book: *With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush and Nuclear War*. The Reagan administration has consciously and deliberately moved beyond the strategy of deterrence to one that proposes to fight, survive and "win" a nuclear war.

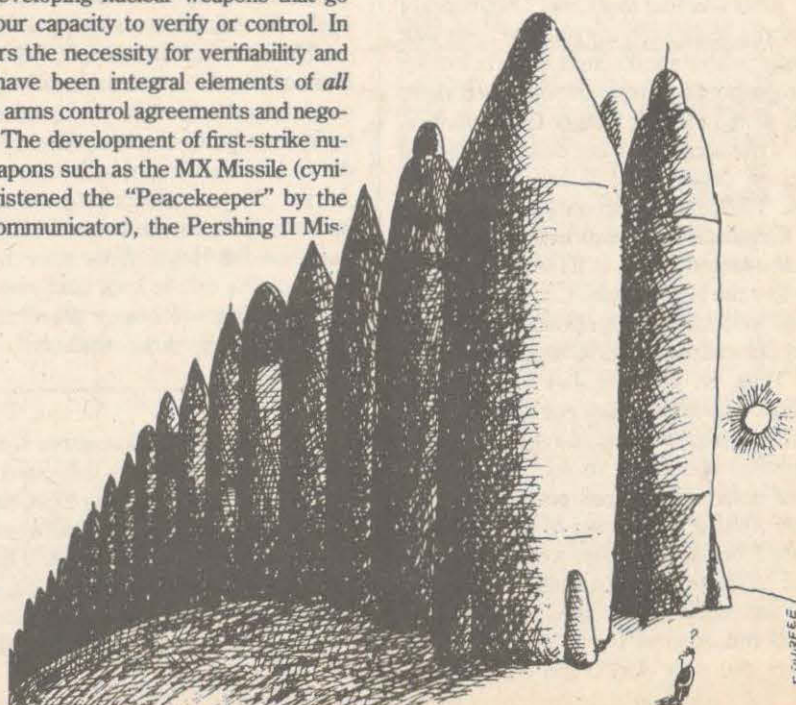
When he was Secretary of Defense in the Kennedy administration, Robert Strange McNamara defined deterrence as the capacity to destroy 30 percent of the Soviet society's population and 70 percent of its economic infrastructure. He felt this objective could be achieved through the use of approximately 400 strategic nuclear warheads. In 1983, the U.S. possesses more than 10,000 strategic warheads in its nuclear arsenal, plus 15,000 more of intermediate range for theater nuclear use. At present, it is estimated that there are approximately 886 cities and towns in the U.S.S.R. with a population of 25,000 or more people. How much is enough?

The Reagan administration is committed to developing nuclear weapons that go beyond our capacity to verify or control. In past years the necessity for verifiability and control have been integral elements of all previous arms control agreements and negotiations. The development of first-strike nuclear weapons such as the MX Missile (cynically christened the "Peacekeeper" by the Great Communicator), the Pershing II Mis-

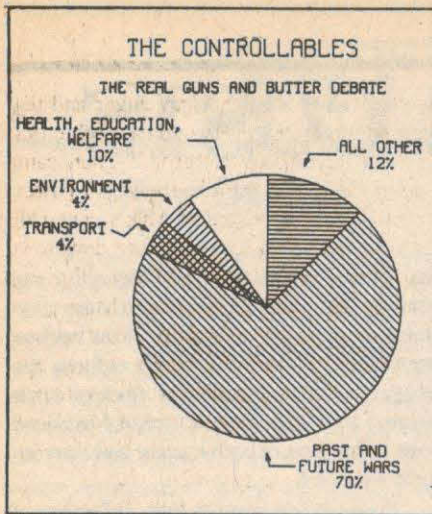
sile, the Trident II (D-5) Missile, and ground-, sea- and air-launched Cruise missiles ushers us into a new era of the nuclear arms race, one that drastically reduces the prospects for a meaningful nuclear arms freeze and subsequent mutual-balanced force reductions of both nuclear and conventional weapons.

It was in this context that, in January of 1982, I mounted a comprehensive legislative challenge to the policy assumptions and spending priorities of the Pentagon and the White House. Two days after the President's State of the Union message, I formally petitioned Representative Mel Price of Illinois, the Chair of the House Armed Services Committee, to expand the Committee's hearings on the military budget in order to examine a broader spectrum of policy issues and economic factors relating to the military budget. The Committee informed me that it had deadlines to meet, and could not afford the time.

In response, I decided to convene the Special Congressional Ad Hoc Hearings on the Full Implications of the Military Budget. After raising the necessary funds from various peace







groups, which also ensured the hearings being broadcast on the Pacifica Radio Network, my staff and I invited more than forty expert witnesses to testify.

For six days during March and April, a number of concerned congressional colleagues and I conducted an indepth examination of the military budget from the perspectives of foreign policy and national security implications, escalation v. disarmament, economic implications, moral implications, citizen responsibilities in challenging the military budget, and the impact of global arms sales.

The witness list ranged from J. William Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee during the Indochina War era to social policy analyst Frances Fox Piven to Catholic Bishops Walter Sullivan of Richmond and John Quinn of San Francisco. Several witnesses were DSA members.

After studying more than 1,800 pages of transcript testimony, my staff and I met with defense analysts and budget experts to draft a comprehensive alternative military budget. After Congressional Budget Office verification of the accuracy of our dollar figures and program projections, I introduced H.R. 6696. The peace community, in and out of the Congress, was surprised when, in an unprecedented ruling, H.R. 6696 was designated by the House Rules Committee as the official substitute for the House Armed Services Committee bill (H.R. 6030).

Thus, on Tuesday, July 20, 1982, for the first time in the history of the Cold War, the U.S. Congress debated a comprehensive legislative alternative to the Pentagon-inspired madness that has persistently prevailed. During the course of the extended debate I formally proposed a military budget based on the policies of nonintervention, nuclear and conventional arms reductions, a mutual reduction of forces by both superpowers and their NATO and Warsaw Pact allies, and a rejection of the doctrine of nucle-

ar superiority in favor of nuclear sufficiency. I proposed the total elimination of all crisis-stabilizing nuclear weapons systems, such as the MX Missile, the Pershing II Missile, all sea- and ground-launched Cruise missiles, the Trident II (D-5) Missile, and neutron weapons. I also proposed the elimination of chemical warfare weapons, and such obsolete or useless conventional weapons systems as the B-1 Bomber, the XM-1 tank, the two nuclear carriers proposed in the Defense Department authorization bill, the Aegis Missile Cruiser program, and the retrofitted battleships.

Few people are aware that the research, development, production and deployment of our current and proposed nuclear arsenal constitute only 21 percent of the overall military budget. The remainder is for conventional forces, maintenance overhead and personnel costs. Accordingly, I proposed an initial 5 percent reduction in all U.S. military personnel as a first step toward mutual troop reductions. To reduce further the possibility of U.S. intervention in the Third World, I also proposed the total elimination of the Rapid Deployment Force and the incremental reduction of the U.S. Navy fleet to approximately 400 vessels (the administration has proposed that the surface fleet be increased to 640 vessels).

This alternative proposal would have reduced the Pentagon's budget authority by more than \$50 billion in the first year alone. More important, it set the stage for continued cuts in nuclear and conventional weapons systems and in personnel, while establishing stringent oversight controls for waste, fraud and abuse. Within three years, such cuts and controls could reduce the annual federal deficit by more than 60 percent.

Even though it was defeated, its opponents treated it as a serious challenge to the status quo. Many of those who opposed it did so in statements of rebuttal drafted with the direct assistance of the Pentagon and the Armed Services Committee staff. They know that they have not seen the last of it. As I said on the House Floor after the formal debate: "We will be back next year and the year after that and the year after that until we right the wrongs in this madness.

**The National Executive Committee of DSA has adopted a resolution supporting H.R. 6696, which will be re-introduced in Congress. Proposals will be made at the February board meeting for actions that locals can take to support the bill.**

## Next Steps

Where do we go from here? We in the progressive community need to develop a coherent, cohesive strategy and program for challenging the military budget in 1983.

One of the more disturbing realities of American political life is that most of its political leaders, regardless of ideology or geographical origin, function most comfortably in an atmosphere of ambiguity, one in which pragmatism takes precedence over principle. The "liberal" and "moderate" will temporize, saying that change must proceed slowly, so we must consider transferring funds from nuclear to conventional forces. When pushed, they will vote for a Nuclear Freeze Resolution (H.R. 521), and even to defer funding for an MX basing mode. But they will not vote for a comprehensive alternative military budget (H.R. 6696), or to terminate *all* funds for the MX Missile, because such proposals are considered "too radical." Thus the Freeze resolution could garner 202 votes of congressional concern, but the alternative military budget received only 55 votes. The latest proposal to defer funds because of the failure to develop a basing mode for the MX Missile secured 245 votes, but repeated attempts to delete all funds for the MX Missile program have never obtained more than 96 votes in the House.

Why? Because these proposals are "too radical"? On the contrary, I would argue that "radical" politics is the truly progressive position. The progressive platform must be that which proposes new alternatives that minimize the risk of nuclear war by advocating policies of peace that mean not only the absence of war, but the absence of conditions in the world which create international hostility and confrontation. That is why we must go beyond the concept of a Nuclear Freeze to an all-out sustained challenge to the administration's military budget and the policy assumptions that are used to justify it.

We need an orchestrated national effort at every facet of the community level to mobilize, energize and organize citizens around the economic, political, and biological dangers they face because of this unrestrained military budget.

As progressives we have a special responsibility to our fellow citizens at this critical moment in history. To do so, we must reach out to every segment of our society to build this coalition of peaceful challenge and change. Nuclear weapons are equal opportunity destroyers—we must become equal opportunity coalition builders. ●

*DSA member Ronald V. Dellums is a representative of Congress from the 8th District in California.*



# Out of the Gay Ghetto

by MAXINE PHILLIPS

**W**hen San Francisco Supervisor Harry Britt steps into his City Hall office, he is walking into the room in which his friend and political mentor Harvey Milk was assassinated. The office once belonged to Supervisor Dan White, the man who murdered Milk and San Francisco Mayor George Moscone in 1978. "I asked for that office," recalls Britt. "I don't ever want to forget why I'm here."

Milk was the first openly gay member of the Board of Supervisors, an eleven-member group equivalent to a city council. Britt was named to fill out Milk's term and has won re-election twice. He has become known as an outspoken and effective champion, not only for gays, but for women, minorities, seniors, and the disabled. Today, the club of which he was once president, now the Harvey Milk Gay Democratic Club, is one of the strongest progressive forces in the city.

At the same time that he has worked to bring gay politics out of the closet, Britt has been candid about his commitment to democratic socialism. He serves as a vice chair of DSA and recently spent 13 days on a DSA-sponsored speaking tour throughout the East Coast.

The soft drawl and the conventional brown tweed jacket and dark-rimmed glasses convey the impression of a man who would be at home in Middle America. But growing up in Port Arthur, Texas, Britt felt lonely and isolated. He couldn't name the contradiction then, between what the heterosexual world expected of little boys and what he was feeling. Even though he knew that he didn't like that world, he wanted to fit into it.

"My politics as a child were accommodationist. I did everything the school and church wanted." He filled the role of model student and model son: student government leader, National Merit Scholar, president of his college fraternity. It was only in the church that he found others who "questioned the assumptions of white middle-class America," so that his decision to enter the Methodist ministry seemed a logical step. "I fell in love with a minister's daughter and got to see that role... and I knew that I didn't want to go into business."

After he received a master of divinity



*"I spent too much of my life in the closet to be in the closet about socialism... Besides, if you're doing anything worthwhile, they're going to redbait you anyway."*

degree from Southern Methodist University, Britt and his wife moved to Chicago, where he studied with Paul Tillich and was influenced by other religious socialists. He credits Tillich with teaching him that love must involve empowerment. The church led him to political involvement and the civil rights movement, where he saw that process of empowerment at work. He had found "the great political experience of my lifetime," but the alienation remained.

"I use the term 'ugly duckling' a lot," he muses, remembering those days of wanting to be something else, yet not being sure what that would mean. His marriage broke up, and when Martin Luther King was assassinated in 1968, he left the parish ministry disillusioned about the church's ability to bring about change. He had just turned 30.

In retrospect, he believes that "I couldn't be effective in other people's lives because I hadn't dealt with my own sexuality." Dealing with it took him to California, to Esalen, through gestalt therapy and transactional analysis, searching for ways to help others and himself at the same time. Eventually he discovered the gay ghetto of San Francisco, where he found "a community of

people who shared that gay anger and that very deep desire to relate to each other outside the traditional patterns." Then came Harvey Milk and the experience of power. Britt delights in telling of Milk'schutzpah, the way he would appear before downtown real estate speculators and say, "I'm the head queen in San Francisco. What are you going to do about it?" Milk's courage and outspokenness inspired others. In gay politics, as in civil rights, Britt worked with people who took their experiences of powerlessness, found their rage at being invisible, and turned that anger outward for change.

It is this ability to take the anger of invisible people—of women, gays, workers, minorities, the elderly, the handicapped, the poor—and focus it that forms the base of Britt's coalition politics.

"DSA understood that it wasn't an accident that these people were invisible," he comments. "All of us who have made a commitment to social change have felt that contradiction between what seems right and just and the way the system is organized." However, "I don't hand people a socialist pamphlet and try to get them to rethink their position on monetarism... I organize people around their alienation from the corporate power structure." He cites the example of small business people threatened by real estate speculators who responded eagerly to his proposal for commercial rent control.

The actions of downtown developers and speculators have brought diverse groups together around tenant rights as renters, small businesses and the poor are increasingly squeezed out of San Francisco. In his position as chair of the Board of Supervisors' Committee on Planning, Housing and Development, Britt has worked to ease the housing crisis and restrain development of the downtown area. DSA has played a key role in creating an alliance of housing activists in the city and is now taken seriously by progressive political people.

Britt's emphasis on speaking out for the alienated and trying to bring about systemic change has not won him friends in the business community or the mayor's office. Mayor Diane Feinstein, whose national reputation is that of a liberal, refused to implement an equal pay for comparable worth measure that he initiated. Nevertheless, he has been able to help preserve low-income housing for the poor and elderly, get a moratorium on condo conversions, close loopholes in the rent stabilization law, and bring about a civilian complaint office to investigate complaints against the police.

*Continued on page 11.*



# PENDULUM POLITICS

by JIM CHAPIN

**C**rystal ball gazing is always risky, but starting a new year prompts reflection and prediction. After the 1980 elections, it was widely speculated that the long-eroding New Deal system had finally met its end: Reagan's victory and the sweeping Republican congressional gains meant that the realignment in American politics had occurred and that conservatives would control the new political system. Jack Clark and I cautioned in these pages at the time that this would happen only if Reagan's policies worked. The 1982 elections ended speculation about realignment. It is now more popular to speak of the continuing dealignment of the American party structure.

*"Coupling the 1982 results with the withdrawal of Ted Kennedy, it appears that American economic and social policy for the next few years will be shaped by a bipartisan consensus."*

Although the Democratic gains of 1982 were not as impressive as might have been expected, particularly given the condition of the national economy, the campaign itself demonstrated that the mandate of the Reagan administration for a rerun of the Coolidge administration, if there had ever been such a mandate, had run its course. In the primaries, left Democrats generally defeated center Democrats, while moderate Republicans defeated those further to their right. In the general election, victorious Republicans had to run to their left, just as victorious Democrats in 1980 had to go to their right. The lessons that almost all politicians derived from the election campaign, even before the results were in, was that unadulterated Reaganism was political death.

The Republicans avoided a far greater defeat for two reasons. One was financial. Despite all the talk after the elections that the power of money had been overrated,

money did in fact play a crucial role in the results. Consider the Senate races. There were six contests in which the spread between the winner and the loser was less than five percent of the total vote. Republicans won five of those races; the only Democratic winner was Frank Lautenberg of New Jersey, who spent millions of his own money on his campaign. As one Republican suggested before the results were in: "Money can't buy ten percent, but it can buy two percent."

The other reason was ideological: the people have a healthy doubt that the Democrats have any solution to the very real crisis of the international economic solution. Indeed, under the leadership of Charles Manatt (who makes his living lobbying for America's great corporations) and with the full support of the AFL-CIO leadership, the Democrats seem to take pride in their unwillingness (or more likely, inability) to offer any positive program to cure our economic ills.

By force of will, and by the fact that a bad idea is better than no idea, the Reaganites were able in the last two years to push their program further than one might have thought possible. Despite their best efforts, however, they have been able to roll the clock back not to 1929, but perhaps only to 1977. In fact, the 1982 elections marked a victory for the same center-right establishment that has run the United States since the 1937 recession destroyed the New Deal congressional majority. Since then, the American electorate has been unwilling to make a decisive and permanent shift in the balance of power in the society. Every time it appears that the "war of position" in our society is about to be replaced by a "war of maneuver," the electorate has canceled the previous election's "mandate." Thus, 1936 was followed by 1938, 1946 by 1948, 1952 by 1954,

1964 by 1966, 1972 by 1974, and now 1980 by 1982. We may believe that the American crisis can only be solved by making an ideological choice; but it is obvious that the American public and its leaders do not want to make that choice.

The shape of 1984 is probably clear by now, if one bars a massive collapse of the world economy (still a measurable possibility). Coupling the 1982 results with the withdrawal of Ted Kennedy, it appears that American economic and social policy for the next few years will be shaped by a bipartisan consensus rather similar to that which ran the country from the 1954 elections to those of 1960.

Changes in the world economy, of course, are far more important. The cheerful growth and unmatched American power that made the fifties seem a benevolent high noon are now replaced by the twilight shadows of the eighties. Bipartisan compromise was easy then; difficult today. Nonetheless, it is clear that most of the powerful forces in society want it, and the odds are that they will get it. But unless the compromises (probably some form of "Rohatynism") succeed, the public will not go along. The non-ideological public simply wants policies that work. Many ideologues of the center translate "nonideological" into "centrist," but the two words do not mean the same thing. The public was willing to accept the "radicalism" of a Franklin Roosevelt until his policies led to recession in 1937; their tolerance of the "radicalism" of Reagan was shorter, since its failure was more apparent and more quick.

## What About Us?

What of the prospects for the democratic left? In the short run, they remain dismal. Our effect on policies will be limited to the ability to veto some detrimental changes, but the major shaping of the political economy will continue, as it has since 1969, and more particularly since 1978, without much participation from the forces of the left. There are some good tidings, too. The political pendulum rarely stays in the center for long: if one side is not gaining in strength, then its enemy soon will be. After the great Republican triumph of 1952, the pendulum began to swing, at first slowly, and then with increasing





speed, towards the left. After the 1965 session of Congress (which coincided with the escalation in Vietnam and the race riots), the pendulum began to swing, at first slowly, and then with increasing speed, towards the right. That 16-year swing climaxed in last year's congressional session. This year's defeat of the New Right is equivalent to the defeat of Joe McCarthy in the Senate of 1954. The balance in the Republican party is shifting back to the center, even though the center is further right than that of the fifties. There is much evidence that the balance of the Democratic party may be shifting to the left.

In the short run, Ted Kennedy's withdrawal from the presidential race is bad for the democratic left. In the long run, it may have its advantages. As long as Kennedy was in the race, locking up the 33-40 percent of the party that belongs to the left, other candidates such as Mondale had to concentrate their efforts on winning the other 60 percent of the party early enough to emerge as Kennedy's chief challenger. Now the left is up for grabs, as well, and those who immediately suggested that Kennedy's withdrawal would give the left less bargaining power may well be proven wrong. Forty percent cannot be ignored, especially when it is the "core" of the party.

More important, the failure of Reaganism means that the Democrats cannot for long sell themselves as the party of "Reaganism with a human face." Senators Baker and Dole are already taking that position, and can do so with more credibility than the Democrats. As I have argued for some time, the nineties are likely to be a left decade, and our task is to develop the "infrastructure" (to use a now popular buzzword) of activists and even more, of ideas, to be ready for our opportunity. In many ways, the possible opportunities for us in the nineties are better than those of our predecessors in the thirties and sixties. For one thing, DSA itself has done better in the "lean years" than our radical predecessors in the twenties and fifties. How different might have been the situation in the thirties if there had been a single socialist organization of 20,000 members in 1929, instead of two such organizations that reached that size only in 1934; how different might the sixties have been if any socialist organization had had more than 3,000 members or any credibility at all in 1960? How much impact can we have on the nineties if we enter them with 20,000 members, and with ideas appropriate to the crises that afflict the international economy? Those are our tasks for the immediate future. ●

*Jim Chapin is a historian who writes on political issues. He is a past national director of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.*

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Seventeen reports discuss the effect of Reagan policies on the economy, foreign policy, women, minorities, neighborhoods, crime, health, education, and welfare.

Alan Gartner, Colin Greer, and Frank Riessman



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Edited by Nancy Lieber

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# Put the Community Into Organizing

by HARRY C. BOYTE

In the midst of collapsing public support for Reaganomics and the retreat by mainstream Democratic party leaders to calls for a "new partnership with business," stirrings of what might be called a communitarian politics have become visible. For instance:

- Community and citizen organizations were active in the 1982 elections on a new scale, with often striking results. The State and Local Leadership Project initiated by the Midwest Academy provided training and technical assistance for hundreds of candidates. In the traditionally Republican 17th Congressional District of Illinois, CANPAC, a political action committee begun by the community-labor Illinois Public Action Council, used themes and strategies drawn from citizen organizing to help elect Democrat Lane Evans.

- The Executive Committee of the AFL-CIO has officially endorsed and helped fund the Religion and Labor Coalition begun several years ago by Joe Holland at the Center of Concern. The Coalition board includes such labor leaders as Thomas Donahue, William Winpisinger; Joyce Miller and William Konyha and religious spokespersons such as Monseigneur George Higgins of Catholic University. Moreover, new local religion and labor projects begin to give life to formal coalitions. For instance, the San Francisco Organizing Project and the Fresno Organizing Project this year brought together synagogues, churches, neighborhood associations, and unions in promising new groupings to work on a range of concerns.

- This year the Citizen Action coalition of statewide citizen groups is developing a broad economic program. Shortly before the election, the Conference on State and Local Public Policies published a comprehensive review of recent local initiatives in a book, *Issues of 1982*. A Labor Day pastoral letter signed by 30 Episcopal Bishops strongly affirmed the right of workers to organize, the Biblical ties between work and community, and the need to rethink basic economic policies. "We ask whether it is not time to explore alternatives to corporate and conglomerate ownership..."

These diverse developments still lack a comprehensive ideology that weaves local initiatives into a broader vision of social and economic change. Without such a vision, there is a strong tendency to try to "fit" community ferment into pre-existing political categories, with damaging consequences. Yet in fact, it is possible to articulate a communitarian ideology.

Around the turn of the century, English socialists like William Morris, Hilaire Belloc, and A.J. Penty brought forth a communitarian critique of traditional statist approaches on the left. They envisioned, as the program of the Guild Socialists put it, "establishment of self-government in industry... in conjunction with other democratic functional organizations in the community," with the stress on *community* as the organizing premise for social renewal.

North American socialist and popular leaders—from Eugene Debs and Tommy Douglas to Jane Addams and W.E.B. DuBois—often spoke in a strikingly similar way, emphasizing themes of cooperative commonwealth and community self-help.

Tommy Douglas, the great leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Canada (predecessor of the NDP of today), distinguished communitarian, or "commonwealth," socialism from other variants ("scientific," "statist") through a stress on local control and community initiative, old North American traditions he believed essential to an effective and popular radicalism.

DSA, like the liberal-left more generally, has sometimes advocated "decentralization," defined in terms of the administration of government programs. A communitarian approach is not the same as including representatives of labor and others on public policy boards.

Social and economic policies of the sort emphasized by new community-labor-religious coalitions on local levels embody this communitarian perspective, which sees public policy as properly *beginning* with the existing institutions, strengths, and skills of

neighborhoods and workers. In the new book, *What Reagan Is Doing To Us*, S.M. Miller and Donald Tomaskovic-Devey specify how a "progressive communitarianism" would differ from both Reaganism and the traditional liberal-left program. They point out that "merely restoring Reaganite cuts" is unlikely to have much appeal. There certainly is an important federal role in setting some overall principles, such as defense of human rights and rough equity in resource allocation. But within such a context, a communitarianism "whose general principle... is empowerment" might well win broad support. Such an approach would mean that "those who use a service should play a major role in controlling and running it."

The idiom of the traditional liberal-left—including coalitions like the Democratic Agenda—has tended toward criticism on the one hand (the left is "against" big business, racism, sexism, etc.) and economism on the other, appealing to diverse groups in their roles as mainly economic claimants on the state. The problem, as Michael Walzer pointed out in *Beyond the Welfare State*, is that through such a process vital social movements become interest group lobbyists: "public life ceases to engage the minds and emotions of their members; local activity drops off; popular participation declines sharply."

Recent social historical work, however, suggests a very different language of change than detached criticism or narrow appeals to self-interests. Movements with passion, vi-

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sion, and power grow out of deep, rooted, historical, and communal identities. Historians of feminist movements such as Gerda Lerner, Sara Evans and Nancy Cott, for instance, have shown how such movements grow characteristically from an empowering reevaluation of women's values and traditions, not primarily out of women's victimization. Black historians such as Vincent Harding and Gayraud Wilmore have demonstrated the centrality of the black church and black religion in the freedom struggle. Labor histo-



rians have drawn attention to the communal roots of labor protests, and to the ways in which unions lose vitality when leaders become culturally and institutionally detached from rank-and-file communal networks.

**A** new communitarian approach, then, would change the idiom of change in major ways. It would draw its vocabulary from the rich *particularity* of peoples, cultures, and communities, from Catholic parishes and women's self-help groups, from union meeting places and gay cultures. It would affirm the values, traditions, and



heritages of diverse groups, from the black church to the Mexican-American barrio, from the Polish-American polka to the Yiddish theater, and feminist music.

The notion of empowering communities is at the heart of recent successful organizing. It can be found in campaigns against redlining, struggles against plant shutdowns, or in the town meetings, churches, and synagogues that form the base of the nuclear freeze movement. But there is no simple or instant translation of such a theme into a broader political force. In America today, different groups are often bitterly divided. Oppressive and corrupt ideologies such as racism, sexism, homophobia, individualistic hedonism, religious *and* antireligious bigotry rend bonds that exist, especially in a worsening economic climate. Thus, the final, key element in a communitarian approach must be self-consciousness about forming the democratic culture that is central to any process of change.

Great democratic movements in American history, such as populism, the organizing campaigns of the CIO, civil rights, feminism, and antiwar movements, represented far more than a demand for change in social structure and public policy. Such movements formed alternative conceptions of reality, drawing together threads of resistance—religious values, ethnic traditions, heritages associated with place or gender. And they wove such elements into new democratic

cultures of resistance. Through such a process, the very nature of relationships changes. I vividly remember the dramatic decline in crime rates, drug use, prostitution, and other social pathologies in small southern towns ignited by the civil rights movement.

Democratic cultures are not transitory or superficial phenomena. They develop their own media—labor education departments, women's presses, "freedom schools"—which form alternatives to those of the dominant society. They build structures linking different communities. They express broader movement goals in terms that challenge the values and premises of the larger society.

The greatest democratic leaders of our time have spoken of the underlying values of democratic culture and the broader sense of moral interdependence growing from them. For instance, Martin Luther King, Jr. argued that the *most* important result of the Birmingham bus boycott was the "new sense of dignity" gained by ordinary people. The civil rights movement was "a great schooling in democracy" that spread skills of public life and cooperative values. The movement's final objective was recognition of the moral "interrelatedness of all communities and states," the realization that "an injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere."

The problem is that dominant theories

of social change, including most socialist theory, give slight attention to these processes of communal renewal and culture. Indeed, focused on a universalizing state, looking at local communities as "brakes" on abstract cosmopolitanism, the liberal-left has often tended to undermine the communal foundations of movement and to marginalize new cultural media.

For DSA a communitarian approach would mean a new terrain. Our work would not only be directed toward educating about "socialism" as a general or abstract program. It would also be designed to build the media, spread the symbols, values, and themes of democratic culture, from the labor press to the neighborhood newspaper, from feminist publications to religious peace magazines. In sum, it would seek to increase the understanding of the "interrelatedness of communities," in King's terms, to deepen and enrich our vision of the American commonwealth. ●

*Harry Boyte served as field secretary for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and was a founding member of The New American Movement and served on the board of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee from 1975 through 1980. He is the author of The Backyard Revolution: Understanding the New Citizen Movement and American Renewal: A Nation of Communities, forthcoming from Harper & Row.*

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# ORGANIZER'S DIARY

## Michael Harrington on Tour

**FOR DSA** these are, in the words of that venerable cliché from Charles Dickens, the best of times and the worst of times. Our members and friends are by now excruciatingly aware of the "worst"—a financial crisis in the form of a massive DSOC debt and an incredible run of fiscal bad luck. I will not rehearse those problems again here. Rather, I would like to concentrate on the best of times by relating a few details from some of my travels in the fall of 1982.

To anticipate the conclusion: there is a greater opportunity for democratic socialism in America today than at any time in the past half century.

*Texas A and M, September 14:* legendary for Texas conservatism. DSA members and friends on the faculty meet me and my debate with Howard Phillips, organizer of the Conservative Caucus (and the man Nixon assigned to the destruction of the Office of Economic Opportunity) goes well. It seems to me that I more than break even with the four or five hundred people in the audience. A straw in the wind for 1984: Phillips attacks Reagan as a liberal in cahoots with the Bush wing of the Republican party and corporations soft on communism. The president, he says, should have balanced the budget the moment he was inaugurated.

*Lexington, Kentucky, October 6:* Here, in the midst of Appalachia, is one of the fastest growing DSA chapters. There is a rigorous schedule of meetings with activists—a Jesuit working on land problems with poor communities in the region, some union militants (carpenters, the local teachers' leadership), Democratic party activists. The meeting at the university on a socialist perspective for America draws about 500 students to the astonishment of everyone there.

**SAN FRANCISCO** *October 8-10:* There is a meeting of about 35 "democratic economists," policy analysts and experts who agree that corporate power must be challenged if the nation is to find a way out of its crisis. This conference grew out of discussions in Los Angeles at the April Democratic Agenda Conference and was sparked by The California Project and Democratic Agenda. But the extraordinary range of the participants—including three union economists—goes far beyond those two organizations. A negative note: everyone agrees that "democratic economics" is not yet on the serious political agenda, that the debate in the Democratic party, and even the labor movement, stretches from A to C, from neoliberalism to Felix Rohatyn technocracy. Still, there is a will to keep on working together, to try to make specific our general principles and to take those specifics into the mainstream.

*Mississippi State, October 21:* Every time I fly into Jackson, I remember my week-long tour of the state that began there in 1964. Three civil rights workers had been killed not long before, and my heart was in my mouth the entire time while I met with activists from SNCC and CORE in what seemed to me to be almost an underground movement. This time, the State University pays my way and I speak to an integrated audience. Mississippi State is one of the most integrated schools in the country! Structural racism is even

uglier in this recession-depression than in the sixties, but the fact remains that there were, and are, victories that came out of the great struggles of the sixties.

*Baltimore, October 22:* The Baltimore DSA, working with other left groups, has participated in buying an abandoned library in a poor neighborhood. It will provide offices for DSA and other organizations. It already houses a day care center and alternative press library. This is the euphoric night of the dedication ceremony. City council members cut a red ribbon. I speak to a packed and enthusiastic house. The only negative note: a sympathetic article in the Baltimore *Sun* calls me the "grand old man" of American socialism. Actually, I am a closet youth.

## BASEL, SWITZERLAND

*November 3-5:* The Bureau of the Socialist International (SI) is meeting in this historic—and incredibly affluent—city. In 1912 the Basel Cathedral was the site of a famous special antiwar Congress of the Second International. We meet in the same church to commemorate the event. Lydie Schmit, president of the Socialist Women's International, emphasizes the feminist role in peace and social struggles; the eloquence of Lionel Jospin of the French Socialist Party brings a hush to the church (Jean Jaures spoke here in 1912); and Hector Acquelli of the Salvadoran MNR talks of those who must literally fight for peace.

There had been rumors that this SI Bureau meeting would see some attempt to expel the Israeli Labor party, but they proved groundless. There was a vigorous discussion of the Middle East but no final resolution on the question because of differing estimates of the politics and role of the Palestinian Liberation Organization. At the same time, the SI support to the Salvadoran struggle was reiterated without a single dissenting vote. It was decided, at the request of the Sandinistas, to send a new delegation to Nicaragua, and the Bureau voted its approval of Puerto Rican independence within the framework of self-determination. In short, the historic attempt, begun by Brandt and the SI in 1976, to break democratic socialism out of the European—and white—ghetto proceeds apace.

**ATLANTA** *November 12th:* Another foray into the South, which is a top priority for DSA. I speak at three campuses—Agnes Scott, Mercer, and Georgia Tech—and, what is particularly gratifying to me, at a DSA meeting held in the social room of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, Martin Luther King, Jr.'s church. A number of the DSAers there are veterans of the brown lung campaign in the South; about a quarter of the audience is black; and after the meeting we talk about the plans for DSA's southern conference, which will be held in Atlanta next year.

*Hartford, November 17:* At lunch I speak for the Connecticut Association for Human Services, an umbrella organization of community and social service workers. There are perhaps a dozen state legislators in the audience and there is an enthusiastic response.

Early in the evening, Leo Casey, our Field Director, and I are



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part of a meeting to present the charter to the Hartford DSA. Ed Vargas, the head of the Hartford AFL-CIO and a leader of the DSA Hispanic Commission, played a key role in bringing the meeting together. Most of the members are trade unionists; all have been deeply involved in the Connecticut political campaigns. I finish a brief talk and am driven to New Britain to join a picket line sponsored by the Connecticut Citizens Action group led by our friend Miles Rapaport, DSA member Rich Ferlato, who is on staff, is there, too. It is a citizens campaign against the local utility that is seeking higher rates to finance a nuclear plant (remember when capitalists risked their own capital?).

The next morning I drive out to UAW Region 9A to talk to Ted Barrett, the regional director. Barrett is setting up storefront centers to aid the unemployed, to give them information on benefits and programs, and to provide food at cost for the most desperate. The program will be financed from voluntary contributions equal to one hour's pay on the part of working women and men. The symbol is a white clock with one hour shaded. We talk about the social miseries that come with joblessness: the alcoholism and the child abuse, the terrible way in which unemployment turns people against themselves and those they love.

And yet, here in Connecticut—and in Texas, Indiana, Ken-

tucky, Mississippi, Maryland, and Albany and Atlanta—resistance is stirring. I do not want to suggest some simpleminded theory that Ronald Reagan is going to organize the democratic left or that all one has to do is to be against Reagan without giving a thought to the alternatives. Indeed, it is clear that some people will, because of the hard times, become conservative, seek to save themselves and their families and to ignore any responsibility to their sisters and brothers. But there are new possibilities, and DSA has somewhere between half and three-quarters of a good idea about what to do, which is ten times more than most people. There is a feeling of momentum, even though every time I call back to the New York office it is for one more discussion about how to raise money.

**NEW YORK** I end with November 20th at Norman Thomas High School, where Harry Fleischman has organized a marvelous reunion of activists to mark the fiftieth anniversary of Thomas's 1932 campaign for the presidency. I concluded there, as I conclude here, with a saying that Harry always quotes: Norman Thomas was not the champion of lost causes; he was the champion of causes not yet won. The portents of the last several months might just prove that true. In any case, there is no alternative to struggling to see that it is. ●

## Britt

*Continued from page 5.*

**H**as being a socialist hurt him? "I spent too much of my life in the closet to be in the closet about that... Besides, if you're doing anything worthwhile they're going to red bait you anyway." He believes that his progressive politics combined with solid constituent service—"personal politics"—have enabled him to build strong support. In his first election bid after being appointed to Milk's seat, he was the only incumbent to win re-election. In November the Milk club contributed significantly to the re-election of Representative Philip Burton.

Not all gays in San Francisco support Harry Britt or his leftwing politics, but he bristles when questioners imply that gays are more conservative than other alienated groups because of their economic interests. "The predominant experience of gay persons is homophobia, and when gays stop being invisible and start dealing with that homophobia, their politics tend to be progressive."

Organizing around homophobia, or society's inability to deal with intimacy between people of the same sex is, he believes, crucial to bringing the gay movement together with the women's movement. He looks to the women's movement for leadership in this period. However, unless all the groups, including the left, can break out of their own ghettos and use the anger drawn from their

experiences to gain power, he sees little hope for change.

In the office in which Harvey Milk died, Harry Britt has hung photographs of gay men and lesbians at marches and at election victory celebrations. "I need those pictures because there's nothing in my background or in the background of gays to know what to do with political power. I need those pictures to

remind me." He savors the thought of Dan White's knowing that his old office is now a power base for everything he wanted to destroy, and he repeats, "Politics, whether it's gay politics, women's politics, the politics of economic justice, must never get far from that sense of anger when a bully attacks someone who doesn't have the power to deal with it." ●

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Edinboro State - C, Jim Young, 12221 Skyview Dr. Rd., Edinboro 16412, 814-734-5467  
Indiana U. - C, Gabe Peterson, 1121 Boyd Ave., Johnstown 15905, 814-539-7326  
Swarthmore - C, Tricia Craig, 423 Yale Ave., Swarthmore 19081, 215-328-6749  
U. of Pennsylvania - CH, David Dormant, 218 South 43rd St., Philadelphia 19104, 215-662-0823  
West Chester State - C, Prof. David Eldredge, West Chester State College, West Chester 19380, 215-436-1000

#### RHODE ISLAND

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U. of Rhode Island - CH, Dan Szumilo, P.O. Box 83, Kingston 02881, 401-792-2365

#### TEXAS

U. of Texas-Austin - C, Hal Wylie, 904 E. 43rd St., Austin 78751, 512-453-2556  
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#### VERMONT

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#### VIRGINIA

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#### WASHINGTON

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U. of Washington-Seattle - C, Bill Yates, 7021 Sandpoint Way NE, #307, Seattle 98115, 206-523-7848

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# ON THE LEFT



by HARRY FLEISCHMAN

In 1912, the Socialist Party had 118,000 dues-paying members and had elected more than a thousand mayors, city council members, state legislators and other officials. Unfortunately, the party was wrecked by repression during and after World War I and the split with the Communists. Now, for the first time since pre-World War I days and the early thirties, the ranks of socialist officeholders are growing rapidly. More than thirty DSA members have been elected or reelected to state legislatures, city councils and even Congress. In most cases they ran as Democrats, in some cases, they were on nonpartisan ballots.

## READING THE RETURNS

A partial roundup of socialist elected officials after the November election includes Fairbanks homesteader Niilo Koponen, who took 61 per cent of the vote to oust a Libertarian party member from the Alaska state legislature; Harlan Baker, reelected to the Maine legislature from Portland; Ken Jacobson of Seattle, elected to the Washington legislature; and Tom Gallagher reelected to the Massachusetts legislature. David Sullivan remains on the Cambridge city council and Scudder Parker stays in the Vermont state senate.

In California, Ron Dellums was reelected to Congress despite vicious redbaiting; Harry Britt remains a San Francisco city supervisor; Mayor Gus Newport of Berkeley and other DSAers in the Bay Area hold office; Bruce Van Allen succeeds fellow DSAer Michael Rotkin as mayor of Santa Cruz, where John Laird also sits on the council.

In New York, DSA state assembly members now include Eileen Dugan, Denny Farrell and Jerry Nadler. Ed Wallace remains on the New York City council as an at-large member, while Ruth Messinger was reelected to the council.

Wally Priestly and Dick Springer have been elected to the Oregon legislature, and Ju-

lian Bond reelected to the Georgia state senate. In Michigan, Perry Bullard of Ann Arbor has been reelected as a state representative, while city council members include Lowell Peterson in Ann Arbor, Maryann Mahaffey in Detroit and Pete Murdock in Ypsilanti. Zoltan Ferency remains as a Washtenaw county commissioner.

In Wisconsin, Dismus Becker was elected to the state assembly from Milwaukee, Billy Feitlinger to the Madison city council, and Stuart Levitan, Lynn Haanen and Kathleen Nichols to the Dane County board. Ben Levy was elected a justice in Houston, Texas, and Michael Paymar to the Duluth, Minn. city council.

Although DSA still has far too small a black membership, black elected officials include Ron Dellums, Julian Bond, Denny Farrell, District of Columbia city council member Hilda Mason, and Gus Newport.

Not one DSA officeholder running for reelection lost. By contrast, as the *Albany Anvil* notes, third parties—when so identified—apparently failed to win a single race. The Citizens Party put up 82 nominees. Its only victory was a Denver transportation council member in a nonpartisan race. The socialist weekly *In These Times*, reporting on "Left Results in '82 Races," gave 22 column inches to Citizens Party failures and six inches to DSA successes.



**Jim Chapin, right, accompanied a Socialist International fact-finding mission to Central America December 3-7. The group, which included representatives of member parties in Venezuela, Canada, Chile, France, Germany, Jamaica, and Sweden, visited Nicaragua and Costa Rica. Here the group prepares to board a helicopter to go to the Honduran-Nicaraguan border.**

## NATIONAL ROUNDUP

### Alabama

The Rosa Parks DSA local in Mobile, Alabama has now been joined by a student branch at the University of South Alabama. The local was active in the fight to support black ex-mayor Eddie James Carthan of Tchula, Mississippi, who was acquitted of a murder charge in November, but who remains in jail on other charges as of this writing. (Contributions for legal costs may be sent to the National Campaign to Free Mayor Eddie Carthan, P.O. Box 29, Tchula, Miss. 39169.)

### California

Irving Howe, *Dissent* editor and DSA national executive committee member, spoke at the Los Angeles Socialist Community School last month on "Israel's Inner Crisis." The School and DSA also presented a preview of "Zora," a play based on the life of Zora Neale Hurston, nationally known as a novelist and Afro-American folklorist. . . . Jim McRitchie spoke on plant closings at the December meeting of Sacramento DSA. NEC member Stanley Aronowitz speaks at the Sacramento local and the University of California at Davis on Thursday, Jan. 20. . . . DSA chair Mike Harrington speaks in San Francisco on Friday, Jan 28 at the Herbst Theatre on "American Political Currents" . . . . DSA's Western Re-



## ON THE LEFT

gional Minorities Conference will be held in the Bay Area on Saturday, January 29 with DSA vice chair Manning Marable and Duane Campbell among the speakers.... The San Diego local held a meeting last month on "Israel, the Palestinians and the Middle East."

### Illinois

The Chicago DSA local has hired David Hatch as a halftime staff person.... The local now has eight branches: Women, Labor, Peace, Religion and Socialism, Gay and Lesbian, Health, Southside, and West Suburban.... It also publishes an attractive bimonthly, *Chicago Socialist*. Champaign-Urbana DSA publishes *Downstate Left*, which features an article on the demise of the Projectionists Union in Champaign, plus two stories on the current fight of furniture workers against union busting....

### Maine

Burt Hatlen spoke on "Socialism and Public Education" at the Down East DSA local in Orono on December 15.... Russ Christensen polled 20,858 votes for Penobscot County Judge, but his Republican opponent won with 28,407.

### Massachusetts

Mike Schippani of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and Steve Early of the Communications Workers helped organize a major conference on "Organizing the Unorganized" last month in Boston. The conference focused on ways of expanding union membership and influence in the newer segments of the economy, processing information, and distributive services.... The Boston School for Democratic Socialism is organizing a Spring course on the American and European labor movements.

### Missouri

Folk singer Fred Small sang at a benefit concert of the Columbia local in October. The local joined forces with the United Steel Workers in a Proctor and Gamble boycott that resulted in the Community Grocery Company's removing Proctor and Gamble products from its shelves.

### New York

Rev. Dwight Hopkins spoke at the Albany DSA in December on "South Africa: A Socialist Perspective".... Manning Marable, DSA vice chair and director of Fisk University's Race Relations Institute, spoke in November on "Socialism and Black Americans".... Ten Buffalo DSAers were elec-

ted to the Erie County Democratic Committee.... The Long Island Progressive Coalition and many DSAers played an important role in helping progressive Bob Mrazek defeat reactionary John LeBoutillier for Congress and to elect Barbara Patton, the first black assemblywoman ever from Nassau County.... Henrietta Backer and Harry Fleischman spoke about DSA on Adelphi University's radio station on Dec. 27.... C.W. Post Democratic Socialists are carrying on a series of film forums.... New York City DSA heard Mikhail Ostrovsky, of the independent Moscow peace group repressed by the Soviet government, and Cathy Fitzpatrick of the U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee, at the December membership meeting.

Rochester DSA showed the film "Rosie the Riveter" last month, followed by a forum addressed by Carol Barona of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and Beth Ayer of District 1199, Hospital Workers.

## IN MEMORIAM

**Joseph Glass**, labor lawyer and a frequent Socialist party candidate, died in September at 80 years of age. As a lawyer, he represented the barbers and seafarers unions, as well as the organized physicians, dentists and veterinarians of New York City's Departments of Health and Corrections. He was counsel to the Socialist party, and when *The International Teamster* called Norman Thomas "a blood brother of Hitler," he sued the magazine. The result—the magazine printed a strong retraction and the union fired the editor.

**Val R. Lorwin**, an economist and historian who specialized in French labor history, died in December of cancer at the age of 75. A retired professor at the University of Oregon, Lorwin worked in 1950 in the state department and became a footnote to history when he appeared as No. 54 on Senator Joe McCarthy's list of "known" Communists serving in government. Lorwin was never a Communist but had been an active member of the Socialist party. He was indicted by a federal grand jury in 1952 and accused of committing perjury in denying his Communist ties, but the indictment was thrown out in 1954.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS AND MEDIA RESOURCES

*The Disarmament Catalogue*, edited by Murray Polner (Pilgrim Press, \$12.95), is a powerful call to action against nuclear madness; a comprehensive compilation of resources for peace.

*Fear at Work: Job Blackmail, Labor and the Environment*, written by Richard Kazis and Richard Grossman of Environmentalists for Full Employment (Pilgrim Press, \$10.95), documents that hundreds of thousands of new jobs have been created by environmental laws; that many businesses and jobs have been saved; that economic benefits from clean air and water bills have been in the billions of dollars every year. The authors show how employers and politicians use the promise of jobs and the threat of unemployment for job blackmail against workers and communities.

The current issue of *Canada Today, d'aujourd'hui*, deals with Manitoba and its capital city, Winnipeg. The magazine explains Manitoban politics, its New Democratic party Premier Howard Pawley and the forerunner of the NDP, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). For a free copy, write to the Canadian Embassy, 1771 N St., N.W., Room 300, Washington, D.C. 20036.

*Jellybean Blues - Songs of Reaganomics* is Joe Glazer's latest record album. Its 15 songs do to the Reagan administration what Reagan has done to the country. A complete set of lyrics comes with each record or cassette. Available from Collector Records, 1604 Arbor View Rd., Silver Spring, Md. 20902 at \$8.50 postpaid.

The *Solidarity 1983 Calendar* captures the spirit and story of the workers' movement in Poland. Copies at \$8.50 each plus \$1.50 for postage are available from Helsinki Watch, 36 West 44 Street, New York, N.Y. 10036. Another lovely calendar has been produced by the UAW's Local Union Press Association. Twenty-three color photos by auto workers are in the calendar, available at \$4.75 each from LUPA Calendar, UAW-LUPA, 8000 E. Jefferson, Detroit, MI 48214.

*The Mill Hunk Herald* is a remarkable alternative magazine published in Pittsburgh. Unionists, students, filmmakers, teachers join in stories, poetry and hard-hitting articles about our daily lives. Sub available from *The Mill Hunk Herald*, 916 Middle St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15212 at \$3.



# JIMMY HIGGINS REPORTS

**And now a word** from a millionaire-ascetic—In a recent *New York Times* roundtable on investor opportunities, one investment guru got caught up in the spirit of 1982 as the 800th anniversary of the birth of St. Francis of Assisi. Discussing the inflation psychology and whether it has ebbed, Laurence A. Tisch identified the key questions: "Have we changed the style of the country? Are we less things-oriented than we were in the 1970s? Does the family need three cars, a second home, a third television set?" Tisch, chairman and chief executive officer of the Loews Corporation, has a personal fortune estimated at \$300 million. Closer to our grubby "things-oriented" existence, *The Public Employee Press*, publication of AFSCME-DC37, reported that a moderate family budget for a family of four in New York City came to \$31,000 a year by the end of 1982. The federal government used to calculate such budgets for hypothetical families; no more, thanks to the slashing of Stockman and Reagan. Using the previous federal criteria, the Community Council of Greater New York figured out this budget. It includes such frills as an overcoat every five years for the main wage earner. Somehow, the second home, third car and third television don't fit in. Incidentally, the average annual salary in New York City comes to \$17,000 for all wage and salary earners.

**Skirmishes over military** spending and foreign policy issues will be dividing the Democrats and bedeviling the labor-oriented left between now and the 1984 Democratic convention. American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker sounded a public clarion for the coming battle in his December 19 *New York Times* column. Taking off on Herbert Stein's provocative *Wall Street Journal* essay, "How World War III Was Lost," Shanker argues that Reagan has placed too low a priority on a needed military buildup by putting tax giveaways to the rich first. Worse, by counterposing military spending to government spending for human needs, Reagan has shattered the consensus for increased defense monies. Reporting in the December 15-21 *In These Times*, John Judis noted a determination coming from the convention of Social Democrats USA to make the Cold War the center of Democratic politics. Shanker spoke to that gathering of a small organization with an influential network. He contrasted the good neoconservative and social democratic "ideological anti-Communists" with the business-oriented pragmatists within the Reagan camp. At about the same time as the

SDUSA convention in Washington, D.C., one hundred labor officials gathered in San Francisco at the California AFL-CIO's International Affairs Conference. According to several correspondents, official AFL-CIO foreign policy spokespeople were treated to, at best, a cool reception. Local and central labor council officials pressured for a change of positions on questions like South Africa and the nuclear freeze, but most especially El Salvador. The one AFL-CIO stance to win sympathy was support for Poland's Solidarnosc.

**Own a piece of the topsoil**—Prudential Insurance used to run ads featuring Gibraltar that urged you to take a policy with Prudential and "own a piece of the rock." Well, rocks compare unfavorably to other investments apparently—especially to investments like prime farmland. Prudential, a Newark, N.J.-based company, recently led the fight to ensure its rights to buy up as much prime Nebraska farmland as it wanted. Insurance companies like Metropolitan (New York City) and Travelers joined in the fight, too, and together the advocates of corporate-absentee farming spent upwards of \$500,000 to defeat Initiative 300 on the November ballot. Prudential alone threw \$225,000 into the fray, but the investment proved imprudent. A coalition sparked by the Farmers' Union of Nebraska that included the state AFL-CIO and Education Association as well as women's groups and Catholic activists joined forces to prohibit any future corporate-absentee farming in the state. Initiative 300 changes the state constitution to forbid the purchase of farmland or operation of a farm or ranch by any non-family corporation or limited partnership. Outspent more than fifteen to one, the family farm advocates carried the state 57 percent to 43 percent and won more than 70 percent of the vote in 16 of the state's 93 counties.



"Jimmy Higgins Reports" has been a part of DEMOCRATIC LEFT since its founding, but Jimmy's origins go back much further. He's the archetypal socialist and trade union rank-and-filer, first named by Ben Hanford, Eugene Debs's running mate, in 1904. He's the one who does the behind the scenes work necessary to build a movement. Last year we added Janie Higgins to update the symbol. Archetypes and images change, but the work done by the Higginses of this world remains crucial to our eventual success.

## DEMOCRATIC LEFT

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