

PUBLISHED BY THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS OF AMERICA

# DEMOCRATIC Left

FEBRUARY 1983

VOL. XI, NO. 2

\$1

OUT OF MANY...  
ONE PEOPLE



REGION 9A UAW

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# office SPACE

## Putting the Arms Race on Ice

**T**he American peace movement is gathering strength for a concerted political offensive that will lead to a two-day "Citizens Lobby" on March 7-8 in Washington, D.C. DSA, along with many other organizations, is co-sponsoring this effort. The participants will represent millions of Americans who are determined to change the course of the U.S. government's military and foreign policy.

The Citizens Lobby for a Bilateral Nuclear Freeze will concentrate on congressional passage of a meaningful nuclear freeze resolution. Its organizers are well aware that "meaningful" is the key word. Quite a few members of the Congress and Senate are willing to vote for a "bilateral mutually verifiable nuclear weapons freeze," and at the same time vote for the development and production of the very weapons that constitute the U.S. side of the race to Armageddon.

Such two-faced policies are not acceptable. We will not follow the prescriptions of doctors who are in partnership with the gravediggers of our civilization. That much is quite clearly the view of all facets of the peace movement. But once one moves beyond a general bias in favor of arms reduction, the movement as such has not yet come



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**Washington, DC  
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together behind a foreign and military policy alternative to the broad consensus support-

ed by the mainstreams of the Republican and Democratic parties.

DSA recognizes that the nuclear freeze movement's political breadth, which made possible the June 12, 1982 demonstration and the successful freeze referenda in many cities and states, is, in a way, an obstacle to the development of a politically relevant alternative to that basic agreement. This will no doubt present a problem when the peace lobbyists get down to concrete discussions of legislation with their elected representatives on March 7-8.

There are a number of legislative initiatives that seek to reduce military spending in the U.S. They are motivated by varying views of the basic dynamics of world political developments and of the roles that are and could be played by the U.S. and the USSR in those dynamics. They are all influenced by the economic and social consequences of vast military expenditures in the face of double-digit unemployment, collapsing social programs, and staggering budget deficits.

DSA believes that to be effective the peace movement must now rally behind a legislative program, selecting the most promising among the alternatives being offered. We believe that Representative Ron Dellums' comprehensive alternative military budget is the best thought out of the various initiatives in this area. It has the added advantage of being based on a view of world politics that is shared by DSA and its closest allies on the political scene. (For a fuller explanation of the bill, see the January 1983 issue of DL.)

Thus, we urge every reader of DEMOCRATIC LEFT to join in the Citizens Lobby on March 7-8. Work through your local freeze coalition. If you can't go to Washington, support those who can. But for the longer pull, study the Dellums bill, bring it up wherever the problems of world peace are discussed, and push for its support throughout the peace movement.

June 12, 1982 was a great demonstration of the widespread feeling against nuclear proliferation. March 7-8 will reaffirm the strength and breadth of that feeling, and bring it home to the Congress.

But the time has come to press for specific legislation that can begin to translate that feeling into government policy.

January 24, 1983

—G.K.H.

Cover photo: Region 9A, UAW has opened unemployment centers with the help of donations of one hour's pay from working UAW members. The centers offer help in legal matters as well as food, moral support and a place to trade ideas and such things as store coupons. The center shown is in Bristol, Conn.

## 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.

# EMERGENCY FIRST AID

by Michael Harrington

**E**neunemployment, the Reagan administration admits, is going to remain over 10 percent for the entire coming year. That means that between 11 and 12 million Americans will be on the streets, joining the nearly two million men and women officially described as "discouraged workers," i.e., people who have been driven out of the labor market and statistically are not unemployed. Add to that another one to two million who have not managed to be counted by anyone. We are talking about at least a year of joblessness for around 15 million people.

We believe that a longterm program to deal with this crisis would involve an anti-corporate drive for democratic planning to make socially useful investments that will put America back to work. But what about the short run?

The UAW, as I reported in the last issue, is trying to set up store-front centers for the unemployed in New England. In the steel valleys around Pittsburgh, the Mon Valley Unemployed Committee has mobilized laid-off workers to successfully challenge "sheriff's sales" where the vultures bid for the houses put up on the block because working people cannot make the mortgage payments. The Philadelphia Unemployment Project and other similar groups will have met with the Mon Valley activists by the time this issue reaches its readers. In all likelihood there will be a national mobilization of the unemployed in Washington sometime in March.

## Jobs First

This is the context in which I want to make some suggestions for an immediate, emergency program to deal with the critical problems of millions of jobless Americans. It is not a substitute for the long-range and planned transformation of the American economy on the basis of anticorporate procedures and priorities. It is an attempt to deal with an urgent crisis. Even on that level, it does not pretend to be exhaustive.

The centerpiece of a program for the unemployed must be a struggle for a massive jobs program.

By a "massive" program I mean something on the order of the WPA and PWA



Steve Cagan

*"But 'makework' is better than no work... and there is a much more outrageous waste taking place as some 15 million citizens are forced into a debilitating, hungry idleness."*

under the New Deal. Within one year, Roosevelt put four million people to work. True, in the early stages, of the effort there was a certain amount of "makework," the

"leaf-raking" that looms so large in conservative legend. But "makework" is better than no work and when the reactionaries today argue that there will be waste and inefficiency in a hasty jobs program, our answer should be that there is a much more outrageous waste taking place right now as some 15 million citizens are forced into a debilitating, hungry idleness.

But there is a second aspect to that New Deal precedent, one we should never forget. As time went on, the unemployed were put to work doing exceedingly useful things, such as building LaGuardia airport in New York. We should therefore demand that a planning effort begin immediately, with an entire shelf of projects to be developed, so that as time goes on the works program can become part of a comprehensive effort to renew the American infrastructure, and to develop a new, more human-oriented infrastructure.

Wouldn't a truly massive program further increase the federal deficit? Part of the answer is that the deficit issue is, in some ways, a phony one used by the right to rationalize its relentless assault on social spending. In 1976, under Gerald Ford, the government's deficit was almost 4 percent of GNP and the roof did not fall in. In 1982 it was slightly under that, but is projected to go higher. Throughout the seventies, let us recall, conservatives like William Simon said over and over that the deficits were "crowding out" private investors. There is no evidence that that really happened.

Secondly, those who worry about the deficit should remember that our current situation is the result of multibillion dollar giveaways to the corporate rich and the \$1.6 trillion bonanza for the Pentagon. A rational tax policy along the lines proposed by the Congressional Black Caucus and a truly effective defense policy that would scrap the MX, the B-1 and similar weapon systems and incorporate a political commitment to democratic, or potentially democratic, forces in the Third World would make a massive jobs program possible without creating intolerable deficits.

But the bottom line is that we must refuse to "economize" on human beings while spending money on other things. Putting America back to work should be the top priority.

## Social Supports

In the meantime, certain steps must be taken to alleviate immediate suffering.

- *Unemployment benefits must be extended to 65 weeks.* Many of the longterm unemployed have a meager six extra weeks coming to them. Others have already exhausted their benefits. It is absolutely urgent to extend the benefits and, let it be frankly said, if unemployment continues at the current high rate, to extend them again if necessary.

- *There must be an emergency health program for the unemployed.* The UAW magazine *Solidarity* recently pointed out the difference between the fate of UAW members laid off in Canada and those furloughed in the U.S. The Canadians—thanks to the New Democratic Party—get health benefits from the society as part of a national health system; the Americans do not simply lose their jobs, they also forfeit their health insurance. That, it should be emphasized, hits the entire family of the unemployed. Above all, it means that children will not be able to get needed care.

Medicaid is a means-tested program for the poor that has already been cut by Reagan. For the longterm unemployed to qualify for Medicaid, they have to show that they have no assets. That can mean selling a house or having a lien put on it; it can mean not being able to own a secondhand car if its market value is above a certain (low) level. That cruel system should, of course, be revamped. What we need now is the emergency federalization of health insurance in a program that is not means-tested but unemployment-tested. The program should be run by the Social Security Administration with uniform benefits, on the basis of need, for everyone in the U.S. who qualifies.

- *Washington must subsidize mortgage payments and outlaw foreclosures for the duration of the crisis.* Laws moving in that direction were passed in the seventies and a similar effort was one of the most successful of the New Deal reforms (the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, which at its high point helped refinance 20 percent of the urban mortgages in the United States).

- *All the cuts made in food stamps must be restored and benefits liberalized for the jobless.* Some union food programs are already in effect, such as the distribution center I visited in Braddock, Pennsylvania at the union local of the Edgar Thompson Works, but they tend to supplement needs. The unions on their own are clearly unable to feed the millions who need help, and management's highly publicized charity is, first of all, charity, and secondly, inadequate. What is needed, in short, is a political mobilization to win the right to food for the unemployed.

- Federal and state legislation to make

As we went to press, word came that the national mobilization of the unemployed will take place in Washington, D.C. on March 15. For more information, contact the Mon Valley Unemployed Committee, 600 Walnut St., McKeesport, Pa. 15132.

work sharing an option for workers should be passed. This would make it possible for people to get unemployment benefits one or two days a week while they work the rest of the time. Under such conditions, the workers in a plant might well decide that, rather than laying off 20 percent of the employees, 100 percent would stay on the job, being paid for four days (and paying taxes on that pay) and receiving unemployment for the fifth day (which is not taxable). But it would make work sharing a possibility.

- *No utility shutoffs should be allowed during the winter months.* It is unconscionable that unemployment and inflation should leave workers, the poor and many elderly in the position of having to choose between starvation or freezing. In many communities union pressure has led to passage of legislation forbidding utility shutoffs during the winter. This should be made a national program.

There has not been a really successful case of organizing masses of the unemployed since the thirties. But then there has not been an unemployment crisis like this one since the thirties. There are hopeful signs that working people are not going to take this outrage lying down. Perhaps these six ideas, which are only the prelude to a program for rebuilding America from the bottom up by challenging corporate control of investment, will make a contribution to the movement. ●

## MIDWEST

# Smelling a "Loser"

by Barney McClelland

In 1961, the *Saturday Evening Post* published a lengthy article entitled "Indiana's Delinquent City" in which *Post* editor Peter Wyden declared Terre Haute, Indiana to be an "American city in decline." Employing adjectives such as "shabby" and "wide-open," Wyden detailed Terre Haute's chronic unemployment, declining coal industry, and its reputation for gambling and prostitution. The *Post* admonished Terre Haute for being so backward in the face of rising prosperity. After all, other Indiana cities, Kokomo and Ft. Wayne for example, had made progress in spite of difficulties.

Ten years later, when this writer gradu-



ated from high school, some progress had been made. Urban renewal had removed some of the more offensive eyesores, including the infamous red light district, and prompted interest in revitalizing the downtown. Industries attracted to the area, al-

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*"Like crop rotation, regional rotation leaves some fields (the Midwest) fallow until the climate is considered more favorable for increased profits."*

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though low paying and nonunion, helped ease the "labor surplus" that had plagued the city since 1919. Gambling had been taken out of full view and relegated to the back streets. However, progress was to be short-lived.

Today, a visitor to the downtown area cannot escape noticing the derelict and partially destroyed buildings. Small sandstorms rise from the numerous vacant lots to sting their eyes as they walk along broken sidewalks. Tree and shrub planters built when revitalization was the rage are overrun with weeds and filled with broken bottles—no money in the budget for greenery. A four by twelve section of Ohio Street collapsed recently and spectators argued over whether it was an abandoned coal mine or just another part of the ancient sewer system giving way.

The Columbia Broadcasting Systems (CBS) recently announced the closing of its largest record facility, located in Terre Haute. Thirty-six hundred nonunion jobs evaporated overnight in a city that has lost hundreds more jobs through the closing of Stran Steel, Quaker Maid, and Volt Enterprises. This rapid rise in unemployment has given Terre Haute the dubious distinction of opening the first soup line in Indiana since the great Depression.

Did the current recession bring all this about? Possibly, but unlikely in the case of Terre Haute. Vigo County Area Planner Bill Peters speculates that Terre Haute is being "punished" for being the home of Eugene V. Debs and the site of the first general strike east of the Rockies in 1935. At first Peters' allusion to historical causation appears overly dramatic, but as the logic of corporate strategy reveals itself, particularly to those of us in the Midwest, his observation becomes more plausible.

Nowhere are the intentions of corporate America more clear than in White County, Indiana. In March 1980, a survey by

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Northern Indiana Public Service Company showed that 75 percent of all manufacturing jobs in the county were unionized. Two years later, a study prepared for the Chamber of Commerce revealed a figure of 40 percent.

Much of this decline can be attributed to the closing of the RCA cabinet making plant in Monticello. Although it was a profitable operation, RCA apparently decided to take advantage of the present economic situation to demand concessions from its workers. By threatening to close the plant, it managed to squeeze considerable givebacks from Local #3154 of the Carpenters and Joiners. The union offered the company \$4.29 in cuts, \$2.80 of that in wages (most union members earned seven to eight dollars an hour), the rest by giving up five sick days, two weeks paid vacations, and an offer to pay ten dollars a week towards their insurance. The company wanted \$2.43 more in cuts. RCA has since moved the plant to North Carolina.

And what of those other cities the *Post* praised for embracing progress—Ft. Wayne and Kokomo? Kokomo has one of the highest unemployment rates in the country. Ft. Wayne recently grabbed headlines in its vicious bidding war with Springfield, Ohio when International Harvester announced that it intended to close one of the two plants

located in those cities. As the loser, Ft. Wayne's generous offers of tax abatements, leasing options, and coercion of workers makes one shudder to think of what Springfield offered in order to "win."

Michael Harrington stated in *The other America* that major corporations can "smell" a loser. In *The Last Entrepreneurs*, Robert Goodman contends that major corporations actively cultivate those losers in what he calls "regional rotation." Like crop rotation, regional rotation leaves some "fields" (i.e. the Midwest) fallow until the climate is considered more favorable for increased profits.

A favorable climate, by corporate definition, is broken unions, a desperate and discouraged work force, lowered environmental standards, and a breakdown of fundamental social services. Cities are mothballed (vacant lots and derelict buildings), thereby lowering property values and making them available for "enterprise zones."

We have already witnessed a renewed interest by corporations in former "loser regions" such as the New England states. It appears that corporate America not only can smell a loser, but like the vulture, has developed a taste for carrion. ●

*Barney McClelland is a freelance writer from West Lafayette, Indiana and a DSA member.*

# PhilaDSA Enters New Growth Stage

by Nancy Kleniewski

**A**lthough at eight years of age the Philadelphia local of DSA is one of the older chapters in the organization, it is just now "coming of age." Its initial years involved painful growth from a study group of three members to formal chartering as a DSOC local (in 1974) to achieving partnership in some progressive coalitions in Philadelphia. Within the past two years, however, the local has experienced new levels of growth and activity that members hope signal its achieving "critical mass" in the community. Some highlights have been:

- doubling local membership in one-and-a-half years;
- becoming a force in policy planning in the city; and
- helping pass local legislation that is making Philadelphia's laws in many areas comparable to those of Santa Monica and Berkeley.

Public education chair Greg Schirm dates the membership growth from the hosting of the DSOC convention in the spring of 1981. The convention's public forum attracted 750 people and provided momentum for a recruitment campaign. The campaign consisted of house meetings to which members invited their nonmember friends to socialize informally, hear an explanation of DSA, and ask questions. People were asked to join at the meetings, but those who did not were placed on followup lists and contacted again. The membership committee attributes a great deal of its success to improved follow-up techniques, including a computerized mailing list that allows it to sort people by their interests and contact them with specific tasks they can do. Most people, they have found, need several contacts before they will join.

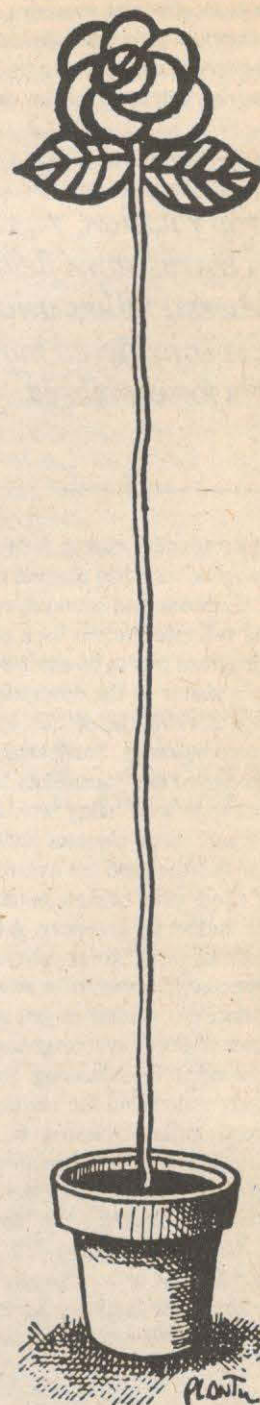
## Marketing Ideas

Janet Cahill, chair of the local, believes that policy planning activity is Philadelphia DSA's most innovative and effective work. A housing task force was formed in 1979 that rapidly branched off to investigate the relationship between housing problems and local

investment patterns. The Community Development Policy Group was formed and began to do research and circulate papers about capital investment and public pension funds. Friendly candidates and community groups gave the Policy Group support and feedback about its proposals, which were finally drafted as legislation by a DSA member and introduced into the City Council. Thus far the bill, which provides for increased public and worker control over the public employees' pension funds in the city, has the support of the city's two AFSCME district councils, the Fraternal Order of Police, and the Firefighters' union, as well as a wide range of community groups.

DSA also played a key role in initiating public hearings on housing held by the City Council in 1981. Although the hearings did not lead to legislation, they helped broaden the concerns of the Council to include control over local resources.

The choice of the housing issue illustrates the strategy behind Philadelphia DSA's public policy work. In picking an issue, the local assesses the situation. It seeks a unique role that will be complementary to what other groups are doing. Several other community groups were interested in the housing problem, but DSA's unique contribution was to propose mechanisms for the democratization of capital at the local level. Next, the local assesses its resources. These included several academics and lawyers who were willing to do research on investment issues. Since resources are limited, however, the local focuses on a small number of issues where it is possible to have the most impact. Third, DSA members seek other groups with which they can cooperate. The local found that there was a great need for good ideas on economic development and that the local's proposals were welcomed by friendly candidates, labor unions, and community groups. Cahill comments, "We could do much more if we could get it (proposals and research) out faster." Working with the public employee unions proved to be particularly beneficial for both sides. The unions had been on the defensive, reacting to layoffs and budget cuts. Now they are able to propose longterm, positive steps for the city.



## Progressive Climate

DSA's breakthrough in public policy work has not occurred in a vacuum, however. The recent liberalization of the political climate in Philadelphia has opened up possibilities for cooperation with public officials that had not previously existed in the history of the DSA local. Conservative control of the city government began to crack in 1979 with three significant events: Frank Rizzo was prevented from running for a third term,

Americans for Democratic Action successfully backed several liberal candidates for local office, and DSA helped elect David Cohen, who emerged as spokesperson for a new liberal-black coalition on the Council. After Abscam further thinned the ranks of the conservative Council members, the numerical balance shifted to a nine to eight liberal majority. Rizzo's replacement as mayor, Bill Green, imposed a fiscal austerity program on the city against Council and community opposition. This helped mobilize support for progressive measures.

Legislation that has passed the City Council recently has included:

- A plant closing bill requiring 60 days' notice or financial penalties to firms leaving the city.
- A surtax on abandoned property.
- A right-to-know bill requiring companies to inform workers and community groups about the use of toxic substances.
- A requirement that the city give a portion of its contracts to businesses owned by minorities and women.
- A gay rights bill.
- A handicapped access bill.
- A bill giving property rights to squatters inhabiting unwanted abandoned houses.
- Withdrawal of the city's pension funds from companies doing business in South Africa.
- A measure placing the Nuclear Freeze on the local ballot.

Stan Shapiro, head of the local's Public Policy Committee and a member of the City Council research staff, sees two important issues ahead. One still to come up in the Council is a

bill linking the depositing of city funds in local banks to certain "socially-useful" criteria such as lending to minority businesses and not closing branch banks in certain areas of the city. Another bill that may be introduced this year is one providing for public involve-

*"The membership committee attributes a great deal of its success to improved followup techniques... Most people, they have found, need several contacts before they will join."*

ment in forming a comprehensive economic plan for the city. DSA members, including two on the Council's staff, have been influential in drafting and supporting many of these bills. In all these issues, DSA has helped the Council to pass progressive legislation and the more liberal Council has given the DSA local a chance to operate in the arena of "real live" politics in the city. One serious drawback is that local business groups have recently formed to oppose the progressive Council. Another is that Frank Rizzo plans to run for the Democratic nomination. The favorable political climate may not last beyond this year's elections.

Not everyone in Philadelphia DSA works on economic development policy. "It's an acquired taste," quips Cahill. Other areas of work include nuclear disarmament, Central American policy, electoral activity, and internal education. As with policy planning,

the goal of the local is to find the "unique and complementary" role that it can play. Activists working on nuclear disarmament try to link the issue with the economy; those working on Central America stress the role of multinationals in influencing American foreign policy; and those working for candidates try to select those who will use the local's ideas in their campaigns.

Many members of the local consider internal education to be one of the most important new areas of activity. More emphasis has been put on internal education recently to provide emotional and intellectual support for those working in "nonsocialist" activities. The group believes that education helps give members a sense of purpose and unity. Thus it held a retreat last fall that attracted 50 people and helped generate enthusiasm for the coming year. Goals were set and plans made to meet them, including raising additional money and establishing an office.

Problems remain for the Philadelphia group. First, although the retreat allowed members to discuss goals, local leaders still feel the lack of a unified focus for the different types of work being done. Second, gaps remain in the local's work that members would like to see filled, especially in the areas of feminist and minority issues. Third, there is the perennial problem of a shortage of funds. Nevertheless, although members feel challenged by the tasks ahead, they are justifiably proud of the gains they have made in the past two years and look forward to building on them in 1983. ●

*Nancy Kleniewski is a member of the National Interim Committee.*

## CLASSIFIED

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# REVIEWS

by Maurice Isserman

**S**egmented Work, Divided Workers: The Historical Transformation of Labor in the United States.  
By David M. Gordon, Richard Edwards and Michael Reich. Cambridge University Press, 294 pp. \$34.50 hc, \$9.95 pb.

David Gordon, Richard Edwards, and Michael Reich are radical economists who have written extensively on the changing nature of work relations in the United States. Edwards, in a 1979 book, *Contested Terrain*, described the emergence in the 20th century of three distinct "labor markets" into which American workers are channeled. Professionals, managerial workers and skilled craftspeople make up the "independent primary market." These workers, mostly white males, enjoy the greatest job security, highest pay, and least supervision. The "subordinate primary market" consists, for the most part, of unionized production workers in the country's core industries—steel, auto, etc. Jobs in this market are repetitious and machine-paced, and workers have to put up with foremenpeering over their shoulders, but (at least at the time the book was written) pay is relatively high and jobs are relatively secure. Depending on the industry examined, blacks and women are more highly represented in the workforce. Finally, there is the "secondary labor market," which consists of low-skill, mostly nonunionized jobs in clerical, retail, service, agricultural, and peripheral manufacturing sectors of the economy. These jobs offer low pay and little job security and are largely filled by women and minorities. The result of this "labor market segmentation," in Edwards' view, is a working class divided against itself.

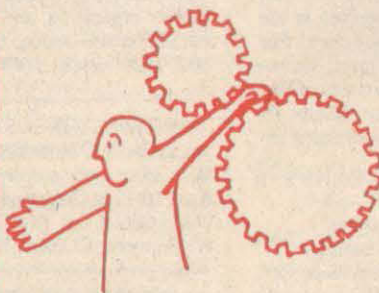
*Segmented Work, Divided Workers* is an ambitious if flawed attempt to present a history of American labor from the beginning of the industrial revolution down to the present, centered around the concept of the labor market. Since the 1960s, historians of American labor have produced many valuable studies of the experience of working people in communities like Lowell, Lynn, Patterson, and Bridgeport. But no one has yet attempted a *Making of the American Working Class*, along the lines of E.P. Thompson's famous study of the English working class. When someone does, it will prove a formidable task, requiring the marshalling of evidence from many different communities over a long period of time into a theoretically coherent narrative. Gordon, Edwards, and Reich deserve credit for coming closest to such a synthesis, drawing on the work of many different historians and economists (the extensive bibliography they provide at the end of the book is almost worth the price).

*Segmented Work, Divided Workers* argues that the labor process has gone through three major overlapping stages of reorganization since the early 19th century: "initial proletarianization," from about 1820 through the 1890s, during which wage labor became the dominant mode of organizing production, but workers retained a significant degree of control on the shop floor; "homogenization," from the 1870s through World War II, when employers attempted to reduce all wage labor to a common semiskilled level by introducing new forms of technology and supervision; and the "segmentation" stage, already described, which characterizes the organization of

work today. Each stage came to an end when a major economic crisis forced employers to create new systems of organizing work to restore or increase profits. In creating these successive "structures of accumulation," employers have always tried to limit or destroy the power of workers, whether that power was expressed through unions or informal work groups—although the most recent version, labor market segmentation, represents a compromise between corporate priorities and the interests of organized labor.

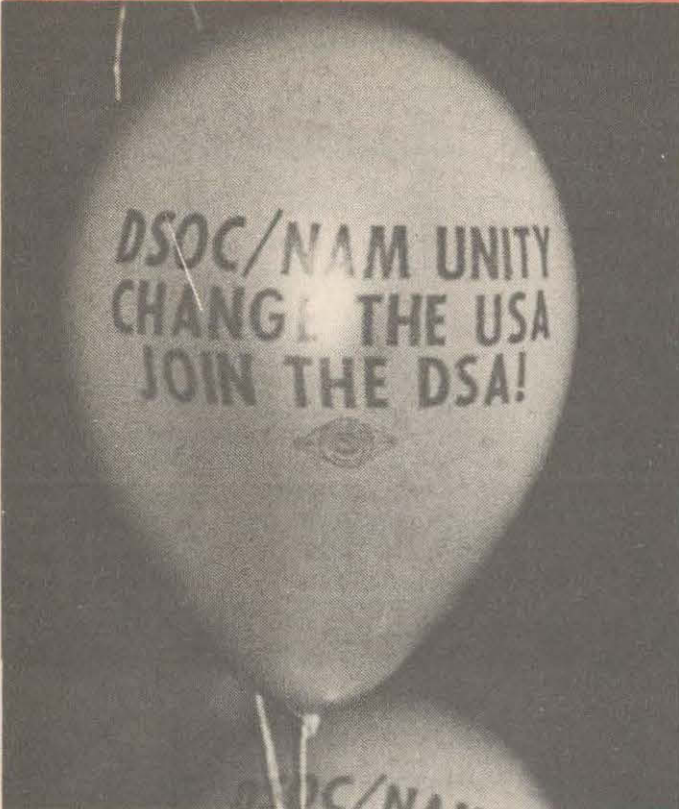
There are two basic problems with the book. The first is its virtually impenetrable writing style—a stark and disappointing contrast to *Contested Terrain* in which Edwards proved that not all economic analysis need be presented as a "dismal science." The second, more serious problem is a tendency towards a schematic economic determinism. Gordon, Edwards and Reich insist in the first chapter that people, not "structures," make history—but structures are the only real actors in the narrative that follows. For example, the authors argue that labor was thrown on the defensive by the employers' "homogenization" offensive at the start of this century. How then do they account for the growth of industrial unions among garment workers in New York and other major cities in this period? Because, they argue, the structure of the garment industry was still too competitive to allow employers to present a united front against union organizers. That is, to be sure, part of the answer. But it leaves out the cultural and political (that is, the human) side of the story: the tradition of communal solidarity among the Jewish workers who made up a large part of the garment industry workforce, and the presence of an influential and committed socialist minority, who served as leaders of the early drives to build the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Their three stages theory is useful as a general description of American working class experience, but it breaks down when the authors attempt to use it to explain too much about the experience of specific groups of workers.

So, all right. We're still waiting for *The Making of the American Working Class*. Meanwhile, *Segmented Work, Divided Workers* is a timely reminder to the left that we need to be concerned with more than simply preserving jobs (although union demands to preserve existing jobs are important and deserve our support). But we also need to be concerned with the kinds of jobs that are created in the next decade. The way work is organized can divide workers or bring them together. And as Gordon, Edwards, and Reich warn in their concluding chapter, "This kind of opportunity for restructuring [work] comes only once in a generation." ●



Maurice Isserman teaches history at Smith College, and is the author of *Which Side Were You On? The American Communist Party During the Second World War*.





DSOC/NAM UNITY  
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# DSA Directory

Key: L: local; OC: organizing committee; B: branch; C: contact.

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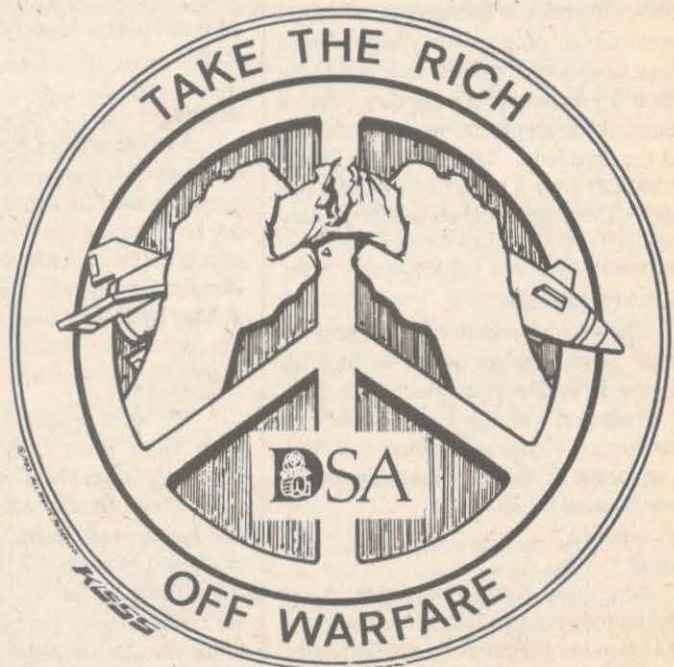
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# ON THE LEFT



by HARRY FLEISCHMAN

## NATIONAL ROUNDUP

### California

One hundred and seventy delegates to the California Democratic Convention attended the meeting of DSA's socialist caucus at which DSA Vice Chair Harry Britt, Coalition of Labor Union Women National Secretary Elinor Glenn and California Federation of Teachers President Raoul Teitelhet spoke... The Chico local, which will hear DSA Vice Chairs Barbara Ehrenreich and Manning Marable on March 10 and 21 respectively, has also set up a Political Action Committee and is planning strategy and political objectives for 1983 and beyond... San Deigo contributed money and attendees for a program on "Karen Silkwood Day" in November. DSA member Mark Conlan's interview with Kitty Tucker, president of "Supporters of Silkwood," appeared in the *San Diego Newsline*... The San Fernando Valley branch, only six months old, elected five delegates and two alternates to the California state Democratic Convention in Sacramento. The local sponsored a progressive Valley Grass Roots Coalition, together with the Committee for Economic Democracy, church groups, union members, women's groups, and the disabled... See the March DEMOCRATIC LEFT for a report on the DSA Minorities Conference scheduled for January 29-30 in San Francisco.

### District of Columbia

The DC/Maryland chapter gave its annual Debs-Thomas award to member Cushing Dolbeare at a dinner on January 25. Dolbeare, president of the National Low-Income Housing Coalition, has been an advocate of decent, affordable low-income housing for 30 years.

### Illinois

After black Congressman Harold Washington spoke to 175 DSA members at the December membership meeting, nearly 100 members volunteered for precinct, fund raising and clerical campaign work to help Washington win the February 22 mayoralty primary. Nearly \$1,000 was collec-

ted or pledged for the campaign fund.

### Maine

State Representative Harlan Baker, a DSA member, has sponsored a bill together with Senator Mike Carpenter of Houlton to create a state bank, modeled after the State Bank of North Dakota.

### Massachusetts

DSAer Ed Clark, manager of the New England Regional Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, has been elected an ACTWU vice president by the General Executive Board... The January issue of *The Yankee Radical* reports that Local 26 of the Hotel & Restaurant Workers won its dispute with the major Boston hotels, in part due to its innovative mobilization of progressive organizations, including DSA. Each support group was asked to "adopt" a hotel for such work as coffee runs and picket line activity. Boston and Harvard DSA were responsible for the Parker House... A number of DSAers have been elected to Democratic party state, town and war committees. DSA had over 50 delegates to the last state convention... Boston DSA will present its annual Debs-Thomas Award this year to Frank Manning, once national secretary of the Young People's Socialist League, long-time labor activist, and currently head of the Massachusetts Association of Older Americans.

### Michigan

Professor Tom Wiesskopf of the University of Michigan economics department spoke to the Ann Arbor DSA local in January on "Beyond the Waste Land," the title of a book he co-authored with David Gordon and Sam Bowles that will be published in May by Doubleday.

### Mississippi

We were delighted with a holiday gift from Moss Point DSAer Bill Johnson of DSA greeting cards. The three-color cards (red, green, black, with gray lettering in the background) were on cream-colored stock and blank inside. Bill tells us he had them made up for his "pinko" friends and isn't selling them, but he would be happy to make the stats available at cost for anyone who wishes to print their own. He will include printing and paper stock information. Send \$6 to him at 4606 Parkinson Ave., Moss Point, MS 39563.

### Missouri

Dave Rathke of St. Louis is producing a national DSA Labor Memo, the first issue of which features notes on the domestic content bill, a proposed DSA labor conference, and DSA activity in strikes and boycotts. For a copy, write him at 3323 Magnolia, St. Louis, MO 63118.

### Montana

Helena DSA heard Jim Shoch, western regional DSA organizer, in January... The local is discussing a proposal for long-range planning by the state in economic development, agriculture, transportation and other key areas of the economy.

### New York

Albany DSA's Socialist New Year's party featured "Pinks II," an original musical celebrating the local's second anniversary... The local is supporting the UE petition campaign against General Electric, which is moving 300 jobs from its plant at Fort Edward, N.Y. to Juarez, Mexico, where workers will be paid 78¢ an hour... Mike Harrington spoke to more than 500 people at the University of Buffalo Law School and Lafayette Presbyterian Church as well as at a Buffalo DSA reception last month... In January, the local heard Charles White of the Buffalo Area Metropolitan Ministries speak on the Western New York Unemployment Project, which hopes to develop neighborhood unemployment councils through which the jobless can organize to meet their own needs and push for government action... Buffalo DSA presents the 5th annual Lizzard Ball February 5, a take-off on the high society Blizzard Ball... The local is working to persuade the Buffalo city council to adopt a nuclear freeze resolution February 8... Mitchell Cohen, editor of *Jewish Frontier*, Labor Zionist monthly, speaks to Local Nassau February 13 on "Is Peace Possible in the Middle East?"

DSA Faculty Club at the City University of New York runs bi-weekly meetings that draw from 50 to 200 people, offers other DSA faculty groups in the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic speakers and materials. For details, write DSA CUNY, Rm. 901, 33 W. 42nd St., NYC 10036... New York City Councilmember Ruth Messinger will be given the New York City DSA annual "Conscience of New York" award on March 25. *Westchester Socialist* is the new name of the local's newsletter. The January issue reported on a reception by the Mamaroneck

Democratic Committee honoring DSAer Libby Moroff, appointed executive director of the New York State Democratic Committee by new governor Mario Cuomo.

#### North Carolina

The Chapel Hill-Carrboro DSA had members Craig Calhoun and Jeffrey Obler debate two college Republicans on Reaganomics before more than 200 people at the University of North Carolina.

#### Ohio

Bill Whitmore joins the list of DSA elected officials. He is a member of the Wooster city council.

#### Pennsylvania

DSA member Paul Lyons has written *Philadelphia Communists, 1936-1956*, \$22.50 from Temple University Press... SANE's annual peace award went to DSAer Ed Asner, president of the Screen Actors Guild... Pittsburg DSA showed the film *Fundi, the Story of Ella Baker*, at its January meeting and will hold a Fred Small concert on February 25 in cooperation with some other groups.

#### Texas

Last month we said that Ben Levy, DSA mainstay and Houston ACLU co-founder, was elected a justice. But what we failed to related was that Judge Levy is now on the State Court of Appeals, having beaten his incumbent Republican opponent in the 14-county district by receiving 283,315 votes for his six-year term.

## RESOURCES

#### Nurses

The DSA Nurses Caucus, P.O. Box 59422, Chicago, IL 60659, publishes a bi-monthly newsletter to provide links among activist nurses nationwide. Its Nov.-Dec. 1982 issue features articles on the nurses' strike at Cleveland's Visiting Nurses Association, an editorial on "Power and Professionalism," and a lively report on the Montreal annual meeting of the American Public Health Association (APHA), the world's largest public health organization, with 50,000 members.

#### Religious Socialism

The Fall 1982 issue features a no-holds barred debate between Mike Harrington and Rosemary Ruether on whether Western Christianity is dead as a primary



Mark Schaefer

Putting the "social" into "socialist" was one of many highlights of the fifth annual winter youth conference of the DSA Youth Section. More than 200 young activists from as far west as California and Nevada, from campuses in Lexington, Ky. and Columbia, Mo., from the Midwest and Northeast, gathered in New York City December 29-30, 1982. They socialized happily and discussed heartily on such subjects as the current economic crisis and urban politics, foreign policy, labor and politics, the socialist vision and the transition to socialism, the Middle East, Central America, and more. In addition, regional organizing sessions were held from which several new youth section chapters emerged. Half

of the conferees were not DSA members, but many joined by the end. Participants planned to join the picket line of the Legal Aid lawyers, but the strike ended the day of the proposed picketing. (Could the Legal Aid Society have quailed at the threat?)

Planning to duplicate the success, the first DSA Western Youth Conference will be held February 25-27 at Stanford University. Among the speakers expected are Michael Harrington, Representative Ron Dellums, Mayor Gus Newport of Berkeley, San Francisco Supervisor Harry Britt, Deirdre English of *Mother Jones* and Elinor Glenn, president emeritus of the Service Employees International Union.

social force or whether Mike is "dead wrong"... An article by Cornel West deals with "Socialism, Religion and the Black Struggle." Subscriptions to the quarterly are \$3/year from 1 Maolis Rd., Nahant, MA 01908.

#### El Salvador

Medical Aid for El Salvador offers a slideshow, "We Choose To Help." The 70 slides with audio cassette (approximately 15 minutes) are available for \$50 purchase or \$15 rental. Order from Medical Aid for El Salvador, P.O. Box 3282, Los Angeles, CA 90028.

#### Unemployment

Fifty new ideas for legislation and programs to cut unemployment and protect workers are detailed in *Putting America Back to Work: What States and Cities Can Do*, written by William Schweke and Lee Webb and published by the Conference on

Alternative State and Local Policies, 2000 Florida Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009 (\$6.95 plus \$1 for postage).

#### Fundraising

Having trouble raising money for your DSA local or other community group? *Survival Planning for the '80s: Fundraising Strategies for Grassroots Organizations* has just been published by the Community Careers Resource Center and the National Network of Grantmakers. Available at \$4 from CCRC, 1520 16 Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

#### Calendar Sale

The striking Solidarnosc 1983 calendar we mentioned last month is now on sale for \$6, reduced from \$8.50. Since there are still several months left in 1983, this is a good buy from Helsinki Watch Committee, 36 W. 44 St., NYC 10036.

# LETTERS

## Off the Mark

### To the Editor:

The new design for DEMOCRATIC LEFT is interesting and appealing, and I like the layout and graphic for my piece in the January 1983 issue ("Put the Community into Organizing"). However, the inside headline, like the cover ad line ("Neighborhood Politics") is off the mark.

"Neighborhood politics" is certainly an element of a communitarian ideology, which likewise is sympathetic to "community"-focused forms of organizing (and to "community spirit" more generally). But communitarianism is simultaneously *more* specific and also more *inclusive* an ideology than these headlines suggest. In the first instance, it grows from the republican ideological inheritance which a generation of new historical scholarship has unearthed at the origins of the American revolution, an ideology summed up in the term "commonwealth" which remains in many state constitutions. More generally, "communitarianism" also refers to the ways subsequent challenges to capitalism such as the Populists and the Socialist Party—have again and again revitalized and also democratized and reworked that republican/commonwealth inheritance. It is this rich legacy which, I am convinced, we must rediscover and make relevant today, if DSA is to become a significant force in American politics and society.

Harry C. Boyte  
Minneapolis, Minn.

## BLACK HISTORY MONTH

The following meetings of the Democratic Socialist Club at CUNY will be held at 7 p.m. in Room 901 at 33 W. 42nd St., New York City.

**February 16:** "South Africa Today: The Politics of the Struggle for Liberation," with David Ndabi, representative of the African National Congress.

**March 2:** "African Socialism: Problems and Prospects," with James Mittleman, professor of political science at City College.

**March 17:** "Democracy and Noncapitalist Development in the Third World," with Paulette Pierce, assistant professor of sociology at Queens College.

dissent pamphlets 4

**A Path for America**  
Proposals from the Democratic Left  
Michael Harrington

Published by the Foundation for the Study of Independent Social Ideas, Inc.

**What Reagan Is Doing to Us**

Seventeen experts discuss the effect of Reagan's policies on the economy, foreign policy, women, minorities, neighborhoods, crime, health, education and welfare.  
Alan Gartner, Colin Greer and Frank Riessman



**EUROSOCIALISM AND AMERICA**

Political Economy for the 1980s

Edited by Nancy Lieber

## For Your Bookshelf

### FROM THE INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

	Quantity	Total
<i>A Movement Strategy to Transform the Democratic Party</i> , by Richard A. Cloward and Frances Fox Piven	\$ .25	_____
<i>Apartheid &amp; the World Economic Order</i> , by Michael Manley	\$ .25	_____
<i>A Path for America: Proposals from the Democratic Left</i> (Dissent Pamphlets 4), by Michael Harrington	\$ 1.25	_____
<i>The Black Church &amp; Marxism: What Do They Have To Say To Each Other?</i> by James Cone	\$ 1.50	_____
<i>Democracy and Dictatorship in Latin America</i> , Voices and opinions of writers from Latin America	\$ 5.00	_____
<i>Eurosociology and America: Political Economy for the 1980s</i> , edited by Nancy Lieber, with articles by Willy Brandt, Michael Harrington, Francois Mitterrand, Joop den Uyl, Olof Palme	\$10.00	_____
<i>Images of Labor</i> , with introduction by Irving Howe	\$10.00	_____
<i>Reaganomics: Rhetoric vs. Reality</i> , by Frank Ackerman	\$ 7.50	_____
<i>Socialist Review, No. 61 (Special Issue: Do We Need a Defense Policy?)</i>	\$ 2.00	_____
<i>Tax Policy &amp; the Economy</i> , a debate between Michael Harrington & Jack Kemp	\$ 1.00	_____
<i>The Vast Majority: A Journey to the World's Poor</i> , by Michael Harrington	\$ 3.00	_____
<i>What Reagan Is Doing To Us</i> , Gartner, Greer, and Riessman, eds.	\$ 3.50	_____
Make checks payable to IDS.	TOTAL	_____

### FROM DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS OF AMERICA

<i>DSA Constitution &amp; By-laws, and DSOC/NAM Merger Agreement</i>	\$ 1.00	_____
<i>Gay and Lesbian Liberation and Socialism</i>	\$ 2.00	_____
<i>Health Activists Digest: Nursing issue</i> (\$10 for yearly subscription)	\$ 2.50	_____
<i>Socialist Forum #1: Electoral Politics and DSA</i>	\$ 1.00	_____
<i>#2: Peace, Electoral Politics</i>	\$ 2.00	_____
<i>Which Way America? The Political Perspective of the DSA Youth Section</i>	\$ .30	_____
<i>Women Organizing: Feminist Perspectives on the Family Why We Are Socialists</i> (The points of political unity between the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and the New American Movement)	\$ 1.50	_____
<i>Youth Section Organizing Manual</i>	\$ .25	_____
	\$ 2.00	_____
Make checks payable to DSA. All prices include postage.	TOTAL	_____

Discounts: 5-9 copies of one title, 20%; 10 or more of one title, 30%. Send bulk orders to: DSA, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657.

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Amount: IDS \_\_\_\_\_ DSA \_\_\_\_\_ Total \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to Suite 801, 853 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

# THE LAST WORD

## *Blacks and the Military Budget*

by Manning Marable

**L**ike millions of other American children of the postwar baby boom, my consciousness as a member of political society was formed beneath the all-embracing shadow of nuclear war. In elementary school, my class learned to scramble beneath our heavy wooden desks and to shield our eyes in the event of a nuclear flash. In the seventh grade, I wondered whether the Soviets or the Kennedy administration would dare to push the buttons that would blast the world into oblivion. The Cuban missile crisis of October 1962, and the growing media attention given to Vietnam during the next year, made me aware that the arms race and the federal government's massive expenditures for both conventional and nuclear weapons were immoral and insane. Before I left high school several of my older buddies on the football team had gone off to Vietnam, and some had returned in body bags.

Still, I wasn't too surprised by the reaction when, in late 1982, the day before the House of Representatives rejected President Reagan's proposal for the MX missile, I asked my classes at Fisk University, an all-black institution, what they thought about the arms race. Most of my students hadn't heard about the nuclear freeze; others thought that massive increases in military spending would be good for the economy. Their responses are not atypical of other blacks. Most black religious, political, and grassroots community leaders have said next to nothing about the nuclear arms race.

The first dilemma that confronts black activists who are concerned about government spending for both conventional and nuclear weapons is the popular belief among too many black workers and poor people that military expenditures reduce unemployment. This attitude is particularly evident among black Americans in their thirties and early forties, and among black senior citizens. The former entered the job market during the Vietnam war. Many black high school and college graduates had a relatively easy time getting jobs. In 1969, for example, black youth unemployment was much less than half of today's figure. That same year, black males with families had official jobless rates of only 2.5 percent. The ratio of black

families' median income levels to those of whites narrowed from 51 percent in 1958 to 63 percent in 1969. After the reduction of U.S. troop involvement in Southeast Asia, economic conditions rapidly deteriorated for blacks.

The latter group's favorable attitude toward defense spending was created by World War II. In November 1941, black unemployment stood at 28 percent. The New Deal had helped to reduce black joblessness, but the nation as a whole was still trapped in an unprecedented depression. In the next three years, eleven million young men and women went into the armed services. Billions were spent in defense-related industries, and millions went to work.

Marion Anderson of Employment Research Associates of Lansing, Michigan, estimates that military spending in 1977 and 1978 caused a net loss each year of more than a million jobs.\* She calculates that each \$1 billion of Pentagon spending causes the net loss of 9,000 job opportunities in the private sector and 35,000 jobs in the state and local government sector.

How does this relate to black unemployment? Anderson's research concludes that "there were over 480,000 fewer jobs for blacks in civilian industry because of the military budget. These were the civilian jobs lost or never created when people are heavily taxed to pay for the military and are unable to spend the money upon their own needs." A sector by sector analysis for the years 1970-1978 indicates that 28,100 blacks' jobs were lost annually in nondurable goods as a

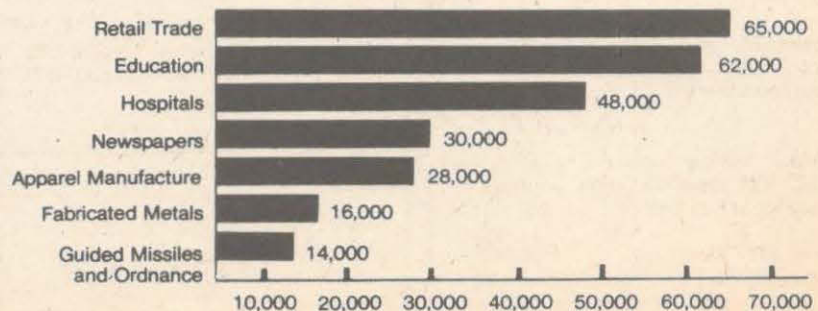
result of military expenditures. In residential construction, the net annual job loss was 21,350 jobs; for service-related enterprises, 191,300 jobs were lost yearly, and another 150,450 were lost in state and local government. Anderson concludes, "Every time the Pentagon's budget goes up \$1 billion, 1,300 jobs disappear from black Americans." Even blacks who are currently working on military contracts suffer lessened job opportunities, pay, and mobility for workers." Moreover, in the 21 states where 90 percent of the black population lives, 17 show a net loss of black employment when the military budget goes up. New York suffers a net loss of 58,000 jobs for blacks; Ohio, 12,000; Florida, 14,000; Michigan, 19,000; and Illinois, 24,000 jobs.

The message is clear: more than any other sector of the American public, blacks have a clear stake in the campaign to end the nuclear arms race and to reduce conventional weapons. We may oppose the MX missile on moral grounds, but more than this, we must wage an unrelenting campaign within black schools, churches, and labor halls to create a popular movement relating defense spending to jobs. ●

*Manning Marable, a vice-chair of DSA, is director of the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University.*

\*Figures from *The Empty Pork Barrel: Unemployment and the Pentagon Budget*, 1982 edition, by Marion Anderson, as calculated from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

### JOBS GENERATED BY ONE BILLION DOLLARS OF EXPENDITURE



# JANIE HIGGINS REPORTS

**Enough: To date the victims** of Reagan's Depression have been taking their suffering quietly. Signs abound, though, that people have had enough. Farm activists have resorted to the old-fashioned "penny auctions" and other 1930s-style protests to halt foreclosures. After much popular protest, a Pittsburgh sheriff and judge have refused to foreclose on the homes of unemployed workers. *John Herling's Labor Letter* for January 15 details the resistance to corporate takeaways in unions, ranging from steel, electrical, and auto workers to the Airline Pilots, coalminers and the Screen Actors Guild. In New England, the UAW has set up service centers for the unemployed as a first step toward organizing the unemployed. Grassroots groups are pulling together to fight back all over the country. There may be a mobilization of the jobless on Washington this spring. And in the top councils of the AFL-CIO, proposals for Solidarity Day III are being examined. Indiana trade union and community activists gave an example to the nation with a January 11 "People's State of the State" mobilization at the capital in Indianapolis. More than 1,200 crowded into the rotunda for a rally, followed by lobbying. The UAW, state AFL-CIO and statewide Citizens' Action Coalition organized the protest to fight for extension of unemployment benefits, a moratorium on farm and home foreclosures and a ban on urban enterprise zones in Indiana.

**Losing out in real sunrise** industry. The metaphor for the economic strategy favored by the Atari Democrats revolves around the sun. According to the chic neo-liberals, we should abandon our aging sunset industries (auto, steel) and concentrate our resources on the emerging sunrise industries (high tech ventures like micro-chips). One high tech industry where the U.S. has had a clear lead, literally, is a sunrise industry: solar energy. But, according to the Washington-based World Watch Institute, our light is dimming. Industry isn't investing enough, and the Reagan administration is cutting government funds for the development of

photovoltaics, devices to turn the sun's rays into electricity. In Western Europe and Japan, government support and private investment in photovoltaics are on the way up; we're still increasing funding for nuclear reactors. Says Christopher Flavin, senior researcher at World Watch, "Japan will probably surpass the U.S. in solar cell sales by the end of this decade... American homes may one day be powered by solar electric systems made in Japan."

**A strange and disgraceful** alliance. On Friday, January 14, *The Wall Street Journal* published an article on its editorial page claiming that members of the Communist Party, USA control the peace movement in the interests of the Soviet Union. Specifically, according to this article, Communist cadre ran the June 12 demonstration in New York and effectively kept out demands for Soviet disarmament. There was only one unusual aspect of this particular article; it was reprinted from the CP's paper, *The Daily World*. DSA Chair Michael Harrington, in a letter printed by the *Journal* on Wednesday, January 19, deplored the "united front of neo-McCarthyites and neo-Stalinists." The *Journal* preferred to downplay his criticism of their newfound friendship and play up a parenthetical remark about DSA's criticism of the French Socialist nuclear force. The *Journal* also cut the last two sentences of Harrington's letter. They bear remembering: "So Communists cooperate in red-baiting, and neo-McCarthyites endorse Communist braggadocio. A plague on both your houses!"

**And her grammar** weren't no good, neither. *Labor Notes* reports that the U.S. Army recently fired a female clerical worker for bad spelling. Her supervisor, an Army colonel, claims that he "councilled" her about the problem many times.



## DEMOCRATIC LEFT

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