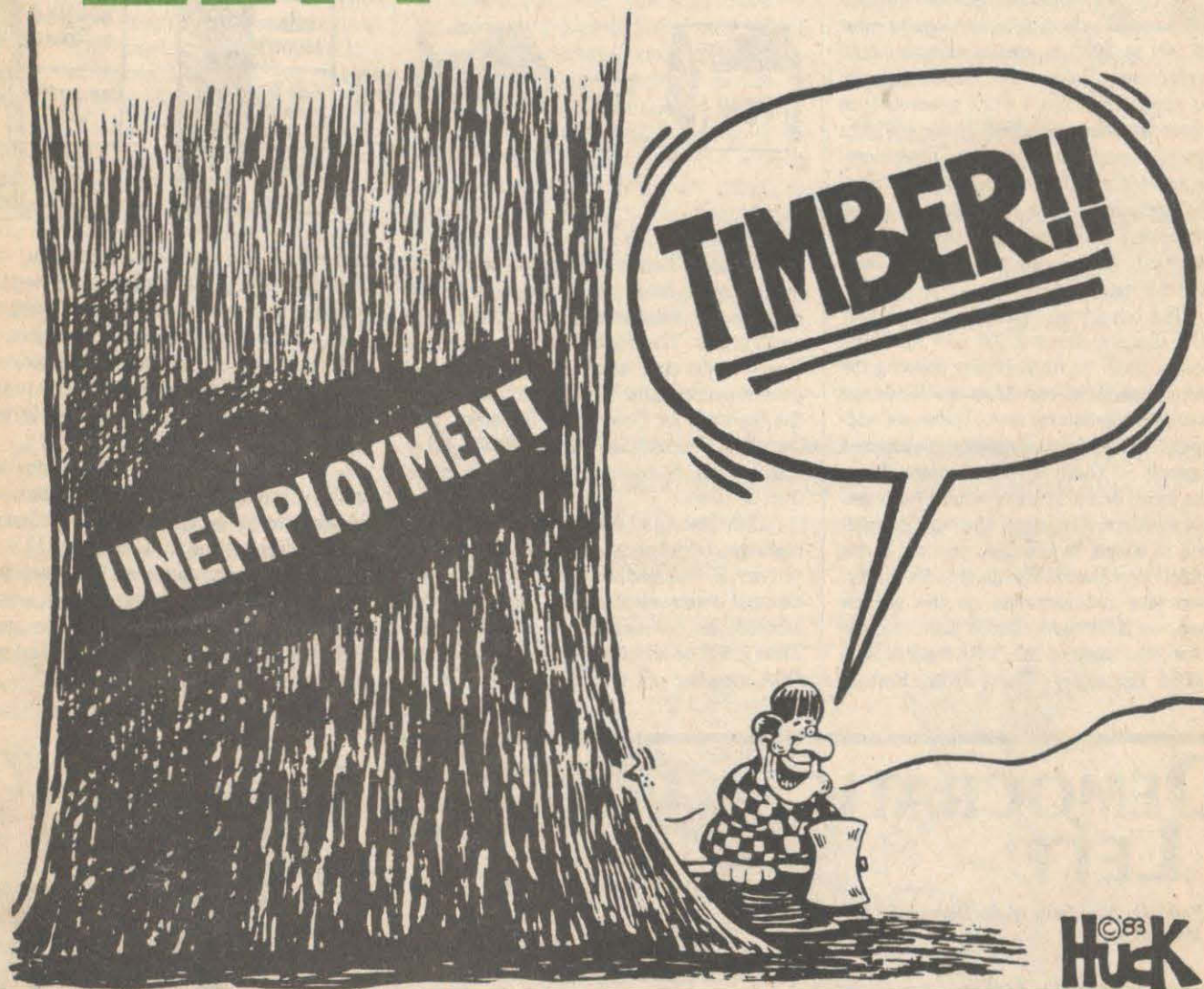


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DEMOCRATIC Left

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OFFICE SPACE

Building Blocks Campaign

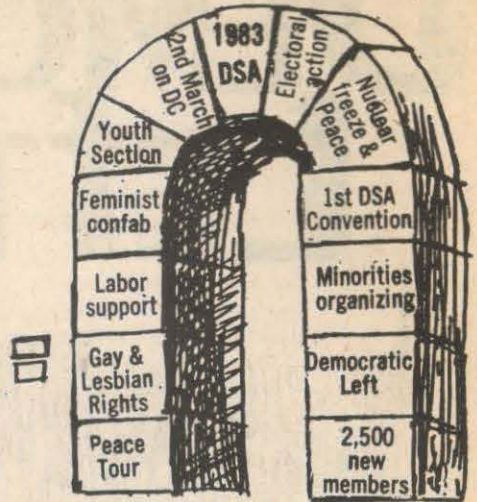
Looking forward to a year of growth and intense activity the DSA National Executive Committee voted in February to launch a campaign to raise \$126,000 in 1983 in special matching-fund contributions. Unions and individuals who have supported DSA's work generously in the past are being asked for "challenge" gifts to match contributions made by DSA members and friends. Over \$25,000 such "challenge" gifts have been pledged or received toward this \$63,000 portion of the campaign. In addition, DSA locals are urged to raise \$8,000 for national purposes.

DSA has grown rapidly since the NAM/DSOC merger. Over 2,500 new members joined in 1982. At its February meeting the National Board chartered five new locals and two organizing committees. These are added to the 87 locals and organizing committees and nearly 50 Youth Section chapters. Many of the locals and YS chapters have participated in electoral campaigns, the most dramatic one of which, in Chicago, resulted in the nomination of Harold Washington for mayor. Others are concentrating on the nuclear freeze, on campaigns against plant closings and for jobs, and the like. DSA leaders such as Mike Harrington, Harry Britt, Barbara



Ehrenreich, Stanley Aronowitz, and Manning Marable have spoken before large and enthusiastic audiences in major cities and small towns. The Youth Section's first West Coast conference attracted double the expected participants. The Youth Section and the Institute for Democratic Socialism have launched Peace Tour '83, which will bring visibility to democratic socialism in more than 50 cities.

All this costs money—for staff work, mailings, telephones, etc. Most DSA local activity is financed locally—but it requires national communication and coordination to increase its resonance in the body politic. Thus it will be absolutely essential for every DSA member not only to make her or his



maximum *personal* contribution to the "Building Blocks Campaign" but to work to broaden the organization's base of support. This means recruiting more members, or getting friends to contribute to the campaign who haven't yet made up their minds to join. The first campaign appeal will be in your mailbox in a few weeks.

Democratic socialism is still a novel idea to the vast majority of Americans. That's one reason why its potential is almost unlimited. But we aren't going to "Change the U.S.A." by some magical formula. We must build socialist consciousness and socialist participation from the ground up—block by block. Put your blocks where your hopes and your heart are—today.

DEMOCRATIC LEFT

Formerly Newsletter of the Democratic Left and Moving On.

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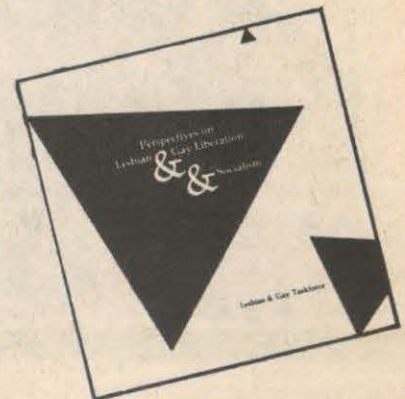
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BLUNDER ON BLUNDER

by Carol O'Cleireacain

As Ronald Reagan traveled across America in his campaign for the presidency, he liked to say: "If your neighbor loses his job, it's a downturn; if your friend loses his job, it's a recession; if you lose your job, it's a depression." The grain of truth in the story is that, in human terms, we judge the economy on the jobs it provides. And a central component of the present crisis is the lack of jobs. We have gone through two years of dramatically rising unemployment. From an average of 7.6 percent in 1981, rates are now in double digits. More important, it is clear that unemployment rates are not going to come down soon. We are going to see what economic experts will call a "recovery" taking place at the same time that unemployment rates rise or remain very high. The focus of the "recovery" talk will be on one number: the Gross National Product. It will be up to progressives, particularly workers, to define "recovery" to include getting people back to work. A turnaround in GNP will not lower unemployment. There is simply too much excess capacity in the economy to make significant inroads into the increased use of labor by a smallish rise in output.

Jobs Crisis

According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 1983 will see a 10½ percent average unemployment rate in the US. We all know by now that unemployment is distributed unevenly among the population, with black teenagers being the hardest hit. But what receives much less publicity and is as significant and as frightening is the lengthening duration of unemployment. When we read that, on average, in 1983, we can expect more than eleven million Americans to be unemployed, that does not mean that only eleven million workers will experience unemployment. The true number will be closer to 25 million. Why? Let's assume a labor force of one hundred million people, an average unemployment rate of 10 percent, and an average duration of unemployment of six months. On average, twenty million people could have been unemployed during the year (10 percent x 100 million = 10 million / ½

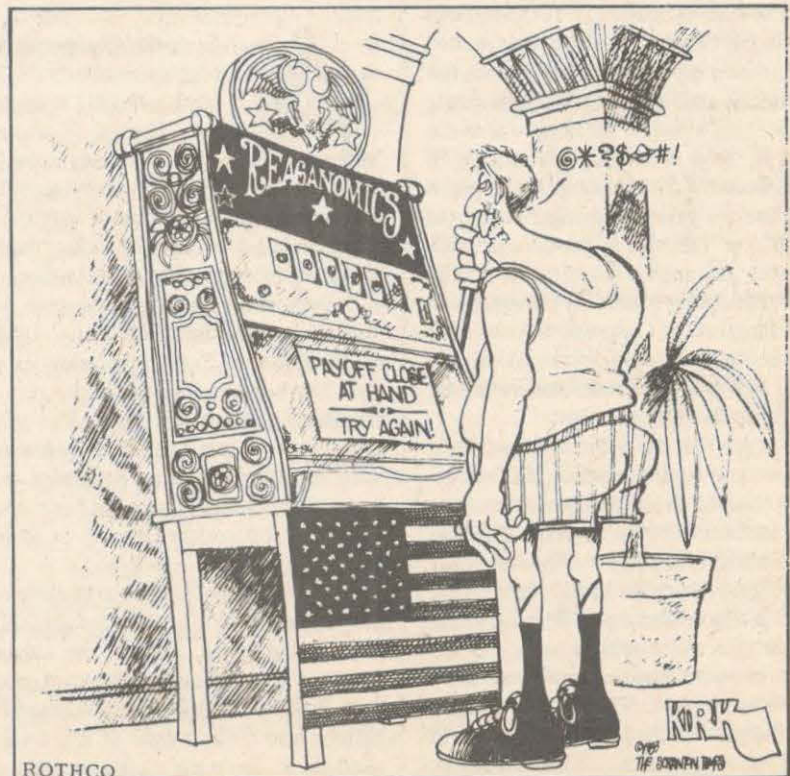
year = 20 million). In fact, given that the unemployment rate is more than 10 percent, the labor force slightly larger than 100 million, and the average duration of unemployment slightly shorter than six months, 25 million Americans experiencing unemployment in this coming year is not far off the mark. Most of those unemployed workers will not receive unemployment compensation for all of the time they are unemployed. Today, only about 40 percent of the more than 11½ million Americans out of work are receiving benefits. Thus, the labor market crisis facing workers in the U.S. means an

increasing probability of becoming unemployed, with an increasing certainty that unemployment will last longer and will cost them more financially and personally than it has before.

Policy Crisis

The second major aspect of the current U.S. crisis is the policy crisis. Although those within the administration recognize that their policies haven't worked, they cannot admit to having made the biggest blunders in economic policy since the 1920s. They are backing off a bit, but the fundamen-

"A turnaround in GNP will not lower unemployment. There is simply too much excess capacity in the economy to make significant inroads into the increased use of labor by a smallish rise in output."



tal inconsistencies of Reaganomics remain. They have been embedded in our economy and in the federal budget through the policies of the administration. These policies were put together by people who said that: we could cut taxes without increasing the deficit; we could reduce inflation without increasing unemployment; we could increase defense spending without affecting domestic spending; we could increase the deficit without raising interest rates. These inconsistencies guarantee that this government cannot produce acceptable levels of unemployment and inflation between now and 1984.

"A return to sanity must begin with an increase in federal taxes. Let Treasury Secretary Regan call it a 'user fee on income'!"

What can be done? We must get people back to work. This requires, first and foremost, a significant change in the mix of monetary and fiscal policy. Second, it requires a change in the mix of federal spending—a shift from the enormous increases in military spending to public investment in job creation.

Raise Taxes

A return to sanity must begin with an increase in federal taxes. Let Treasury Secretary Regan call it a "user fee on income!" Only increased revenues will bring down the federal deficit and, with that, interest rates. Ronald Reagan's budget strategy was to cut taxes first, thus restricting the amount of revenue available for spending. He gave the military the top priority among all claims to those dollars. The size of his tax cut alone would have guaranteed a substantial deficit, but the recession, which cut receipts, and the unwillingness of Congress to make ever larger cuts in social spending or to cut significantly the president's defense requests, have swelled the deficit further.

To argue that the deficit is important is not to become a conservative. Neither the absolute size of the deficit nor its size in relation to the size of the economy (GNP) is the problem or crucial issue. The deficit has been a bigger share at some other times. Today, it is a large share of GNP by historical standards and will continue to be, as the economy recovers, unless the revenue hemorrhaging is stopped. The Reagan budgets would produce deficits if the country were at high or full employment. (That would not

have been the case if Laffer had been right, but we know he wasn't.) Instead of having a convergence toward a full-employment balance, we have a very expansionary budget path. This makes monetary policy and high interest rates the only "brakes" available to use on the economy. The deficit as a percent of national savings or loanable funds is very high, which means that those who argue that the government will be financing the deficit by taking funds away from private investment have a point. That would be less of a worry if the government were using the funds for public investments—roads, bridges, ports, hospitals, schools, training centers for workers, etc. Then all we would have would be a substitution of public for private investment. Instead, the government is taking funds from private investment for public consumption. Consumption, whether it is public guns or private butter, does not increase the future production (and consumption) possibilities of society.

Unless the revenue raising capacity of

the federal government is restored to a reasonable level with a dependable growth rate, thus ensuring the potential for elimination of a considerable amount of the deficit with economic growth, interest rates will not come down. The huge demand for funds to finance the deficit as well as the knowledge by the financial markets that monetary policy is the only available anti-inflationary tool will keep upward pressure on interest rates. And, without lower interest rates, employment in housing construction, auto, steel, most manufacturing, and in state and local governments will not pick up. In short, there will be no "job recovery" without a conscious shift in federal economic policy—on both the tax and spending side of the budget. ●

Carol O'Claircain is the chief economist for District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. This article is based on a presentation made at the Winter DSA Youth Conference in New York City.

CITY POLITICS

Washington Campaign Brings Chicago Hope

by John Cameron

A funny thing happened in Chicago on February 22. Black congressional representative Harold Washington's surprise victory in the Democratic mayoral primary stunned party regulars and upended established political relationships in a town famous for its "machine" politics. Democracy had come to Clout City.

Democracy in city elections is something very new for Chicagoans. Until the death of Mayor Richard J. Daley six years ago, there were few genuinely contested citywide or aldermanic races. The only exceptions were in a handful of predominantly white and middle-class Lakefront wards. Since then, though, there has been a steady growth of progressive forces in municipal politics.

The center of this new progressive movement has not been in the liberal Lakefront communities. Rather, the movement has been spearheaded by the black independent (nonmachine) Democrats based in the largely blue-collar wards of the south and west sides. Since the early seventies, when

black voters spurned Democratic states attorney candidate Edward Hanrahan (the man responsible for a 1969 police raid that ended in the murder of two Black Panther leaders), there have been a series of successful black electoral challenges to the regular Democratic party. Through successive skirmishes, black activists had developed an increasingly sophisticated political capability and expanded their power base.

The victory of Harold Washington in February was the culmination of that process. Recently elected to his second term in Congress, Washington was reluctant to enter the three-way race against incumbent mayor Jane Byrne and states attorney Richard M. Daley (son of the late mayor). However, a powerful wave of antimachine sentiment swept through the black community after a number of deliberately antiblack actions by Byrne last summer. Black activists were able to harvest those feelings with an extremely successful voter registration drive in the fall. Washington, as the city's most widely known and respected black public official, was drafted by these independ-

ents as their standard bearer against Byrne.

But the Washington victory represents much more than the next step in local black empowerment. Despite his roots in the regular Democratic organization, Washington is probably the most progressive major officeholder in the city. Consistently ranked as one of Illinois' best lawmakers, he has an outstanding record of support for minority, feminist, labor, and community issues.

In Congress for the last two years Washington has concentrated on combating Ronald Reagan's social service cuts and military expenditures. He has played an active role in the Congressional Black Caucus and most recently led the legislative fight for extending the Voting Rights Act.

Washington has also been very much committed to coalition politics. Throughout his primary campaign he championed himself as the spokesman for "blacks, Hispanics, progressive and poor whites." Although that multiracial coalition has yet to really materialize—while winning 82 percent of the black vote, he garnered only minor Hispanic support and just 6 percent of the white vote—Washington is committed to building a broad base of support among the city's diverse constituencies.

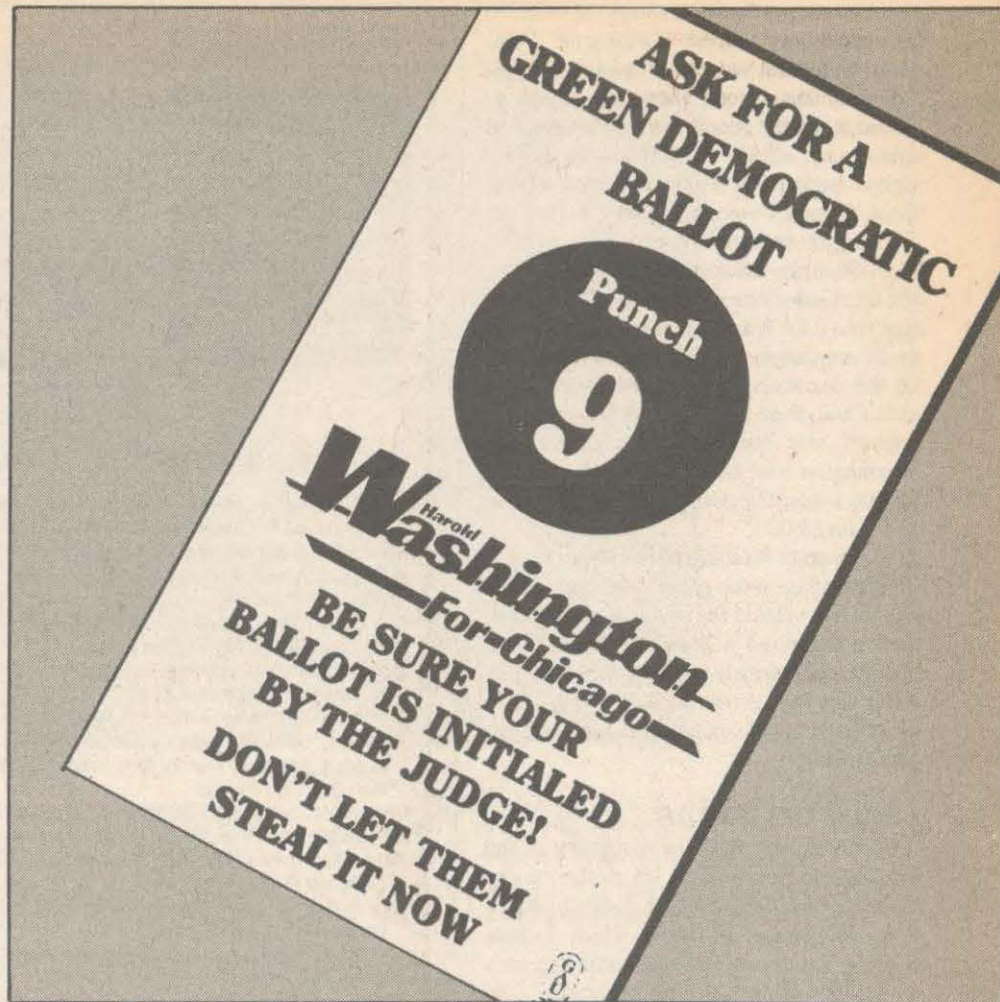
Perhaps most important, Washington's victory significantly undermines the pervasive racism that has prevented the development of progressive politics in Chicago for so long. For example, the conservative Chicago Federation of Labor, bastion of the nearly all white construction trades, endorsed Washington unanimously in the wake of the primary. And although the flames of open race-hatred have flared temporarily in some white communities, the longterm impact of a black mayor will be to break down many barriers in this most segregated of major American cities.

DSA Role

The historic significance of the Washington bid led Chicago DSAers to make an early and total commitment to his campaign. Washington appeared at the regular meeting of the local last December, receiving unanimous enthusiasm from the 165 members present. An initial fundraising appeal generated nearly \$1,000 in donations.

Local members set up a phone bank to contact everyone in the local to request their active participation in precinct, fundraising, and election day work. By mid-January, over 80 DSAers were involved as precinct canvassers, areas coordinators or staff. By the end of the primary campaign, DSA members had contributed \$3,000 for Washington.

Several DSA members played key roles in the campaign organization. Milt Cohen coordinated voter registration activities and



served as liaison with many area progressive groups. Roberta Lynch was precinct coordinator for the Northside/Lakefront Area of the campaign where many DSAers were active. Other DSA members helped win support for Washington in their unions and community groups.

Although by no means alone, DSAers were among the few progressive groupings based outside the black community to fully support the Washington effort. Even though many of their active members worked for Washington, most of the large institutionalized progressive forces were seriously divided by the three-way Democratic race. The local chapter of the National Organization for Women endorsed Byrne (although it endorsed Washington immediately after the primary); many community groups and trade unions split between backing Daley or Washington, or remained neutral. Several prominent progressive white politicians endorsed Daley or ducked the race altogether.

Low on Funds

The Washington campaign was also handicapped by its late start and lack of funds. Byrne had used her four-year term to

systematically squeeze campaign contributions from businesses contracting with the city. As a result, she amassed a whopping \$10 million for her campaign. Daley had been running against Byrne since she attempted to block his bid for the states attorney post in 1980. He raised close to \$3 million for his mayoral try. By the end, Washington's campaign chest was at \$1 million. Consequently, Chicagoans were bombarded with television ads produced by Byrne's slick media consultants and by Daley's rather homier public relations operation.

Both Byrne and Daley had significant precinct-level operations based on the traditional patronage/ward boss system. Daley's strength was concentrated in the city's southwest side with a scattering of committeemen elsewhere. Byrne had most of the rest of the party's ward operations, including those of major black officeholders. In contrast, Washington's precinct-level campaign was built entirely on volunteers. On election day he had an estimated 10,000 workers.

Outspent and outorganized, the Washington campaign's hopes rested largely on the expected solidarity of the black community. An "80/80" strategy projected an 80

percent turnout by black voters, of which 80 percent would support Washington. Combined with some votes by Hispanics and progressive whites, this would be enough to defeat a divided machine vote. Several last minute and clumsy racial remarks by key Byrne backer Ed Vrdolyack, chair of the Cook County Democratic party, helped the Washington scenario come true.

When the ballots were counted, it was the tremendous turnout by black Chicagoans that won it for Washington. In the last weeks of the campaign, the Washington effort took on the characteristics of a "crusade" in the south and west-side neighborhoods. Other support was minor but not insignificant: Washington beat out closest rival Byrne by 36,000 votes; the northside/lakefront wards gave him 38,000.

Although Washington has still to win the mayoral office in the general election (where racism has inflated the hopes of the Republican and inspired a Byrne write-in effort), attention has already turned to the new agenda for City Hall. A transition team is soliciting ideas from a wide range of progressive organizations.

High on Ideas

Among the most revolutionary of the Washington proposals is his pledge to dismantle city hiring based on political patronage. Patronage workers, which include those in a wide range of blue-collar jobs such as street repair, sewer maintenance, and garbage collecting, have formed the backbone of the regular Democratic organization. Not only would an end to patronage undermine the power of the ward bosses, but it would open these workers to unionization, with the potential of reviving Chicago's stagnant labor movement.

Other priorities of the new administration will be removing the current police chief and cracking down on police brutality, major grievances of the black and Hispanic communities. Washington has vowed to continue his fight against Reaganism both at the national level as a spokesman for cities and in state government by fighting cutbacks in education and human services spending.

Much of the Washington program has yet to crystalize. Nevertheless, the sense of hope generated by his election is widespread among blacks and non-black progressives alike. Although he will have to make significant moves to quell fears in a race-divided city, Washington is committed to a course that will fundamentally alter the shape of Chicago politics. For DSA and our progressive allies, there could be no better news. ●

John Cameron was active in the Washington campaign. He is editor of the Chicago Socialist.

dissent pamphlets 4

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Proposals from the Democratic Left

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IN THESE TIMES

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ROAD TO NOWHERE

by Leo Casey

It is the spring of 1983 and all the pageantry of a presidential campaign has begun: campaign committees are formed, the official and unofficial statements of candidacy are made, the jockeying for position begins, and the media start their seemingly endless speculation on the final results. Yet the sense of drama is missing. Not only is there no serious contest of political ideas, but it is hard to imagine any of the current front runners leading the charge on crucial issues. Needless to say, the democratic left has not even entered the lists.

As democratic socialists, it is not enough for us to bemoan this sorry state of affairs, but assume that the Democratic candidate will win and that eventually the left will have more opportunities. We can no longer employ the "pendulum" metaphor to argue that American politics may swing to the right but has to return to the left before coming to rest in the center. Politics is not nature, and follows no law of gravity. Likewise, we cannot reduce the complexity of the situation to personal decisions, such as Ted Kennedy's choice not to run. Our difficulties run far deeper. We must look to the underlying economic and ideological trends that shape American political culture over the long run. This is a major project with many aspects; in this short essay I will limit myself to consideration of two of the more important questions.

Economic Order

It is no secret to the readers of DEMOCRATIC LEFT that the American economy is in a full scale crisis after a decade of worsening downturns. Although political analysts have paid considerable attention to the short term electoral effects of a double digit unemployment rate, there has been little discussion of the long range political impact of the accompanying changes in the structure of the economy. Instead, the prevailing view assumes that the current economic troubles are not substantially different from the recessions of the fifties and sixties. As the primary industries pick up in time, the economy will be revived and return to its previous form. According to this perspective, the basic shape and character of the economy will, despite cyclical fluctuations, remain the same.



Elsewhere in this issue Carol O'Cleirecain challenges the popular assumption that we can look forward to economic recovery as usual. Indeed, there is mounting evidence that the American economy is being fundamentally restructured in the course of its current crisis. The once dominant heavy manufacturing industries of steel, machinery, and auto are losing their commanding position within both the American and international economy, and will only partially recover when the economic situation as a whole improves. The system of industrial capitalism rooted in these basic industries is being transformed into a new "computer age" economic order in which high technology capital increasingly assumes the leading role. This transformation is so far reaching in scope that the only example of a similar scale development in American history would be the transition to a heavy manufacturing industrial capitalism in the late 19th century.

These fundamental changes in the economy are having a profound effect on the character of American political culture. The industrial unions based in heavy manufacturing have been the progressive spearhead of the American trade union movement, and a primary mainstay of the New Deal electoral coalition that has been the predominant force in American politics for the better part of the last forty years. As the industries in which these unions are based have declined, the power and influence of the unions have decayed, contributing to the already advancing disintegration of the New Deal coalition.

The current lifeless enactment of the campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination is a product of this decline. We cannot graft a new idea on an old and tired coalition. The crisis of New Deal liberalism is thus not just the exhaustion of an idea which has outlived its time; it is also the historical

decline of many of the elements—such as the industrial unions—that comprised the coalition for that idea. If we are to rebuild a progressive political majority, it will be based on a new and more radical program and involve a new and broader coalition. Among the elements of this coalition will be a revitalized, different trade union movement, one with far more significant public and service sectors, and one in which women and minorities play a far more important role.

Hearts and Minds

This progressive political majority will not be rebuilt in a vacuum. There are contenders to the right of succession to the New Deal coalition, particularly on the ultra-conservative right, and until now they have held the upper hand. The Reagan landslide of 1980 should be seen as the first battle in the war to construct a new political bloc. Its ultimate success is by no means preordained, but it certainly cannot be defeated without the development of a coherent left alternative.

The first task for democratic socialists seeking to develop a strategy for Reaganism is to study carefully the basis of its ideological appeal. The ideologues of the right have understood that the economic crisis and growing disintegration of the New Deal coalition required an active ideological response. Reaganism is an attempt to construct a right-wing political majority around a qualitatively new configuration of ideological themes, a new—to use Antonio Gramsci's term—"common sense" that popularizes a *radical* economic and social program. Only when we understand how this new "common sense" speaks to various popular aspirations will we be able to construct a viable alternative.

One of the central organizing themes of this new ideology is anti-statism. Where the old right was thoroughly committed to state

interventionism as recently as Nixon's 1971 imposition of wage and price controls, the new Reagan right is uncompromising in its opposition to most forms of state regulation. It attacks the central government bureaucracy as the enemy of initiative and self-reliance, and defends its dismantling of consumer and worker health and safety and environmental protection programs as the restoration of freedom. It would be a mistake, however, to treat this anti-statist posture as a crude rationalization for pro-business policies. Despite many positive achievements in the fields of social welfare and security, the New Deal liberal state has gradually acquired a centralized and bureaucratic character that has undermined the possibility of effective democratic control of its decisions. It is not only giant corporations that have grievances against the liberal state: the very classes of citizens who should benefit from the control and regulation of business also experience the state as an arbitrary and oppressive force in their lives. Reaganism seizes upon the subsequent disenchantment with the interventionist state and New Deal liberalism to build a popular consensus for its specific attacks on the more progressive programs of the government.

For example, this anti-statist theme has a particular resonance in a field such as education. When the major pedagogical and organizing decisions are largely usurped by centralized bureaucracies, be they city, state or federal, a considerable amount of resentment is generated within local communities. When generally progressive decisions are made by these bureaucracies, the right has a golden opportunity to connect reactionary opposition to racial integration or sex education with genuine democratic sentiment for community control of education. The task of the democratic left is to pose an ideological alternative that identifies progressive reforms with democratic control over decision making.

It is not sufficient, therefore, for the left to simply pose an alternative economic program. Many of the left prefer to avoid the so-called controversial cultural and social questions, especially issues of race and sex. This has the effect of ideological capitulation to Reaganism: the right would become the only political force attempting to articulate democratic, anti-statist themes. In the absence of any meaningful ideological opposition, their success would be assured.

Reaganism can be defeated, but only if the democratic left deepens its understanding of and develops its commitment to the democratic, anti-statist traditions of the communities in which we are rooted. Don't bother to look for that plank in the 1984 Democratic party platform. ●

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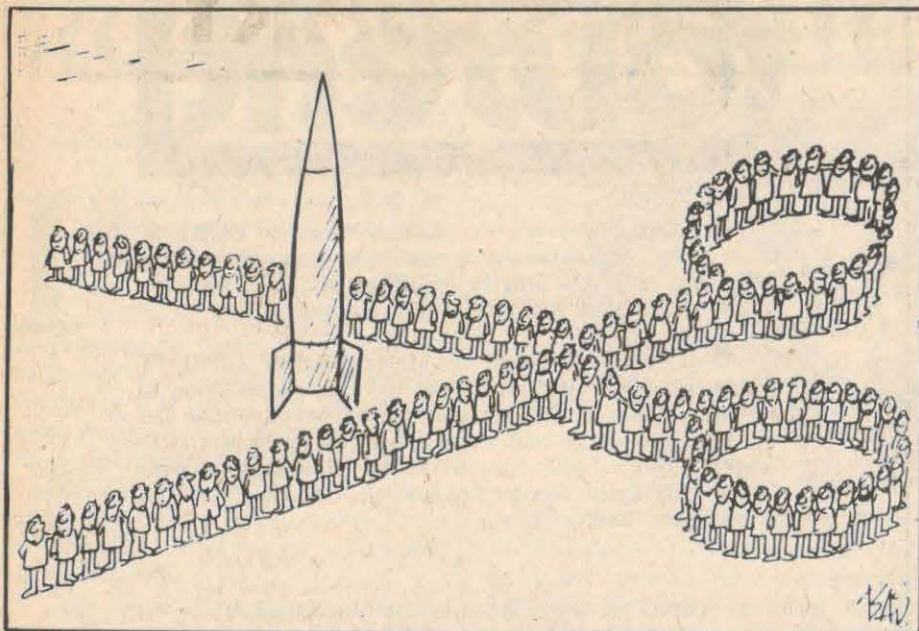
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- I would like to subscribe to the discussion bulletin, *Socialist Forum*, \$10.

Send to: Democratic Socialists of America, 853 Broadway, Suite 801, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel.: (212) 260-3270.

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LETTERS



Peace Tour '83

by Jason Kay

The Euromissiles—464 cruise and 108 Pershing II missiles that the Reagan administration wants to deploy in Western Europe this year—represent a new and dangerous escalation of the arms race. Spreading the word about that danger is the goal of Peace Tour '83, which is bringing 16 European and American peace activists to nearly 50 cities around the country.

NATO first announced its intention to deploy the Euromissiles in 1979. Soon afterwards, the disarmament movement in Europe began a resurgence that brought the arms race to the center of European politics. In the fall of 1981, a total of 2.5 million people marched in every major capital in Western Europe. Since then, the peace movement in Europe has continued to grow, fueled by the prospect of a nuclear confrontation of the superpowers that would leave Europe a wasteland and inevitably engulf the rest of the world.

In the U.S., the peace movement has also grown suddenly and massively. Much of that growth has been galvanized by the call for a nuclear freeze. Unfortunately, the freeze movement has not led to widespread, active opposition to specific weapons systems. Indeed, many congressional supporters of the freeze also favor deploying the

Euromissiles.

Peace Tour '83 is designed to address this problem. Among the tour's 16 speakers are leaders from the International Union of Socialist Youth from Germany and England, Joan Ruddock, Chair of Britain's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Dick Greenwood, foreign policy spokesperson for the Machinists Union, and DSA leaders Michael Harrington, Bodgan Denitch, Dorothee Soelle, and Manning Marable. These speakers will be visiting places such as Boise, Idaho and Houston, Texas, not just the usual centers of left and liberal politics. Special emphasis is being placed on campus audiences, because the disarmament issue has not mobilized students nearly as much as did the antiwar movement of the sixties.

Many peace organizations have made the Euromissiles a major priority or their work in 1983. They are planning campaigns that will include both legislative lobbying and grassroots mobilization. The peace tour is the beginning of DSA's contribution to that campaign—a contribution drawing on ties to the international socialist movement and a national network of committed peace activists. ●

Jason Kay is the organizer of Peace Tour '83. For a schedule of tour appearances, write to him at the New York office.

Check the Facts

To the Editor:

In the February 1983 edition Michael Harrington says that to qualify for Medicaid you either have to sell your house or have a lien put on it. This is untrue: federal law specifically excludes Medicaid from reimbursement. This means that no lien can be put on the house. Further, the house is excluded as a resource under the means test, if it is your home.

Poor people in this country have enough trouble qualifying for public benefits because of the myths and misinformation perpetrated by those within the welfare bureaucracy who want to exclude them from eligibility. The myth must not be compounded by the DEMOCRATIC LEFT, which, if it is serious about being a viable political force, must do its homework.

Anne Vaughan
Niles Schore
Philadelphia, Pa.

Survival Years

To the Editor:

For a history of the anti-gay aspects of the McCarthy period, I would like to hear from gay people who lived through that period. *The Survival Years* is a history in progress that will concentrate on the security programs of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations that barred gay people from employment, not only in the federal government, but also from large segments of private industry. It will explore the effects on and the memories and reactions of the gay victims and bystanders of the 1950 purges.

Len Evans
1995 Oak St. □10
San Francisco, Calif. 94117

Help!

the Editor:

It is frustrating to be able to read David Kotz's article (ITT, March 9-22) on unemployment and it looks like this, but Michael Harrington's article looks like this. Guess which writer is giving me a headache. Please use larger print!

Joan Stanne
Baltimore, Md.

ORGANIZER'S DIARY

Michael Harrington: Problems of Success

Some recent encounters have given me an appreciation of the problems of DSA's success: the difficulties of no longer being a small and comfortable sect but not yet being a large and important mass movement. As one who has known both, I must say I prefer the problems of success to the problems of failure.

STANFORD *February 25th.* The first West Coast DSA Youth Section conference is being held at this university. The tree-lined, elite Palo Alto campus, which looks like a fine place for lotus eating, sometimes makes one forget that it is the home of an important radical tradition. This was one of the first places where the sixties began, an important center of the civil rights and antiwar movements.

Marjorie Phyfe, who is in California for Machinists political action work, and I share the platform at the opening plenary. There are about 200 in attendance, 65 from outside the Bay Area (that last number was to reach about 150 by the end of the conference) and the spirit is excellent. Marjorie is extremely thoughtful on what it meant to be in the movement and how it had changed her own life. From the laughter, I must have come across as a hybrid of myself and Mort Sahl. I had never thought Reaganomics a hilarious subject, but there you are. The next night, Ron Dillum's speech would draw 300 people.

The real point is that the Youth Section keeps growing and that on her post-conference tour, Youth Organizer Penny Schantz organized, not simply individuals, but entire chapters. The campus is, I suspect, waiting for a cause. The antinuke rally of 1979, the antidraft demonstration of 1980 in which many of us played a role, the mobilization against the cuts in student aid that DSA did so much to build, the turnout for disarmament in June, are all anticipations of a movement, but not yet a movement. I have been saying that it is "1959" for about three or four years, i.e., that the campus is on the verge of exploding into life. Even though the clock is running much too slowly, I hear it ticking at this Stanford conference.

SEATTLE *February 26th.* I go straight from the airport to the University of Washington, where I speak at an afternoon conference sponsored by the Gray Panthers, with the support of the AFL-CIO. In the mid-seventies I spoke at one of the Panthers' national conferences, soon after they were organized, so I was prepared for the vitality and militance I discovered in Seattle. But what was particularly impressive was the way in which these men and women understood the inter-relating of issues. They were determined not to be just a special interest lobby for the over-65s and they responded with enthusiasm when I told them they had to enlist in the struggle against the unemployment of younger workers.

After the meeting, there was a brief discussion with about a dozen trade unionists from the area. Several were leaders of a local who had won a tough battle as dissidents in the Seattle Machinists union. Why, they wanted to know, didn't DSA intervene with Wimpy

on their behalf, particularly since they admired his politics? Because, I told them, DSA simply doesn't try to "discipline" its members in the unions and even has known its people to be on different sides of internal union issues. The only union where I have a right to fight on internal issues, I said, was the American Federation of Teachers and if I did I would do it as a member of the union and not as a part of some external caucus. I didn't satisfy them, though there was an older unionist from another union, who had come out of the Communist party, who knew what I was saying, and obviously approved.

That night, the DSA meeting at the University of Washington campus was so crowded that the opening had to be delayed to let people into the auditorium. Someone noted that this was the first time in a long time that any left meeting in this area had been bothered by that problem. The next morning, at a brunch, there were forty or fifty DSAers in attendance, many of them trade unionists, many active in the progressive wing of the Democratic party. From there we went to a fund raiser given by some of the liberal Democratic activists. When I spoke of how none of the presidential candidates really addressed the basic, and radical, issues, there was considerable agreement.

From the fund raiser we drove through the Market section of Seattle—a skid row of Native Americans, alcoholics, teen age run-aways—to a meeting sponsored by the Seattle Council of Churches. I talked of the tremendous developments in Europe and Latin America that were bringing religious people who had been historically hostile to socialism into the movement. I thought of Norman Thomas. We used to chat about religion quite a bit because my Jesuit-educated background let me understand the concerns that flowed out of his Presbyterian background.

From the Council of Churches meeting, a quick drive to the airport, a flight to Portland and a DSA outreach meeting of some 200.

OREGON *February 28, March 1st.* I won't list all of the speeches and meetings—ten formal talks in two days in five different cities—but only a few of the highlights. Monday morning, February 28th, I had breakfast with AFL-CIO leaders from the Multnomah County Federation. DSAers play a role in the AFL-CIO there and—something I noticed on earlier trips—there is a Northwestern openness to radical ideas that puts the "sophisticated" Northeast to shame. These are unionists who had been working on plant closing legislation and had a real sense of the way in which new departures were imperative for the labor movement.

At Portland State that afternoon, I spoke to an audience of 150 or so sponsored by the local Freeze activists. At the Corvallis campus later in the day, there were 200 students. From Corvallis we went to Eugene, where despite the fact that I was competing with the final episode of M.A.S.H., at least 200 students turned out. These were not fifties meetings. These were "1959" meetings, on the cusp of the sixties.

Continued on page 14.

ON THE LEFT

by MAXINE PHILLIPS



NATIONAL ROUNDUP

California

In an "unprecedented" action, East Bay DSA voted to make the City Council campaign of Cassandra Lopez its top priority until the April election. The local recommended that the East Bay DSA PAC endorse her, which it did. Lopez, a black public school teacher and longtime community activist, is running for the North Oakland seat on the Council, an area in which 100 DSA members live. Jobs, housing, and crime prevention are key issues in her campaign. She was asked to run by the Oakland Progressive Political Alliance in the hope that a victory for her and re-election for incumbent Wilson Riles, Jr. would form a progressive Council bloc that could attract votes from moderate Council members. The campaign is relying on person-power for precinct walkers, not "slick mailings or expensive consultants," says the East Bay DSA newsletter... The newsletter also reports that its own direct mail recruitment effort combined with that of the National has increased its membership by 200 in the past six months.

San Diego DSA has joined with other community organizations to help the labor movement collect food for the unemployed. The Solidarity Labor-Community Coalition, which grew out of the 1981 Solidarity Day demonstration, was coordinating a massive food drive for mid-February, with distribution being handled through existing agencies.

District of Columbia

A front page story in *The Washington Tribune*, a free weekly, focused on DSA members in the City Council, Hilda Mason and Frank Smith, and on DSA's work in the Democratic party: Calling DSA "decidedly unstrident," the article pointed out that DSA had the second largest contingent at the city's recent constitutional convention, and had contributed some 40 to 50 volunteers to Democrat David Clarke's successful campaign for chairman of the City Council. Clarke's campaign manager acknowl-

edged to the writer that Clarke was reluctant to spell DSA's name out on campaign literature endorsement lists because "we and everyone else recognized what socialism means in this country," but said that Clarke learned through the campaign to know and respect members of DSA. DSAer Steve Ramirez pointed out that at an election night victory party Clarke mentioned DSA by its full name in his list of thank you's. The article also focused on some of DSA's policy development work, describing a paper on economic development that opposes creation of enterprise zones and proposed cuts in business taxes as giveaways to business that wouldn't produce new jobs. The paper also proposes that tenant security deposits be invested in a public fund for construction of low and moderate income housing, rather than in banks that can use the money for condominium conversion or other investments that are against tenant interests.

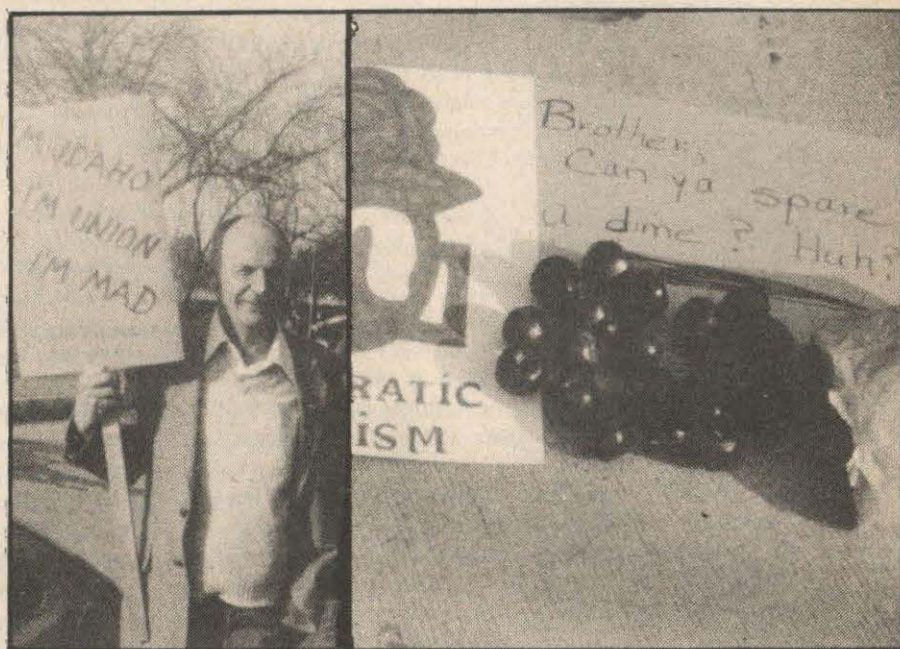
Illinois

The annual Thomas-Debs Dinner of the Chicago local, which this year honors trade unionist Joyce Miller, will feature as its main speaker Representative Harold Washington. DSAers are working to make sure that by the time of the dinner on May 7 Washington will be the new mayor of the

city... Chicago is now the home of a Peace Museum, member Kristen Lems reports in a recent issue of *Downstate Left*. One of the few of its kind in the world, it features graphic, literary, and performing art works inspired by, or dedicated to peace. In February its big exhibit was the "Peace Quilt," a collective effort with squares contributed by a wide variety of peace and social justice groups. It is located at 364 W. Erie St. and is open every afternoon but Monday... The Midwest Regional Conference of DSA was held in Champaign-Urbana on the weekend of March 19-20... Chicago bid farewell to Chris Riddiough, who has moved to Washington, D.C. and a job with The National Organization for Women. Chris, who will be assistant to DSA member and NOW VP-Action Mary Jean Collins, will work on lesbian rights. She was hailed in *GayLife* as "one of the most effective leaders in the gay community in Chicago."

Maine

State Representative Harlan Baker, a DSA member, sponsored a successful resolution to ratify the proposed constitutional amendment to give full voting rights to the District of Columbia. This makes Maine the 11th state to ratify. The amendment would give D.C. the right to elect two senators and one representative to Congress.



The Boise, Idaho local participated in a coalitional march and rally for peace and justice, using such props as the sign and apples above to make points about the economy.

Massachusetts

DSA members from the Pioneer Valley local participated in Democratic party town and ward caucuses in early February in preparation for the party issues convention. Three of the delegates selected were DSA members... The Boston School for Democratic Socialism spring brochure features classes on housing and urban policy, women and work, and lessons for American labor from the West European labor movements.

New York

Bill Nowak tells us that Buffalo DSAers were please to see years of work in the Peoples Power Coalition pay off with a study submitted to the Common Council that calls for municipal takeover of Niagara Mohawk Power. In 1976 and 1977 the Coalition gathered 12,000 signatures favoring a study on public ownership of the utilities. In 1978 the Common Council authorized money for the study. The mayor impounded the funds. The Coalition and the Council took the mayor to court and funds were released. The study began in 1981. With public power, the study estimates, savings could approach \$215 million in the next ten years. The study was not so positive about the possibility of public ownership of gas facilities. Since both Niagara Mohawk and National Fuel Gas refused to provide any data for the study, the consultants inferred that National Fuel, which owns all the pipelines leading into Buffalo, would refuse to supply a municipal utility. Other sources are available for electricity, so the city would not be "blockaded" if it municipalized electric power. The members of the Coalition expect a tough fight. When Massena New York took over Niagara Mohawk facilities in 1981 and lowered rates by 20 percent, the utility outspent public power advocates ten to one and tied the issue up in court. Buffalo activists believe they have learned from the Massena experience. The Buffalo DSA local scheduled a February premiere of the Coalition's slide show to educate the public and will work with the Coalition to make public power a reality.

North Carolina

Every Tuesday from 9:30 p.m. on, Chapel Hill-Carrboro DSAers gather for some socialist socializing in a local bar, Molly Maguire's. Members and friends, says the local newsletter, are invited to join in for "serious political discussion and light conversation." We know it's not uncommon for many DSA meetings to adjourn to

the local watering hole, but this is the first we've heard of starting out there.

Ohio

An extended regional meeting will be held in Oberlin on April 10. Workshops will focus on DSA local work and political skills. For information, contact Cleveland DSA, P.O. Box 91093, Cleveland, OH 44101.

Jim Miller imported 100 copies of *After Poland*, a book published by Spokesman, the publishing house of the Bertrand Russell Institute. It contains the statements of the Italian Communist party in reaction to the military coup in Poland and some of the answering polemics from the Soviets. These haven't been available in English in the U.S. before, Jim tells us. The PCI resolutions and debates stake out a position arguing for a "third way," neither Soviet-style communism nor Western European-style social democracy. Price is \$4 from Cleveland DSA, c/o Miller, 2061 E. 115th St., Cleveland, OH 44106.

Oregon

If you've ever wondered what to do when you have to plan child care for a meeting or convention, the new pamphlet by the Portland DSA might prove helpful. Although it only scratches the surface, "Children Are Everybody's Business" gives a good overview of what to prepare for and how to handle logistics. The pamphlet was prepared by the local's Socialist Feminist Task Force, which also maintains a list of persons available to do child care. The pamphlet is for distribution to community groups. For a sample, send a stamped, self-addressed envelope to DSA, P.O. Box 45, Portland, OR 97297.

WOMEN'S MEDIA

Another conference on that April weekend (16-17) sponsored by the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, will focus on planning a national and international communications system for women. A Women's Computer Literacy Course will follow immediately at a special rate of \$185 for conference participants. For information about the media conference, contact WIFP, 3306 Ross Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008, 202-966-7783. The organization has also published a *1983 Index/Directory of Women's Media*, which is available for \$8 from the same address.

MARX CENTENNIAL

The University of Maryland Baltimore County will host a conference on "Marxism: One Hundred Years After" April 15-16. Funded by the Maryland Committee for the Humanities, it will assess the philosophic-humanist tradition of Marx. Addresses will be given by David McLellan, University of Canterbury; Anthony Giddens, Kings College, Cambridge; and Michael Lowy, University of Nanterre. Panels will explore "Marxism and Work, Marxism and Religion, Marxism and Feminism, and Marxism and Black Culture." Write to Professor Norman Levine, Project Director, Department of History, UMBC, 5401 Wilkens Ave., Baltimore, Md. 21228.

We understand that some local residents have criticized the university's involvement in this project. The *New York Times* reports that controversy also surfaced in London, where the Labor-controlled city council allocated more than \$50,000 to be spent on such events as lectures, theater projects, reading lists for schools, and walking tours of pubs that Marx visited. A Tory council member in London snorted, "We don't owe anything to Marx; we owe more to Harpo and his brothers than Karl." The British Broadcasting Corporation aired a six-part series on Marx's legacy. David McLellan, author of 13 books on Marx, served as adviser for the series, but asked that his name be removed from the credits of the final product because, "Marx was an intellectual giant in the study of society and this does not come over in the scripts. They over-identify Marxism with Soviet Communism... there is no sense that there is anything to learn from Marxism or that it has influenced the West..."

Here at home the only news that the *New York Times* saw fit to print on the actual anniversary of his death was an essay about his illegitimate son, accompanied by a cartoon of a pregnant Karl. The *Chicago Tribune* published a right-wing attack, but most of the media ignored the occasion. As we go to press, registrations are pouring in for the memorial conference in New York City on April 1-2. The opening session will be held in the great hall at Cooper Union. Organizers don't expect to match the crowd of 6,000 that jammed in for the first memorial event a hundred years ago. but do anticipate large numbers. ●

Harry Fleischman is on vacation and will return next month.

Organizer's Diary

Continued from page 11.

We drove that night to Salem, the state capital, and I had breakfast the next morning without about fifty lobbyists for most of the good causes in the state. Then I testified before a committee of the legislature. A woman representative, a conservative Democrat, I was told, stormed out muttering that "Socialism isn't the answer." I was delighted that it was becoming a question. That noon, there was yet another meeting, attended by members of both houses of the legislature and their staffs. About 150 sat through a serious analysis of the American economy and the political scene. That experience reinforced my sense that politics outside of the over-organized and over-exposed centers is often more vital, more personal, and more open.

When you give as many talks as I did during those two days, a certain amount of repetition is unavoidable—one can't invent the wheel ten times in 48 hours—and I was as bored by myself as I assumed Bill Thomas and Chris Nielsen, the DSA organizers who guided me around the state, were. So for the last talk at the University of Portland I recast my basic analysis in a specifically Marxist framework and, to my delight, found it well received at this Catholic university.

And so home to New York on the red eye via Chicago.

What had I learned? DSA in the Northwest is reaching out to real world politics: to trade unionists, Gray Panthers, Protestant ministers, Democratic party activists, students, and peace activists. And that is not a peculiarity of the area. The same thing has been happening in San Francisco and Los Angeles, Chicago (where I had a terrific meeting a week later, buoyed by the excitement of Harold Washington's campaign, with sympathizers filling a packed church), in Philadelphia and in Albany, New York. We are out of the closet, out of the tight, comfortable little world of sectarian certitudes. We have moved from making hypothetical policy for the nation and the world to endorsing city council candidates and assessing legislative compromises.

And yet, we have not made the essential breakthrough. Not yet. We are, as I told the National Board in February, no longer on

the margin of the society. We are now on the margin of the mainstream, but only on its margin. We are going to make mistakes, of course, but they are the mistakes of movement and success. We are exploring a terrain no one on the American left has seen in over thirty years. It is scary. It is wonderful. ●

Send Dorothy Healey to Washington — FOR GOOD —

That's right. After a lifetime of political activism and struggle in Los Angeles, Dorothy Healey has decided to carry the good fight to Washington.

Many of us from across the nation who have been inspired by her over the years are preparing a tribute and send-off.

Please join us. It will benefit the Socialist Community School of the Los Angeles local of the Democratic Socialists of America. Dorothy is now National Vice-Chairperson of D.S.A.



DATE: June 5, 1983

TIME: 12:30 p.m. to 4:00 p.m.
(Light refreshments will be served at 12:30)

CITY: Los Angeles

PLACE: Biltmore Hotel

TICKETS: \$15 each, \$10 (low income)

A Journal of Greetings is being prepared. We hope you will consider publishing a message to Dorothy in it which can become part of the permanent record of this tribute to her.

Rates will be:

\$300 — full page
\$150 — half-page
\$75 — quarter-page
\$40 — eighth-page
\$10 — "Friends" listing

For Tickets and Journal Greetings:

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2936 W. 8th Street
Los Angeles, California 90005

Make checks payable to:
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Note: Checks for the Journal in the amount of \$40 or over are tax deductible.

DEADLINE: Please send your message and your check no later than **May 10.**

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MIDWEST/INDUSTRIAL HEARTLAND LABOR COMMISSION CONFERENCE

DSA labor activists are invited to a conference April 16-17 in Cleveland, Ohio. For more information, contact the DSA Labor Commission, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, 312-871-7700.

Read SOCIALIST STANDARD. Our goal: a democratic socialist movement with a clear program, based within the Democratic Party and labor movement. Articles by Frank Wallick, Ruth Jordan, reports on local organizing. \$5 per year, Box 9872, Dept. A, Chevy Chase, MD 20815.

KuSasa is an independent journal of political analysis and discussion on South Africa by South Africans. Board of Advisors includes Bishop Desmond Tutu and Dr. Manning Marable. A DSA member is Editor and founder. Costs \$4.00 a copy. Write: Corbin Seavers c/o *KuSasa*, Boone Square Apartments, #8, Berea, KY 40403.

DSA FIST-AND-ROSE BUTTONS. Single button 50¢ postpaid. Bulk orders for DSA Locals: 25¢ apiece. Send to DSA, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL, 60657.

NORMAN THOMAS-EUGENE V. DEBS

Annual Dinner
May 7, 1983, Chicago, IL
Honoring Joyce Miller. Guest speaker, Hon. Harold Washington. Tickets \$25. Contact Chicago DSA, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657.

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CALL FOR PAPERS: Union of Radical Political Economics, 1983 Summer Conference, Sandwich, Mass., August 24-28, 1983.
Theme: "Restructuring Capital in the 1980s."

Send an abstract, proposal or outline to: Tom Mongar, Department of Political Science and Sociology, University of North Florida, Jacksonville, Florida 32216.

Has your local ordered bundles of DEMOCRATIC LEFT to distribute at meetings? For 10¢ a copy you can advertise DSA and its work. Minimum order 25 copies. DSA locals only. Send order to DL, 853 Broadway, New York, NY 10003.

THE LAST WORD

Labor and Defense Spending

by Gordon Haskell

The AFL-CIO has launched an ambitious "Agenda for Recovery" with jobs as the centerpiece. The agenda advocates public investment to create jobs, and monetary, international trade, and anti-inflation policies to achieve the same end. In a tabloid insert in the January 1983 *AFL-CIO News*, the union leadership subjects the Reagan administration's programs and the general economic drift of industrialized capitalism to trenchant analysis and criticism.

Socialists will find much to support in this program. In fact, much of it sounds familiar: extending unemployment and health care coverages; increasing the supply of housing for low and middle-income families; renewing and rebuilding the nation's infrastructure; expanding community services; lowering interest rates and channeling credit to job-creating investments, and so forth. Much as we applaud so many parts of the program, we cannot help but ask *how* resources will be channeled to where they will fuel growth while taking care of human need, and *who* will be in charge of the process. The agenda is somewhat clearer on the "who" than the "how."

It proposes a tripartite National Reindustrialization Board that would "include representatives of labor, business and the government. The Board would develop a balanced economic program to insure revitalization of the nation's sick industries and guarantee loans to finance approved reindustrialization ventures..."

Although this description would appear to leave out some pretty important constituencies, the article states that the Board would "bring together all of the elements in economic society. It would insure that the interests of workers, industry, consumers—all the people—are an integral part of the economic decision-making process." That would be nice, of course, but bitter experience teaches that competition for limited resources and economic goods produces power struggles over their allocation. Experience also teaches that such struggles are usually determined by the relation of effec-

tive, mobilized forces represented by the bargainers.

The AFL-CIO Agenda is vigorous in its denunciation of Reaganism. But it is strangely devoid of anything resembling a call to action, an outline of a campaign to unite labor with its natural allies on behalf of its program, a recognition that the reallocation of resources implicit in its program could only result from a bitter struggle based on a realignment of political and social forces in America.

And it is devoid of something else.

In eight pages its only reference to the relation between the military budget and the "Agenda for Recovery" is: "Looking toward the future, the matter of specific price pressures which may be generated by the national defense buildup must be accompanied by appropriate economic policies. The defense sector can drain capital away from civilian industries and away from other government programs. It can bid away key human resources, such as scientists, engineers and skilled trades workers, as well as scarce material away from the civilian economy. A materials allocation program, for example, would become a necessity if shortages and bottlenecks should develop."

That's it? That's it. Could it be an inadvertent omission, like forgetting the main point you meant to make in a debate because you got carried away by fascinating details? No. It is deliberate. Certainly AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland's views are no secret. In an address to the National Strategy Information Center on January 25, 1983, Kirkland said "...we consider irrelevant, even if we do not dispute, the argument that a given expenditure for defense produces fewer jobs than the same expenditure in non-defense programs. We have opposed so-called 'transfer amendments' that would transfer funds from the defense budget to social programs. Social expenditures should be driven by social needs. Defense spending should be driven by the external threat to our security." He quoted approvingly from the AFL-CIO Executive Council's resolution last year "...that the Soviet Union will agree to real arms reductions if it sees the alternative

as an American buildup; we must not unilaterally remove that alternative."

Meeting in Bal Harbor, Florida at the end of February, the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO spelled out a program on military spending that called for a 5 to 7 percent annual increase (instead of Reagan's 9-10 percent) in military spending over the next few years. In reporting the action, the *AFL-CIO News*, not noted for highlighting disagreements among the union leadership, included the comment that "a number of council members have expressed the strong opinion that the increase should be held to the lower end of this range or below." The program also contained objections to the pay-freeze on the military, and urged that real increases in military spending be financed from a special surtax on corporate and individual incomes.

It would appear there is an uneasy accommodation—or perhaps truce—at the top of the American labor movement concerning foreign and military policy. Unfortunately, this leaves Lane Kirkland, as its chief and most listened-to spokesperson, pretty free to give his own interpretation of what "American Labor" stands for in this vital area.

Kirkland's views bar the top leadership of the AFL-CIO from any possibility of cooperation with the broadest and most active political current in American politics today: the nuclear freeze movement. This is extremely unfortunate, for it blocks any chance of mobilizing the politically active middle class behind the AFL-CIO's economic agenda. Without a labor-middle-class-minorities alignment, the odds of replacing Reaganism with an administration whose social policies can turn society around are not good.

Other union leaders disagree fundamentally with Kirkland. They, and the members they lead, can play an especially vital role in the current lineup of forces. We must give them every bit of support. The labor movement cannot afford a policy that divides them from their natural allies, is counterproductive, and can thwart the achievement of social and economic goals most vital to trade unionists. ●

JANIE HIGGINS REPORTS

Required reading—In the March 28 *New Republic*, Bob Kuttner offers some sound thinking on free trade fallacies. In clear, concise prose, he takes on the shibboleths about comparative advantage and protectionism and argues convincingly that neither free trade nor protectionism is the issue; an industrial policy, with a high degree of democratic planning, is what's at stake.

See the March 31 *New York Review of Books* for Alfred Kazin's witty "Saving the Free World at the Plaza," which provides an understanding of the neoconservative mindset. Reporting on the Committee for the Free World's conference at New York's Plaza Hotel, Kazin manages to be witty, biting, and fair in his descriptions. An odd mixture of triumphalism and despair, paranoia and chutzpah pervaded the conference and the neoconservatives' attitudes. Norman Podhoretz could be complaining one minute that "we are surrounded by lynch mobs," only to conclude that "we were able to prevail" even if "we have a long way to go in the shaping of a national consensus."

Spread the word—1983 is the Year of the Bible as officially proclaimed by Ronald Reagan. To help you remember, some superb people in Georgia have put together an attractive poster with words of God that the president seems to have forgotten. Verses such as the following fill the poster: "The Lord enters into judgment with the elders and princes of the people. 'It is you who have devoured the vineyard, and the spoil of the poor is in your houses. What do you mean by grinding the face of the poor?'" (Isaiah 3:14-15). Copies are available from *Seeds*, c/o Oakhurst Baptist Church, 222 East Lake Drive, Decatur, GA 30030 for \$2.50 each.

Save the date—August 28, 1983 marks the twentieth anniversary of the March on Washington where Martin Luther King, Jr., delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" speech. The anniversary will be celebrated by a living tribute to that dream of equality and a better America; a massive march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom will take place. Coretta Scott King and other leaders of the black struggle who were close to Martin King initiated the anniversary march; the AFL-CIO has endorsed it; DSA's Youth Section has shifted its annual summer conference from the Midwest to the Washington area to participate; peace, community, feminist, black and Hispanic groups will be participating in numbers not seen since Solidarity Day in September 1981. Be there.

A new racism infects the South and the *New York Times* has finally discovered it. A February 7 dispatch revealed that businesses have avoided locating new plants in largely black areas because blacks have a greater propensity to join unions. In a civil suit over damage done by a textile plant to a nearby black community, evidence emerged of a clear pattern. Let the vice president of Amoco Fabrics Company (a subsidiary of Standard Oil of Indiana) speak not just for that company but for many others: "Our experiences are that the lower the concentration of minorities, the better we're able to perform and get a plant started up. I'm not sure of all the reasons. I just know that by experience we've seen that, and we've been very, very happy with the results." The *Times* did a good job on the story; it could have broken the item sooner if a few union organizers had been consulted.



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