

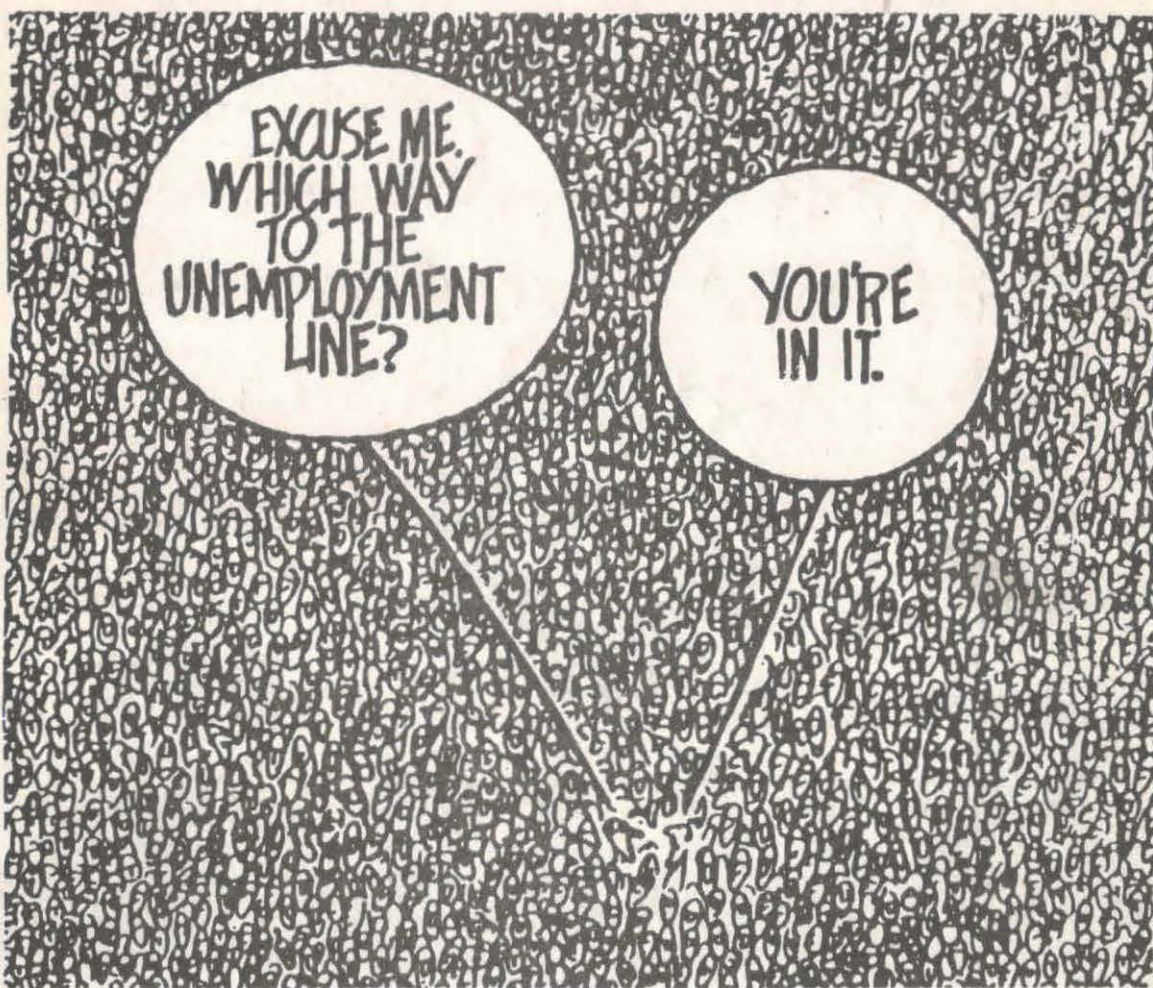
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LABOR DAY/CONVENTION ISSUE



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OUR COMMITMENT

We salute our friends on the democratic left.

As we celebrate Labor Day 1983, the UAW renews our commitment to the principles of jobs, peace and justice.

We're going to continue our struggle to stop the madness of the arms race.

We're going to continue to fight for an economic system in which work is a right, not a privilege.

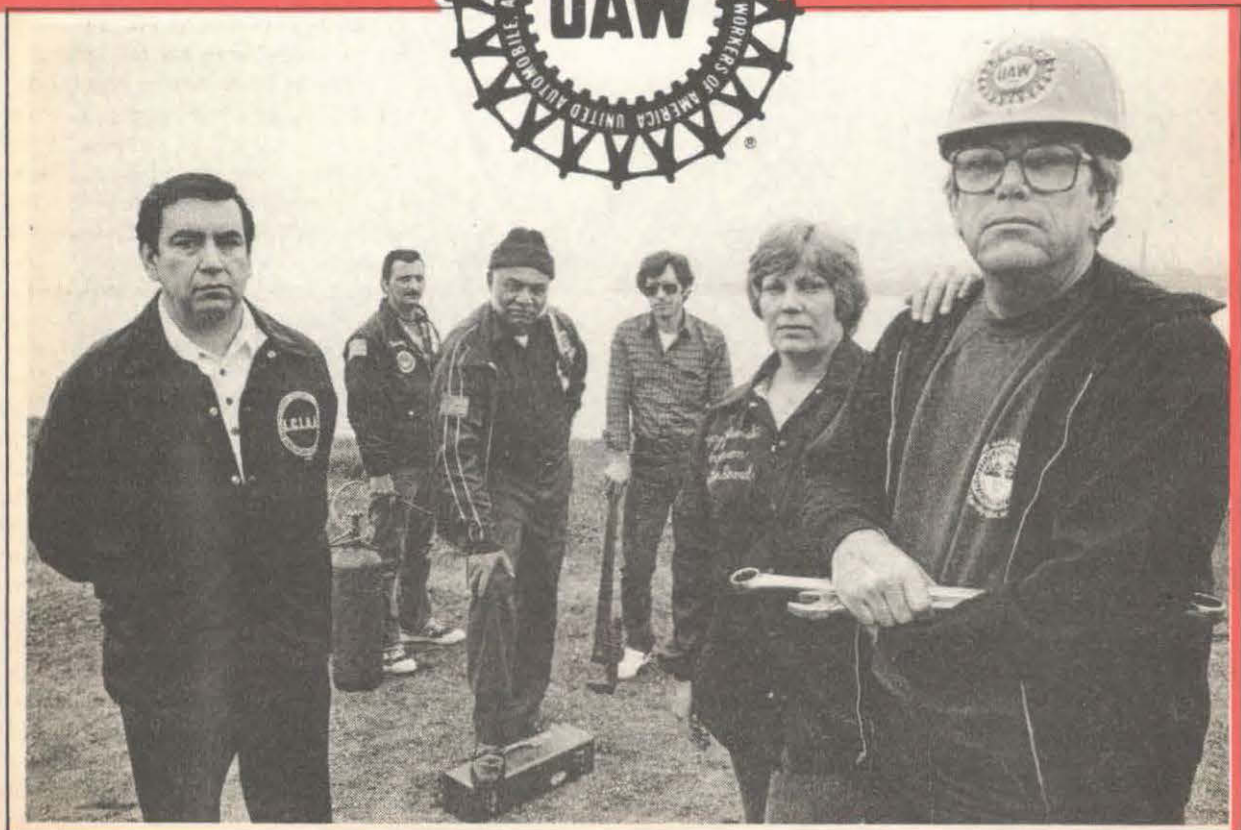
We're going to continue to fight for full opportunity and full economic justice for women workers. And

we're going to continue to press for justice for minorities.

We're going to continue to organize the unorganized in plants, offices and universities across the U.S. and Canada.

We share your vision of a more just world, and we pledge to continue to work with progressive groups like yours to build that better world.

Owen Bieber
International
President, UAW



LIMITS TO SOLIDARITY?

by Michael Harrington

Billed as Solidarity Day III, Labor Day 1983 came at a dismal time for the working people of America, and for the democratic left in general. Prospects for both are exceedingly difficult, but not impossible.

The negatives are obvious. The vaunted "recovery" contains a continuing, and permanent, recession. Auto sales and profits may be up, but 200,000 members of the UAW are still on the streets. The steel companies broke a tacit agreement with the union within weeks of obtaining concessions from it and are in the process of lopping off another 100,000 or so jobs. All of these troubles are compounded politically by a Democratic presidential race in which no candidacy has caught fire. No candidate has put forward a clear alternative to Reaganomics or neoliberalism (which is "our" Reaganomics). At the same time, profound differences over Reagan's militarism in Central America could once again split the labor movement.

But the situation is far from hopeless, a fact that I can stress in good conscience because I warned against a facile optimism in these pages last year. At that time there were many who talked as if the recession were endless and that, as a consequence, any Democrat would easily defeat Reagan. The recession, I wrote, would come to an end, and the timing of that development could make Reagan a very powerful candidate. That is still a distinct possibility. It is by no means a certainty.

The basic fact is that the crisis of the eighties has not been resolved. It would be a serious error to think that an interlude in a vast structural shift in the American economy marks the end of that turbulent transition. Reagan could be in economic trouble in the fall of 1984—or not. In either case, the ideas of the democratic left retain their long-range relevance. They provide the only progressive way out of our plight—even if they do not guarantee political success in the short run. A central thought for trade unionists and progressives is that we have to keep building the base for that fundamental and radical alternative even as we try to cope with the murky problems of 1984.

It is crucial in developing a perspective for the eighties and not just for 1984 to see that the current recovery is an interlude in an ongoing crisis. The United States is not simply in an economic downturn that will end with the economy organized more or less as it was at the outset (as was the case in the Great Depression). It is entering a new economic period characterized by a radical transformation of the world division of labor (the dominance of multinationals; the fact that the South Koreans and the Brazilians can make steel and build ships as efficiently as the Japanese); by an unprecedented internationalization of capital as corporations create their "global factories"; and by a technological revolution that is reshaping the very character of work as well as the indus-

"Profound differences over Reagan's militarism in Central America could once again split the labor movement."

trial geography of every advanced country. The most obvious single consequence of these intersecting transformations is a qualitative increase in the level of "normal" unemployment in every Western economy, a trend that strikes most savagely at minorities, youth, and women.

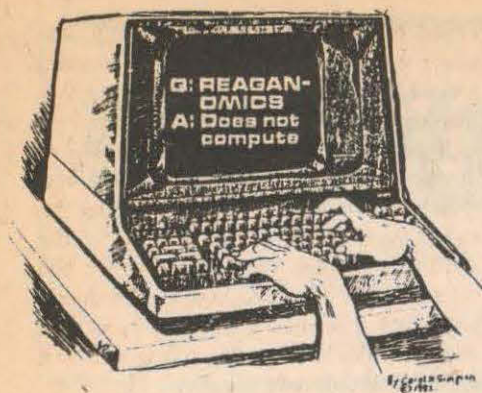
In the seventies and early eighties these developments set off strong inflationary tendencies that could not be fought by traditional Keynesian policies. In part that was the result of "accidents," like the energy price hikes of 1974-5 and 1979-80 which, within a systematically wasteful, anti-environmental economy were extremely detrimental. In part, there was an "American" dimension to the crisis in this country where, for instance, a system of fee-for-service medicine paid for by third-party insurers created the highest rate of medical inflation in the West.

More to the central point, the inflationary trends were a consequence of the failure to deal with the basic transformations that pro-

duced the chronic unemployment. Since the government, under Carter as well as Reagan, could not come up with a progressive, planned way of carrying out the restructuring of the economy, the costs of that restructuring were borne by workers and their communities while Washington relied on monetary policy to fight soaring prices. It was Jimmy Carter who first took that road (and who appointed Paul Volker to lead the Federal Reserve Board). As interest rates rose to unprecedented heights, farmers were driven to bankruptcy, consumers couldn't afford cars or houses, corporations played takeover games with tax-subsidized and borrowed dollars, the other Western economies saw money fleeing from their internal problems and emigrating to the United States. Finally, after the official jobless rate almost reached 11 percent, with an increase of some millions in the poverty population, with the devastation of workers' jobs and their communities and a reduction in the living standard of the American people, the conditions for "recovery" were, and are, at hand.

The recovery had nothing to do with Ronald Reagan's policies and the whole destructive process did not resolve any of those basic structural problems. The president proved a point familiar to socialists for well over a century: that if capital can jettison obsolete factories, communities, and people without cost; if wages can be pushed down far enough; if the inefficient companies can be driven out of the market; then profits can go up and recovery can proceed. This, of course, has nothing to do with the "supply side" redistribution of wealth from the working people and the middle class to the rich, or with the vicious attack on social programs. The investment boom that was supposed to provide the basis for a balanced budget in 1984 has yet to occur and a conservative president tolerates unprecedented deficits.

Therefore, the basic question still remains: How will the further, and much more profound, restructuring of the American economy proceed? When those long-run factors once again plunge the economy into crisis, will there be another period of handouts to the rich and suffering for the majority? Or can an American labor movement which, in



the course of the last year, has been brutally mauled and organizationally weakened, come up with an alternative?

Combat Plans

The AFL-CIO has a number of key ideas in its approach to that question. First, it is for planning the reindustrialization of America—which means that it is opposed to both Reaganism and neoliberalism. Second, it believes that this planning must involve the participation of the unions as well as of the corporations and business. That, too, is sound and essential. Third, it favors a Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), somewhat along the lines urged by Felix Rohatyn, as a key institution in this response.

The readers of *DEMOCRATIC LEFT* are familiar with our reservations on this third point, and I will only restate them here. Is labor strong and insistent enough to offset the technocratic bias that is clearly envisioned in Rohatyn's scheme? Rohatyn has pub-

licly said that too much democracy is bad for planning. How does that square with a genuine "tri-partism" of labor, management, and government? Moreover, can the major interests in America be divided into three? Can labor speak for minorities and women? If one doubts that the answer is yes, how does one represent those other constituencies?

These are, let me emphasize, questions. All progressives should welcome, and support, the unions' emphasis upon democratic planning as the point of departure for a progressive resolution of the structural crisis. But there must be debate and exchange over issues that are not simply a matter of details. The question of genuine, bottom-up popular participation in the restructuring of America does not have to do with some intellectual concern with political process as such. Who makes decisions and how they are made will usually determine what decisions are made. Unions, which participated in their own undoing under the Nixon wage-price control system, know that all too well and must never forget it.

Finally, there is a new factor in this economic crisis: its international dimension, particularly as it has been focused by Ronald Reagan's unconscionable policies in Central America.

No one who has lived through, or read about, the history of the last two decades can doubt the connections, both economic and political, between such international events and domestic policies. The escalation of the American intervention in Vietnam in 1965 did more to subvert the Great Society and the War on Poverty than all of the reactionaries in the United States. The inflationary spiral that was to undercut the liberal wisdom in the

seventies was not "caused" by Vietnam—but it most certainly began with, and was because of, Vietnam. A president unwilling to defend a rightly unpopular war financed it by printing money rather than by raising taxes. That turned out to be the first step on a slippery slope.

The domestic consequences of foreign policy are even more important today than in the sixties. It is precisely the "middle class" sector of the Third World, the successful nations of the sixties and seventies, which is being most cruelly victimized by the current international economic crisis, particularly in Latin America. In Mexico, Brazil, Argentina—not to forget Chile under the despicable Pinochet—the living standards of masses of people have been drastically cut. The demonstrations and the riots have begun.

At such a point, it is madness to follow a politics of adventurist militarism as the response to hemispheric economic and social upheaval. The famous Vietnam "dominoes" conjured up by the hawks did not materialize in the seventies—but the entire Western hemisphere is now filled with shaky economic dominoes in the eighties. If the policy being followed in Salvador and Nicaragua is generalized, it will not simply be a violation of the basic democratic values of this country. It will commit this nation to the side of reaction and against insurgent masses, i.e., to the classic formula of every American political and military defeat since 1945. That is not simply stupid and immoral though it is undeniably both. It is also a terrible blow to the national security of the United States and the international security of the world.

And who, on this Labor Day 1983, could think that an America that deals with economic and social crises in Latin America with armed force will cope with its domestic economic and social crisis with democratic finesse? Indeed, isn't there a consistency between Reaganomics and Reagan's militarism, both seeking to deal with deep problems by turning savagely upon their victims?

I do not want to go into the intricacies of foreign policy in this context (there are complexities; of course the Soviets fish in troubled waters; of course one must urge the Sandinistas to live up to their own original program even as one opposes any and all American intervention even if they do not; and so on). My point is that the democratic left has to face up to these foreign policy issues and find a way to deal with them that will not guarantee the victory of reaction (which is what happened in the presidential elections of 1968 and 1972).

There are some hopeful signs. Lane Kirkland has been conciliatory with regard to differences within the AFL-CIO on defense and foreign policy. Some disputes have been

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papered over with each side retaining the right to state its own position. And let there be no mistake: I believe that those progressives within and without the labor movement have to fight as hard as possible against Reagan's disastrously wrong policies in Latin America. I don't for a minute want to trim on the basic issue. Neither, I assume, do Kirkland and those who support him.

At the least, there might be a new emphasis within the unions, a sense of some of the critical interconnections between foreign and domestic policy. If not, is it possible to unify where there is unity—against Reagonomics—and to disagree, even on basic questions of foreign policy, with the knowl-

edge and the attitude that those other unities still do, and must, exist? I do not know, and my past experience indicates that the answer might be negative. But everyone, on *all* sides, has to think long and hard about how labor can develop a policy toward a president who is universally opposed on domestic issues but not on questions of foreign policy.

These are difficult—if not quite impossible—times. A socialist left with a clear sense of a basic economic alternative and an internationalist commitment to a democratic foreign policy and against militarist adventures is not "the" answer. It is most certainly a critical component of the answers. ●

ORGANIZING

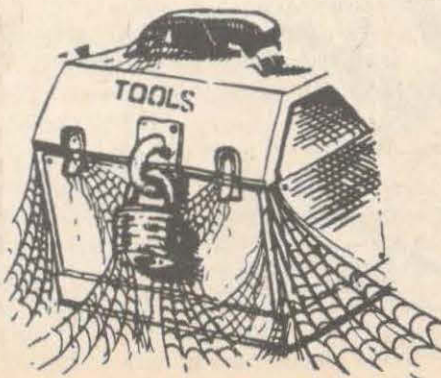
Not Time for the Blue-Collar Blues

by Stanley Aronowitz

Faced with a rapidly developing technological revolution at the workplace, "experts" and journalists are proclaiming the end of the blue-collar worker. The apocalyptic prediction corresponds to the fond hopes of capital that its main nemesis, organized production workers, will fade into the past. The dream of the automatic factory has been long on capital's agenda; labor saving is the point of the computer-based technologies now invading the workplace. The only trouble with the dream, even from the standpoint of business, is that it raises more problems than it solves, except in the short run and then only for the largest employers. Unlike the immediate post-war period, when relative reductions of production workers were taken up by rapidly expanding private and public service sectors, the outlook now is for stagnant and even substantial reductions in the size of the labor force in many service industries. Under these circumstances, technological change in production means permanent unemployment for millions. Mass joblessness slows economic growth, places downward pressure on wages, and reduces consumption. It also tends to produce political unrest and eventually drains capital away from investment because, unless our ethical values change, people still need to be fed, clothed and housed and business taxes are the only viable source of state welfare. The prospect of eliminating the blue-collar workers is simply a pipe

dream. "Automation" was supposed to get rid of auto, oil, steel, and rubber workers in the fifties, but though the proportion of blue-collar workers was reduced compared to the pre-war levels, the number of production workers actually increased because the level of production and services expanded more rapidly than the displacement of workers due to technical changes.

Today computer-mediated processes have deeply affected the labor process in many industries: robots are taking over certain operations in the auto plants, but by no means all of them; some machine tool plants have witnessed the widespread use of numerical controls using memory chips that reduce the skilled machinist to an operator and transfer the skilled work to computer programmers; and steel mills are undergoing major changes as the traditional open hearth is giving way to basic oxygen processes gov-



erned by computers. Simultaneously, the major steel companies have closed a dozen major plants. Among the reasons they give is that these plants have become technologically obsolete. Since 1959, the number of steelworkers has been reduced from more than 600,000 to about 250,000. Although the last steep drop was caused primarily by the 1979-83 economic crisis, employment had been reduced by more than a third during boom times because automation processes such as console-controlled rolling mills had contributed to layoffs.

Shrinking Sectors

The issue is not whether technological innovation is inherently labor saving. It is. The question is whether blue-collar workers disappear in the age of computerization and other labor saving machines. Here, the answer is less clear. It depends primarily on the level of economic growth. During sharp slowdowns in production or actual declines, production workers are normally laid off until inventories are depleted and demand picks up. If capital invests in labor saving machines to improve its position in a shrinking market, the combination of depression and technical change results in both temporary and permanent layoffs. This is exactly what happened in the last three years.

This tendency was particularly pronounced in certain industries like steel, where the union made major concessions to management that allowed companies to make changes in the work process almost at will. The union accepted management's argument that the best assurance of job security against the threat of international competition is a technological, up-to-date workplace. But, U.S. Steel took many of the savings granted through concessions and expanded its investment outside the steel industry while at the same time closing some important mills in response to the economic crisis.

The new international economic environment has forced American industry to become more competitive for the first time since before the Second World War. The Japanese, Germans and the French are closing the technology gap, and even though wages and benefits for workers in these countries is approximately the same as for American workers, U.S. costs are often higher for selected products because of technological backwardness. In many consumer goods industries American employers have already suffered perhaps irreparable defeat—garments, shoes, electronics come to mind (even though the rise of Asian, Latin and a southern European production in these fields is often financed by U.S.-based multi-

national corporations). In others, the defeat takes the form of diversification by the so-called intermediate technology industries (particularly steel and rubber) and in a third case, say autos, weaker companies rush to make deals with stronger foreign producers such as, for example, AMC's arrangement with the powerful Renault, a state-owned French enterprise. However, in large numbers of cases, the American solution is wage concessions from unions combined with massive technical innovation.

The results are already here. Auto employment has been cut by a third, even counting the modest recovery in the first half of 1983; the machine tool industry is adopting numerical controls at such a rapid pace that the Machinists union has lost 10,000 members a month for the past two years; and the chemical industry is undergoing a new round of technological change that cuts further into the numbers of the 1 million workers it employed before 1979.

Among the hardest hit blue-collar workers are those engaged in transportation. Containers have reduced the number of longshoremen; rail unions have been fighting employer efforts to introduce automatic equipment and insist on smaller crews for speed-up reasons. Organizational changes in the trucking industry, especially deregulation by the federal government, have reduced the size of the labor force as smaller companies have gone under in the new era of fierce competition and the economic crunch.

Technological change, economic crises, and capital flight to Third World and other

less-developed countries have all contributed to the employer assault on the job security of American workers. Unions are losing their hard-won shop floor power to regulate changes in the work process, particularly how new machines will be introduced and who will be trained to operate them. Moreover, many employers are demanding old-fashioned methods to increase production: speedup (producing more in less time), stretchout (working more machines than before) and broadbanding (taking more responsibility for the same pay). All of these methods by which employers hope to remain competitive entail workforce reductions, especially in a stagnant economy.

Forgotten Blue-Collars

Most of us tend to think of what has become known as the "service" economy as an exclusively white-collar world, even though millions of service workers are in conventional blue-collar occupations. Among the oldest service trades is building service—maintenance mechanics, operating engineers, laborers, and elevator operators who work in giant office buildings and large residential apartment houses in every city. Although some of these occupations, particularly that of elevator operators, have been automated out of existence to a large degree and others such as cleaning are being mechanized, the number of building service workers is increasing in many cities or staying stable. Some occupations of the service economy, such as repair workers of all sorts, are not suffering sharp cuts, but the nature of the work is undergoing a revolution. The major change is that in earlier stages of mechanization, mechanics were required to possess detailed knowledge of the machine. They really needed considerable skill to

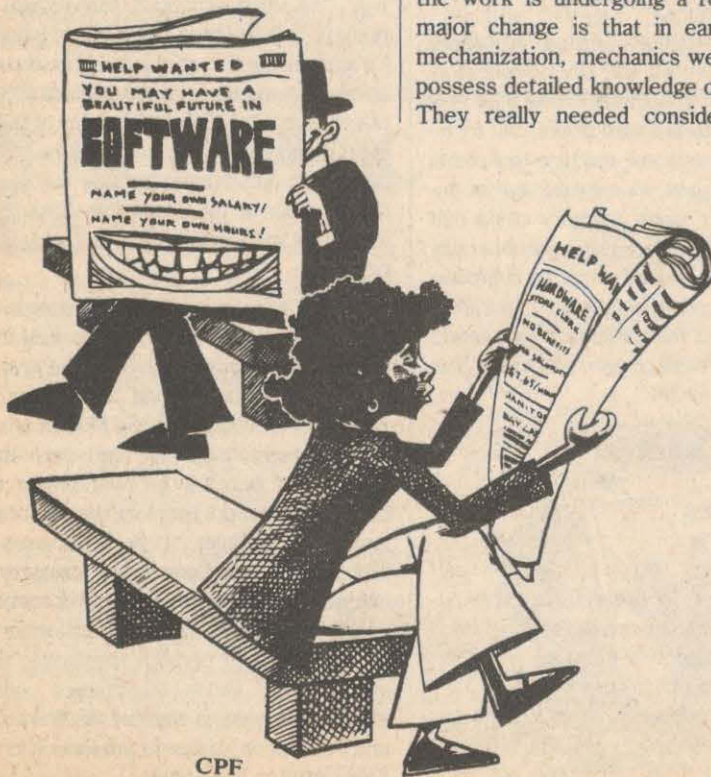
make repairs. In the past 20 years, as companies produced units rather than parts for the machine, the main job of the average mechanic has become diagnostic. The actual repair consists of replacing one unit with another. Few mechanics today are capable of performing complex repairs.

This degradation of the maintenance service function is particularly important in office machinery repairs, now controlled entirely by the manufacturer. Here, the "maintenance engineer" is a customer service adviser and mechanic rolled into one, a primary instance of broadbanding.

Many employers do not wish to define this new occupation as a "blue-collar" job, partly because the worker has broader responsibility and more autonomy in the field, but also because blue-collar workers are usually union members, see themselves in antagonistic relations with the boss and are less prone to be "company people."

Perhaps the oldest and largest category of service mechanics is employed by the telephone company. They deal with residential and business customers as well as fix and replace telephones. This group has been cultivated by a fairly sophisticated employee relations campaign to identify their interests with those of the company. To a great extent, this campaign succeeded because of the large number of supervisory positions in the telephone business and the tendency of ATT to recruit its servicemen for these jobs. On the other hand, line workers and other mechanics have been forced to battle the company for years on issues such as wages, technological change, health and safety conditions, and workloads. In the final accounting, they have, together with operators, organized a union, the Communications Workers, that has slowly evolved into a militant, progressive organization.

The last major category of blue-collar workers, construction trades, have suffered a fate similar to that of production workers. Employment in this industry that once employed nearly 4 million workers has been reduced by nearly a third. Entire crafts have been destroyed by technological innovations, such as prefabricated materials and large machinery. The number of new housing starts has declined in comparison with the 1950s and 1960s. Chronically high interest rates and mounting construction costs make the purchase of single family dwellings prohibitive for young working people. Conditions for many construction workers have deteriorated as building contractors seek to produce residential and commercial buildings with nonunion labor. Lacking union constraints, contractors can speed-up their workers, use prefabricated materials at will, and cut corners in construction methods.



CPF

What are unions doing? In some cases, notably those of the steelworkers and the Teamsters, they concede hard-won wages and working conditions to employers who threaten to leave or go out of business. When the Autoworkers gave back some wages to General Motors they received, in return, job security guarantees for senior employees. A few unions like the Machinists are struggling to develop bolder programs to deal with technological change. The Technology Bill of Rights provides that employers may not introduce new technologies without union consultation and makes technological change a strikeable issue. It also provides for sharing the benefits of labor saving devices with workers. Like the Auto Workers the Machinists are demanding that companies offer retraining and relocation rights to displaced workers; for example, that Machinists be paid to learn programming. While garment and textile unions fight for import quotas to protect members' jobs, the Auto Workers have spearheaded the so-called "domestic content" bill which passed in the House of Representatives. The legislation provides that domestic and foreign carmakers doing business in the US ensure that between 10 percent and 90 percent of the content of the product be made here. In several states such as New York, New Jersey, Ohio, and California, and cities like Pittsburgh, plant closing bills have been introduced requiring employers to disclose plans to move from the community, provide hearings on economic impact, and provide some mild penalties for violators. In some cases such as the Communications Workers, unions are seeking to make corporate divestiture as well as technological changes a bargaining issue.

However, important as many of these measures are, and protecting the rights and jobs of the existing labor force is a key element for maintaining union strength, two other steps are even more vital. The labor movement has not mounted a major organizing drive since the early sixties, when public employees were unionized. Today labor represents barely 20 percent of the wage earning labor force, a drop of 5 percent since the mid-seventies. In order to regain political and economic power, organizing would have to become the first priority on labor's agenda again. Most clerical workers are outside unions except in public sector agencies. Financial services, the fastest growing industry, is virtually open shop. The rapidly expanding high tech sector is composed of both blue-collar and technical and professional occupations and, in many parts of the country is completely nonunion. The people who make memory chips in California and Oregon suffer low pay, constant threats of plant closings if they join unions, and poor working condi-

Deadly Connections:
**Latin American Intervention, Nuclear Escalation, and
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GUILLERMO UNGO
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Michael Harrington, moderator
 Friday, October 14, 7:30 pm
 Washington Irving High School
 Irving Place and East 17th St.
 New York City

Concert with Odetta
 Saturday, October 15, 8 pm
 (site to be announced)

DSA Convention. Call 212-260-3270.

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tions. Millions of southern textile, furniture, garment, and electronics industry workers work under miserable circumstances and desperately need union representation to protect their jobs, improve their living standards, and save their health. Half of all coal production is now done in nonunion strip mines. Many service workers in hospitals, buildings, and restaurants are in blue-collar occupations and do not enjoy the benefits of trade union organization.

Of course, individual unions have tried, often valiantly to organize among these groups and the AFL-CIO has a few coordinated drives in southern cities and Los Angeles. Among these, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers registered a major breakthrough in winning union contracts in six J.P. Stevens plants in the upper south and the ILGWU won a stunning victory among immigrant garment workers in New York's Chinatown. The small, but dedicated Furniture Workers union has a remarkable string of southern representative election victories, but has won few contracts from employers who manipulate the weakened labor law to avoid bargaining in good faith. This raises the all important question of labor's political strategy. As early as the dawn of the AFL, labor sought legislative remedies to stay the hand of employers who felt obliged to reduce workers to conditions of virtual peonage in order to protect their capital against competition. Unions have recognized the need to exert political pressure and even political power in order to advance the interests of working people. Now, more than ever, organized labor allocates much of its resources to political and legislative action.

Labor supports the liberal wing of the Democratic party as the best practical hope to gain a conducive environment for organizing and collective bargaining as well as to expand the social welfare aspects of the state. Now labor has taken a further step; it seeks to influence the selection of the Democratic candidate for president, to intervene in the party apparatus rather than wait for the convention outcome before making its endorsement. We may debate its particular choice, but the structural step represents a historic advance for the labor movement. Whatever the outcome, political action is here to stay in organized labor and it now consists of more than getting out the labor vote. Unions are beginning to understand that the steep decline in traditional blue-collar membership cannot be reversed until labor becomes as much a political actor as an economic bargaining agent. Although American unions, unlike their European counterparts, still choose to work within one of the two capitalist parties, the question of independent labor political action is on the agenda. If the Democrats do not adequately represent labor's interests and choose, instead, to follow a neoliberal or conservative path (as is likely in the near future), labor may have no choice but to build a party within the party, a strategy that would, for the first time since 1924, indicate that unions are prepared to build new coalitions and either reconstitute the Democratic party from the left, or form a new one. ●

Stanley Aronowitz is chair of the N.Y. DSA local and author of the forthcoming Working Class Hero (Pilgrim Press).

Chilean Labor: Ten Years Later

by Jim Wilson

This month marks the 10th anniversary of the bloody military coup that resulted in the death of President Salvador Allende and the fall of his democratically elected reformist government on September 11, 1973. We asked DSA member Jim Wilson to write his reflections on the Chilean labor movement, then and now. Wilson lived in Santiago for seventeen months between 1972-1974 doing a study of workers' participation in management. He now works for the IUF, an international labor secretariat based in Geneva, Switzerland.—Eds.

In November 1973, in a large, dingy auditorium on Santiago's working class west-side, I attended a gathering which to this day seems no less a hallucination, given the circumstances, than it did then. It was a meeting of several hundred members of the Communist-led construction workers' federation. At the time, unauthorized gatherings of five or more, even for social or sporting events, were strictly forbidden.

Hector Cuevas, the union's leader, assured me that this meeting had been authorized by the commander of the Santiago garrison. The decision may have even passed General Oscar Bonilla himself, the Christian Democratic-leaning minister of the interior who, it was given out a few months later, died in a never clearly explained helicopter crash.

Near the seedy auditorium the burned-out ruins of various Popular Unity (UP) party offices had scarcely stopped smoldering. Down the street the CUT (Central Labor Federation) offices, riddled with bullet holes, were a shambles, guarded by *carabineros*. A few blocks to the north, the puffed remains of bodies caught on big rocks in the shallow Rio Mapocho could be seen. Above them, the colorful pro-UP murals on the river bank walls were only now being whitewashed over. Whitewash already covered most of the buildings around the auditorium up to the second floor, erasing such slogans as "The People United Shall Never Be Defeated." Nothing covered the blood stains on the sidewalks.

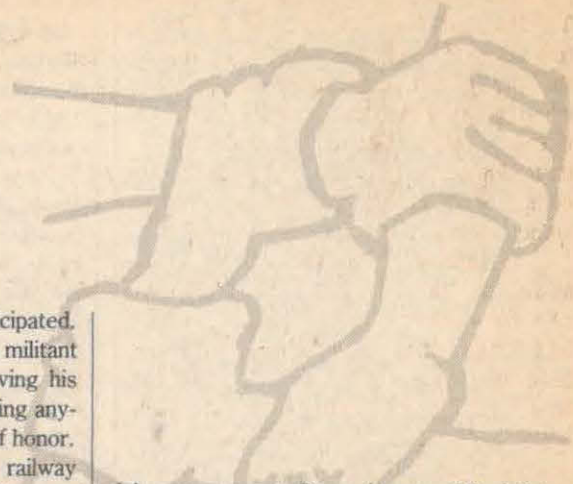
More amazing even than the atmosphere in which the construction workers'

meeting took place was who participated. Cuevas spoke, giving a traditional militant speech, including shouting and waving his arms wildly, without ever quite saying anything. Then he introduced a guest of honor. It was Ernesto Vogel, longtime railway workers' leader, vice president of the outlawed CUT and, most significantly, the top Christian Democratic Party (PDC) unionist. The PDC, the largest opposition party during Allende's presidency, was generally credited by the left with a good deal of responsibility for the UP's fall. Vogel spoke. He said all the things Cuevas had carefully avoided: the heroic struggle of the Chilean working class through history; the massacre of thousands of nitrate miners at Santa Maria de Iquique at the turn of the century; the eternal need for working class unity.

The unity among those who had fought each other showed in other instances. In the same days I visited the offices on the Alameda of ANEF, the public employees' union. Several young Socialists were sweeping up the debris resulting from a raid by a detachment of airmen—the Air Force was assigned "labor relations" in the early days of the coup—who had ransacked the files and stolen the typewriters. Tucapel Jimenez, ANEF's president, longtime member of the Radical party and hence seen as part of the moderate wing of Allende's coalition, was in his office talking with Clotario Blest, a living legend in the Chilean labor movement. Blest, founder of both the ANEF and the CUT, led those two organizations in a style consistent with his Catholic-social-doctrine cum radical-direct-action philosophy until he was replaced by more organization-minded types. In 1967 he presided at the founding convention of the *fidelist* MIR, the extra-parliamentary Revolutionary Left Movement.

"The rank and file," Blest said, "are criticizing Tucapel for 'temporizing' with the government. 'Go to,' I tell the young *cabros*. 'Support Tucapel, he'd give his life for the union.' Then I tell Tucapel, 'Do whatever you feel you must to save the organization.'"

Nevertheless, for every anecdote describing unity, there are equally telling ones demonstrating sectarianism in the Chilean



labor movement. Several types of Socialists (SP), the Communists (CP), the Christian Democrats, Radicals, *Mapucistas* (two kinds plus the related Christian Leftists), and a number of smaller groupuscules percolated within this particular stew with a partisanship scarcely equaled elsewhere in the world of labor. This was true before and after the coup. And it is true today.

Allowing for considerable oversimplification, the Chilean labor movement may be characterized as follows:

1. *A tendency everywhere toward reformist Marxism, broadly defined.* The PDC working class leaders, on the whole, almost as unquestioningly as the leftists, accept class struggle as a given. They feel that capitalism, at least in Chile, is unworkable. They see the role of the U.S. in Latin America as imperialistic. The PDC unionists differ from the left primarily in the degree of state control they are willing to risk. On the other hand, Marxist-Leninism, if we mean by that "vanguardism" and armed struggle separate from the organized industrial context, has never gotten far in organized labor in Chile.

2. *A recurring commitment to trade union unity.* "Pluralism" has a bad name in Chilean labor due to the misuse there of the term. That is the term sectors of the PDC political leadership and the AFL-CIO used in past years to encourage division. Only briefly did the PDC leadership in the sixties manage to pry their co-religionists away from the leftist-led CUT. More serious, further back, were the SP/CP splits. But these, too, were passing.

3. *Partisan diversity.* At times the immediate political programs of the PDC unionists and the left have been so similar that more than one Chilean has remarked, "The difference between a Communist and a PDC is a mass-going mother." But that difference has never been minimized. Similarly, the Radicals have historically had a fanatical anticlericalism that separated them from the PDC.

No less divisive has been the CP's outdated but undisputable attachment to Moscow. The Socialists have just as firmly stood historically to the right *and* left of them. Add to this the natural personal antagonism nourished by years of so many parties fighting so intensely on such a small stage and the dimensions of partisanship may begin to be comprehended. However, it has served to some extent as a guarantor of democracy.

4. *Adherence to an ideal of trade union leadership.* Blest attributed this clearly observable tendency to the anarcho-syndicalist traditions from which the modern Chilean labor movement emerged. "Why, those old anarchists," he said, "they used to be such impossible puritans. We couldn't even smoke or drink in their presence." Chilean unionists have long since given up any qualms about smoking their harsh domestic cigarettes and drinking plenty of *vino tinto*, like the workers they represent. But they maintain a proletarian culture, including those in exile, that is several notches above many of their comrades from other countries. They live in homes little different from the average worker. They rarely own automobiles. Corruption among them, in all parties, is almost unheard of.

Given these characteristics, what has been the experience of Chilean labor leaders during the decade of military rule?

The morning of the coup the top unionists gathered in the offices of the CUT. By all accounts, the PDC contingent was the least heroic. "They were terrified," said one leftist present, perhaps unfairly, "of being swallowed up by those very murderous forces they themselves had helped to set in motion." After it was clear that the military was not going to divide, they decided to withdraw their previous call for the workers to occupy the factories. While tanks rumbled through the streets and fighter bombers screeched across the city to terrify the population, the primary objective became to save lives.

The leaders dispersed. Most, but not all, went into hiding until the heaviest fighting of the first hours was over. Some, primarily leftwing Socialists, joined the armed resistance in the *cordones industriales* on the heavily industrialized southside. Luis Figueroa, a Communist, and Rolando Calderon, the CUT's promising young Socialist secretary general, had both been ministers in the government and had special prices on their heads. Interestingly, the military forced their way into Vogel's home several times looking for Figueroa. "Even while differing strongly on political issues," Vogel said wistfully months later, "one comes to feel close on a personal basis to those people, after working with them for so long."

Figueroa and Calderon eventually gained asylum in the Swedish Embassy. They were allowed to leave the country in mid-1974. Figueroa died in Stockholm of cancer the following year. Calderon lives in East Berlin today.

In an early decree the CUT was officially outlawed. The fate of the national unions was less clear. When the dust began to settle, the surviving union leaders returned, at considerable risk, to their various national union offices. "I just wanted to save whatever I could," more than a few later said. Most found that their offices had been vandalized by the military.

A number of unionists were executed in cold blood during the first days. Many more were herded into the National Stadium, banished to cold desolate islands of the far south or to camps in the sterile wastes of the north. A spiritual *camanchaca*, the eerie cold cloud which sometimes hangs over the Atacama Desert a few inches above the ground at night, moved in over the entire land.

The national unions assumed a shadowy existence. They were constantly harassed but never completely wiped out by DINA, the secret police. After a few months the junta came out with a new labor system.

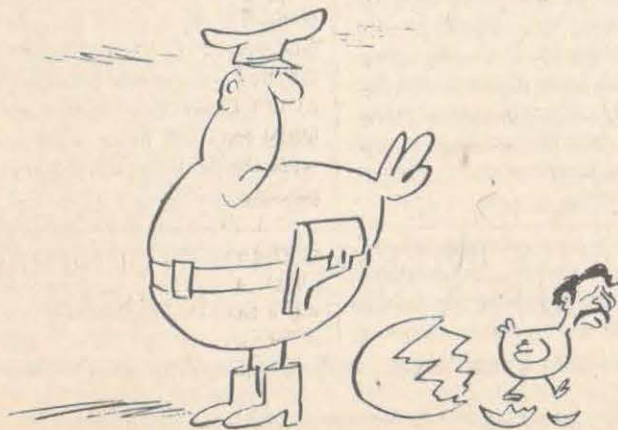
Refined several times over the next few years, it is basically the system officially in force today. It emphasizes local plant unions with emasculated functions. Many have noted the similarities to General Jaruzelski's new labor laws in Poland.

The unionists, again as in Poland later, came to be referred to as "former labor leaders." They were nonpersons whose chances of getting jobs were nil. They sought aid and consolation first among fellow unionists of their own political tendency. The next step was for leaders of various political trends to reestablish contact. This began, on an informal basis, early on, though strictly prohibited by the military. I attended a few of these meetings, around the beginning of 1974, as a guest of Tucapel Jimenez.

From groups like these eventually emerged the *Coordinadora Sindical*, the UDT (Democratic Workers' Union), and other coalitions of union leaders. The *Coordinadora's* president was textile leader Manuel Bustos, a Christian Democrat who gained the respect of many leftists during the UP days for his efforts in trying to make workers' participation function. Cuevas of the CP was named secretary general, but all political tendencies participated. Somewhat more conservative was the UDT, led by Eduardo Rios, who was close to the AFL-CIO. Except for the CP, most of the other political groups were represented in the UDT as well. The *Coordinadora* was closer to the West European social democratic labor movement.

It was generally agreed that a national labor center, in contrast to political parties, could not exist in exile. But in order to better coordinate international solidarity, an "exterior committee" of the CUT was set up in Paris. It worked closely with the Communist World Federation of Trade Unionists (WFTU) in Prague. With Figueroa dead, Julio Valderrama, another Communist, was named its head. Some Socialists and Radicals, notably Humberto Elgueta, longtime head of the teachers' union, participated. But others cooperated with another group based in Brussels, headed by Socialist Luis Menezes. The latter cultivated close ties with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), the world organization bringing together most Western countries' national labor centers.

A million Chileans, almost 10 percent of the population, left their homeland under Pinochet. An estimated 35,000 of these, among them many unionists, were placed on lists by the military prohibiting their return. Exile has been, perhaps, harder on trade unionists than on most since neither temperament, nor educational background, nor potential alternative careers fitted them for life abroad as it did some others.



ROTHCO

Chile

The outpouring of international solidarity, especially in the early years, was enormous. Chile became the darling of diverse democratic and/or leftist groups around the world like nothing since Republican Spain. The streets of the capitals of Latin America, from Buenos Aires to Havana, and of Europe, east and west, became as familiar to many Chileans as the Alameda and Vicuna MacKenna. What effect will these experiences have on trade union life when they return? Some of the younger leaders have already spent more of their adult lives among the trade unions of, say, Italy or East Germany than in their native land. But the experience has not always deepened appreciation for the models they have seen. "We were very naive before," says Meneses, referring to recent events in Poland. "We are still socialists. But we don't want *that*."

A year ago the casual observer might have concluded that unity was irretrievably broken in the Chilean labor movement. Repression at home, the inevitable tensions and petty divisions in the hothouse of exile, and the ever-present influence of competing *padrinos*, east and west, seemed to have finally overcome the historic trend toward common struggle. To underline the point the observer could have noted the tragic end of Tucapel Jimenez. He had been quietly working, some thought quixotically, to revive a broad union front, when he was killed in February 1982 by cowardly unknown assassins.

However, in December the world's attention was suddenly drawn again to Chile by news of the expulsion of Bustos and Cuevas, allegedly for collaborating in the preparation of antigovernment activities.

Bustos, like most PDC leaders, is not "soft" on communism. But in late January of this year there emerged in Rome a new *Comite Sindical Chile* with Bustos at its head, Meneses as first vice president, and Cuevas as secretary general. Virtually every party and faction, except the most conservative wing of the PDC, is represented.

Meanwhile, international interest in the plight of Chile's unions took a big step forward by the ICFTU's calling a timely conference, a two-stage meeting in Madrid and Washington under the joint sponsorship of the Spanish socialist trade union center, the UGT, and the AFL-CIO. Communists, of course, were not to be seen in Washington. But a far broader spectrum was involved than the AFL-CIO had been wont to work with before. While the AFL-CIO claimed its position had not changed, that it "always supported free trade unionism in Chile," change was certainly perceived in Santiago.

Santiago, meanwhile, was where the scene of action was returning. Pinochet's export model had gone bust, even for the

minority it had been designed to favor. During 1982 industrial production dropped 14 percent and the national debt, around \$3 billion at the fall of Allende, had risen to an incredible \$21 billion. Inflation was running at 30 percent, the same percentage as unemployment. Chile was in a crisis worse than the Great Depression.

It was in this context that on May 11 the Copper Miners' Confederation (CTC) called a national day of protest. The breadth of the spontaneous response took not only General Pinochet but the opposition as well by surprise. Encouraged by that success and sensing that the final confrontation might be approaching, the leaders of the five main union

Central America Rally

As we go to press, the threat of an expanded U.S. war in Central America is becoming increasingly likely. In the last few weeks there has been a massive increase in the U.S. military presence and bluster—threats of a blockade of Nicaragua; efforts by the administration to bypass congressional limits on the U.S. role in El Salvador; continued illegal aid to the Somocista *contras* in Nicaragua; and "routine" military maneuvers that include stationing naval detachments armed with nuclear weapons on both of Nicaragua's coasts.

Although major public opinion polls have shown that the majority of the American people oppose President Reagan's policy in the region, this opposition has not yet been translated into any tangible evidence of public disapproval. Several national demonstrations have been small, and have not conveyed a sense of mainstream rejection of U.S. policy. Lobbying and letter writing to Congress have not been sufficient to bolster a faltering congressional resistance.

Plans are now underway for an action on November 12 that could be the first step towards reversing U.S. policy in Central America. A coalition of peace solidarity, religious, and labor groups has called a national demonstration against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean for November 12 in Washington, D.C. The details of the day are still being planned, but the action could be the first sign of massive public rejection of U.S. interventionism. To succeed in preventing American intervention, it will *have* to be massive.

DSA has endorsed the rally and is an active member of the November 12 coalition. The DSA New York Office will have resources available to assist in local organizing, including guides, speakers, and traveling organizers. More information will be sent to locals as the rally develops. Locals must work closely with religious, labor, minority, peace and other organizations in building for the rally, as we unite on the simple need to prevent the U.S. from going to war. We must also plan an immediate response in case of a major escalation of the U.S. military role in the region.

The growing U.S. military presence in Central America is also linked to the nuclear arms buildup. Both are part of the globalist foreign policy that leaves no room for legitimate movements of national liberation in the Third World, that grants no legitimacy to the people of Europe who reject our nuclear umbrella, and that constantly invokes the threat of Soviet expansionism to justify unlimited U.S. involvement throughout the world. In such a global political climate, relatively small conflicts in Central America could escalate into nuclear conflicts. For these reasons, it is imperative that we combine our demands for U.S. and Soviet nonintervention in Central America (and throughout the Third World) with a demand for a bilateral reversal of the arms race, starting with a halt to plans to deploy the first-strike Euromissiles and dismantling of the Soviet SS-20s. Drawing this deadly connection between conventional U.S. military intervention and the nuclear arms race will make work on both issues more effective and will help bring the specific movements on each issue closer.

STOP U.S. INTERVENTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

March for Jobs, Peace, Justice, in Washington, D.C. on November 12

For more information, get in touch with the November 12 Coalition, P.O. Box 50131, Washington, D.C. 20004, 202-887-5019, your DSA Local, or the DSA New York office, 853 Broadway, NYC 10003.

groupings, the *Coordinadora*, the UDT, the CTC, CEPCH (private white-collar employees' confederation), and the FUT (United Workers' Front), met. They declared themselves the *Comando Nacional de Trabajadores* (CNT), representing virtually the entire labor movement. Rodolfo Seguel, PDC head of the CTC, was named their leader.

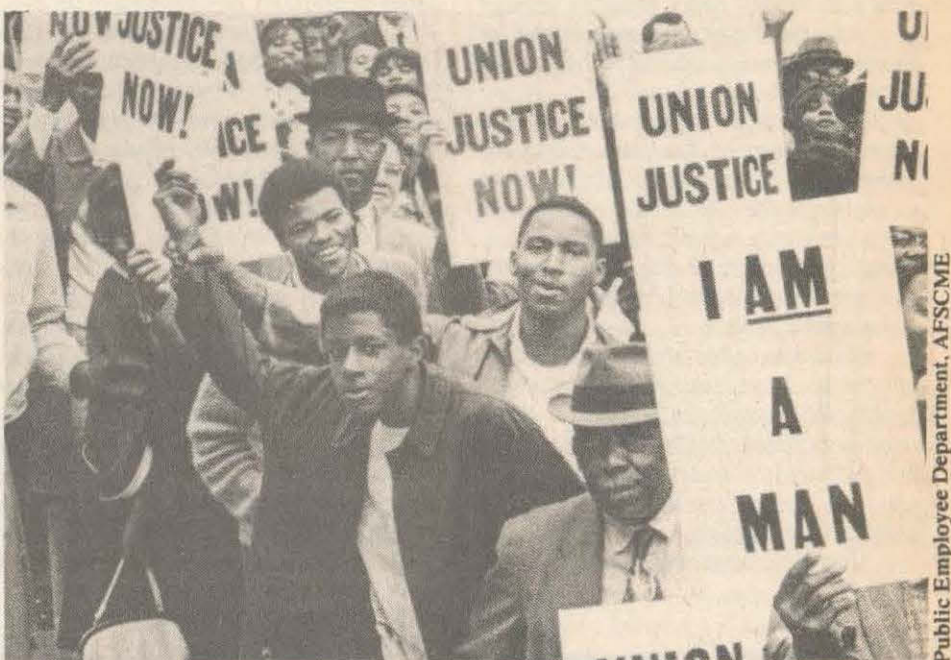
In the name of the CNT an even more successful second day of national protest took place on June 14 and further actions were planned for thereafter. The military's reaction this time was much harsher. Within a few days the top ten leaders of the union groupings were arrested.

By chance I was with the leading exile unionists—Bustos, Cuevas, Meneses, Valderrama, Elgueta, and others—at an International Labor Organization meeting in Switzerland the day after Seguel's arrest. True to their sectarian backgrounds, they sat at two different tables in a cafeteria, divided, roughly, by their varying relationships to the east or west. But personal concern for Christian Democrat Seguel was equally strong on all sides as they sat quietly talking, looking out toward placid Lake Geneva with Mont Blanc, a bit reminiscent of faraway Chile, in the distance. All knew that it was not just the protests that had so provoked the wrath of the military. Perhaps even more important was the renewal of labor unity, however pragmatic and tentative, like democracy itself.

The union leaders being in jail, the third day of national protest had to be called by the belatedly awakened political parties. The parties have also called for a fourth day of protest which is to take place a few days after this is being written. Though the parties and even the U.S. government are hurriedly positioning themselves for a possible shakeup in the present regime—a transitional PDC government is seen as inevitable at some point, maybe sooner rather than later—an important and, I think, more significant trend has already been confirmed. The traditional characteristics of Chilean organized labor are reappearing: "Classist, democratic, and unified," as a recent Socialist party exile publication in Europe put it. "The organization, its spirit and the programs are the same," the paper concluded, "what can change is the name." ●

Demonstrations in August led to several deaths and increased government repression. As we go to press the Pinochet regime is clinging to power, but the opposition continues to mount.—Eds.

King Linked Causes On Way to Dream



Memphis 1968

Public Employee Department, AFSCME

by William Lucy

The pages of history textbooks are crowded with figures who have changed the world through their political astuteness, their success at conquest, or by their ability to inflame the less-exalted passions of men and women. Children are offered a diet of Alexanders and Caesars, of statesmen and generals, of soldier-saints and demagogues, of rogues and fanatics. Only occasionally do they study the men and women of history who have preached humankind's essential unity, who have reminded their societies that all the world's people are bound to each other and with creation into an indissoluble whole. It is almost as if words like "peace," "compassion," and "love" are not educational or entertaining—not worthy to be considered as guides to shaping one's own dreams.

For its part, the U.S. has produced few peacemakers. Shaped by a hostile frontier and social friction, our history tends to ride on horseback. Nonetheless, we have had our prophets of peace. Perhaps the greatest of these—and there are many, myself included, who would say the very greatest—was Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Certainly no other American so successfully wedded the American political ideal of equality in the eyes of the state with the religious belief of equality in the eyes of God. And certainly no American of our time has more successfully exemplified the spirit of brotherhood, of the Sermon on the Mount, than Dr. King. And few in our history have matched his personal courage in pursuit of his dream, his unswerving fidelity to the cause of equal rights and equal opportunity.

Dr. King did not create his vision of mutual human cooperation and fairness. It already existed in American hearts. His gift was in giving that vision new energy and urgency, and there is perhaps no better example of the power he had to do this than in that remarkable speech of August 28, 1963, that included the passage, "I have a dream..."

That dream energized the nobler intentions of millions of his fellow citizens and pointed the way to making that dream live, and breathe, and walk the streets. By doing this, Dr. King forever changed the conditions of everyday life in this nation for everyone.

Trade unionists—particularly those of us in AFSCME—will never forget that Dr.

King met his death while supporting the struggle of Memphis sanitation workers to achieve dignity and some degree of economic equity through collective bargaining. Memphis played the vision out: the peaceful exercise of basic human rights was answered with violence, but the spirit prevailed and was victorious.

Peaceful struggle was essential to Dr. King's dream, and he pursued it on behalf of all people, whatever their race, creed, or station, and he pursued it until the last moment of his life.

His message transcended time and place. He preached the spirit of love and reconciliation, of nonviolence, of the concern of all people for one another. He had an unshakable faith in basic human goodness, exceptional courage, a dedication to raising up those bent by fortune, his dream of racial and economic justice.

For a time he epitomized the civil rights movement. It was less than three decades ago that Dr. King rose to the forefront of that movement during a bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama—a protest that began because one tired working woman with sore feet refused further indignity.

Under his leadership, the civil rights

movement led to greater access to public facilities, housing, employment, and participation at all levels of society for blacks and other minorities. The Montgomery boycott and other events he organized began a trail that led to such landmarks as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Fair Housing Act of 1968, and the Education Amendments and the Equal Employment Opportunity Amendments of 1972.

Inspired by these examples, other disenfranchised groups struggled to secure their own rights. Hispanics, Native Americans, women, the aged, the poor, and the handicapped—all challenged the values and stereotypes that had deprived them of full participation in this society.

Some saw Dr. King as the leader of a narrow cause, the spokesman for a single group. Such people misread his life. Dr. King's message wasn't "black." It was human. He believed that injustice or oppression in any form, affecting anyone, was a threat to all. His opposition to the war in Vietnam and his call for peace are evidence of his inclusive belief.

This year is the twentieth anniversary of the historic 1963 March on Washington when Dr. King gave America his dream—

the dream that one day in Georgia, the children of slaves and slaveowners would "sit down together at the table of brotherhood," that even the state of Mississippi would be "transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice," and that one day in Alabama, white children and black children would join hands and "walk together as sisters and brothers." And again, his dream was not limited, for he urged that we let freedom ring "...from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city...."

On this 20th anniversary, hundreds of thousands gathered for another March on Washington. As before, it called for Jobs and Freedom, but this time it also called for Peace, thus mirroring the three critical conditions of our contemporary society: unemployment that stifles the hopes of millions of men and women, the calculated erosion of basic human rights at home and abroad, and a growing militarism and armed belligerence.

Twenty years later, the dream remains to be fulfilled. But we, too, have glimpsed the promised land, and we will not turn back. ●

Bill Lucy is international secretary-treasurer of AFSCME and president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

ANALYSIS

Evaluating King's Journey



by Manning Marable

The August 27, 1983 March on Washington was popularly characterized as a mobilization marking the twentieth anniversary of the 1963 March. For many Americans, the earlier March is most memorable for Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech. Thousands who marched this year echoed the slogans of this famous civil rights demonstration, and came to honor the vital contributions of King to the battle for racial equality.

Yet historical memory is deceptive. The struggle for "Jobs, Peace and Freedom" in the era of Reaganism and economic recession is qualitatively different from the effort to uproot Jim Crow. Posters at the 1983 March proclaimed "We Still Have a Dream"; but how has that dream evolved over recent decades? Part of the answer resides in the ambiguous legacy of King himself, in the shifting currents of black social thought in the 1960s, and in the practical relationship between racial oppression and class exploita-

tion. It does the movement for human equality today little good to "freeze" Martin in 1963, on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, without an analysis of his radical evolution in the final years of his life. It is instructive to comprehend how King's dream changed as his Movement developed, and to see how the pursuit of democratic reforms beyond civil rights changed the man himself.

Birth of a Movement

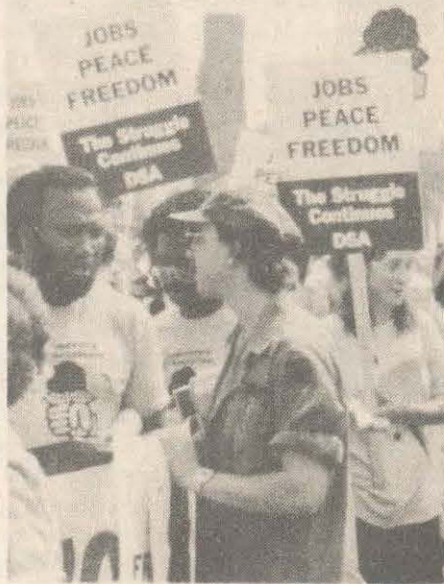
Between 1945 and 1960, the movement for racial justice was growing. During the McCarthy Cold War period, many civil rights efforts were compromised and negated by the Negro middle class leadership's capitulation to anticommunism. But the activist orientation that socialist A. Philip Randolph provided prior to World War II found new representatives. In Montgomery, Alabama, for instance, local black ministers and laborers led by E. D. Nixon staged a boycott of segregated buses in 1955-56. The young Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. emerged as the principal organizer of the boycott. Ably assisted by the Reverend Ralph David Abernathy and socialist activist Bayard Rustin, King urged local blacks to employ nonviolent protest tactics. Throughout 1956, approximately 95 percent of Montgomery's blacks refused to use the buses.

A Supreme Court ruling of November 13, 1956 outlawed segregation on Montgomery buses. Overnight, King became the charismatic symbol of the political aspirations of Afro-American people. Domestically, the success of the Montgomery bus boycott reinforced a similar effort begun in Tallahassee, Florida, and sparked a fresh boycott in nearby Birmingham, Alabama. In 1957 King, Abernathy and other black ministers formed their own organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), to carry out new civil rights demonstrations.

An even more decisive form of protest began on February 1, 1960. Four young black students from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College sat at a drugstore lunch counter in the "whites only" section. Politely, but firmly, they refused to move until the store was closed. The next day about 30 students joined the desegregation protest, in what would become known as a "sit-in." News of this form of nonviolent, direct action protest spread quickly across North Carolina and then the country. By the last week of February black students held sit-ins in two dozen or more cities in Southern and border states.

Soon there were stand-ins at theaters refusing to sell tickets to blacks; wade-ins at municipal pools and segregated beaches; pray-ins at Jim Crow churches. By April 1960, 50,000 black and white students had

joined the sit-in movement. King's SCLC helped the students form a new organization, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which became by the end of the year the most militant desegregation force operating in the South. By 1961, the Freedom Movement had grown into a powerful, if sometimes fractious, united front. On the right were the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and Urban League—conciliatory, prone toward legalistic reforms, and dependent upon the financial and political largess of liberal corporations, trade unions and the Democratic party. On the left was SNCC, which contained the youngest and most articulate black "radicals." Rapidly moving to



August 27, 1983

the left was the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), led by socialist James Farmer and subsequently by Floyd McKissick. Unlike SCLC and SNCC, CORE not only led Southern-based efforts, notably the 1961 "Freedom Rides," but also focused on Northern racism.

In the movement's ideological center stood SCLC and King. Like SNCC and CORE, the SCLC took a leading role in nonviolent, direct-action campaigns. But like the NAACP and Urban League, King, Abernathy and their associates were politically aligned with the liberal wing of the Democratic party. This black united front was held together by its principled opposition to segregation and its determination to advance the political and economic interests of Afro-American people.

The zenith of the modern desegregation campaign was achieved in 1963 with two key events—the Birmingham, Alabama campaign and the second March on Washington Movement. Birmingham represented the

citadel of white supremacy. There were sit-ins and vigils. On May 2, SCLC organizer James Bevel coordinated a children's march involving 6,000 black youth from ages 6 to 16. Before national television cameras, Birmingham police unleashed vicious police dogs as the children knelt to pray. Nine hundred fifty-nine youngsters were arrested and jailed. Police used fire hoses, dogs, and clubs against pregnant women, children, and the elderly. Across the world, humanity was repulsed by the sickening spectacle of American racism. Tens of thousands of whites who had up to now stood outside the Civil Rights Movement—teachers, lawyers, laborers, elected officials, clergy—were recruited into the cause of justice. Thousands of telegrams were sent to the administration demanding action. Finally, after the brutal beatings and arrests of black children, the Kennedy administration reached an agreement with Birmingham's corporate leaders and elected officials that included local hiring policies on a "nondiscriminatory basis" and the immediate release of all black political prisoners.

Despite the victory in Birmingham, the racist violence continued unabated as police used electric cattle prods and clubs against unarmed citizens in Americus, Ga. and tear-gassed and clubbed 900 marchers in Plaquemine, La., sending 150 to the hospital. In Mississippi, 72 blacks were arrested in Biloxi; 23-year-old activist Willie Joe Lovet was killed in Tchula; civil rights leader Fannie Lou Hamer and others were viciously beaten and imprisoned by police in Winona. On the night of June 11, NAACP state leader Medgar Evers was executed by racists in front of his home in Jackson.

President Kennedy was not unmoved by the carnage and the ordeals of blacks, but the racial crisis alone would not have prompted him to act. Many corporate leaders, always looking at the social costs of doing business in the South, had concluded that desegregation was inevitable, that the federal government's appropriate role was to ensure the civil order essential to corporate expansion. In addition, the Cold War had again accelerated. Communist forces were winning in Laos and Vietnam; Castro was in power in Havana; a bloody civil war raged in the Congo; and in October 1962, the Cuban Missile Crisis had threatened the destruction of world civilization. The sight of battered and bloody black children in the streets of the American South could not help but undermine the U.S. Government's image in non-aligned countries.

As the Birmingham struggle climaxed, another major protest was being planned—the idea of reviving Randolph's 1941 March on Washington movement. Randolph and Rustin assumed leadership in the planning

stages, with the latter doing most of the actual coordination. SNCC and a few CORE militants insisted that the March should become a massive civil disobedience demonstration, which would paralyze the nation's capital. But white liberals from labor, religious, and political groups would not tolerate this radical approach. The SCLC, Urban League, and the NAACP explained that the demonstration should be planned without any arrests, with the complete cooperation of the federal authorities. This conservative position, backed by Kennedy, eventually became the dominant theme of the March. Instead of a massive, nonviolent army of black students and workers—which closely paralleled Randolph's 1941 project—the new

ROAD TO DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

A recruitment piece, "Martin Luther King: Challenging America at Its Core," is available from the New York Office at 5¢ per copy. This tabloid size pamphlet contains David Garrow's article on King, "From Reformer to Revolutionary," with an introduction by Paulette Pierce. Minimum order: 10 copies. Write to DSA, 853 Broadway, Suite 801, NYC 10003.

March was almost a festive affair, used to promote the civil rights bill proposed by Kennedy in June and pending before Congress. "To orchestrate and guarantee the civility of the new march on Washington," writes historian Vincent Harding, "the movement spent tremendous amounts of manpower, energy and money—all of which were diverted from the thrusts of direct action and voter registration in the South and elsewhere."

The result was a biracial audience of 250,000 or more, standing before the Lincoln Memorial, on August 28, 1963. Many movement radicals who attended the gathering agreed with Malcolm X that the event was nothing but a "farce on Washington." Televised before a national audience, most of the speakers endeavored to strike a moderate tone.

Martin Luther King came to the speaker's platform last, and gave what many in the audience declared was a rhetorical "miracle," his famous "I Have a Dream" speech. King began by terming the march "the greatest demonstration of freedom" in American history. He illustrated in resounding oratory his vision of society: a land where freedom would ring "from every mountainside," and where blacks and whites could join hands together to proclaim the words of the spiritual, "Free at last, free at last; thank God Almighty, we're free at last!" Militants were bitterly disappointed that King had chosen

not to include extensive critical remarks on the recent racist violence in the South, and the failure of most white liberals to respond concretely or adequately to the Negro's economic plight. But before a predominately white viewing audience in the U.S., King represented a reasonable and even admirable spokesperson for the cause of civil rights.

King as Leader

Between 1962 and 1965, Martin Luther King was the acknowledged moral and political leader of millions of Americans, black and white. After the 1963 march he became one of the three or four most influential figures in the world. His books and articles were read by millions; his speeches were memorized; he was honored with the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize. His achievements and acclaim gave the domestic struggle for biracial democracy an international audience.

The movement was surging forward and others would have taken his place had King fallen in the early days, but key to his powerful influence was his identity as a preacher. Among his contemporaries in the black clergy, King had no peer as an orator. Writing in 1965, historian August Meier explained that "King's religious terminology and the manipulation of the Christian symbols of love and nonresistance are responsible for his appeal among whites. To talk in terms of Christianity, love, nonviolence is reassuring to the mentality of white America." King's faith in the essential humanity of even the worst white bigot gave other whites the sense that this black leader valued and respected law and order, tempered with justice. Whites could love King, Meier wrote, because King had "faith that the white man will redeem himself."

In politics, King tried to strike a balance between protest and accommodation. Inside his own closed coterie of supporters, he listened to the advice of radicals like Bevel and gradualists like Andrew Young. King was ready to support Lyndon Johnson as he assumed the presidency, in return for the former segregationists's vigorous endorsement of the Civil Rights bill. Congress passed the legislation on July 2, 1964, and King repaid the new president by campaigning for his election throughout that year. King urged civil rights leaders to diminish their protest actions during the campaign, in the fear that any black boycotts or jail-ins would undercut Johnson's chances for election. When black urban rebellions erupted in Rochester, Philadelphia, and Harlem—brought about by decades of economic exploitation and federal government apathy—King took a law-and-order posture. Johnson was elected in November over rightwing challenger Barry

Goldwater with a massive majority; indeed, had every black voter stayed home, or voted for Goldwater, Johnson still would have triumphed. Nevertheless, even after the November 1964 elections, King attempted to moderate the activism of the movement in order to maintain the president's support.

King's compromised and contradictory politics were revealed tragically in Selma, Alabama, in 1965. SNCC workers had been organizing in that section of black belt Alabama for two years. One young man, Jimmy Lee Jackson, was clubbed to death by police officers as he tried to protect his mother. SCLC and SNCC organizers agreed to schedule a march from Selma to Montgomery beginning on March 7, 1965, to protest the brutality of Governor George Wallace's regime. On the morning of the march, SNCC leaders were shocked that King was inexplicably absent. Walking across Selma's Pettus Bridge, the 2,000 nonviolent demonstrators were attacked and brutally beaten by hundreds of state troopers and local police. On March 10, King agreed to lead a second group of 3,000 protestors across the bridge—but secretly made an agreement with Johnson's attorney general that the marchers would not confront the Alabama state police again. With King at the head of the march, the demonstrators sang and prayed as they walked over the bridge. As the police barricade loomed, King ordered everyone to retreat. In subdued anger, the amazed SNCC leaders and others walked back into Selma, singing "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me 'Round." Later, after hard bargaining, the march to Montgomery was finally held; but the damage to King's reputation was incalculable. Harding expressed the sense of betrayal: "Listening to mediators from President Johnson, he refused to press the movement into so harsh and predictably bloody a confrontation. Many sagging spirits were finally broken with that act of retreat, and the distrust that had been building against King, SCLC, and the Johnson Administration poured out in deep anger and disgust. The powerful, forward thrust of the Southern civil rights movement had now been finally broken, and that turned out to be the last traditional, major march of the Southern movement."

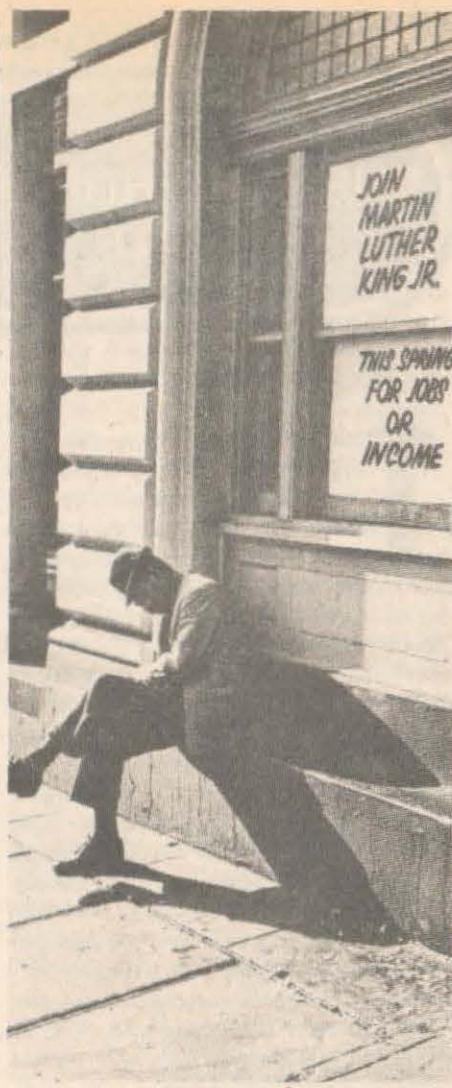
For five difficult years, King had been the glue that kept the civil rights united front intact. Leaders to his right—Young, Randolph, Wilkins—could accept his activism without personally becoming involved in street demonstrations on a daily basis. He had been a mentor to the left wing of the movement, speaking at SNCC's founding conference, urging teenagers to be arrested for their ideals, writing a powerful fundraising letter for CORE in 1956 and joining its Advisory Committee in 1957, and protecting

and aiding Freedom Riders in Montgomery in 1961. Now the myth was shattered, and the politician was something far less than what many True Believers had hoped he was.

Antiwar Stance

If those to his left blamed him for not being militant enough, those to his right were soon to be outraged by what they saw as complete betrayal. During the bitter national debate on Vietnam, all public leaders within black America were forced to choose sides. A dedicated pacifist, King could not look upon the conflict without taking some kind of public stand against the war. At the annual SCLC executive board meeting held in Baltimore on April 1-2, 1965, King expressed the need to criticize the Johnson administration's policies in Southeast Asia. His colleagues, fearful that King's support for the antiwar movement would hurt the SCLC financially and politically, voted to allow him to do so only as a private person, without organizational endorsement. Pressure from Rustin, the Johnson administration, and others for him to remain neutral was intense. Finally in January 1966, King published a strong attack on the Vietnam war. "Some of my friends of both races and others who do not consider themselves my friends have expressed disapproval because I have been voicing concern over the war in Vietnam," King stated. But as a Christian, he had no choice except to "declare that war is wrong." Black leaders could not become blind to the rest of the world's issues, while engaging solely in problems of domestic race relations. "The Negro must not allow himself to become a victim of the self-serving philosophy of those who manufacture war that the survival of the world is the white man's business alone." The negative response to King's statement was swift. SCLC leaders in Chattanooga, Tenn. severed relations with the organization in protest. Whitney Young stated that blacks were not interested in the issue. King lobbied hard among his allies in SCLC to back his position on Vietnam, and in the spring of 1966 the organization's executive board came out officially against the war.

Increasingly, King's attention was drawn not only to the Vietnam issue, but to the need for black Americans to devise a more radical strategy for domestic reforms. "For years I labored with the idea of reforming the existing institutions of the society, a little change here, a little change there. Now I feel quite differently," King admitted in 1966. Quietly, King was beginning to articulate a democratic socialist vision for American society: the nationalization of basic industries; massive federal expenditures to revive central cities and to provide jobs for



April 1968

ghetto residents; a guaranteed income for every adult American. King had concluded, like Malcolm X, that America's political economy of capitalism had to be transformed, that the Civil Rights Movement's old goals of voter education, registration, and desegregated public facilities were only a beginning step down the long road toward biracial democracy. And like W.E.B. DuBois, King recognized the correlation between his democratic socialist ideals and the peace issue. Massive U.S. military spending and the bloody war effort in Vietnam meant that the nation as a whole had less revenue to attack domestic poverty, illiteracy, and unemployment.

Just as the Truman administration had sponsored a "political assassination" of DuBois's influence during the 1950s, another Democratic president was now ready and quite willing to take steps to reduce King's reputation. Ralph Bunche urged King to either cease his attacks on the Johnson administration or relinquish his role as a civil rights leader. Rustin, now director of the

A. Philip Randolph Institute, vilified King's stance on the war. NAACP and Urban League officials privately and publicly attacked King and defended Johnson. Black Republican Edward Brooke, elected to the Senate from Massachusetts on an antiwar platform, swung behind the Vietnam war in 1967 and joined the anti-King chorus. Black columnist Carl Rowan drafted a vicious essay against King that appeared in *Reader's Digest*. King's response was identical to that of DuBois—he moved even further to the left. Defiantly, King announced an SCLC-sponsored campaign against poverty, the Poor Peoples' March, which would bring thousands of the unemployed and the oppressed of all races into Washington, D.C. in April 1968. Their demands for legislative action would include a federally guaranteed incomes policy. When black sanitation workers in Memphis voted to strike on February 12, to protest low wages and the accidental deaths of two black garbage men twelve days before, they asked the SCLC for help. King and his closest associates—Abernathy, Young, Jesse Jackson, Bevel—arrived to help mobilize popular support for the strike. The pacifist minister who once struggled for desegregated buses was now, thirteen years after Montgomery, organizing militant black urban workers, building a national poor peoples' march, and defying a president. He had come a long way; so had his vision for reconstructing America.

Speaking before a black audience in Memphis on April 3, King predicted that their struggle would succeed. Then, abruptly he began to talk about himself in the past tense: "I don't know what will happen now. But it really doesn't matter to me now. Because I've been to the mountaintop.... And I've looked over, and I've seen the promised land.... I may not get there with you, but I want you to know tonight that we as a people will get to the promised land. So I'm happy tonight. I'm not worried about anything. I'm not fearing any man. 'Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.'" Perhaps King sensed something that no one else could possibly know. At 6:08 p.m. the next day he was assassinated by a white man, James Earl Ray. Strangely, the police who had been guarding King were absent at the time of his death. Blacks across the country, even the militant nationalists, felt a grievous loss to the cause for racial freedom. White antiwar activists had lost their most effective and prominent representative; poor people and the black working class had lost a major spokesperson. More than anyone else since 1945, King came closest to bringing together a biracial coalition demanding peace, civil rights, and basic structural changes within the capitalist order. King's assassination

meant that any linkages between these vital reform movements would be much more difficult to achieve.

Hundreds of thousands of black families, perhaps millions, have portraits of Martin in their homes. He represents for many the still-living symbols of racial equality, justice, and civil rights that have long been part of the black political heritage. But which Martin do they honor, the King at the 1963 March, or the King of the Poor Peoples' March, the anti-Vietnam war demonstrations, and the supporter of black workers' strikes? The public drive to create a legal holiday to honor King is commendable, to be sure. But no democratic social movement can develop by turning its heroes into icons. Martin was valuable to all of us *because* he was all too human. He made serious political blunders, just like everyone. But unlike nearly all his contemporaries, King challenged himself to draw new correlations between poverty, racism, and war. The dream for an integrated lunch counter became a vision of a democratic society without unemployment, without wars of aggression, and without hopelessness. It is clear that Martin would be at the center of the contemporary peace movement, a defender of gay and lesbian rights, and an advocate of plant closing legislation. King would have been at Three Mile Island protesting nuclear energy; he would have spoken at dozens of South Side and West Side churches in Chicago for Harold Washington this spring.

Martin's "dream" is the living experience of democratic social change for our time. Our deepening of the traditions from his last years can only help to make that dream a reality. ●

Manning Marable teaches sociology at Colgate University, is a vice chair of DSA and is chair of the National and Racial Minorities Commission of DSA. This article is drawn from material that will appear in a forthcoming issue of Socialist Politics and his latest book, Race, Reform and Rebellion: the Second Reconstruction, 1945-1982 (MacMillan, 1984).

Night Calls

The Progressive community outreach project: From November 1 to 11, a thousand DSA members across the country will receive a telephone offer of a sample copy of *The Progressive* as part of a subscription campaign. The message, cleared with DSA, will also feature the November 12 demonstration against intervention in Central America.

— DSA will receive \$3 for every subscription *The Progressive* gets from this campaign. The subscribers will get an excellent magazine.

CREATING COMMUNITY

PUNCHIN' OUT WITH THE MILL HUNK HERALD



by Maxine Phillips

It won't rival the Hearst or Gannett empires, but a spunky worker-run newsletter in Pittsburgh, Pa. has helped spark a worker-focused cultural revival that includes everything from soccer marathons to weekly cable television shows. The paper, *The Mill Hunk Herald*, was started in 1979 by a group of steel workers who had been active in the Ed Sadlowski campaign and who in 1977 had started their own dissident paper at the McConway-Torley mill. Even though they were later laid off, they kept in touch as they scattered to other mills. Putting out the paper was so much fun that they decided to expand, remembers one organizer, Larry Evans. This would be a democratically run newspaper for all working people, "not owned by anyone," or "operated from the top-down," and not "ass-kissing" the masthead proclaims. A recent issue lists 31 names on the Mill Hunk Production Team, with occupations ranging from machinist or cable installer to "federal flack" to chemist. Leslie Evans, a high school journalism teacher who is married to Larry, notes that as many as a hundred people have been involved in layout and production.



To a traditional editor, the Mill Hunk's editorial process, in which every subscriber is welcome to come to editorial meetings to vote on manuscripts, sounds chaotic and unworkable. Chaotic it is. At the last meeting in August, 20 people reviewed 300 articles and poems for an initial winnowing before a final editorial meeting. But the result of this group analysis, and it's not always the same group, is a highly readable, sometimes decidedly nonprofessional magazine heavy on first-person accounts, humor, and lots of graphics. The Spring issue carried interviews with couples in which the husbands have lost their jobs and are now home caring for the children, a first-person report by a man who moved to Anchorage, Alaska in search of work, a short story about a woman truck driver, a single mother's account of her life as the only female copy machine mechanic in her firm, a searing poem on government terrorism in El Salvador, an article on teaching children about nuclear war, and reviews of books about labor struggles.

The name of the magazine is taken from a derogatory term for mill hands that was originally a shortening of the word "Hungarian." Today it means "buddy," and subscribers wear it proudly on Mill Hunk Funk sweat-shirts, t-shirts, and caps. It is linked to any social event that will bring in much-needed cash. There have been poolside Mill Hunk Dunks, a Halloween Mill Hunk Haunt, a Mill Hunk Munch, dramatic readings, poetry readings, film festivals, and concerts. This winter the big event will be the Fifth Anniversary Mill Hunk Ball. The paper's organizers take pride in its rugged self-sufficiency. "Our largest contribution was \$200 from an ex-Wobblie," says Larry Evans. Each quarterly issue, which costs \$1,800, is printed as the money is available. Evans allows as how, "We sort of like watching the money pile up until there's enough."

All the Mill Hunk socializing doesn't just raise money for the paper. Much of it brings people together both for fun and for other causes. Sports for People, its recreational offshoot, sponsors co-ed and women's softball and soccer teams. The annual soc-

cathion brings out fifty to a hundred players and this year raised three tons of food for the Community Food Bank. The Roberto Clemente Nicaragua Sports Festival netted 5,000 assorted balls for games and uniforms emblazoned with the names of Pittsburgh bars to be sent to children in Nicaragua. When the Festival sent its first donation in 1981, the Nicaraguan consulate in New Orleans said it was the first American aid given to the people of Nicaragua since the Sandinista revolution. This past June the *Herald* sponsored a Family Peace Picnic at which Western European trade unionists talked about the nuclear freeze, unemployment, and the European labor movement. In November there will be a benefit for the Save our Neighborhood Action Coalition, which works to prevent plant closings in this town where unemployment hovers at 24 percent.

Tales of anti-corporate and peace activities weave through the pages of the paper next to intensely personal accounts of working and family life. Larry Evans claims that "We print what people write about and don't follow any one political viewpoint," but the tone and content are definitely pro-worker and anticorporate. The first issue in 1979 got the editors in trouble with their own union. After they ran articles by dissident steelworkers, they reported, the Steelworkers Union pressured the Labor Education Center at the Community College of Allegheny County to deny them use of its typewriters. The *Herald* survived and now has close to 2,000 subscribers and more than 5,000 in newsstand sales.

Although the progressive bias of the paper and its activities are clear, members shy away from political labels other than "democratic" with a small "d." Some sects have tried to influence the paper Larry says, but can't because of its democratic nature. "We tell them to come to meetings, where they're one voice in forty." Some readers complain about leftwing bias, but others praise the paper's policy of running diverse viewpoints, unedited. "The fact that an ignoramus...can spew his acid venom...is a tribute to the publication," writes a minister in response to an anti-religious article. "Enclosed is my check for another year of non-conformity," writes a Steel City reader.

Mill Hunkers are enthusiastic about the talent in their ranks and want to spread the idea that workers' experiences are worth writing about and can be written by workers. They have been in contact with the Federation of Worker-Writers, a 12-year-old organization in England that has 400 members. Piece of the Hunk Publishers, the nonprofit entity, has received partial funding for a project to conduct writing skills workshops for Pittsburgh workers and community advo-

cates that would focus on oral histories and workplace experiences as well as provide technical skills in copyediting and layout.

New Wave

Enthusiastic as members of the collective are about their print work, they become hyperbolic about their latest venture—videotapes and cable television. "Video is the future," declares Larry, pointing out that cable television reaches far more people than read the *Herald*. Fifteen Mill Hunkers have been certified by Warner Cable, the local franchise, to use the company's equipment. They have produced 35 shows, ranging from a documentary of the Homestead Centennial to interviews with trade unionists from Britain and El Salvador, to an examination of corporate flight, to women's sports. Titles such as "Reaganomics Cabaret" and "Foreclosure Forum" dot the inventory. It is the two weekly shows—"Steelworkers Speak Out" and "Her Show," which features a variety of women's groups—that have the biggest audiences. Larry, Leslie, and filmmaker Tony Buba toured Indianapolis, St. Louis, Chicago, and Kansas City this summer speaking to unions and labor education groups about community access cable. "In Chicago they're light years ahead of where we were," comments Larry, marveling at the fact that when the bidding war for the cable franchise is over Chicago will have

twelve stations to Pittsburgh's two.

The benefits of cable access appear obvious for community groups, yet few groups in Pittsburgh have been able to take advantage of the station's offer of training and use of equipment. The cable studios are open only during weekdays from 9 to 5, and many groups do not have people who are confident enough or have the time to take the training required to prepare programs. The Mill Hunk group is trying to get funding to help train community groups, but fears that access to video will dwindle rather than expand. Since community programming is unprofitable to the cable franchise, there is little interest in improving it. Instead, Larry speculates, if the quality is poor, the franchise will use that as an excuse to cut back on the time available to community groups.

Some help may be forthcoming for trade unionists in Pittsburgh and other cities. Since 1981 the AFL-CIO has sponsored a Labor Institute of Public Affairs which produces a commercial show called "America Works" that goes out on 40 stations. The Institute sends out a Labor Video Bulletin every other week to state federations. The professionally produced tape covers current labor concerns. Through group discounts the Federation has helped members buy video equipment. Cable stations are "thirsty" for good material says Federation spokesperson Rex Hardesty, and Evans hopes that the latest

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initiative, The Cable Project, will help people in Pittsburgh produce better shows. The Project, centered in four industrial centers, has as its goal an hour of labor programming every day. The Federation has urged its members to form video task forces and will provide technical help. For the first time in five years the Steelworkers Union approached the Mill Hunk crew to sit down with them and other unions to talk about cable media.

When the first Mill Hunk team went out to record the Homestead Centennial Celebration at the site of one of the bloodiest labor battles in American history, their cameras caught a U.S. Steel executive giving a pep talk, a disillusioned unemployed worker who declared, "When the mill goes, this town goes," and an eighty-year-old resident

who remembers the Depression and a strike in 1919 and says "We weathered it." "A mixed bag of hope and skepticism" wrote Leslie Evans. Her description fits the *Herald* as well. The zany humor, insane energy, and deep commitment of its writers and readers have made the once despised Mill Hunk a rallying symbol for workers who won't give up.

Subscriptions to the Herald cost \$3 per year from 916 Middle St., Pittsburgh, Pa. Video tapes are available on loan for the price of postage. Send a stamped, self-addressed envelope for a list. More information about the AFL-CIO programs can be obtained from your state federation of labor.

Youth Section Holds Conference

by Jeremy Karpatkin

More than 120 young activists from around the country gathered in Washington August 24-27 for the eighth annual summer youth conference. Participants from as far as Santa Cruz, California and Atlanta, Georgia heard such speakers as Michael Harrington, Manning Marable, Barbara Ehrenreich, Irving Howe, and Dorothy Healey discuss socialist visions and politics and their relevance to the social movements of the 1980s.

The conference, which coincided with the 20th anniversary March on Washington for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom, gave special emphasis to the struggle for racial equality and social justice in the 1980s, focusing particularly on the significance of the March and the coalitions it represented. Third world community organizer Hulbert James told the attendees, "Solidarity Day was powerful, but it was only about jobs. June 12 was incredible, but it was only about peace. August 27 is about jobs and peace and freedom. That makes it more important than any of them."

At other sessions, speakers discussed the legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr., the roots of the economic crisis, the democratic roots of the socialist vision, socialist-feminism, the experiences of the European left, the U.S. policy crisis in Central America, and the ever increasing danger of the nuclear arms race.

At a special session on issue organizing, several concrete

proposals for political action emerged, including the development of Youth Section networks on feminism and anti-apartheid work.

The growing strength of the Youth Section was reflected in its discussion of political priorities for the coming year. The group made a major commitment to mobilizing students for the November 12 demonstration against U.S. involvement in Central America and to helping mobilize for Voter Registration Summer 1984, a national campaign to register massive numbers of minority and low income voters during the 20th anniversary of Freedom Summer in 1964. The Youth Section also pledged itself to support the October 22-24 International Days of Action against the Euromissiles; to maintain its commitment to labor support and education activities; and to expand its work around reproductive freedom and socialist-feminism.

The Youth Section also elected its national officers at the conference. They are: Guy Molyneux, chair; John Raymond, corresponding secretary; Penny Von Eschen, organizational secretary; and Tom Canel, secretary-treasurer. The female at-large officers are Amy Bachrach, Anne Evens, Peri Hall, and Sarah Judson. The male at-large officers are John Gunn, Jason Kay, Michael Lighty, and Allen Smith.

Jeremy Karpatkin is the DSA national youth organizer.

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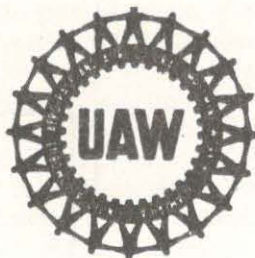
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IN FOR THE LONG HAUL

by Harold Meyerson

On June 5, 700 persons crowded into the Biltmore Bowl in Los Angeles to honor and say goodbye to Dorothy Ray Healey, who soon thereafter moved to Washington, D.C., to begin a new career: that of grandmother. It is a career in keeping with a life devoted to nurturance. Dorothy Healey first went to work in her teens organizing California's cannery and field workers; at 25, she was vice president of her international (UCA-PAWA). In the late forties, she began her 20-year tenure as chair of the Los Angeles County Communist Party. During her term Los Angeles became the only region of the party to take positions divergent from the CPUSA line. With the invasion of Czechoslovakia, the rift became too wide to heal; Healey refused to run for re-election to the National Executive Committee, and resigned from the party a few years later. She became active in the New American Movement, and at DSA's founding convention she was elected a vice chair. For 24 years she has been a commentator on the Los Angeles Pacifica radio station; plans are afoot for her to do national radio commentary from Washington. To know her is to know that her career as activist and teacher will continue. The feeling at the Dorothy Healey tribute was perhaps best expressed in the tribute journal by Dorothy's contemporary, novelist-screenwriter Paul Jarrico. "I have seen Dorothy," wrote Jarrico, "and she works." This interview took place shortly before Dorothy left Los Angeles.

DL: Let's talk about the political evolution that led you from the Communist party to NAM to DSA:

DH: Until 1945, I was not involved at all in internal party life. When I was brought into the party leadership, solely because I had publicly opposed [Earl] Browder's Teheran policy before the Duclos article, it took me months of reading old party documents to try to understand the nuances of this organization.

But I don't want to overstate my distance from the party in earlier years. For instance, I clearly remember when the Nazi-Soviet Pact was signed in 1939, I didn't have any trouble at all with that in my mind, in my heart. For a whole decade, we had been making the fight against fascism the central

fight, and yet in a twinkling of an eye, that stopped, and suddenly British imperialism and German Nazism became equal evils. In Molotov's famous phrase, it was a matter of one's choice of cultures. I remember thinking—I hate to admit it—that Stalin must know what he's doing. So I can't say that I was always exercising independent judgment, because I wasn't.



Donna Wilkinson

Dorothy Healey at tribute.

There followed a very slow-growing awareness of how the party functioned. I can remember in 1950, the organizational secretary of the party telling me, "You're conducting guerrilla warfare with the line of the party." I said, "Not me. I would never fight the line of the party." It was just *this* particular position, and *that* policy, and *this* policy. It didn't occur to me that there was any totality to that. It was just episodic as far as I was concerned.

But during the fifties, I became more involved in the national work of the party. I was elected to the National Committee of the party at the 1957 convention, and to the National Executive Board the same year. I quickly became appalled at what I thought were simply violations of democratic centralism. Again, I didn't stop to ask whether there was anything in the concept that allowed for these violations. I could see that there was this overall bureaucracy, that the real operative leadership was always the smallest body, not the National Committee, not even the national Executive Board. It was the

Secretariat that really ran the party. It just took me a very long time to understand the reality of what that meant, in terms of anybody in the party having any say in policy outside of a tiny handful.

DL: Were there conditions peculiar to the Los Angeles Party that gave you a political base that made staying in the party easier than had you been elsewhere?

DH: Oh, there's no question of that. When I became chair of the party in 1949, there was already something of that openness present. There was more after I became chair. It never occurred to me that one could operate in that narrow, almost vengeful-against-political-opponents atmosphere that prevailed in the rest of the country.

We had in a sense a privileged sanctuary here from which to operate. First, we were three thousand miles away from the national office, which was marvelous. Second, we had the support of the bulk of our membership here, which meant that when Gus Hall or someone else came into town, they were not able to make any significant dent in the support we had.

But a major change in my own feelings came after 1968. I had been first to the German Democratic Republic and then to Czechoslovakia in 1967. I attended the Congress of the GDR and was very shocked at it. As far as I was concerned, I was seeing Prussian socialism, and I didn't like what I was seeing.

Then I went to Czechoslovakia and by sheer chance was put in contact with the people, Communist leaders, who were preparing for what became known as Prague Spring. It was an incredible experience. Here were people leading the country who were asking exactly the same questions that we in this country were asking: How do you curtail the power of the leadership in the party? How do you guarantee that the party doesn't run the society? I spent more than a day with them at the Writers' Castle outside of Prague, and I was enthralled.

When the invasion took place the following year, we had already planned a mass meeting about Czechoslovakia. It was to be on a Friday night, and when I got there, the place was jammed. I made a speech in which I expressed the collective resonance of our Los

Angeles leadership in opposition to the invasion as a violation of internationalism, as a violation of the Warsaw Treaty Pact, a violation of what American communists presented as our program—and then opened the floor for questions. There were a number of people there who leaped to the stage to denounce me vehemently—and this was the first time this had happened. They were willing to go along with my past criticisms of the Soviet Union, but now the chips were down and they didn't want any more.

DL: It was one thing to quit the party, another to join NAM, which was a surprising marriage of old and new left.

DH: I was determined when I left the party that I was going to be one of those independent radicals who could be critical of everything and responsible for nothing. But the things that had made us all communists in the first place—our hatred of existing social and economic conditions in our own country—were still there. We were no longer so sure what the alternatives should be, but we knew we couldn't tolerate the status quo. It was a rather uneasy relationship on both parts, the young and the old, for a while. I think there was a certain concern that the old ones would superimpose our dogmas and old quarrels and old reflexes to new situations. And we were simply appalled by the lack of organizational discipline, clarity, and 'crispness of policy' that we were used to.

But we learned a great deal from the young people—an enormous amount on the question of process and all that represents, and maybe some of them learned from us about how you don't become a dropout, a tired-out radical after a few months of going to meetings.

DL: What's right and what's wrong with DSA?

DH: What's right is its encouragement of what we call multi-tendency approaches that says, no one has a fix on either the present or the future that spells out an infallible course for a socialist America, that it's going to take all kinds of people with all kinds of differing thoughts coming together to be involved in activity that regenerates that kind of debate. I think that this is the most important question. What's wrong with us is that we have yet to acquire an organizational coherence that allows DSA to react to events and to move with any considerable involvement from our members that makes a difference.

DL: What's your assessment of a Prague Spring ever becoming a Prague Summer? What would move Soviet bloc countries nearer to socialism?



Los Angeles Times Photo

During the "Red Queen" days.

DH: The most hopeful thing would be if there ever were to be a socialist transformation of an advanced capitalist country.

DL: Wouldn't that in some ways be viewed as more threatening?

DH: It might be more threatening to the party and government leaders in those countries, but it would be most encouraging to the workers. But the reason you had a Prague Spring is not only because Czechoslovakia is an industrialized nation with a modern working class, but it is also a country with a history of democracy, which is not true of most of Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union. The workers had some experience: they knew what it was they needed.

But I'm not terribly optimistic about anything happening in a very short period. Nor do I have any opinions as to how they'll do it. I think that Solidarity was a sign that the very rhetoric, the very ideology, the very rationale that is used to sustain those governments can also become the rationale that is used by the workers in order to put life in that language, to make it real.

DL: Correspondingly, what would you see as the preconditions for a renaissance of the American left? What's around that gives you hope?

DH: Well, you don't build a left without popular mass movements. They are indispensable. And that's the curious thing about what's happening in our country. One doesn't see great big movements of resistance. There are some qualifications to that: I think the election of Harold Washington was an expression of a powerful mass movement, and the black movement in Chicago was mobilized, organized, and enthused in such a way that made it irresistible. The fact that it found its outlet electorally is very interesting and important.

One thing I've learned: we don't create mass movements. They arise spontaneously in response to something that is present in this society. The important thing is that we

be alert and sensitive to them, so that when they develop, we are aware of their significance and have some idea of what I think is our main task—and that is to find a way in the mass movements to link one movement to another, that people in the single-issue movements see that there is a totality in the society that has to be challenged. As socialists, that's one of the main tasks we have: to provide that link-up.

DL: August Bebel is reported to have said that he never went to bed at night without thinking that the revolution was just a couple of days away, and that was what gave him the impetus to keep going. That is an article of faith we can't sustain today, but people such as yourself have sustained decades of involvement—not only sustained it, but not allowed it to ossify into dogma. How have you done it?

DH: I think you've got to have two things going simultaneously. You've got to have a never-ceasing hatred of the institutions that, to use Marx's language, debase and degrade all human beings. And you've really got to have a respect for and, yes, a love for your fellow humans, who, if they were not trampled by the ideas and ethos of this society, would flower. If you ask me what sustains me most, it is that I saw that happen in the thirties and forties when huge struggles took place. I watched workers lose their prejudices and their bigotries and even their inhibitions. I watched people who were semiliterate become organizers and speakers and administrators. So I know it's possible. I know the potential is there. And as long as you know that there is that potential in human beings to rise above where at any one point they are, always then the most powerful motivation for me is the hatred of what the society does to people. ●

Harold Meyerson is a longtime West Coast activist and a member of the NEC.

Dorothy Healey is one of two DSA members featured along with 13 other ex- and current Communists in the new documentary film "Seeing Red: Stories of American Communists." Made by DSA members Julia Reichert and James Klein, this 100-minute color film tells the story of men and women who were radicalized during the Great Depression. For distribution information, contact Heartland Productions, 215 Superior Ave., Dayton, Ohio 45406, (513) 222-6120.

European Unions Reject Missiles

by Mike Cavanaugh

In May I visited Western Europe as a member of an American trade union delegation that met with West German citizens, trade unionists, and political leaders who represented a variety of political viewpoints, but who all shared a concern and foreboding about the scheduled deployment of 572 U.S. Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Europe this winter. Their perspectives on deployment, and their responses to the "official" justifications for it, suggested to me that the American people ought to take a closer look at whether or not deployment of Euromissiles serves anyone's best interests.

In anticipation of our delegation's discussions about peace and disarmament with the West Germans, our own State Department and NATO officials briefed us on the background and status of the "modernization" of our own European nuclear forces.

We were given an analogy between labor negotiations and nuclear arms negotiations in which we, as trade unionists, were supposed to see the folly of a nuclear freeze or of nondeployment of the Euromissiles. This appeal to our instincts as labor negotiators went something like this: you could nev-

er expect to get a good contract from the boss if prior to negotiations you disbanded your strike fund and publicly proclaimed your intention to settle the contract without a strike. Therefore, trade unionists should have a special appreciation for why we can't expect a good arms control agreement if we stop building and deploying nuclear weapons, and pledge ourselves never to use them first.

Labor negotiations, however, are totally different. As labor negotiators, we are charged with the responsibility of attempting to bring to bear whatever force we have available to win the best possible contract settlement, and therefore we pursue an aggressive bargaining posture, ultimately defined by the militancy and strength of our members. The goal of labor negotiations cannot be the same as that of arms control negotiations, for arms negotiations should be about agreeing to de-escalate and reduce the levels of lethal nuclear weapons that both sides possess. The objective, and consequently the strategy and tactics of labor negotiations and arms control negotiations are (or should be) fundamentally different.

There was no doubt that all of our NATO hosts supported the decision to proceed with

deployment of the missiles, but there seemed to be some differences of opinion as to the purpose. The Americans stressed the military significance of the missiles, while the Europeans seemed much more concerned with the political "necessity" to proceed with the deployment, especially in the face of massive public outcry and protest against the missiles. According to a Dutch officer, the NATO "double track decision" (the decision made in 1979 to enter into negotiations with the Soviets in Geneva in an effort to halt the scheduled deployment) presented an overriding political issue in which the objective was to prove internally to their own populations and externally to the Soviets and others, that the 16 NATO countries have the ability and the will to act together.

By the time we reached Berlin—after nearly two weeks of travel and dozens of meetings and discussions related to deployment—the official State Department justification for deployment as a military necessity was being greeted with something less than polite skepticism. Located 130 kilometers east of the proposed deployment sites in West Germany, Berlin is in the middle of

Continued on page 28.



CLASSIFIED

PROGRESSIVE PERIODICALS DIRECTORY recently published! Good for publicity, networking, subscription details on 500 periodicals on labor, peace, international, culture, politics, etc. \$5 from Box L-120574, Nashville, TN 37212.

The fall semester of the N.Y. school for Democratic Socialism will begin in the third week of October, immediately following the national convention of the Democratic Socialists of America to be held in New York. Course offerings will include: Foundations for Democratic Socialism; a course on feminism; a workshop/seminar on economic issues; and an electoral skills workshop. For detailed information on these and other offerings, write or call the N.Y. DSA Local, 853 Broadway, Suite 801, NYC 10003, 212-260-3270.

Quakers have some quaint ideas—like trying to practice one's beliefs. Friends believe in truth, love, simplicity, peace and social justice. *Friends Journal* reports on Quaker thought and life today. One year (19 issues)—\$12. Six months—\$6. Write to: *Friends Journal*, Box DL, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102.

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ON THE LEFT



by HARRY FLEISCHMAN

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

California

Liberal Yori Wada was elected chairman of the University of California Board of Regents and DSA supporter Stanley K. Sheinbaum vice chairman. The two oppose tuition for undergraduate and graduate students, university operation of nuclear weapons laboratories, and UC's investments in South African companies... San Francisco DSA's Housing Committee played a leading role in the Affordable Housing Alliance's successful campaign for an ordinance requiring landlords to pay interest on security deposits. Tenants will receive an estimated \$5 million a year.

District of Columbia

The DC/MD local hosted a reception for "Jobs, Peace and Freedom" marchers the evening of August 27... The September *Washington Socialist* features an interview with D.C. Councilmember Hilda Mason, a review of the years between the marches, and the battle between federal workers and the Office of Personnel Management.

Kentucky

Central Kentucky DSA's Institute for Democratic Economic Alternatives (IDEAS) will hold a tax issues conference to build a strong coalition on the subject.

Maryland

Baltimore DSA backed black former judge William Murphy for mayor and Mary Pat Clarke for city council president.

Massachusetts

DSA women from Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York participated in the first Northeast Socialist Feminist School at Cape Cod. Themes ranged from socialist sexuality to ensuring a significant feminist presence at the national convention... The Boston DSA Political Action Committee is active in four progressive local campaigns. DSAers are working to ensure that David Sullivan serves a third

term on the Cambridge City Council. They are also working in Felix Arroyo's campaign for Boston School Committee; gay and tenants' activist David Scondras's race for Boston City Council; and populist Charlie Garjulo's campaign for Lowell City Council. Arroyo and Scondras recently joined DSA. Other DSAers are active in the campaigns of Mel King and Ray Flynn in the mayoral primary. The Boston PAC voted 22-13 to endorse black progressive Mel King, just two votes short of the 2/3 vote needed for an official endorsement. Several DSA members are playing a leading role in tenants activist Flynn's campaign, while others helped organize a fundraiser for the King campaign that netted \$2,000. Manning Marable was on the program to speak to more than 225 people.

Michigan

More than 50 delegates from around the state, representing every local in Michigan, elected co-chairs Kathy Callahan of Detroit and Zolton Ferency of Lansing. The state convention voted to explore economic reform measures for labor support and to push for a "freeze-type" referendum on full employment.

Montana

The Second Annual Reunion of Radicals, sponsored by Helena DSA, is scheduled for October 1 at Boulder Hot Springs.

New York

Carolyn Micklas, DSA member of the Schenectady school board, will run in the Democratic primary September 13 for City Council... Buffalo DSA is running DSAer Diane Cuirczak as an at-large candidate for the Buffalo Common Council in the Democratic primary... DSAers have joined with the People's Power Coalition, NOW, Sierra Club and others in the Frontier Democratic Club, a Buffalo reform coalition effort to make the party more democratic. It plans to run committee candidates in all of Erie County's 1,100 electoral districts in the 1984 primaries... Ithaca DSA held a successful Fred Small concert last month... A geological/biological tour of Cascadilla and Fall Creeks was held in August to benefit DSA... The local supported the Women's Peace Encampment at Seneca Falls... Nassau DSA and the Long Island Progressive Coalition are backing the candidacy of DSAer Barbara Sarah for town council in North Hempstead... At the urging of LIPC, *Newsday* will carry a weekly labor column... DSA Nassau and Suffolk

locals joined in a rally to stop nuclear power at Shoreham... A founding member of LIPC, Marge Harrison, has been appointed by Governor Mario Cuomo to serve on the fact-finding panel on Shoreham. She has also been active in the L.I. Public Power Project... The New York City DSA local distributed thousands of copies of the *New York Democratic Socialist* at the August 27 rally for Jobs, Peace and Freedom. It carried articles on Martin Luther King, Jr.'s progress from civil rights to socialism and can be ordered in quantity from the New York office... Westchester DSA co-sponsored a rally against intervention in El Salvador which brought in some \$2,000 for medical aid to the people there... A conference was held in Albany to organize a state-wide DSA.

Oregon

Portland DSA hosted the DSA Northwest Regional Leadership School last July... Chris Nielsen produced cassette tapes of talks by Mike Harrington in Portland. Titles are "America After Reagan," "Nuclear Disarmament and World Peace," and "The Twilight of Capitalism." Each tape is about 45 minutes long and is edited for radio use in two parts. For copies at \$3 each, write Chris at 5215 NE 30th, Portland 97212.

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia DSA will hold its 2nd annual retreat October 21-23 at Appel Farms in Elmer, N.J... Barbara Ehrenreich will be the keynote speaker at the opening of the new Philadelphia DSA office October 4, speaking on "Women and the Economy: Jobs, Unemployment and Poverty"... DSA joined the march of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee against Campbell's Foods, which owns many canneries... The Philadelphia City Council voted 9-4 to place a Jobs With Peace resolution on the ballot in November. It was introduced by Councilman Dave Cohen, who was elected with DSA support... Pittsburgh DSA's Reproductive Rights Committee heard lawyer Kathryn Kolbert of the Women's Law Project talk on "The Impact of the Supreme Court Decision on Abortion Rights on Penna Women... The *Reading Socialist* is now being published monthly.

South Dakota

State Rep. Tarrel R. Miller was recently labeled "the conscience of this Legislature, whether we agree with him philosophically or not" by Speaker of the House.

Rep. Jerome Lammers (R). Miller, who was elected as a "progressive" Republican, represents a rural district made up of "prairie populist" dirt farmers. Now in his second term, Miller is a member of the Appropriations Committee and a prime sponsor of the Nuclear Freeze in the S.D. House.

Tennessee

Nashville DSA joined with other groups in the Tennessee Hunger Coalition for a conference on "Tennessee's Unemployed: Building a Working Strategy"... The local will produce the DSA Southern regional newsletter. *Behind the Cotton Curtain.*"

Texas

A statewide DSA conference in Austin in July attracted more than 40 delegates... When Houston DSA held a John Tower Memorial Picnic this spring, with the avowed purpose of making him just a memory politically, they did not expect him to respond so quickly by announcing that he would not run for reelection in 1984. DSA participated in the Women's Suffrage Celebration August 26 at which Sissy Farent-hold spoke... On August 27, a Houston march for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom was held to coincide with the national march in Washington.

ANTI-SLAVERY FIGHT WON

Last May, DEMOCRATIC LEFT reported that the Workers Defense League was leading a fight for an anti-slavery law in North Carolina. In July, the North Carolina legislature passed a law that protects migrant farmworkers by making it a felony to hold a worker in involuntary servitude, punishable by five years in prison. Passage of the law was stimulated by the WDL, the state AFL-CIO, the NAACP, church and farmworker groups.

SPEAKERS BUREAU

The Institute for Democratic Socialism has a Speakers Bureau featuring Manning Marable, Barbara Ehrenreich, Francis Fox Piven, Stanley Aronowitz, Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, Victor Reuther, Robert Engler, Dorothee Soelle, Bogdan Denitch, Theda Skocpol, Rosemary Ruether, Cornel West. Fees are donated to IDS. Call 212-260-1078 for information.

ANTI-RACISM COMMISSION

The July National Executive Committee DSA meeting authorized the creation of an Anti-Racism Commission and Duane Campbell and Jim Jacobs were appointed temporary organizers.

RESOURCES

Economic Expose—Who's Stealing Your Job and Picking Your Pocket and What You Can Do About It is a pamphlet with a long title. But this 48-page brochure by Steve Max is well-written and graphically illustrated and bound to help you and your local educate effectively against Reaganomics. Copies available at \$2.50 plus 50¢ handling from Citizen Action, 600 W. Fullerton, Chicago, IL 60614.

Human Debris—The Injured Worker in America by Lawrence White (Seaview-Putnam, \$14.95) is a masterful study of workers' compensation laws. More than 100,000 Americans are dying each year of occupational disease, yet the administration tries to abolish many remaining federal regulations on health and safety in the workplace. The author calls for some type of no-fault insurance to provide medical care and income maintenance for workers injured on the job.

A Nuclear Arms Race Poster—A Pictorial History of the Atomic Age is a colorful 37" x 24" easily understood chart of 38 years of living under the threat of nuclear war. It identifies 10,000 U.S. strategic warheads aimed at Russia and 7,000 Soviet warheads aimed at the U.S. Copies available for \$6.50 (including postage) from Social Graphics, 1120 Riverside Ave., Baltimore, MD 21230.

Prepare, a brochure aimed at educating the American public about the need for change in U.S. policy in Central America, has just been published by National Impact Education Fund, sponsored by 23 national Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish groups. It stresses the value of citizen action and offers suggestions for such action. Single copies free from National Impact, 100 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.

Women, Taxes and Federal Spending points out how the burden of taxation falls more heavily on lower income levels, while at the same time federal and local systems have shut desperately needed services used predominantly by women. Copies are available for \$2 from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107.

AUGUST 27, 1983



Sandra Chelnov

Three hundred DSAers marched in Washington for Jobs, Peace and Freedom while on the West Coast supporters rallied around the first DSA blimp.

Missiles

Continued from page 25.

anyone's theater nuclear exchange "contingency plans," and may be the best place to talk with people about strategies to preserve peace. Not unexpectedly, the Berliners we met believed that their futures depended upon revived detente, East-West dialogue, and trade.

Alexander Langolius, deputy speaker of the Berlin House of Representatives, related remarks made to him by Pentagon and State Department spokespersons that convinced him that the real U.S. objective is and has been to achieve and maintain European nuclear superiority to the Soviets. He suggested that the Geneva negotiations are a public relations cover for the planned deployment, and hold little hope for success. West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl has promised President Reagan that there will be no turning back from deployment by the Germans.

Shortly after our return home, a story in the *Boston Globe* (June 2, "Official: Missile Decision a Mistake") reported that a high-ranking Pentagon official had confirmed that Euromissiles were a political rather than a military necessity. In an off-the-record meeting with a group of editors Richard Perle confirmed that there is no military need to deploy Euromissiles, but that our "credibility" is on the line.

If the motivation to deploy the Euromissiles is to follow through on our public commitment to do so, whether or not it makes strategic military sense, it is not at all certain that the political advantages to the U.S. outweigh the disadvantages. Our meetings with representatives of the West German labor federation suggested to me that proceeding with the deployment at this time could drive a serious wedge between the U.S. and large and important sectors of the West German population, who are increasingly suspicious of U.S. intentions. (A late summer opinion poll showed only 20 percent of the West German population in favor of deployment there.)

The Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (DGB), the German labor federation similar to our own AFL-CIO, hosted us in a number of cities. The DGB is a highly political federation, with many close and direct ties to the Social Democratic Party (SPD). It also has close ties to the peace movement. At the May Day parade and rally in the industrial city of Gelsenkirchen, we heard a keynote address by the regional head of the DGB that stressed peace and disarmament. The union leader urged the removal of Soviet SS-20s, and called for no deployment of U.S. Pershing and Cruise missiles.

In a series of meetings with DGB leaders in Dusseldorf and Berlin, we were continually reminded of the fact that the labor federation places "Peace by Disarmament" at the top of its political program. The DGB leadership and membership are playing an active role in the peace movement, and the labor federation declared September 1 as Anti-War Day.

By every indication the peace movement and peace activists are welcomed and encouraged by the DGB; and as a result it is a broad grassroots movement, not isolated from the mainstream of the society. The broad peace movement is having an effect on

HALTING DEPLOYMENT

October 22-24 are International Days of Action against the Euromissiles. Plan to join or sponsor events in your community.

the political direction of the recently defeated SPD. Though much media attention has focused on the emergence of the Greens as a parliamentary opposition to the governing Christian Democratic Union, it is the political direction of the Social Democratic Party with its close ties to the trade unions that will likely be the biggest and most significant story in German political life in the future.

It would be safe to say that the trade unionists we met were puzzled and dismayed at the relative inactivity of the American labor unions in the peace movement. No one could doubt, they pointed out, the widespread and broadbased opposition to Euromissiles in many European countries, especially in the North.

From the perspective of being back on this side of the Atlantic, three points stand out. It seems to me that very large segments of German society reject a return to the Cold War and favor a return of detente policies. In addition, official and active involvement of the DGB gives the peace movement a foundation and respectability it might not otherwise be able to achieve. The labor federation contributes not only the economic analysis of the destructive nature of the arms race on the world economy, but also the recognition that the future of the labor movement and its members may very well depend on the future policy of peace and disarmament. Finally, it is increasingly understood abroad, as it should be here at home, that the U.S. deployment of Euromissiles is primarily a political objective—to teach the Russians and the world that we mean what we say, and that the NATO Alliance cannot and will not be deterred from its policies by public opinion. The strategic military value of deployment is clearly of secondary importance...

Euromissiles do not add anything to the already more than sufficient ability of the U.S. to destroy the Soviet Union in nuclear war. Indeed, many argue, the missiles may well be a strategic mistake, promoting another Soviet response, and making European nuclear war, accidental or intentional, a more likely event.

However, the question not being dealt with is what will happen to our alliance—the ties between the U.S. and Western Europe—if the U.S. refuses to respect an increasingly large and vocal public opposition to deployment which is saying "thanks but no thanks...our security will be jeopardized not enhanced if Euromissiles are deployed on our soil"??? Whether the real objective is strengthening U.S.-Western European ties, or reducing the likelihood of nuclear war, the sensible short-term course of action would be to postpone deployment and pursue serious negotiations in Geneva, involving all the European nations.

The likelihood of this, or any short- or long-term sensible approach to the problem is not great. So long as the Reagan administration conducts arms control negotiations as if they were labor negotiations, such a change of strategy is unlikely. The responsibility for demanding a change of strategy and policy belongs to us.

We would do well, I believe, to look to the example and leadership of the German labor federation. Our task should be to broaden our own peace movement by making every effort to involve our own trade unions. The economic analysis of the destructive nature of an ever increasing military budget based on capital intensive sophisticated nuclear weapons, such as that provided by the Machinists Union, ought to be a major focus of our grassroots work. Jobs with Peace needs to become as well-known as the nuclear freeze, and trade unionists need to be involved in the leadership of such an effort, as many were in Labor for Peace in the early 1970s. The American peace movement, and particularly the American labor movement, needs to know much more about the involvement of European trade unions in the European peace movement. Ever increasing military spending and the continued build-up of nuclear arsenals threaten the peace and promise to confine us to economic decay. The Germans and many other European trade unionists have taken up the battle for peace and economic security through nuclear disarmament. I hope we have the foresight and the courage to join them. ●

Mike Cavanaugh is a business agent for the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers in New England and a member of the executive board of the Maine AFL-CIO.

LETTERS

'Mixed Bag'

To the Editor:

I have been meaning to write to DEMOCRATIC LEFT for some time to announce my folk music, comedy, singer-songwriters, satire program: "A Mixed Bag." It was Kristin Lems who first urged me to syndicate "A Mixed Bag." It has been running on stations of the National Public Radio Network since the first of this year... I use a lot of musicians friendly to DSA including Joe Glazer, Kristin, Si Kahn, Tom Juravich, et al.

I have also been involved with the Open Door Arts Co-operative, Arts & Humanities Council and Tulsa Performing Arts Center to bring in Robert "One Man" Johnson, Tom Dundee, James Lee Stanley, Tom Paxton, Jim Post, Norman & Nancy Blake and just recently artists for a Woody Guthrie Tribute. I did all the booking. All of these events took place in the last year and a half. I would be willing to share my experience with anyone who would like to do the same. I agree music is a great way to reach people. I'd like to see more attention to it in the DEMOCRATIC LEFT.

Bill Munger
819 S. College Ave.
Tulsa, Okla. 74104

Socialist International

To the editor:

I read with interest and a tinge of nostalgia your account of the 16th Congress (May 1983, "Change and Tragedy at the Socialist International").

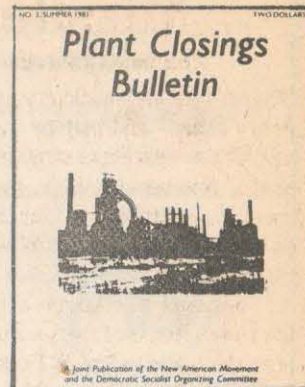
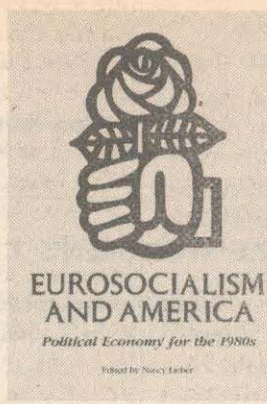
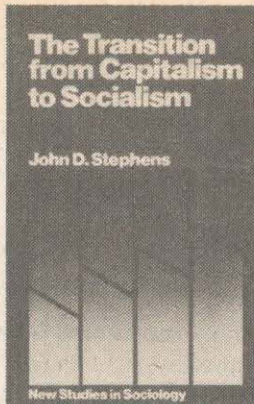
I note the acceptance of the Puerto Rican Independence Party to consultative status. Does this presage similar status for other nationalist and/or separatist parties, such as the Parti Quebecois, the Scottish, Welsh, Breton, Corsican, and Basque nationalists, etc.?

I note the reference for the nth time to "the European ghetto" from which the International has emerged. Surely there are other ways of making this point besides this singularly graceless phrase.

David C. Williams
Bethesda, Md.

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from

San Diego DSA

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For peace, for equality, for justice, for freedom*

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Gordon, Liz, Olly, Rachel

"Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given; it is exacted."

A. Philip Randolph

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Greetings to the
Democratic Socialists of America
from the
Workers Defense League

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Socialism is alive and growing
in the Beehive State

Greetings from the Utah DSA Local

We were asked to make three wishes
for our child.
'Democracy and Socialism in Her Time.'
—Marshall Mayer & Bonnie Lambert

With Faith for the Future
BEA AND SAM TOLMACH

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PORT CHARLOTTE, FLORIDA
Ida & Abe Kaufman

A Salute to Socialist Comrades
on Labor Day
Charles Barnes

Socialism — Humanity's Best Hope
NATALIE & HARRY FLEISCHMAN

In Solidarity with American Workers
For Peace and Justice
Cuban Christians for Justice
and Freedom

The DC/Maryland Local
has high hopes for our movement
and organization..
LET'S GET TO WORK!

Democratic Socialism
will make
The American Dream
a reality
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Building DSA—Fighting Reaganism
They're really the same thing,
aren't they?
MARIN COUNTY DSA-CALIFORNIA

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MARILYN M. EINHORN
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Socialism, It's the Real Thing!
Greetings from Mississippi
From Derek, Judy and William Johnson

*Non-violent defense has worked
historically and could today!*

JOHN M. MECARTNEY
Detroit

Democracy = Socialism
Socialism = Democracy
SAM & RUTH CLASS
DAN & SARA SCHELLY

In Memory of
Nicola Sacco & Bartolomeo Vanzetti,
executed August 23, 1927
—L. GULOTTA

Greetings to DSA local activists: the
people who make all of this possible

Rhys Scholes

There's Hope For The Future!
Joseph William Hickman
Born to Marjorie and Peter
July 12, 1983, Virginia

"Every revolution reveals a passionate
quest for exuberant life—for total honesty
between people."

—Raoul Vaneigem
CHRIS NIELSON, Portland, Ore.

GREETINGS
PHILIP H. VAN Gelder

Democracy, feminism and socialism—
inspirations from the past,
guidelines for the future
—Beverly Stein, Portland, Ore. DSA

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THE FUTURE IS IN OUR HANDS!

Best wishes from the *DSA Youth Section*

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A Friend

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In Solidarity

LOCAL 259 U.A.W.

Sam Meyers, President.

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have never asked of an
economic system only that it
enable them to stay alive:
They have always asked in
various ways that it permit,
even encourage them to find
in their working environments
a reflection of the dignity
and value which their
religious and social heritage
has taught them they are
entitled to as human beings.

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and Allied Craftsmen

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James F. Richardson, Executive Vice President
Louis Weir, Executive Vice President

In memoriam
**Olive Golden
Barbara Merrill**

Chicago DSA

**"Pessimism of the mind,
optimism of the will."**

— Antonio
Gramsci



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SELMA LENIHAN

Selma Lenihan, Organizational Director of DSA, and a staff member of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee almost from the beginning, died in June after a hard-fought battle with cancer. The loss to her family, her friends, and the movement, is incalculable. The following statement by Michael Harrington was read at the memorial service.

Selma Lenihan was one of the most vital, exuberant, vibrant persons we will ever know. Death is always an outrage, but the cruel and utterly premature way in which she was taken from us was an affront to life itself.

She was open, experimental, irreverent, a woman who somehow was light-hearted and courageous at the same time. She had, it seemed to me, more than her share of trials, but she persevered and at the end everything seemed to be going well, which is one more reason why her death was so intolerable.

The only time I ever felt that I really was a few years younger than Selma was once in New Jersey when I beat her at tennis. The rest of the time she was a loving grandmother who made me feel like an old fogey. She never had the chance to be old, which was her glory and her tragedy.

I don't want to romanticize. Selma was also born just a bit before her time and she spent most of her working life doing jobs that were literally unworthy of her talents with incredible efficiency and a dauntless good humor. Even when she was attending to some minor detail of organizational life or arranging my schedule with incomparable skill, every time we talked she treated those tasks with laughter and wit as well as an incredible diligence.

But, thank God, she didn't stay an anonymous, well-loved heroine in the tradition of the feminine mystique. The women's movement liberated her and those last years we worked together so that she could live up to her own promise. The incomparable secretary and assistant became a leader in her own right, one of the handful of people who made a long, difficult political negotiation bear fruit. At the founding convention of DSA last year she finally emerged publicly into the very center of our struggles as one of four elected directors of the most hopeful socialist organization in years. If she was cut down in her prime, at least, in those last years, she had the opportunity to discover that prime in all of its fullness.

But then, Selma gave her entire life to the movement. She and I used to laugh about our solemn first meeting at Debbie Meier's house where we gingerly discussed whether our different political pasts would make working together difficult. We laughed because that first encounter was the last time the issue arose. We—and I know, most of us at this memorial service—had always been part of the same movement: our coming together was a matter of the heart, not just of the head.

What I am trying to say is that she devoted her life to the movement, not as a grim sacrifice, but as a joyous gift. She lives as long as any of us lives and even beyond. She lives as long as the struggle to which she so gladly gave herself goes on. She will be there when it is finally triumphant.

I will not mouth the traditional slogan, "Don't mourn, organize." I want to say, mourn deeply a magnificent human being, an irreplaceable, original individual, a spirit we love. Then—but only then—organize to make of her tragic death a new beginning of hope.

John Keefe, Jeremy Karpatkin, Penny Schantz, Maxine Phillips, Gordon Haskell, Holly Graff, Leo Casey, Michael Harrington, Jim Chapin, Jack Clark, Frank Llewellyn, Ruth Jordan, Deborah Meier, Kathleen Bartle, Harold Meyerson, Guy Molyneux, Mark Levinson, Bill Engeler, Raphael PiRoman, Miriam Bensman, Irving Howe, Patrick Lacefield, Ron Radosh, Jo-Ann Mort, Bogdan Denitch, Elizabeth Goldstein, Peter Mandler, Joseph Schwartz, Mary Babic, Steve Oliver, Gretchen Donart, Cynthia Ward, Fritjof Thygeson, Roger Robinson, Marjorie Phyfe, Trudy Robideau, Nancy Kleniewski, Stephanie Harrington, Ruth Spitz, Tom Simonds

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Best Wishes in the Struggle

Coalition of Black Trade Unionists

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President

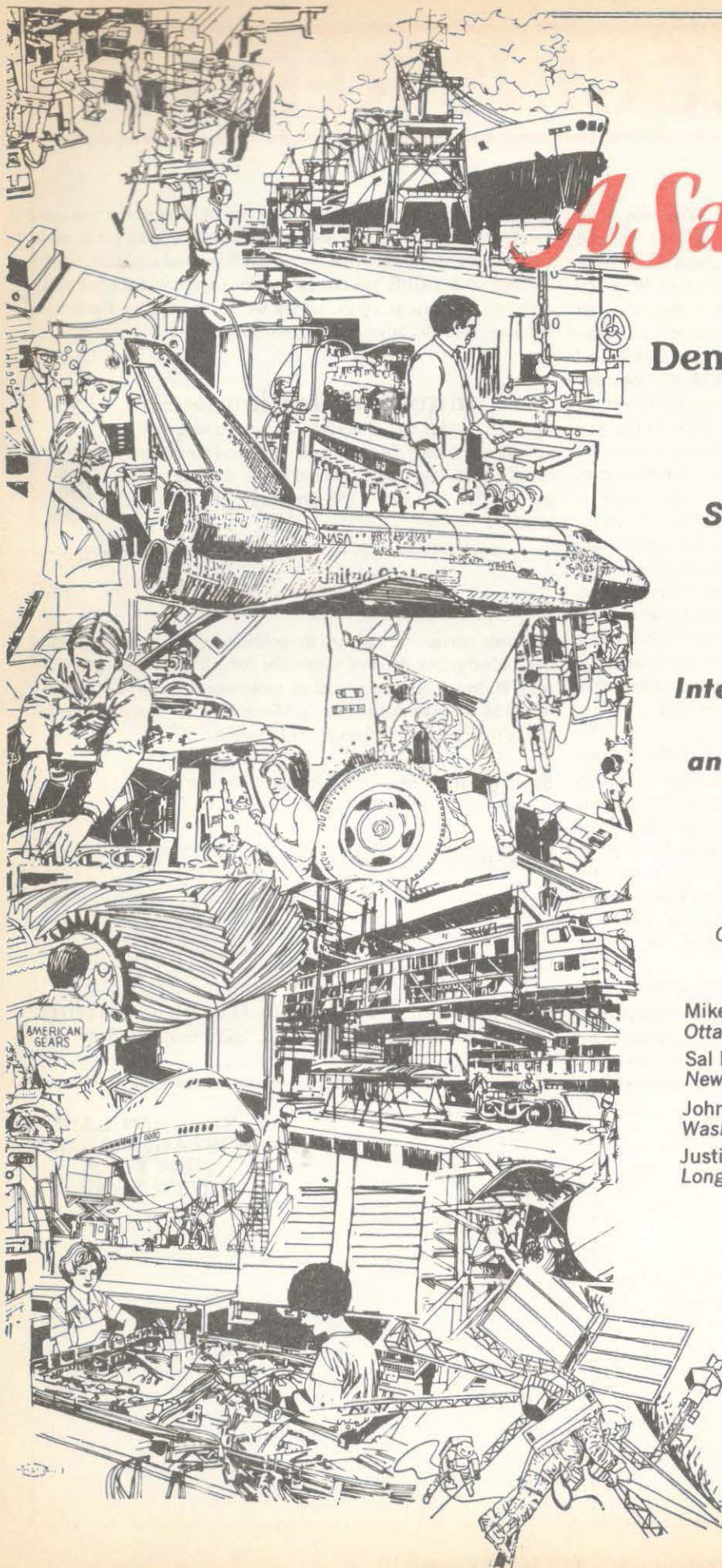
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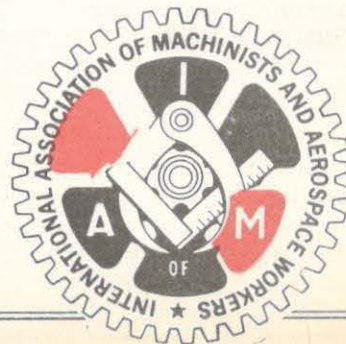
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JIMMY HIGGINS REPORTS

The vanishing middle. You hear a lot about the economic recovery from Republicans these days. And you hear even more from highly polished neoliberals about the promise of "industrial policy" and the advent of high-tech industry. What you don't hear much about is the lopsided growth of the American economy into a small sector of technicians and executives and a large pool of clerks, secretaries, janitors, fast-food workers, and nurses' aides. Vanishing rapidly are the decently paid blue-collar jobs that made something approaching middle-class lifestyles possible for the largest part of our workforce. *Time* did a puff piece on the new economy in its May 30 issue; in the middle of its paean was a chart with best job prospects and worst job prospects, compiled from Labor Department statistics. Secretaries, nurses' aides, janitors, sales clerks, and cashiers led the "best prospects" list. Farmers, high school and college teachers, skilled printers, and postal workers were among the categories in the "worst prospects" list. In a thoughtful piece in the July *Atlantic*, Bob Kuttner reported that workers in the fastest-growing industries are earning on average \$5,000 less than workers in declining or slow-growing industries. Kuttner points to two unfashionable remedies for this polarization and potential impoverishment: more unionization and expansion of the public sector labor market. Any neoliberals listening?

Overheard at a Boston Bar at the time of the summer AFL-CIO Executive Council meetings—"Foreign policy always has been the downfall of this organization. We shouldn't have our leader serving on a Reagan commission to give the o.k. for more involvement down there (in Central America). But I guess Kirkland still has Communists on the brain. Hell, if I was living down there, making seven bucks a week, seeing my kids live in dirt and filth without enough to eat, I might be a Communist, too." The speaker was a veteran building trades union operative.

Pollster's progress. Remember Pat Caddell? He was George McGovern's hot-shot kid pollster-strategist in 1972. Then he rose to fame and fortune in Jimmy Carter's campaign and administration. He gained great notoriety for his 1977 memo to

Carter outlining a strategy for a new majority. Concentrate on upper middle-class suburbanites and the South, and you've got it made, Caddell advised; forget that outmoded New Deal coalition. Caddell showed up at COPE meetings in Boston to lecture the labor movement on electoral strategy. Guess where he sees the Democrats' big potential now: among blacks, working people, and women.

Jimmy and Janie Higgins can't dig up all the dirt by themselves. If you find an article or hear something that you think they, and the readers of DEMOCRATIC LEFT should know, drop them a line at DSA, Suite 801, 853 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003.



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