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# DEMOCRATIC Left

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**Correction: The photo of Dorothy Healey in the last issue was taken by Paul Schraed.**

## DEMOCRATIC Left

Formerly Newsletter of the Democratic Left and Moving On.

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# AGAINST INTERVENTION

by Michael Harrington

**T**he United States never should have invaded Grenada. That act was morally and legally unconscionable—power politics at its worst, the American analogue to the “Brezhnev doctrine” that rationalized the Soviet invasions of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. It was politically stupid as well, a fact recognized not simply by Francois Mitterrand—hardly a softliner where Communist power is concerned—but even by Margaret Thatcher.

This is all relatively easy to say, and by the time DEMOCRATIC LEFT reaches its subscribers it will probably be standard liberal rhetoric. That is why I want to focus on some more difficult questions raised by the invasion. Was it merely an aberration explained by the presence of John Wayne's spiritual heir in the White House? Or is it one more incident in a pattern related to the position of America in the world?

Did it promote America's national security? I ask this because we cannot allow the president to portray his critics as unilateralist pacifists who have no sense of the realities of the world in which we live and no concern for defending the freedoms we enjoy. And finally, what are the alternatives to this madness? Can the experience help us mobilize opposition to an invasion, direct or indirect, of Nicaragua? Can it teach us in the longer run that there is a need for a democratic foreign policy that reaches out to the Third World rather than regarding it as merely the scene of a Communist conspiracy?

The Gairy regime in Grenada, overthrown by the New Jewel Movement, was a corrupt, terrorist regime that harassed opponents with its “Mongoose” squad and was led by a man obsessed by flying saucers. Needless to say, this undemocratic situation was not perceived as a political or moral problem in Washington. Our sensitivity to “terrorism” is, it is well known, selective.

Not too long after the New Jewel Movement took over, the United States began attempts to destabilize it, in large measure because of its sinister plot to build an airport capable of landing wide-bodied jets. That American concern reached heights of absurdity when Ronald Reagan showed intelligence photos of the site and it turned out that any tourist with a camera could stroll by and

A PATRIOT IS  
A MAN  
WHO FIGHTS  
FOR HIS  
COUNTRY



THAT'S  
WHY YOU  
HAVE TO GO  
FIGHT IN  
CENTRAL  
AMERICA



BUT, CENTRAL  
AMERICA  
ISN'T PART  
OF OUR  
COUNTRY—  
SIR!



AN  
OVERSIGHT  
YOU'LL BE  
CORRECTING  
SHORTLY,  
PRIVATE



Carol  
Simpson  
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film it. More to the point, Reagan also attempted to organize a Chilean-type financial blockade of the island, even going so far as to fight hurricane relief for the Grenadians. That last policy, *The New Republic* reports, was so bad that even the Jamaican conservatives complained about it.

Here, I would suggest, is part of the pattern of American intervention in the Third World. Reacting to any revolutionary movement as if, in its very first phase, it is already permanently committed to a Stalinist kind of regime, Washington then drives these movements toward the Soviet Union. The Bay of Pigs invasion, it will be remembered, was planned under Eisenhower (with the enthusiastic participation of Richard Nixon), i.e., it was underway long before Castro decisively turned toward Moscow and must have convinced him to make the turn. Similarly, Washington's policies are the strongest argument for the Marxist-Leninist currents within the Nicaraguan movement today. That is, the United States works mightily to create the very problems that it denounces as the work of Soviet agents.

This is not to suggest that Grenada under Maurice Bishop was perfect. It was not. Political prisoners were held without formal charges and there was a general lack of procedural rights. A popular government refused to submit itself to a democratic electorate, and so on. I was particularly aware of these issues because I talked with Bishop and his colleagues about them. The New Jewel Movement is a member of the Socialist International and the SI, while supporting Grenada against American attempts to destabilize its government, urged Bishop to move quickly toward democratic freedoms and civil liberties. I had a long conversation with part of the Grenadian delegation to the SI Congress in Portugal last April and we discussed these matters quite frankly.

At this writing it is still too early to reconstruct an authoritative account of the events that led to the murder of Bishop and his comrades. But almost all versions agree that they were taking that advice about democracy to heart—and that they got no support from Washington for doing so. This is very much like the United States' stance of refus-

ing to engage in serious negotiations with the Sandinistas on the basis of the Contadora proposals.

The Reagan administration, in short, bears enormous political and moral responsibility for creating the situation which it claims justified the most flagrant violation of international law and political common sense. Even as I write, that rationale is unwinding by the hour. It turns out that the medical students and other Americans on the island were not in danger, that messages had been sent guaranteeing their safety, and that, on the day that the Reaganites claimed the airport was closed, four flights left, one of them carrying an American official.

I am quite sure that the Administration will come up with numerous treaties and secret documents proving that the Grenadians were working with Moscow and Havana—but since it was American policy to isolate them from everyone else, where did it think they would turn? There will be photographs of arms' caches, too, which will prove that the Bishop government—which Washington, ironically, now depicts in a somewhat favorable light—was committing the heinous crime of preparing to defend itself against our invasion. Communist cheek knows no bounds!

These deceptions fool practically no one, not even Margaret Thatcher. With one bold stroke, Ronald Reagan has managed to create enormous suspicion within an Atlantic Alliance already uneasy—and rightly so!—over the introduction of Euromissiles. We have voted in effect with the center and left wings of the German social democracy on that question; we have given the British Labour party an excellent reason for opposing missile deployment. DSA is, of course, in basic sympathy and solidarity with our German and British comrades on this count, but for Reagan it is a spectacular stupidity that makes him the unwitting opponent of his own wrong-headed Euromissile policies. Even from a hawkish point of view, in short, the invasion was indefensible.

But let us take the argument one step further. Assume, contrary to all the available facts and only for the purpose of argument, that everything Reagan says is true. Grenada was in the process of becoming a Soviet-Cuban "terror colony" in the Caribbean. Would that have been a challenge to our national security of such a magnitude that it would have justified our contemptuous disregard of international law? I think not. Cuba has been a Communist country and staunch Soviet ally for more than two decades. It is, to put it mildly, of much greater strategic significance than tiny Grenada. Have we been—should we have been—sleepless all those years with such an island ninety miles from our shores?

## Angel Island Takeover



B.C. Moulton

On Veterans Day 1983, forty men and women dressed in mock fatigues kept the press at arms length as they boarded rafts for a mid-morning invasion of tiny Angel Island in San Francisco Bay. Warning the camera crews to stay away for "security" reasons, they paddled to a sailboat that ferried them to the island's shore, where they claimed the land for the United States. Arguing that the island was strategically located on the way to an oil refinery in Richmond, California, they promised to "rid the San Francisco Bay Area

of urban threat." Returning to the mainland, they kissed the ground after landing.

Press coverage of the Grenada parody was mixed, but Channel 7 used it as the lead-in to its Veterans Day story, and DSA Western Regional Office Director Jim Shoch told DEMOCRATIC LEFT that the participating organizations believed many people got the point. The action was organized by San Francisco DSA's Anti-Militarism Committee, the Livermore Action Group, and the Nuclear Freeze Campaign.

Indeed, let's turn the argument around. I would argue that Washington's support of Batista and its attempt to invade Cuba did more to undermine American national security than Fidel Castro; that our hostility to the Nicaragua Revolution, after decades of support for a regime of "our" terrorists, had a similar effect; that we will pay dearly for our immoral support to the killers in San Salvador; and so on.

## Myopia of the Mind

How can one explain this myopia? I would suggest that it is related to the very nature of American power. The United States is the dominant status quo power in a world, and region, in turmoil. Lacking a mass socialist movement with ties of solidarity to those fighting to overthrow the dictators and oligarchs, and believing that the poor countries should simply climb the capitalist ladder to development without noting that the world capitalist economy works hard to make that impossible, we look at all indigenous revolutionary movements as foreign conspiracies exported from Moscow or Havana. How does one deal with a terrorist plot? By counter-force—or even counter-terror.

So it is, under liberals as well as con-

servatives, that the United States in the post-War period has an institutional tendency to support reactionary, and even fascist, losers against popular revolutionary movements which Washington often succeeds in driving into the arms of the Soviets.

What is the alternative? We must oppose the invasion, or continuing destabilization, of Nicaragua, of course, and do so unconditionally, even though legitimate criticisms can be made of Sandinista policy from the left. More than that, we must reach out to the Sandinistas and the Democratic Revolutionary Front of Salvador, to those struggling against the American-subsidized terrorists in Guatemala City. We must follow an international economic policy which, by transferring resources from North to South, would make democratic outcomes in these revolutions, if not inevitable, then at least possible.

As it is, our invasion of Grenada has seen us shooting, not simply at our own foot, but at our own democratic heart as well. We have not simply outraged the world in general and our allies in particular, by treating a small power with brutal disregard of basic rights. We have once again made ourselves the casualties of our own policy. ●

# CONVENTION REPORTS

**O**n October 14-16 several hundred socialists gathered in a Manhattan high school for the first convention of Democratic Socialists of America. Hundreds of pages of Socialist Forum have been and will be devoted to the resolutions and plans that came out of that convention. In these pages, we present some highlights of convention actions, and two personal reflections on the convention itself. The article by DSA Western Regional Organizer Jim Shoch appeared in a longer version of the Western Regional Newsletter. Eds.

by Jim Shoch

By now we've all heard reports on the October DSA convention from delegates, and many of us have read John Judis's account in *In These Times* and perhaps John Trinkl's story in *The Guardian*. This is not a report, but a few impressions of the convention and the state of DSA.

First, both the convention and DSA are in considerably better shape than Judis would have it. The convention mood was generally upbeat, and most people seemed to think it came off better than they had anticipated it would. The organization is growing steadily if unspectacularly, and many locals are slowly becoming political forces in their cities. DSA's growing commitment to anti-racist work was evident in the very visible role of the National and Racial Minorities Committee, and the organization's commitment to feminism was symbolized by the unanimous election of Barbara Ehrenreich as co-chair.

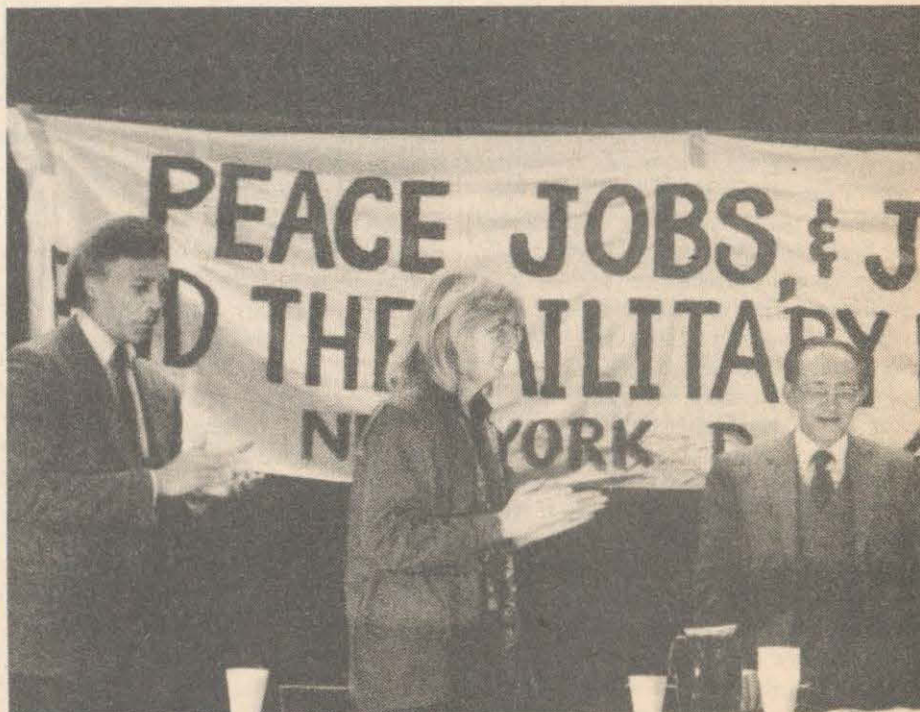
A point that both Judis and Trinkl make is worth taking up, however—their sense that DSA has no real strategic direction right now. Judis in part frames this as a struggle between a “red” tendency, oriented toward traditional sectors of socialist support, particularly the labor movement, and a “green” tendency, more oriented toward the “new social movements” of minorities, women, lesbians and gays, peace activists, environmentalists, etc. Judis argued that the “greens” largely took power at the convention. While Judis has pointed to very real differences of emphasis, he greatly exaggerates the salience of these differences at this point in DSA's existence. The differences exist in any formal sense mostly at the leadership level, and have certainly not crys-

tallized into any top-to-bottom “red” and “green” tendencies. We need much more organization-wide discussion of the relation between the “old” and “new” social movements before such clear tendency formation will emerge. Within the national leadership, most of the so-called “reds” have certain “green” inclinations, and vice versa. The differences tend to be for the most part ones of emphasis. There are real differences in perspective, but too much shouldn't be made of them at this point. As for a “green” takeover of the organization, the new National Executive Committee is just about evenly balanced between those who are more “red” than “green” and those who are more “green” than “red.”

What, then, can be said about DSA's current political direction? It's true that there were no earthshaking departures proposed or approved at the convention, but this to me at least doesn't indicate an absence of strategy. There's a tendency in DSA (and before that in NAM, of which I was a member) to expect bold new strategic proposals at conventions that will help us achieve the political



Sandra Chelnov



Nine hundred people gave a standing ovation to Guillermo Ungo, right, leader of the Revolutionary Democratic Front in El Salvador, at the public forum sponsored by DSA in conjunction with its first convention. Applauding Ungo are other forum speakers, DSA co-chair Barbara Ehrenreich and U.S. Representative Ronald Dellums. Randall Forsberg, upper right, outlined political steps that the nuclear freeze movement must take to ensure a sympathetic Congress and administration.

## NEC ELECTION RESULTS

### Women

Christine Riddiough  
*Washington, D.C.*

Dorothy Healey  
*Washington, D.C.*

Nancy Kleniewski  
*Rochester, N.Y.*

Penny Schantz  
*New York, N.Y.*

Marjorie Phyfe  
*Washington, D.C.*

Beverly Stein  
*Portland, Ore.*

Jan Briedenbach  
*Los Angeles, Calif.*

Glenn Scott  
*Austin, Texas*

Sandra Chelnov  
*Oakland, Calif.*

Lillie McLaughlin  
*Albany, N.Y.*

Josephine Martinez  
*New York, N.Y.*

Angie Fa  
*Santa Barbara, Calif.*

### Men

Joseph Schwartz  
*Cambridge, Mass.*

Richard Healey  
*Washington, D.C.*

Leo Casey  
*New York, N.Y.*

Harold Meyerson  
*Los Angeles, Calif.*

Jim Wallace  
*Washington, D.C.*

Carl Shier  
*Chicago, Ill.*

Jack Clark  
*New York, N.Y.*

Bogdan Denitch  
*New York, N.Y.*

Bill Smith  
*Newark, N.J.*

Manning Marable  
*Hamilton, N.Y.*

Raphael PiRoman  
*New York, N.Y.*

Mel Pritchard  
*San Francisco, Calif.*

breakthrough that past strategies have not accomplished. But our timeline is too short. We live in a very difficult period in a country with a frustrating lack of receptivity to socialism (to put it mildly). No strategic "key" will unlock this problem anytime soon. My feeling is that the basic orientation we've developed retains its validity, and that we need to improve our application of it by sharpening our understanding of American political life, expanding and deepening our political work and improving our organizational functioning to make this possible. This is not to say that there won't be certain changes of course—the need to intensify our nonintervention work to help head off further U.S. involvement in and perhaps an invasion of Central America is the most immediate example—but there are also certain constants. What follows is a brief attempt to outline what I understand to be DSA's basic political perspective, one that I think, despite a certain vagueness as to application, retains a good deal of validity.

First, a sketch of the national political map. The current governing coalition, condensed in the Reagan administration, is made up of the corporate and New Right, under the dominance of the former (with the latter being increasingly marginalized, I think). Reagan has brought us economic austerity, remilitarization and social reaction. At the cen-

ter of the Democratic party is Walter Mondale and his "corporatist" proposals to bring business, labor, and the state together in a "new social contract" to reindustrialize the nation. To his right is John Glenn, more hawkish on foreign policy than Mondale (though Mondale certainly has more than a little of the Cold Warrior in him) and more conservative on economic and social issues. Then there are the "neoliberals," like Gary Hart, also to Mondale's right, with their fascination with high technology, a hostility to unions, a moderate social liberalism, their fiscal conservatism and their moderately liberal foreign policy. The left wing of the Democratic party is largely in disarray, with small numbers having rallied to Cranston's still largely single-issue campaign and McGovern's nostalgic rerun. Jesse Jackson's entry into the race has finally given the campaign some interest and the left perhaps some space to operate in national politics. But for the most part, the left is marginal to the national scene.

While the election of almost any Democrat to the presidency will help create space for the left (I say almost, because Glenn scares me), the real hope of the democratic left is at the grassroots, at the state and local level. For a variety of historic reasons, not the least of which is the popular discrediting of socialism by the Soviet experience, any serious national popular movement that de-

velops in this country during the next decade will not be openly socialist in character. It would be better characterized as a form of "radical democratic liberalism" that stresses themes of economic democracy, peace and nonintervention, social equality between races and sexes, environmental responsibility, etc. DSA's task, then, is to build the individual movements that are the building blocks of this radical democratic liberalism, to help link them programmatically and ideologically and to build an open socialist current within these movements pointing toward the eventual elimination of *all* forms of class, race, gender, and national domination. This means constructing a diverse bloc of social forces, bringing together class and non-class struggles, "old" and "new" or "red" and "green" movements, within which we function as a socialist pole.

Some of our tasks in this work are programmatic and ideological. The draft economic program presented at the convention is an example of the kind of specific proposals we can introduce into those movements in which we have developed a credible presence. And our Socialist Schools, forums, and literature are the crucial means of our ideological interventions.

Beyond this we have a strategic role to play. This, I think, is in the arena of electoral politics. Recognizing the ever-increasing role of the state in daily life and the limits to strategies that restrict themselves to pressuring the state from without, virtually every contemporary American social movement has, since 1980, turned toward electoral politics, attempting to advance their issues by "rewarding their friends" and "punishing their enemies" who hold elected office. Learning the lesson of the New Right, which successfully combined grassroots issue work with electoral campaigning, organizations of the democratic left are now adding sophisticated electoral operations of their own to their existing issue work. The labor movement has long been active in electoral politics; now it's escalating its efforts, including its endorsement of Mondale well before the primaries. Women's organizations like NOW and the National Women's Political Caucus; minority voter registration groups like the Voter Education Project, the NAACP and the Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project; citizens' action organizations like Massachusetts Fair Share, Ohio Public Interest Campaign and Illinois Public Action Council; environmental groups like the League of Conservation Voters, the Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth; the Nuclear Freeze Campaign's newly-forming PAC; gay Democratic clubs—all these are turning to electoral politics in a big way, backed up by

campaign training organizations like the State and Local Leadership Project. In states like Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Montana, Oregon and others, political action coalitions including labor, minority, women's, Citizen's Action and environmental organizations have been formed to funnel money, technical expertise and people power into mutually agreed-upon campaigns. The initial results of these efforts have been good. In the November 1982 and 1983 elections, candidates supported by these organizations and coalitions won a significant majority of their races. Candidates with strong women's and minority support have fared particularly well in the last two elections, proof of the growing importance of the "gender gap" and the newly-revitalized minority voter registration efforts.

Most of this new progressive electoral activity is taking place within the Democratic party (except, obviously, in the case of non-partisan races), or more accurately, within the framework of the Democratic primary system. For a number of reasons, including the winner-take-all, single-member district nature of the U.S. electoral system, third parties have had a notoriously difficult time taking root in this country (witness Barry Commoner's .025 percent of the vote in the 1980 presidential election). Unless a third party is formed with great strength at the outset among major constituencies, allowing it to displace one of the two previously dominant parties very quickly, it will soon sink into insignificance. (This is the way the only successful third party in American history was formed—the Republicans emerging from a major split over slavery in the Whig party just prior to the Civil War.) So for now, at least, American social movements have their electoral expression within the Democratic party. Whether the party will someday be transformed in a more left direction by this activity, or whether progressive forces will have to leave en masse to form a new party, is impossible to foresee. But today the Democratic party is where the action is.

Although some effort is going into gaining positions of power within the Democratic party apparatus—state and county committees and conventions—most of this progressive electoral activity involves supporting candidates in Democratic primaries. As party structures have declined in their ability to influence election outcomes, due to the spread of direct primaries, civil service, the expansion of the welfare state, the rise of political consultants, the growing power of the media and corporate political action committees, ideological and issue-oriented interest groups on both the left and right have also begun to supplant the parties in performing

campaign functions. The progressive organizations and coalitions mentioned above have been able to provide crucial campaign resources to their endorsed candidates, first in primaries, then in general elections, markedly increasing the influence of these forces in the political arena.

These progressive electoral developments are of tremendous potential significance. As this activity spreads at the state and local level and begins to push its way upward to the national level, the realignment of American politics to the left will begin to become a real possibility.

DSA's role in all of this is to deeply immerse ourselves in this activity—in the grassroots issue work of today's social movements and in their emerging electoral efforts, helping them to balance the relation between the two aspects of their work and to form links with other movements moving in a similar direction. Our distinct role, one we can perform only when we have established an effective and reliable presence in these

movements, is to introduce more socialist-tending program and ideology into these efforts. Except in a few situations—mostly in university towns—our role will not for the foreseeable future lie in running openly socialist candidates of our own, whose principal bases of support and identification derive from their membership in DSA, though of course we'll continue to work for our members whose main identification is with constituencies and organizations outside DSA.

Of course, to undertake this ambitious project effectively, DSA will have to "tighten up its ship" organizationally. Locals will have to structure themselves in a more coherent and collective manner to support this kind of serious effort.

As a national organization involved in a wide array of movements, DSA can play a most valuable role in building the "radical democratic liberalism" that will be both the next phase of mass popular radicalization in this country and the indispensable stepping stone toward the construction of a popular movement for *socialism*. ●

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## New Structure for National Office

by Maxine Phillips

**B**y the time the 400 delegates and observers to the first DSA convention sang the closing lines of the "Internationale" they had been in rounds of caucus, commission, and plenary meetings, carried on intense debates, traded notes and success and failure stories, changed the organizational structure of DSA and charted priorities for 1984-85. The convention voted to adopt an executive director model of administration under which an executive director would be hired and fired by the National Executive Committee and would have the power to hire other staff, in consultation with the NEC. This is a departure from the four directors model in effect since the merger of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and the New American Movement in March of 1982. A search committee has been appointed to find an executive director.

In another significant change, the organization adopted a resolution calling for male and female co-chairs. Barbara Ehrenreich, a DSA vice-chair and well-known feminist author, was unanimously elected co-chair with Michael Harrington. The merged

NEC that had operated from the time of the unity convention was cut from over 40 to 24 members, of whom six have to be minorities (three men and three women). Results of the NEC elections appear in the box. The number of vice chairs was expanded from six to twelve, with the provision that at least two be minorities. The new NEC met for the first time immediately following the convention, and for a two-day meeting December 3-4.

Giving a boost to local chapter funding, the convention adopted a proposal in which 30 percent of new member dues, with the exception of those acquired through direct mail, will be rebated to locals. Delegates learned about the ins and outs of Political Action Committees, and the national DSA-PAC voted to concentrate on defeating Ronald Reagan and work on voter registration drives as one of the best means for doing so. It showed no preference for any presidential candidate, but urged DSA local PACs to work in progressive campaigns. The convention heard discussion of a draft economic plan, which will be widely discussed throughout the organization.

Top priorities between now and the next DSA convention were identified as work in the feminist, labor, and minority communi-

ties, activities in connection with the Democratic National Convention scheduled for San Francisco in July, efforts to halt interventionism in Central and South America, and emphasis on countering increasing discrimination and terrorism based on race, sex, religion and sexual preference. Plans are in progress for a late summer conference on

feminism and politics and an educational conference in conjunction with the Democratic convention. A more complete report on the convention will be available in the next issue of *Socialist Forum* (\$10/year, \$3.50/issue), but excerpts of two resolutions most discussed in press reports and on the convention floor appear here. ●

# Learning Lessons, Building Leaders

by Barbara Ehrenreich

**M**y single, overwhelming impression of the convention was that it was remarkably good-humored. There we were—ex-Trotskyites, ex-Communists, ex-Shachtmanites, labor activists, feminists, religious so-

cialists, atheists, internationalists, localists, minority leaders, visionaries, pragmatists, etc.—with the potential for at least a dozen snarling factions. But we made decisions, mingled and—most important—listened to each other in a spirit of mutual respect and good-natured solidarity. We showed that differences don't have to mean divisions and that socialism is a compelling enough vision to unite the diverse traditions of American activism.

Observers from the left press were quick to discern polarizations: "green" vs. "red," "left" vs. "right," ex-NAM vs. ex-DSOC. But from the convention floor these were either meaningless or invisible. We are perhaps just too new to have sorted ourselves into political subaffiliations and loyalties; and we may perhaps grow old enough to have our own culture of factional in-fights and personality clashes. Certainly both predecessor organizations survived their share of them, and, in retrospect, they did add a special zest to plenary session debates. But for



On the convention floor, delegates huddled to discuss strategy, studied documents, and conferred on points of order.

now I consider our relative harmony to be a sign of our growth (as an organization) and our experience (as a collection of activists). We are growing so fast that any factional lines would have to be redrawn almost weekly. And we're experienced enough to be able to put internal differences in perspective. No one resolution, amendment, or candidate is as important as the commitment that unites us.

Perhaps one reason for the success of the convention is that it was designed—and credit here goes to the planning committee—to bring out the best in us. The workshops and forums I attended were fairly riveting, in part because we have so much talent—both the big "names" and the less celebrated local leaders. The plenaries were chaired efficiently and humanely, something I had not thought possible within the confines of Roberts' Rules. There was time, though never enough, to meet in special-interest and constituency caucuses. And there was space, though not enough of this either, to hang out, renew old acquaintances, and try to meet new people (for most of us, the majority were "new").

But it could have been better, and in anticipation of many conventions to come, I'd like to suggest some possible improvements. My emphasis is on making the convention a better *experience* for all the delegates. If that sounds overly indulgent (or self-indulgent, since I was an alternate delegate myself), I would argue that delegates are the leaders and potential leaders of DSA. They travel thousands of miles and spend more than they (or their locals) can afford; they do so not only in order to hold up their voting cards and be counted, but to go home with new information, analysis, contacts, ideas, and inspiration. Between the two major functions of a convention—to conduct organizational business (elect officers, pass resolutions, etc.) and to strengthen local leadership and locals—I think we need more emphasis on the latter. My suggestions are based in part on discussions with others who attended the convention:

First, for purposes of education and analysis, I think we need more debate that is not tied to resolutions. For example, we passed a resolution on the Middle East but we did not have a serious debate on the Middle East, and the reason we did not have a serious debate was the fear that we might come out with a divisive resolution. Most of us probably agree that a divisive resolution would be a bad thing, and not only because of its negligible potential impact on world events. But a free-wheeling, no-holds-barred debate—on any issue—would be a good thing. It would make us all better informed and better able to carry the discussion back to our locals. In short, what could be called a



"rush to resolve" inhibits debate and hence necessarily inhibits clear thinking and analysis.

Second, we need more opportunities for sharing and evaluating local strategies. We could use a plenary that would feature "state of the organization" reports, and sum up "chapter practice," successful and otherwise. Reports would come not only from national staff, but from a few local leaders. There would be plenty of open-mike time for informal reports and commentary. The more prior thought that went into it (What are we trying to do locally? What divergent approaches are represented among the locals? etc.), the more worthwhile such an event would be.

Along the same lines, we need more opportunities for individual delegates to meet and share experiences both informally and in workshop-scale settings. I say this because I attended the convention in two capacities—as a national leader (a vice chair) and as a member of a local delegation. For a national leader it was easy to circulate and find out what people were doing and thinking. But for the average delegation member, the whole experience was overwhelming and at times alienating. (Two delegates I talked to admitted to going through the entire weekend without uttering a word in public or get-

#### DSA VICE CHAIRS

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\*Organization for identification purposes only

#### ON THE MIDDLE EAST

DSA supports the right of self-determination expressed in the Jewish state of Israel and the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people. These two rights are in territorial conflict which can only be justly resolved by mutual recognition and negotiation, and that is the solution we favor.

The achievement of a just and lasting peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors requires (a) that the state of Israel recognize the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, including national sovereignty alongside Israel (on a basis compatible with both Israeli and Palestinian security); and (b) that the Arab states and the Palestinian people recognize the Jewish state of Israel as a legitimate expression of the Jewish people's right to self-determination. Once these conditions of mutual recognition have been achieved, it would then be possible for comprehensive peace negotiations to commence between the Israeli government and representative Palestinian leaders (including non-rejectionist elements of the Palestinian Liberation Organization). DSA expresses its solidarity with those Palestinians and those Israelis who are courageously working towards mutual recognition and reconciliation.

DSA believes that it is particularly pressing at this moment that American proponents of Israeli-Arab reconciliation oppose the Israeli government's move toward *de facto* annexation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. We particularly condemn the dismissal of West Bank mayors democratically elected under Israeli authority, the closing of Palestinian academic institutions, confiscation of Arab land, illegal settlements and Israeli government's open toleration of armed ultra-nationalist vigilantes occupying Arab land. Such policies endanger Israeli security, the democratic character of the Israeli state and postpone any chance for real peace. Thus, DSA calls for an end to illegal Israeli settlements and expropriations of land on the West Bank. DSA also condemns the intransigent position of those Palestinian and Arab leaders who refuse to renounce terrorist attacks against civilians. These positions are also an obstacle to any peaceful settlement and play directly into the hands of those on both sides of the conflict who seek to avoid any negotiations which would lead to Palestinian self-determination.

DSA supports an internationally supervised ceasefire and simultaneous withdrawal of all non-Lebanese *armed forces* from all of Lebanon—Israeli, Syrian and Palestinian armed detachments. We oppose both superpowers' manipulation of the conflict in the Middle East for their own narrow strategic and economic interests. We particularly oppose their cynical promotion of the Middle East arms race. We support mutual, balanced reduction of arms sales by the superpowers to the region, consonant with promoting security for all states and peoples in the area. DSA opposes Israeli arms shipments to right wing, authoritarian regimes in the Third World. We hope that cessation of such shipments would end the rejectionist position taken towards Israel by many Third World governments.

DSA shall participate in activities which will pressure the U.S. government to support negotiations between Israel and all major Palestinian organizations which embrace mutual recognition. In particular, the U.S. should use its considerable leverage power over Israel to halt its expansionist policies in the occupied territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Those parties and states with contacts with Palestinian organizations should use their economic and military leverage to pressure these organizations to endorse mutual recognition and a peaceful resolution of the Middle East conflict.

DSA and its locals should participate in activities which promote peace in the Middle East through mutual recognition and negotiations. Such participation should occur only under circumstances where DSA's support for both the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and Israel's right to a secure existence is clearly evident.

*Passed by the national convention, October 15-16, 1983.*

## AGAINST U.S. GOVERNMENT POLICY IN LATIN AMERICA

...In 1979, after a struggle of nearly 20 years, the Sandinista Front for National Liberation led a broad-based revolutionary movement to victory in Nicaragua. The mass insurgency of 1978-79, which cost over 50,000 lives, jolted traditional societies and ruling classes, and gave great encouragement to democratic and revolutionary forces in the area. The still young revolutionary government in Nicaragua and the evolving projects of social reconstruction in that country represent today a great hope for the democratic forces throughout Latin America in general. They are supported by socialists in the area because for the first time ever they offer the great majority of Nicaraguans a chance to construct a society organized to meet their needs, and free of foreign domination.

DSA expresses its solidarity with the Popular Sandinista Revolution and its leadership, the Sandinista Front for National Liberation. Our solidarity with this movement does not mean unconditional support. We insist on our right and our responsibility to express our disagreements with specific policies, and to offer fraternal criticism where that is appropriate. But these disagreements will be expressed within a framework of solidarity with and support for the Nicaraguan revolution.

DSA expresses its solidarity with the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation/Democratic Revolutionary Front of El Salvador. The FMLN/FDR, a coalition of virtually every popular, democratic, union, rank-and-file religious, socialist and revolutionary formation in El Salvador, is the legitimate revolutionary leadership of the country, and represents the hope for an independent, democratic and socialist El Salvador. Because it is a coalition, it is impossible for DSA to agree with every position of every component member of the FMLN/FDR. But we are in solidarity with the movement, and disagreements are within the context of support.

DSA is also in solidarity with the recently-forged unified revolutionary movement in Guatemala.

DSA recognizes that the main danger to self-determination, sovereignty and the free, democratic development of the peoples of South America, Central America and the Caribbean is the policy of the U.S. government, which has been a force for instability and repression of the democratic aspirations of the peoples in the area. In view of the stepped-up effort by the Reagan administration to retain and broaden U.S. hegemony in this region by military means, DSA resolves to set vigorous participation in Latin America as a priority for its national and local organizations.

Our most effective contribution to the democratic development of the revolutions and struggles for true sovereignty in Central and South America is to broaden and deepen the resistance here at home to the intervention of our own government on the side of the oligarchs in these countries. We are unconditionally for the right of their peoples to work out their destiny in their own way.

To advance these principles, the United States should:

- cease all military and economic aid to the repressive regimes in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras, and the counter-revolutionary forces seeking to overthrow the government of Nicaragua; and
- lift the economic embargo on Nicaragua, and offer economic aid on an equitable basis to all governments who offer reasonable democratic rights and economic opportunity to the mass of their people;
- immediately cease its military and diplomatic support for the brutal Pinochet regime in Chile. The DSA reaffirms its solidarity with the struggle of the Chilean people against the Chilean regime....

*Excerpted from a resolution passed at the national convention, October 15-16, 1983.*

ting to know a new person.) Part of the problem was the urban setting into which we dispersed, usually with our own delegations, for meals and evenings. But I've seen plenty of fine activists fall by the wayside, even in the more intimate campus settings.

I consider this a major problem, first,

because when anyone "drops out," mentally or socially, we all lose; and, second, because it limits our potential ability to attract a more culturally diverse membership. If it's hard for a white, college-educated delegate to feel like a real participant, what will happen to the increasing number of members we will (and

should) attract who are not college-educated, or who are not comfortable in a white-majority setting, or who are simply unfamiliar with the subcultural assumptions of the organized left? In a large convention not everyone can expect much time in the spotlight, but everyone *should* expect to come away feeling "plugged in" and energized. We need to give some serious attention to making this happen.

A third suggestion, which might help with the above problem, is that we have more workshops aimed at sustaining individual activists as whole people. "It isn't easy," as Glenn Scott once said, "to be a socialist in the south"—or, I would add, in Helena, Montana, or Hicksville, N.Y. There is little recognition (at least of a positive sort) and, from day to day, few rewards. It doesn't help if one's organization—which is one's sole tie to a national network of socialists and feminists—seems impersonal, and remote. How about some workshops on burnout, isolation, and other daily-life issues? (I've always wanted to see one called, "I was a socialist in the PTA." Why *not* the PTA?) Or on socialist-feminist childraising. (I *know* there is a big demand for that one.) Or on sustaining oneself as an activist when one's spouse or significant other is not interested or supportive? You get the idea.

In summary, our membership, and our delegates, deserve to be more than an audience at national conventions. As members of an audience, we do absorb new ideas and gain inspiration from speakers and cultural events. But as more genuine *participants*, we develop ourselves as activists and leaders. Let me close with a general principle: An organization can have too much leadership (in a bureaucratized, centralized fashion), but it can never have too many *leaders*, especially not if it is democratic, socialist, and committed to bringing together all the rich and diverse traditions of American radicalism. ●

*Barbara Ehrenreich was elected co-chair of DSA at the convention and with this issue becomes co-editor of DEMOCRATIC LEFT.*

### NOTE TO READERS

It's that time of year again, when you wonder why you haven't seen DEMOCRATIC LEFT for a long time. We don't publish in the summer, then we put out a double issue in September-October. For the past couple of years we have had to put out another double issue in early winter because of creeping cash flow crunch. This phenomenon starts every fall and overtakes us in the winter, just before dues renewal money starts to arrive. We apologize for the inconvenience and promise that we'll be back on a monthly schedule in the winter and spring of 1984.

# REVIEWS

by Maurice Isserman

**EUGENE V. DEBS, CITIZEN AND SOCIALIST**, by Nick Salvatore. University of Illinois Press, 1982. \$24.95 hardcover.

**WOMEN AND AMERICAN SOCIALISM, 1870-1920**, by Mari Jo Buhle. University of Illinois Press, 1981. \$9.95.

About a decade or so ago, in the waning days of the New Left's and my own "we are all outlaws in the eyes of Amerikkka" phase, I chanced upon James Weinstein's *The Decline of Socialism in America, 1912-1925*. Weinstein's portrait of pre-First World War American socialism as a vital, diverse, and democratic movement, with strong working-class support, astonished and inspired me. I remember poring over a table in the book that listed all the towns and cities that elected socialist mayors in those years. I had been dimly aware that a few cities like Milwaukee had once been hotbeds of socialist sentiment. But Lorain, Ohio? Lackawanna, New York? Davenport, Iowa? Star City, West Virginia? By temperament, philosophy, and material circumstances, Americans were supposed to be immune to the appeal of socialist ideas. If the Star City electorate had seen fit to vote in a socialist administration for five successive terms of office in annual elections between 1911 and 1916, well then, anything seemed possible. In any case, I stopped looking to the Jefferson Airplane for political guidance.

What can contemporary socialists learn from the experience of their predecessors of two, going on three generations past? Too often the left has regarded the past as if it were a sort of mail order catalogue of political strategies. Let your fingers do the walking through the history books until you find a movement that seemed successful in its own time and place, then copy its strategy, style, and rhetoric as closely as possible. Scanning the spectrum of the organized left in recent years one could find groups who thought of themselves as the Bolsheviks plotting insurrection in St. Petersburg, the Chinese Communists waging guerrilla war in Yenan, or the Wobblies organizing One Big Union in Lawrence. This approach to the past led portions of the left to engage in a sort of elaborate historical costume party, amusing to the participants, but thoroughly bewildering to anyone not in costume.

Nick Salvatore's *Eugene V. Debs, Citizen and Socialist* is the most useful book yet written about the history of American socialism. If you or your study group are marooned on the proverbial desert island with only one book about the history of radicalism in the United States, make sure that it is Salvatore's. Eugene Victor Debs led the American Socialist Party (SP) to the high water mark of its influence: in 1912, as its presidential candidate, Debs won nearly a million votes, 6 percent of the total cast that year (and in some states he did considerably better, winning 12 percent of the

vote in Washington and California, and 16 percent in Oklahoma). Those who buy or borrow Salvatore's book (University of Illinois Press marketing strategists please note: socialists buy paperbacks; they borrow \$25 hardcovers) hoping to find in it a how-to guide to duplicate the SP's success in 1912 will be disappointed. *Citizen and Socialist* is useful because it provides perspective on how Debs gradually developed a socialist vision, and on how the movement he led and symbolized learned to function as an effective political force.

Salvatore's goal in *Citizen and Socialist* is to present Debs's life as an integral part of American history, rather than as a study in political deviance:

The Eugene Debs who achieved national fame as a strike leader and a Socialist spokesman remained most profoundly a native son, born and raised in a small Indiana city. Without understanding continuity and the importance of that small town culture in shaping him, Debs of necessity must appear a wistful, would-be hero, an aberration separated from his time and culture.

Debs was born in Terre Haute, Indiana in 1855, the son of Alsatian immigrants. His father had worked as a laborer on the railroads when he first arrived in Indiana, but saved enough money to open a small grocery store. From his family and from the community he grew up in the young Debs absorbed the values of self-improvement and autonomy, or in the 19th century term, "manhood." As Salvatore explains:

For many workers in the decades following the Civil War, and especially for skilled men, [the concept of manhood] spoke to some of their deepest aspirations and fears. In part it addressed the father and husband's role within the family that positioned him at the apex of family concerns... Manhood also required an active political participation and the fulfillment of one's duty as a citizen. But at root this skilled worker's vision of manhood rested on his specific work function. It demanded that he secure a living wage; establish through industry and proper habits his own self-respect; and in this manner secure the respect of other men—goals derived primarily from the work experience.

Belief in "manhood" could lead white, male, native-born skilled workers to identify with the values and political perspective of their employers and local elites; it could lead them to define their interests in opposition to blacks, women, immigrants and unskilled workers; the term itself is jarring to contemporary political sensibilities. But this concern with manhood could lead workers to embrace radical as well as conservative political goals. *Citizen and Socialist* is as much a social and economic history of late 19th century America as it is the biography of one individual of that era: Salvatore shows how employers whittled away the independence that skilled workers were accustomed to enjoying in the workplace, while large corporations increasingly dominated political decision-making. In Terre Haute, as elsewhere, workers' sense of self-worth, as producers and as citizens, was under assault: in this context, the defense of manhood "had a Janus-faced quality...[it] could either fuel opposition to industrial capitalism or ease such a transition to the new social order."



Eugene V. Debs

Debs became a socialist not by renouncing the culture in which he was raised, but by embodying its best potential. In one of his most frequently quoted speeches, delivered in 1910, Debs linked the defense of individual autonomy with a call for the collective transformation of his working class listeners (and grounded both in traditional religious imagery):

I am not a Labor Leader; I do not want you to follow me or anyone else; if you are looking for a Moses to lead you out of this capitalist wilderness, you will stay right where you are. I would not lead you into the promised land if I could, because if I could lead you in, someone else could lead you out. YOU MUST USE YOUR HEADS AS WELL AS YOUR HANDS, and get yourself out of your present condition.

Debs went to work in the railroad yards in 1870 at the age of 14. He was an ambitious, articulate and congenial young man, and rose swiftly in the local and then the national hierarchy of his union, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. By 1880 he was appointed national secretary of the Brotherhood and editor of its journal. At the same time he was beginning a successful local career as a Democratic politician, winning election in Terre Haute as city clerk, then going on to a seat in the Indiana legislature. For the first half of his life Debs seemed to be following the logic of "manhood" to its most conservative conclusions: he praised his employers (and was in turn held in high esteem by them), denounced strikes as unlawful and anarchistic, and supported Sam Gompers against his socialist opponents in the American Federation of Labor. If Debs had died at the age of 35 he would be remembered, if he was remembered at all, as simply another labor bureaucrat on the make.

Then, suddenly, he headed off in the opposite direction. He left the Brotherhood to organize an industrial union uniting skilled and unskilled railroad workers. In 1894 the fledgling American Railway Union defied the power of the corporations and the federal government in the Pullman strike: the strike was broken, the union smashed, and Debs sent to serve a prison term in Woodstock, Illinois. Shortly after his release from prison Debs announced his conversion to socialism, and in 1900 ran for the first time as the presidential candidate of the newly unified socialist movement.

What happened? Salvatore rejects the idea that Debs underwent a dramatic "conversion" in the Woodstock jail: "The conversion theme implicitly places Socialism outside the boundaries of traditional American political discourse and stresses its alien, if not subversive, character." Instead he argues that Debs, in both the "conservative" and "radical" phases of his career, sought a consistent goal, a harmonious community of self-reliant individuals. Debs's radicalization consisted of a slowly developing realization that it was the new system of corporate capitalism that was undermining both social harmony and individual self-reliance. Debs was a great leader because he was able to share this understanding with diverse audiences—coal miners in West Virginia, garment workers in New York, steel workers in Ohio, dirt farmers in Oklahoma—and convince them that their common hopes for dignity, community, and security could best be realized in a socialist society.

If 19th century ideas of "manhood" held both conservative and radical potential, so did then current views of women's role. Antifeminists and feminists alike believed that women possessed virtues that set them apart from men. They were more sensitive, more nurturing, more self-sacrificing, and capable of a higher morality than men. Both sides agreed that women were cut out to play a special role: but whether that role was to be confined to a "woman's sphere" of home and family, or to take the lead in a moral

and political reformation of men's traditional sphere of government and society was a subject of bitter debate. (Debs, an early and consistent advocate of women's suffrage, favored the latter position: "I firmly believe," he declared in 1898, "every social condition will be improved when women vote. They have more integrity and honor than men. A woman's vote cannot be bought by a glass of whiskey.")

Mari Jo Buhle's *Women and American Socialism, 1870-1920*, originally published in 1981 and just reissued in paperback, shows how this concept of woman's sphere influenced women in the pre-war socialist movement. The family, far from being regarded as an oppressive institution by socialists in this era, was seen as a



Kate Richards O'Hare

precious resource to be preserved against the destructive forces unleashed by capitalism. Socialist women, accordingly, took their stance as defenders of the family. In so doing, Buhle argues, they were not simply acting as the dupes of socialist patriarchs. Like Debs, they were reworking traditional cultural forms to serve new ends. In the 1870s and 1880s the socialist movement in the United States was made up primarily of German immigrants. German-American women developed an extensive network of schools, festivals, orchestras and other cultural activities to support the socialist cause. Today these sound like the kind of meaningless activities that the "ladies auxiliary" always gets stuck with. Buhle disagrees:

To suggest that the participants merely found a harmless substitute for political activity would be an oversimplification. Along with socialist men, women discovered ways to preserve their inherited culture and language and to educate their children to appreciate what they considered the positive aspects of the Old World traditions. Through their contributions women also gave order and meaning to their new lives in America.

Beginning in the 1890s, large numbers of native-born women, many of them veterans of the Populist or temperance movements, began to enter the socialist movement. Frances Willard, leader of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (and a convert to socialism in her later years), spoke for them when she described the purpose of women's political activism "to make the whole world HOMELIKE." Kate Richards O'Hare, a prominent socialist writer and leader in the pre-war era, found her first outlet for social concern as a volunteer working in a Christian mission for "fallen women" in Kansas City. Like Debs, her subsequent conversion to socialism did not signal an abandonment of her earlier concerns, merely a new judgment as to who the real enemies of "social purity" were. Buhle, like Salvatore, makes radical history a part of American history. This generation of socialist women, she suggests, was shaped by "a legacy from indigenous radicalism running from abolitionism through Populism... a romantic faith in womanhood":

For them as for no other generation, the task of Socialism was to release the potential power of womanhood against the incursion of capitalism and male debauchery. This sentiment often had a Yankee tinge, a self-assuredness whether flavored by life in Boston, Kansas, or California, and a recurrent strain that set spiritual values and morality above economic determinism.

Socialists in the era of Eugene Debs and Kate Richards O'Hare spoke in a language that their fellow Americans could understand and to concerns that their fellow Americans shared. Language and concerns change: for good reason "manhood" and "woman's sphere" are no longer part of socialists' political vocabulary. Pre-First

# Feminist Conferences Held in Two Regions

**T**wo DSA Feminist Commission-sponsored conferences in the midwest and south on the weekend of November 4-5 brought more than a hundred people from fourteen states together to discuss feminist strategies and learn about issues affecting women. In Chicago more than 125 people heard major plenaries featuring DSA co-chair Barbara Ehrenreich and Cheryl Johnson, director of African Studies at Northwestern University, who spoke on the feminization of poverty; Rosemary Rueher, feminist theologian and a DSA vice chair, who spoke on feminist perspectives on sex roles, socialization, and the family; and DSA Program Director Holly Graff and writer Zillah Eisenstein on feminist strategies for the eighties. Workshops on gay and lesbian liberation, building women's leadership, women in the labor movement, electoral pol-

itics, and women of color, kept more than 60 attendees busy throughout the weekend.

Feminists traveled from Detroit, Ann Arbor, Columbus, Bloomington, Springfield, Champaign, Milwaukee, Madison, and St. Louis to take part in the conference, which was organized by Holly Graff.

In Nashville, Tennessee more than 40 people came from the surrounding area, from Memphis, Atlanta, Chapel Hill, Austin, Bath, South Carolina, and Lexington, Kentucky for a similar program, organized by Hannah Frisch, which also emphasized questions particular to women in the south. A highlight of the weekend was a showing of "Union Maids" and a talk with one of the women featured in the film, DSAer Stella Nowicki. The Southern Region held a meeting during the conference, and members of the Nashville local provided significant support for the conference.



Cheryl Johnson addresses the Chicago conference.

## Reviews

*Continued from page 12*

World War American socialism offers no model of program, tactics, and rhetoric to be imitated in the vain hope that it represents some tested formula for success. But there is an important lesson to be learned from their experience. Socialists are not, and certainly should not regard themselves, as outlaws in the eyes of America. We come from a long and proud tradition deeply rooted in

American belief and experience. We can no longer share the naive faith in the historical inevitability of socialism that sustained earlier generations on the left, but we can still hope that someday a majority of Americans will understand, as the voters in Star City once did, that it is the corporate owners and their political allies who are the real outlaws.

*Maurice Isserman teaches history at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts 01063. He is writing a book about the American left in the 1950s, and would like to hear from people who were active in the ISL/YSL, YPSL, LYL or SLID. If you know what all those initials stood for, please drop him a line.*

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# ON THE LEFT

by HARRY FLEISCHMAN



## NATIONAL ROUNDUP

### Alaska

Alaska DSA is conducting a petition drive to get a statewide nuclear freeze referendum on the ballot in the next election.

### California

The November Chico DSA meeting heard City Councilman David Guzetti on issues needing DSA help... The local joined the Progressive Alliance of Butte County which held a successful conference in October... Los Angeles DSA Newsletter featured an article by Raoul Teilhet, president of the California Federation of Teachers, on "Is Education's Crisis Over?"... Marin DSA's November meeting saw a slide show on "The Arms Race in Space, and What To Do About It" by Jim Heaphy... Orange County DSA's Newsletter featured Steve Hendry's Nicaraguan Diary.

### Georgia

Atlanta DSA printed over 1100 union made T-shirts for the King March on Washington and worked in the Coalition of Conscience for the march.

### Maine

Bangor DSA, Maine AFL-CIO and many religious groups co-sponsored a conference on the U.S. and the Central American Crisis in October. Keynote speaker was William P. Ford, whose sister, Ita Ford, was murdered by an El Salvador death squad.

### Massachusetts

Boston's left scored an unequivocal victory, says *In These Times*, with the election of DSAer David Scondras to the city council. Scondras was the first openly gay person to seek city office in Boston, and was endorsed by Mel King as well as the city's Black Political Task Force... The Pioneer Valley DSA held a potluck fundraiser at which 90 people helped pay for buses to go to the November 12 rally against U.S. intervention in Central America.

### Michigan

DSA Michigan feminists met in Flint in October to plan statewide feminist organizing... Lowell Peterson and Gregory Scott spoke at Ann Arbor DSA's Open House on DSA's history and socialist education... Detroit DSA elected Roger Robinson chair, Marianna Wells membership secretary, Kathy Callahan recording secretary and Margaret Zimmeth treasurer... DSAers Tom Weiskopf and Dan Luria joined with Jack Russell and Kim Moody for a panel discussion on industrial policy sponsored by the Detroit Left Unity Committee... Zolton Ferency spoke in October at the Wayne State DSA youth section...

### Minnesota

Paul Wellstone, Prof. of Political Science at Carleton College and recent Democratic Farmer Labor candidate for State Auditor, speaks at the Minneapolis-St. Paul annual Holiday Pot Luck Dinner Dec. 18 on "The Left in Minnesota Politics"... DSA member Rick Scott, former chair of the DFL party, spoke to the local in October... Bob Patrician is the new chair of the local DSA... A "Peace Convention" in the Twin Cities, sponsored by Clergy and Laity Concerned, on Feb. 18, 1984, will feature Rosemary Ruether, DSA vice chair and a leading feminist theologian...

### New Hampshire

DSAer Earl Bourdon, former Steelworkers organizer, was presented with an honorary degree from New Hampshire College. He is also president of the 1,800 member Congress of Claremont Senior Citizens.

### New York

E.J. Josey, president of the Albany NAACP, keynoted Albany DSA's Eugene V. Debs Award Dinner honoring Tim Reilly, president, Albany United University Professions, in November... Nassau DSA's new bulletin, *Burning Questions*, hailed the election of its own Barbara Ehrenreich as co-chair with Mike Harrington of national DSA... The local will sponsor a Christmas Eve gathering at the Russells', 833 Raynham Dr., Syosset... Harry Fleischman was interviewed by Gus Tyler over WEVD-FM (station named after Eugene V. Debs) on Norman Thomas... DSAer David Sprintzen, chair of the Long Island Progressive Coalition, is on WBAL-FM twice a month on the first and third Thursdays at 3 P.M... The N.Y. local has issued a Local Member Handbook, wel-

## IN MEMORIAM

**William Sheldon**, an at-large delegate to the October DSA convention from Orange City, Florida, died of a sudden heart attack in Maryland on his way home.

The N.Y. DSA academics branch was struck by the loss of two highly valued members this fall. **Emil Oestereicher** died on the weekend of the DSA convention. **Raymond Brown** died in late November.

coming new members to its many committees... Brooklyn DSA branch held a forum in November on the future of Brooklyn's economy. Speakers included Assemblyman Joe Ferris, economist David Gordon and health care activist Diane Lacey... DSA member Norm Fruchter and coalition allies Judy Hoffman and Phil Scala won seats in District 15's school board race... Michael Harrington, Beverly Wildung Harrison of Union Theological Seminary, and Peter Steinfeld, editor of *Commonweal*, spoke on "The Common Crisis of Spirit and Politics" at a forum of New York DSA's Religion and Socialism Committee in November.

### Pennsylvania

Philadelphia DSA backed many winners in the municipal election, including Mayor Wilson Goode, Councilman David Cohen and the Jobs With Peace Referendum... Pittsburgh DSA's *Allegheny Socialist* reports that the city and county's plant-closing law was itself shut down by Judges Nicholas Papadakos and Emil Narick who ruled that "it was beyond the power of the city, under its charter, to intrude into an area reserved for the General Assembly"... The local held an International Dinner and Auction to raise funds for the local.

### Rhode Island

Hulbert James, executive director of the Human Serve Fund, spoke last month to Brown University DSA on "Voter Registration and the Rainbow Coalition: Black Politics and Progressive Strategy for 1984"... The following week, Brown DSA heard Chris Riddiough on "Gay Rights and the Progressive Coalition: Fighting the New Right."

### Wisconsin

DSA political cartoonist Michael Konopacki won first prize in the political cartooning category of the 1983 International Labor Press Association's journalism con-

test. A member of Madison DSA, Mike does his drawing between shifts as a Madison school bus driver. The *Milwaukee Journal* carried a feature article on Mike's cartooning.

*The Creeping Socialist*, Madison DSA paper, features an interview with Anne Monks, DSAer and District 8 Alderwoman, on promoting alternative low-income housing... Stella Nowicki, one of three women union organizers in the film "Union Maids" and a co-chair of the Labor Commission, spoke for Madison DSA in November as part of a multi-city tour for DSA that stretched from Nashville to Lawrence, Kansas... DSAer Kevin Topper was elected to the board of the Madison Development Corporation, representing the 8th and 9th aldermanic districts... Susie Hobart was appointed to the Wisconsin Women's Council.

## GOODBYE, LEO

Field Director Leo Casey resigned from his position in October in order to return to academic work. He will continue to be heavily involved with DSA as a member of the newly elected NEC. Highlights of his tenure were his excellent staff support to the growing National and Racial Minorities Commission, organizing Harry Britt's East Coast tour, and organizing DSA's participation in the August 27 march.

## NOVEMBER 12 RALLY

Almost 300 DSAers joined a contingent at the Department of Health and Human Services on November 12 to protest U.S. intervention in Central America. Andy Matson served as coordinator of DSA's participation.

## CONFERENCES

On February 16-19, DSA and *Socialist Review* will hold a conference on "Dilemmas of Growth" at the U.S. Berkeley campus. The conference will look at job preservation and creation, environmental policy, and social equality between races and sexes in the labor market and in public policy. Confirmed speakers to date include Michael Harrington, Barbara Ehrenreich, Stanley Aronowitz, Frances Fox Piven, Barry Commoner, Heather Booth, Dick Greenwood, Frances Moore Lappe, Bertram Gross, Wilson Riles, Jr., Martin Carnoy and many more. For more information, write to DSA Western Regional Office, 3202 Adeline St., Berkeley, CA 94703.

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## January

18

**1944**—The Supreme Court affirms the constitutionality of a plan excluding people of Japanese descent from certain areas and establishing relocation camps.

**1967**—A.G. Clark creates the Interdivisional Intelligence Unit, "responsible for reviewing and reducing to quickly retrievable form all information... relating to organizations and individuals throughout the country who may play a role, purposefully or not, either in instigating or spreading civic disorder..." (see Nov. 15).

**SHAPED BY THE PAST**

## EMIL MAZEY

My wife, Natalie, went to Cass Tech High School in Detroit with Emil Mazey in the early thirties. He was then painfully shy, stuttered when speaking, and studied music. When I first met him in 1937 at Socialist meetings during the sitdown strike days in Michigan, he was no longer shy, was a powerful speaker, and had little time to play music—he was too busy organizing unions.

Emil had earlier been an organizer for the Unemployed Citizens League. He helped organize workers at Briggs, at the Ford Rouge auto plants and led the 12-year Kohler struggle that led to a union win.

He was elected to the UAW executive board in absentia. He was far away in the Pacific, leading a GI drive to "bring the boys home" at the end of World War II. He was a passionate socialist and a dedicated unionist. Emil was one of the earliest labor foes of the Vietnam War and helped create the Labor Assembly for Peace. Dead at age 70, Emil fought for all workers until the day he died.

## RESOURCES

A Spanish-language version of *DSA - The New Socialists* has just been issued and is available from the DSA Comision Contra el Racismo, P.O. Box 162394, Sacramento, CA 95816.

*March on Washington: August 28, 1963*, by Thomas Gentile (New Day Pub., \$6.95), tells the amazing story of that amazing march, and mentions the role of DSAer Sy Posner as the effective public relations director for the march.

## MILLER OUTSTANDING

DSAer Joyce Miller, Vice President of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council and President of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, was named as one of "America's 100 Most Important Women" by the *Ladies Home Journal* in its October issue.

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## JANIE HIGGINS REPORTS

**Maurice Bishop's tragedy.** The assassinated Grenadan prime minister was a genuinely charismatic and popular revolutionary leader. His efforts to improve the lives of the poor produced noticeable results. He also engaged in political repression of opponents' views and failed to establish the preconditions for democratic discourse within the revolution. His rivals, led by the able, dogmatic and ambitious finance minister Bernard Coard, lacked his popular appeal. Fights within the central committee and appeals to the army to preserve the "socialist" course of the revolution took precedence over involving the people in deciding who would rule. A hard lesson, understood by the revolutionaries early in this century and since discarded by their followers, is reconfirmed: democracy is not some bourgeois luxury; it is a central necessary weapon for the defense of any revolution.

**Lessons of Grenada.** The most powerful nation on earth has succeeded in subduing an island the size of Martha's Vineyard with a population that could be misplaced in a Chicago rush hour. Ronald Reagan has proved his firmness, increased his popularity, and seems bent on discovering new nations to conquer. A minority of us abhor the bravado and big power bullying of this invasion. We see lessons from it that should be relevant to the majority of Americans who support Reagan's action. First, this sort of bold adventure never comes without cost. We still don't know how many Grenadians died in the invasion; we do know that capturing this small nation required fierce fighting by American troops, some of whom came home in boxes. Second, we found out that we can conquer a nation where the revolution has devoured itself. Leaders of the coup in which Maurice Bishop was killed lacked confidence in their own popularity. Disarming the people's militias was one of their first acts. "No Bishop, No Revo" read slogans on cars and walls. Third, we succeeded in an area close to our own cultural/political traditions. Invading U.S. forces might find less

receptive populations in Spanish-speaking parts of the hemisphere.

### Here and there.

In the November 18 *Commonweal*, Jim Sleeper gives an excellent report on the recent neoliberal gathering in Washington. One example of his acute analysis of this nonmovement centers on neoliberal concern that our society is too involved in litigation. The neoliberal answer? Cut legal services to the poor and end overlawyering of the rich. Guess who will end up sacrificing under that arrangement?... Good news in a *Washington Post*-ABC poll. Seventy-seven percent of Americans are willing to vote for a qualified black presidential candidate; eighty percent would favor a qualified woman for vice president. That's higher than the seventy-one percent who said in 1958 that they'd vote for a qualified Catholic for President.

**Pay equity** is the cutting-edge issue for the women's movement. In addition to focusing on pay discrimination where women receive less than men doing the same job, feminist organizers have been raising the idea of comparable worth, which implies that jobs held by women have to be re-evaluated for their contributions. Librarians make less than accountants, but that does not necessarily reflect their relative social contributions. A mid-October conference in Washington raised all the hoary old clichés about women deserving less. It was organized by Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum and featured George Gilder among others. According to Gilder, women don't pursue their jobs with the same vitality as men. "and that's the reason they don't earn as much." Other speakers raised the issue of career interruptions and alleged that male workers have higher skills. None of these claims have any factual basis. The real business of the conference was to raise the specter of "career-minded, college-educated women" chasing male breadwinners and lesser-educated women out of the job market.

