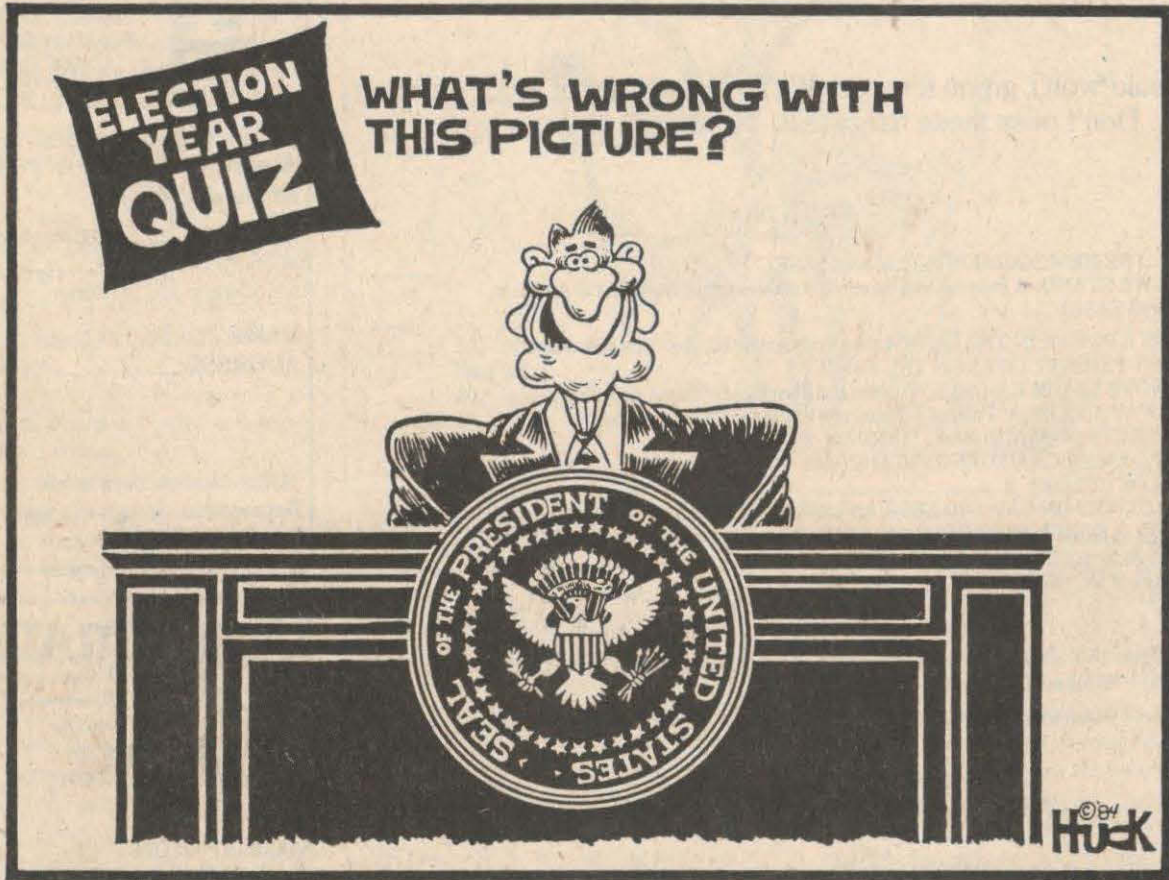


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DEMOCRATIC Left

MAY-JUNE 1984
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\$1



A Time for Daring

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DEMOCRATIC LEFT

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Going on the Offensive

by Michael Harrington

Imagine. It is the election year and all the experts are sure that the Republicans will triumph over a badly split Democratic party. Indeed, when the Democratic nominee makes his acceptance speech, the convention hall is filled with delegates who have been at each other's throats for months and some of them are so bitter that they even take a walk.

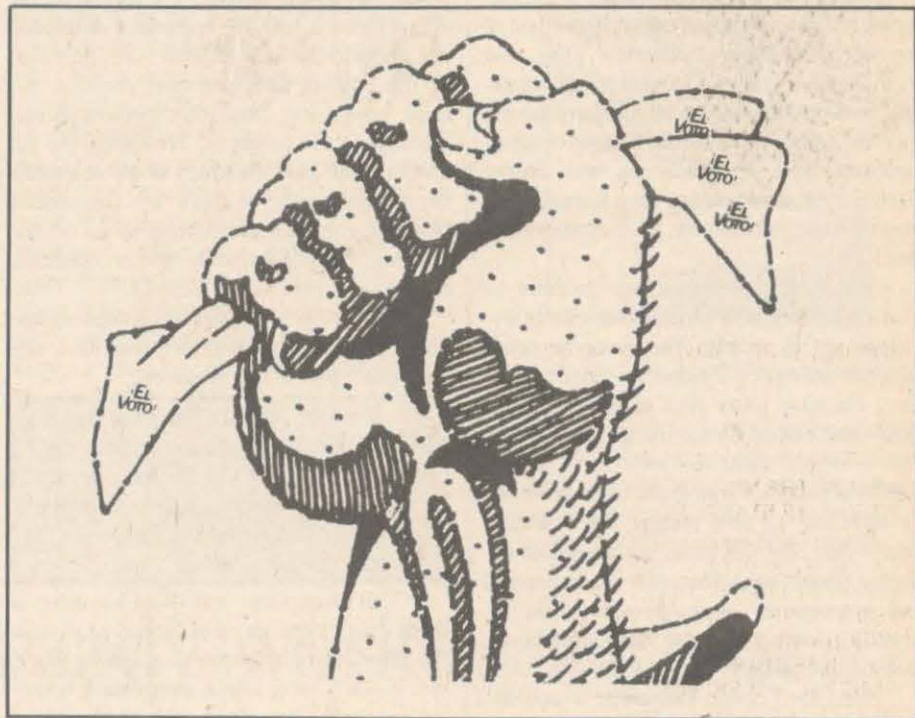
But the Democratic candidate goes to Detroit and then on to the rest of smokestack America, carefully explaining what the Republicans have done, and will do, to blue-collar workers. He reaches out to excluded constituencies and even talks issues. Comes election day there is a stunning Democratic win that leaves pundits and pollsters with egg all over their faces.

A fantasy about 1984? Not quite. It is what actually happened in 1948—and what could take place this year.

But turning that possibility into a reality will take the daring, the insistence on issues, the mobilization, that won for Harry Truman in 1948. The Democrats must capitalize on the special political trends of this year. For instance, there has been enormous political movement among women and minorities. Indeed, the "gender gap," which makes women of every social class more critical of Reagan than men, is one of the most important developments in recent American history. So are the huge surge in black registration and the emergence of a Latino politics, particularly among Chicanos and Puerto Ricans. Will the Democratic party respond to the tremendous possibilities opened up by these trends?

If the Democrats are the party of politics as usual, they will lose and deserve to lose. But if the party is daring enough to mobilize the hidden majority by speaking to its concerns, it can win.

Most people are already afraid of Ronald Reagan because of his foreign policy. They know that East-West relations are at their lowest ebb since the freezing days of the Cold War, that a dangerous escalation of the thermonuclear arms race is on and that the United States may well intervene militarily in Central America on behalf of the fascist "Contras" trying to overthrow the Nicaraguan government.



Reagan understands that popular ferment is against his policies. That is one of the reasons why he declared, when he was in Ireland, that he would go back to the negotiating table if only the Soviets would reciprocate. That is why he sent George Schulz to meet with the Nicaraguan leaders on his way back from the Duarte inauguration in Salvador.

Therefore, the Democratic party and candidate have to be much more specific in order to unmask Reagan's tactical attempt to seem reasonable when dealing with the "evil empire." The Democrats should make it clear that they are not withdrawing from the complexities of world politics, indifferent about the Soviet nuclear superpower and toward the national security of the United States.

Let the Democratic candidate say, "We are the ones who represent the genuine national security of the United States. We do not sleep better because there are Pershing missiles in Europe capable of hitting the Soviet Union in six to nine minutes. Should we trust in the Soviet air defense which took two hours to misidentify, and tragically shoot down, a Korean 747? Do we want that air defense to decide in six or nine minutes whether a Pershing attack is under way? Isn't the only road to security—theirs as well as ours—backing away from the brink?"

In that spirit, the Democratic Convention and nominee should then declare that, when the ticket is victorious in November, the new Democratic President will unilaterally halt the deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe and invite the Soviets to come to the negotiating table, not on the basis of a promise, but in response to a fact. They should declare that the new Democratic President will follow out the Contadora proposals for a negotiated peace and disarmament throughout Central America, including a political settlement in Salvador which will bring the left into the democratic process. And they must promise that not a single penny will be spent on the CIA's "freedom fighters," who learned their political values as the Praetorian guard for a murderous dictator in Nicaragua.

We think these positions are in the interests of the international security of the world and the national security of the United States. They are also very good politics.

Domestic Attack

But clearly, the election cannot be won by appealing only on international questions, even if they are objectively decisive for the very survival of the world. The 1984 campaign has to give the Republicans as much

hell as the 1948 campaign did.

First, there is smokestack America. The notion that the blue-collar workers have disappeared—or worse, that an industrial labor force that has suffered terrible unemployment and been forced into giving up part of a standard of living won some years ago is the dangerous special interest in our society—is nonsense. The classic blue-collar in the factories remain a little more than 20 percent of the working people of America. They, and their families, are the largest single *organized* constituency in the land. Many among them who wrongly voted for Reagan out of an understandable dissatisfaction with Jimmy Carter's economic record have learned their lesson, some of them on an unemployment line.

But another point is most relevant to blue-collar America, a point that affects everyone in the society. The economic crisis was not solved by Reagan's economic policies. He gave away tens of billions to the rich—and helped create the greatest deficit ever—to get them to invest in a "supply side" boom which was going to be powered by spending on new plants. The "demand side"—tax cuts that generate income for ordinary people who then get the economy, and investment, going through consumer spending—was, Reagan said, dangerous Democratic policy.

Well, the London *Economist*, a sophisticated corporate publication, rightly said that Reagan practiced those despised Democratic economics "by mistake." The rich put their money in speculation and tax dodges and corporate takeovers in 1981-2, and that was one of the reasons for the worst recession since the Great Depression. And the recovery came when all that deficit spending, and all that military spending, sparked a consumer-led boom. Even now, the *New York Times* reported in June, capital is investing in medium term projects, not in a basic restructuring.

The Democratic party this year has to understand, and say, that Reagan's blundering policies and accidental recovery did nothing to deal with the basic problems of a world economy in furious transition. The crisis is coming back. Wall Street knows it and says it. The money men who have kept the interest rates high despite the relatively low rate of inflation know it and say it. The Democratic party has to say it.

This emphasis on the economy is not to make a special interest plea for union members—indeed, it should be part of a concerted effort to see to it that the "Yuppies" vote Democratic in November.

Because of the way the primary campaign developed, with the unions backing Mondale and the "Yuppies" voting for Hart, it might seem that there is a chasm between

those two social strata. In fact, the same trends that are threatening smokestack America are reducing the middle class as a whole. The trend is toward an occupational structure polarized between a small, highly educated group of the technological elite and a mass of superfluous, or low-paid, workers.

For instance, large numbers of college students, having discovered that a liberal arts degree is already somewhat devalued, are going to law school. That is the first sign of the coming unemployment crisis in the legal profession. And that pattern exists throughout the economy. Therefore, the full employment policies which would obviously benefit blue-collar workers, and the minorities and women at the bottom of the economy, are, not so obviously, the precondition of good times for those "Yuppies."

The two most dynamic groups in the politics of 1984, women and minorities, are very much part of this argument.

If you're in San Francisco for the Democratic National Convention, don't miss the Socialist Caucus for delegates sponsored by DSA on Thursday morning, 8-10 a.m., in Continental Parlor #1, at the San Francisco Hilton.

The minorities—and there are more of them every year, more of them than even in the great years of immigration before World War II—who have jobs in smokestack America are in danger along with all the other blue-collar workers. The enormous number of them concentrated in low-paying jobs, not simply in fast food but in the "high-tech" production lines of Silicon Valley, could be in a dead end. Those who toil in the sweatshops of late twentieth century America are already at the dead end.

Even if every single discriminatory law and practice in the land were abolished, the economic discrimination directed against those at the bottom at a time when the rungs in the middle of the occupational ladder are beginning to disappear, will reinforce racism in America. Full employment at decent wages is the necessary—not the sufficient, but the necessary—condition for ending economic racism.

And it is the precondition for ending the pervasive discrimination against women as well. One huge reason for the "gender gap" that makes women so much more anti-Reagan than men is found precisely at the bottom of the society, where women are shunted into low-wage, dead-end jobs and where, as a result of salary inequities and lack of social supports such as daycare, the percentage of women in poverty has been rising dramatically. Another reason is that even more advantaged women, such as the growing number of college graduates, of professionals, are discovering that the middle class, which is their goal, is shrinking. The statistics show

that "upwardly mobile" women are more realistic about that fact than ever.

That is why nominating a woman with a solid position in favor of progressive economics, women's rights—most emphatically including the right to reproductive choice—and peace, for vice president on the ticket makes such eminent sense. In 1948, the crazy Democratic party stood up against Southern racists who actually walked out of the party—and it helped them win. Hubert Humphrey was the architect of that audacious move. It is time now to do the same for women—and it could well contribute to victory just as the civil rights plank of 1948 did.

Crash of 1985?

How can we make these promises in the summer and fall of 1984 if we think that the bottom could drop out of the economy in the very year the new President is inaugurated?

If we don't challenge that crisis, we can't. We have got to say that, at a time when decisions reshaping the economy of the entire globe are being taken, they must not be made in private board rooms. It was the very essence of Reaganomics that an outrageously unprogressive tax cut would give the corporate rich enough money, which they would invest to create an inflation-free, full employment America. The cuts did nothing of the sort. They caused plant shutdowns that discarded human beings as if they were so much Kleenex. The new Democratic economics must propose bringing labor and minorities and feminists and consumers and communities into the decision-making process.

And in the era of multinational corporations, when big business roams the planet as it builds a "global factory," we have to be clear on something else. Either we are internationalist or we fail. "Internationalism" does not mean giving American corporations like General Motors and Ford a right to export jobs without any responsibility to American workers, all under the glorious excuse of "free trade." It means changing, and eventually phasing out, some plants and even industries, but doing it in such a way that we pay for the human and social costs, which don't even exist on a corporate statement.

In May, the *Wall Street Journal* made a related discovery: that the poverty of the Third World is bad for American business. You can't sell to a newly democratic Argentina which is being strangled by those high interest rates the President did so much to promote. There is no market in a Dominican Republic where there are food riots because the policies of the International Monetary Fund have priced the necessities of life out of the reach of the common people.

The problem, the Democratic party has to have the courage to say, is not the Third

World worker, but the multinational corporations which pit South Koreans and Brazilians against Americans. We have to challenge that corporate control, nationally and internationally, if there is any hope of dealing with the crisis which is coming.

All well and good, one might say, but isn't this too much to ask of a mainstream political party? Of course it is. If that party wants to play it safe, if it refuses to mobilize that majority of Americans who oppose Reagan but are not sure how to get rid of him, if it wants a noble defeat in 1984, it should turn a deaf ear to the kind of ideas presented here.

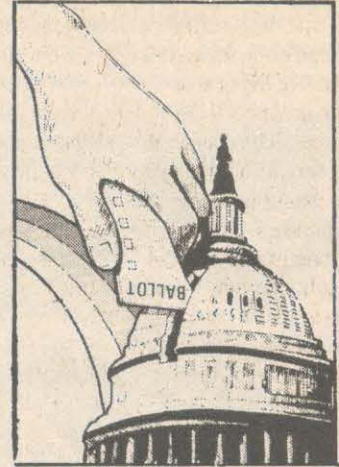
But think of Truman again. He is not my hero, even though I'm from Missouri, too, but we can sure learn from him. He talked tough facts in 1948. He talked to workers and blacks and farmers; he mobilized; he didn't turn his back on that Civil Rights plank that everyone said would defeat him. And he won. And we can win in 1984, but only if we are at least as much of a bunch of hell raisers as he and his friends. We can unite women and minorities and blue-collar workers, union members and "Yuppies" because they all stand to lose if Reagan wins.

It's time for daring again. ●

Voter Project

DSA has launched a voter registration project that will help DSA locals enhance their voter registration efforts and will increase get-out-the-vote efforts by student activists. Robert Lamme, a senior at the University of California-Santa Cruz, has been hired as the summer coordinator. He worked with Students for a Progressive City and the Campaign for Responsible Public Investment in Santa Cruz.

Through the summer Lamme will work with DSA locals to help them establish voter registration committees and coordinate their work with the Human SERVE "Freedom Summer" campaign as well as with other voter registration efforts. The project will try to help DSA members who work in social services to initiate voter registration campaigns in their agencies if none exist. In addition, materials will be developed to aid students willing to work on registration and get-out-the-vote activities in the fall. Training sessions will be held at the youth conference in August. Almost every voter registration group in the country is cooperating for "Free-



dom Summer '84" to register a million voters before the fall.

If you work in a social service agency that is not doing agency registration, or your chapter would like to become involved in voter registration, write to the project at Suite 801, 853 Broadway, NYC 10003.

You've already worked with us. Now join us!

If you've fought the Reaganomics cuts; if you've struggled for workers rights; if you've worked to keep the U.S. out of Central America and to de-escalate the arms race; if you've worked for equality for all; if you've campaigned for all the progressive Democrats who stand for those goals — then you've probably worked with us already.

DSA is thousands of activists in every state, in every battle for social and economic justice.

We're Democrats. And we're socialists. For the same reasons.

We are socialists because we want to extend democracy from political to economic life. We are socialists because we cannot tolerate a society still plagued by discrimination based on race, gender, or class. We are socialists because we cherish the vision of a peaceful, democratic world. But our socialism is not a matter of abstract principle. We are involved in the day-to-day struggles for social and economic justice that will bring that vision closer to reality.

You've already worked with us.

Now join us. Together we can make that vision real.

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New Workers, New Tactics



Earl Dotter

by Debi Duke and Steve Early

As the influx of immigrant workers into the United States and Western Europe in the last few decades has changed the character of the labor force, the labor movement on both sides of the Atlantic has faced new challenges.

In countries such as Sweden, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, France, and England, once homogeneous working-class communities and unions are now a multi-ethnic mix that includes West Indians, Finns, North Africans, Greeks, Turks, Yugoslavs, Indians, Pakistanis, and Southeast Asians. An estimated ten to fifteen million immigrants live legally in Western Europe, having been encouraged to come in better economic times. Although most countries closed their border to non-EEC immigrants in the mid to late '70s, illegal immigrants continue to arrive.

In the U.S., approximately five to six million legal immigrants have been admitted

in the last ten years. Estimates of undocumented immigrants now living here range from three million to six million and more.

On both continents, economic difficulties—including high unemployment rates—have led to tensions and divisions between immigrants and native-born workers, especially where the latter come to view the former as tax burdens or threats to their jobs, wage levels, housing, schools, and communities.

Immigrants complain of discrimination by employers, exploitation by landlords and merchants, harassment by police and immigration authorities, sporadic acts of racist violence, and right-wing campaigns to have them expelled.

Many American and European labor organizations have responded to this complex situation by becoming increasingly aggressive in their defense of immigrants' rights, even while continuing to support tighter restrictions on new immigration. Unions are struggling to overcome language barriers so they can recruit more immigrants as members and encourage more active involvement

in union affairs by those who already belong. Some have sought legislation or provisions in their collective bargaining agreements to meet the social, cultural, and economic needs of immigrants they represent. Others are trying to train more immigrant workers for leadership positions and reduce racial hostility, prejudice, and intolerance through education programs.

Not all of these efforts have been successful, and some unions still ignore or contribute to the mistreatment of immigrants. But in many of the areas detailed below, the European labor movement's response to immigrant workers and their problems could be a model for the American labor movement.

Organizing Immigrants

Many immigrants are employed in sectors of the economy and in particular firms or industries with low levels of unionization. Frequently they work in service sector jobs such as building maintenance and the hotel and restaurant trades where union organization is minimal. Even in Sweden, where nearly 90 percent of workers are union members, only about 40 percent of workers in these jobs are organized. In Paris, London, and New York, small sweatshops in the garment industry—often operating illegally—thrive on non-union, immigrant labor. In addition, immigrants frequently work alone (e.g., domestic workers) and in situations where they have little contact with other workers (e.g., hotel maids), making organizing even more difficult.

Multiracial and multiethnic workforces enable employers to divide and conquer. Some employers, including French auto-makers and most U.S. electronics firms, have deliberately filled their assembly lines with production workers from several immigrant groups. Vietnamese refugee Ngoc The Phan, a one-time Saigon labor lawyer now assisting unions in California, says that employers "try to turn one minority against another—Chinese against Vietnamese, Vietnamese against Laotians, Mexicans against the Southeast Asians, and the American workers against all of them."

European and American unions have been most successful in overcoming such obstacles to workplace recruitment or organizing when they use a community-based approach. For example, in Northern California's Santa Clara County, where thousands of immi-

grants from Asia and Latin America work in the booming non-union electronics industry, the local AFL-CIO central labor council has helped a group of Vietnamese form an organization called the League for Southeast Asian Labor Advocacy. The League offers employment counseling, teaches immigrants about U.S. labor law and unions, helps them fight unfair labor practices and minimum wage violations, and translates materials so that immigrant workers can be more involved in union organizing activity.

British trade unionists have developed similar ties to existing organizations of Indian and Turkish workers. In the London borough of Hackney, a garment industry center, the local Trade Unions Congress (TUC) Support Unit has worked closely with the Turkish Workers' Association to organize education meetings conducted in Turkish, translate union materials, and support strike activity by area garment workers. England's largest union, the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), has organized immigrants employed by London's hotels and restaurants into a special "International Branch" with separate foreign-language sections for Turkish, Greek, Filipino, and Latin American workers.

In France, both the General Labor Confederation (CGT) and the Democratic French Labor Confederation (CFDT) are organizing immigrants in previously unorganized sectors using a similar strategy. CFDT organizing efforts among Turks in the garment industry and Malian workers employed on the Paris Metro relied heavily on community organizations and leaders cultivated or supported by the unions involved. CGT organizing and strike activity in 1982 involving North African immigrants at Paris-area auto plants operated by Citroen and Peugeot began with contacts made outside the workplace during union-supported struggles for better conditions in immigrant worker dormitories and housing projects.

U.S.-based unions, such as the ILGWU, SEIU, and the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union (RWDSU), vigorously protested the round-up of immigrant workers conducted in 1982 by the Immigration and Naturalization Service as part of "Operation Jobs." In France and England, the assistance of CFDT- and TUC-affiliated unions in "legalization" campaigns involving groups of immigrant workers targeted for deportation has increased their stature and appeal in immigrant communities.

Language Barriers

The most immediate problem unions face as they increase their contact with immigrants is communication.

In many European countries and here in

the U.S., unions are now hiring organizers and staff members who are multilingual or immigrants themselves. Many unions publish special materials in workers' native languages and some reserve sections in their regular publications for articles in other languages.

Sometimes unions can reduce language barriers outside the workplace as well, though results are not always as far-reaching as union staff members hope. Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging (FNV), the largest of two Dutch labor federations, sees itself as an advocate for immigrant workers. After hearing reports that immigrants were not receiving adequate assistance at social service offices, the FNV convinced the government to make forms and other materials available in immigrants' languages. The government also agreed to set up an interpreters' pool for use by social service offices.

Ineke Ketelaar, FNV staff member responsible for immigrant issues, believes such efforts are valuable but wonders if the FNV has done enough to help immigrants learn Dutch. "Public schools, social welfare agencies, everywhere Dutch is taught for nothing or nearly nothing, but people didn't take advantage of the opportunities. We didn't consider that most of the older people had two or three jobs and were too tired to learn. We didn't think it was the task of the unions to teach Dutch. Now we think we should have tried the Swedish plan."

The "Swedish plan" is a law entitling immigrant workers to 240 hours of employer-subsidized Swedish language instruction on work time. Landsorganisationen (LO), the Swedish central labor federation, and its member unions were instrumental in securing passage of the law. And, most workers who take advantage of the law study Swedish in programs set up by LO.

In the U.S., both the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) sponsor English language classes—usually at the initiative of local unions. But, as in the Netherlands, classes are held after work on weekends and are generally accessible only to those workers without heavy family responsibilities or a second job.

Developing Leaders

Many immigrants come to industrialized countries with little or no union experiences. If unions in the U.S. and Europe are to be successful, they must encourage the activity and leadership potential of a membership that includes an increasing number of immigrants.

The initial failure of some British unions to respond to the job problems and complaints of immigrant workers was highlighted

in a widely-publicized mid-1970's strike by members of the TGWU employed at Imperial Typewriters, a Litton Industries subsidiary in Leicester. There, Asian workers who made up about two-thirds of the workforce, struck over low pay, bad conditions, and management cheating on their bonus payments—only to have the white minority break the strike after local TGWU officials refused to sanction it. (The immigrants were also angry at the union because of poor representation by white shop stewards and a TGWU rule that prevented many of them from serving as stewards until they had been members for at least two years.)

In the midst of the immigrants' struggle at Imperial, National Front agitators organized protest marches involving both white workers and management officials opposed to the strike. Direct intervention by national TGWU officials narrowly averted a major confrontation between white and non-white workers. But, even after the strike was settled, the local TGWU branch in the plant was left badly weakened and divided.

As a result of this experience, unions like the TGWU and the General and Municipal Workers (GMWU) were forced to rethink their whole approach to dealing with immigrant workers at the local level.

Initially, many European unions merely incorporated material for and about immigrants into regular trade union studies programs. Experience showed that separate classes built around specific problems and including a language component or the option to study in the native language were more successful.

Pat Hughes, a regional officer of the British TUC, and Steve Faulkner, a labor educator, were among the first English unionists to take such an approach. Working with members of the Indian Workers' Association, they developed specialized courses to increase the number of Asian shop stewards in the Birmingham area. Tutors for the courses are all Asians and many of the course materials have been translated into Punjabi. The courses include variations on traditional stewards' training, but also discuss political issues such as racism in the community and immigration control.

At the regional and local level in the U.S. a few unions have begun to develop special education programs for immigrants, including classes on workers' rights under federal immigration laws. But programs designed to teach large numbers of immigrants the fundamentals of unionism would require far greater resources than most local unions in the U.S. have available.

European and American unions are beginning to negotiate contract provisions and

Continued on page 11.

PUSHING THE LIMITS

by Maxine Phillips

Chris Riddiough, director of lesbian rights for the National Organization for Women (NOW) and vice chair of DSA, was in New York to represent NOW at a banquet honoring Congressional representative Gerry Studds. Studds spoke of his struggle with his homosexuality and the enormously liberating effect of the disclosure last summer that finally allowed him to "come out." Reflecting over breakfast the next day, Riddiough commented that his story, different only in that its narrator was a member of Congress, was similar to that of hundreds of thousands of gay women and men. For her, the conflicts started early and encompassed the double discrimination of being a woman and gay.

When she decided at age 9 that she wanted to be a scientist, the adults around her thought it was "cute." Girls in Milwaukee in the fifties weren't expected to aspire to more than being wives and mothers, but her parents and teachers humored her. She marvels that it didn't even strike her as too unusual when, as president of the science club in her senior year in high school, she was passed over for an award that traditionally had gone to the science club president. Instead it went to a boy, and another prize also traditionally given to the president wasn't even awarded that year. Only in retrospect is it clear to her that she had pushed the limit of what girls could achieve there. She came up against more limits in college, where one professor refused to give A's to women because they were taking the places of men. After getting a master's in astronomy and astrophysics from Northwestern and beginning work on a Ph.D., she took a job as a researcher at the University of Illinois and was later outraged to find that a less experienced man was hired at \$7,000 a year more.

By that time she had read Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, which "crystallized everything," and was active in the women's liberation movement. Recognizing sexism was easier than confronting her sexuality. Raised in the Evangelical Covenant church, a conservative Swedish offshoot of the Lutheran church, Riddiough had to struggle with the church's attitudes about abor-



"It's harder for young gay women to take for granted the gains of the past ten years than it is for straight women."

tion, birth control, and sexuality at the same time that she acknowledged her lesbianism to herself. She remembers being confused about her discovery and going to the college library to read more, only to find that all the books on homosexuality were on closed circulation shelves. "If you ever found information, it was very negative."

After moving to Chicago in 1968 she found supportive women who were openly gay. The Chicago Women's Liberation Union, the first such union in the country, was formed in 1969 and lasted longer than any others. The women's liberation unions had three areas of activity: education, with consciousness-raising groups and political education; service, such as abortion counseling and legal counseling; and direct action, such as lobbying city hall to hire women janitors, or getting women into the steel mills. Links began to develop between socialists and feminists. One group wrote a paper on "Socialist Feminism, a Strategy for the Women's Movement." The New American Movement was formed in 1971, and some of the women had dual memberships. Riddiough was skeptical of NAM, not sure of what its commitment to feminism was, even though she found its politics congenial.

"NAM had four or five hundred members nationally, and the Chicago Women's Liberation Union had 400 members. It was hard to see what would be gained by being in a mixed organization." However, the two worked together, and after the union disbanded in 1977, following a struggle with a

Marxist-Leninist group that tried to take it over, she and several others joined NAM.

Throughout the seventies Riddiough was active in the gay movement in Chicago, and from 1974 on made the Chicago Gay and Lesbian Coalition the main focus of her political work. What changes has she seen since the Stonewall riot that ignited the modern gay movement fifteen years ago in June?

"We didn't have the infrastructure that there is now—churches, health programs, etc." The early days were spent working on services for the gay community, from legal services to the Lavender University, a free school. In the past five years her activities shifted to the political arena, with the Illinois Gay Task Force. "It became clear that you could only go so far with service and education unless you made changes in the society." The current AIDS situation highlights the problems. The gay community has responded with services and political pressure, but it is "both a health care crisis and a political crisis for what it tells us about our health care system and the right-wing response to AIDS." Similarly, the primary lesson of the ERA defeat is that "until women have political power they will not have rights."

Although feminism is taken seriously in a way that it wasn't before, there is no socialist feminist movement as there was in the seventies. NOW, which is showing an increasing commitment to lesbian rights, sets the tone for issues. Tensions between gay men and lesbians seem to be less, as they see each other more as allies than antagonists.

Have young gay women become less active because gains have been made? "It's harder for younger gay women to take for granted the gains of the past 10 years than it is for straight women." And, of course, she says, the two things that make women feminists are still there—"men and work."

The primary issue, in her view, is gaining power for women. There are 22 women in the House of Representatives, two in the Senate and fewer than 13 percent in state legislatures. More feminists, both female and male, must be elected, and Ronald Reagan must be defeated to stave off further assaults on women's rights.

In the summer of 1985, ten years after the Dayton NAM chapter took leadership in organizing the Yellow Springs Conference that brought together 5,000 women under the banner of socialist feminism, DSA will

sponsor a conference to reclaim and reforge a socialist feminism for the eighties. Where does DSA itself stand in terms of socialist feminism?

"Our organizational problems have kept us from focusing on developing female leadership or debating issues, but now I think we're better able to provide more leadership for locals and have more political discussions. The conference will be an important factor in bringing people together to discuss questions."

She believes that many people in DSA don't see the connections between socialism and feminism and don't quite understand it. They're nervous about speaking up at meetings because they don't want to say the wrong thing. "At meetings where feminist issues come up there's a reluctance to get

into political discussions. Reluctance means we don't have the discussions. The more we discuss things the greater the sense that they're legitimate."

She sees one of those discussions being the role of an organization like DSA vis a vis NOW. Some leftists believe that socialist feminists should not work within NOW, a view she equates with the one that says socialists shouldn't work within labor unions or within the Democratic party. Other areas of conflict could come on economic issues, such as child support, pay equity, or industrial policy. These discussions are beginning, and preparations for the conference and the conference itself should help bring them and other issues more in the open.

Bringing questions in the open will be a

long process for the organization, as being in the open is often a long process for an individual. It was only three years ago that Riddiough finally told her mother that she was gay. "You must think I'm awfully stupid," her mother responded. She had guessed but never mentioned it. Since then she's been supportive, and that support made it easier for Riddiough to take a job that puts her in the national spotlight.

"When I talk to school groups I talk about coming out. It was probably one of the most difficult things but the most liberating." For gay men and lesbians the fear that their legitimacy will be questioned because of their sexuality is strong. "Even in DSA there's doubt. We have to provide as much support here for people as we can." ●

WIN IN GUATEMALA

International solidarity helped win the battle for striking employees at the Coca Cola bottling plant outside Guatemala City [March-April DEMOCRATIC LEFT]. On May 28 the Coca Cola Company and its subsidiary, the Coca Cola Inter-American Corporation, signed an agreement with the union, STEGAC, that recognizes trade union rights and the present collective bargaining agreement, and protects the economic security of the workers until a new buyer for the plant is found. Workers, who have been occupying the plant since February 17 when management announced that it was closing the operation, will be paid for the time they have spent in the plant and will remain in the plant as caretakers until it reopens. A trust fund will be established for the widows and children of workers killed in the strike that won the original contract in 1978-80.

Workers' spirits remained high as unions throughout the world offered substantial support. Stoppages by Coca Cola workers in Sweden and Norway, with similar plans under way in Finland, and consumer boycotts in Spain and Italy showed that solidarity could be effective. A strong statement by the AFL-CIO and threats of stoppages and boycotts in the U.S., which has five unions affiliated with the parent of STEGAC, the International Union of Food and Allied Workers Associations (IUF), were also credited with bringing about a change in attitude by the company. When the strike started, the Atlanta-based company denied that it had anything to do with its subsidiary's decision to close the plant. By the time of a shareholders' meeting on April 18 when proxies raised the issue frequently and loudly, the tone had shifted. After learning of plans for boycotts in 20 U.S. cities the company opened negotiations. ●

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REVIEWS

by Maurice Isserman

THE WIZARD OF OZ, by L. Frank Baum. Michael Patrick Hearn, ed. Schocken Books, 1983. \$19.95.

Stop me if you've heard this story before. Farmers and workers, recognizing the common source of their oppression, join forces and march on the stronghold of the class enemy. After a long and arduous struggle they emerge victorious, carrying the captured standard of their enemy back to the capital, where they establish their own benevolent rule. Who wrote this stirring tale of revolutionary upheaval? Upton Sinclair? Mikhail Sholokhov? Some long-and-deservedly-forgotten proletarian novelist from the 1930s?

The correct answer is L. Frank Baum, and he called his story "The Wonderful Wizard of Oz." Baum was a Populist sympathizer in the 1890s. As a small town newspaper editor in North Dakota he had witnessed at close hand the impoverishment of farm families bearing the double burden of high interest rates charged by the banks and high freight rates charged by the railroads. Later on Baum would become a socialist. In 1900 he wrote the first Oz book, an instant success. Young readers kept him busy for the rest of his life writing sequels to "The Wonderful Wizard of Oz." Baum's first Oz tale, along with an interesting and diverse collection of critical essays, has been reprinted in a new Schocken "Critical Heritage" edition, put together by children's literature specialist Michael Patrick Hearn.

Among the essays is a classic and hard-to-find piece by Henry M. Littlefield entitled "The Wizard of Oz: Parable on Populism." Consider Baum's story from Littlefield's interpretation:

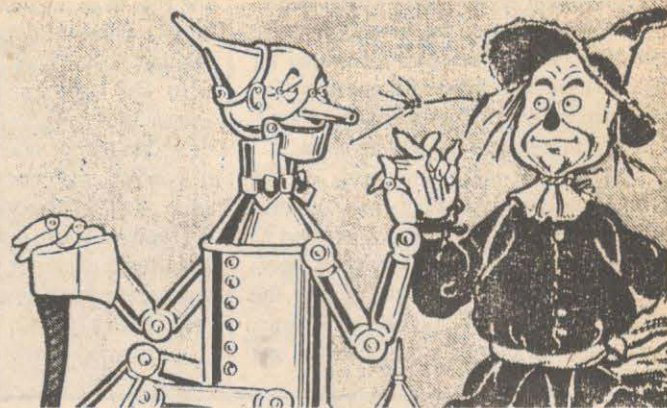
Dorothy lived in the midst of the great Kansas prairies, with Uncle Henry, who was a farmer, and Aunt Em, who was the farmer's wife.

The MGM/Judy Garland musical version of "The Wizard of Oz" emphasized the bleakness of Dorothy's surroundings by filming the Kansas scenes in black and white (remember her astonishment when she opens her door onto the technicolor glory of Oz). In the original version, Baum describes the Kansas landscape as gray and dreary. The people who live there have come to resemble the landscape:

When Aunt Em came there to live she was a young, pretty wife. The sun and wind had changed her, too. They had taken the sparkle from her eyes and left them a sober gray; they had taken the red from her cheeks and lips, and they were gray also. She was thin and gaunt, and never smiled now... Uncle Henry never laughed. He worked hard from morning till night and did not know what joy was. He was gray also, from his long beard to his rough boots, and he looked stern and solemn, and rarely spoke.

Only Dorothy retains the ability to laugh, thanks to Toto who "saved her from growing as gray as her other surroundings." But it's clear that if nothing changes she too will soon grow as gray and joyless as Aunt Em and Uncle Henry.

The cyclone deposits Dorothy into a world which is at once exotic and familiar, a land of paradox, an Eden-like Paradise ("We're not in Kansas, Toto," as Dorothy says in the movie) where hardship and danger lurk in the background. The Wicked Witch of the East



(read the eastern bankers and manufacturers) has kept the Munchkins, the little people, "in bondage for many years, making them slave for her night and day." (We get another glimpse of the malicious power of the Wicked Witch of the East in the tale of the Tin Woodman. Once an independent craftsman, he was put under a spell by the witch, and everytime he swung his ax he cut off another part of his body, all replaced eventually by tin. Karl Marx never came up with a more striking image to describe the alienation of industrial workers under the capitalist division of labor.)

Having inadvertently killed the Wicked Witch of the East, Dorothy sets off on a quest to find her own way home. She follows a yellow-brick road (read gold: the U.S. government minted gold coins as currency in the late 19th century, and the Populists, who figured that inflation would lessen the burden of debt borne by farmers, demanded that gold coins be supplemented by other, cheaper forms of currency, including silver). Dorothy is wearing and protected by a pair of magic shoes: in the movie they are ruby slippers, but in Baum's original version they are silver shoes. As Dorothy heads towards the Emerald City she begins acquiring allies who have their own demands: a scarecrow (read farmer) who wants brains; a tin woodman (read industrial worker) who wants a heart; and a cowardly lion (read William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic presidential candidate in 1896, who adopted as his own the Populist demand for remonetization of silver) who wants courage. They are sent off to do battle with the remaining wicked witch by a wizard who is actually a carnival confidence man, a humbug (read any U.S. president between the Civil War and the start of the 20th century). Dorothy leads her followers into battle (there is a feminist component to Baum's outlook that Littlefield does not pick up on, but which Alix Kate Shulman discusses in another essay in this collection). She is captured by the wicked witch, who "happened to look into the child's eyes and saw how simple the soul behind them was, and that the little girl did not know of the wonderful power the Silver Shoes gave her." Dorothy is eventually rescued by her allies, who have more brains, heart, and courage than they realized. In the end Dorothy is able to return home thanks to her silver shoes. "If you had known their power," Glinda the good witch tells her, "you could have gone back to your Aunt Em the very first day you came to this country"—but then the scarecrow would not have had his brains, nor the tin woodman his heart, nor the cowardly lion his courage. Magic has its uses, but struggle builds character.

Next month we'll examine the anarcho-syndicalist motif in "Alice in Wonderland." But that's another story. ●

Maurice Isserman teaches American history at Smith College.

Immigrants

Continued from page 7.

provide services to meet other special needs of their immigrant members.

Contract language negotiated as a result of increased immigrant membership most often pertains to additional time off or religious observances.

Typical are FNV contracts permitting Moslems to pray five times daily, as required by religious law, and giving them the right to light duty during Ramadan and other periods of fasting.

Similar demands made by Arab auto workers in France — supported by the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) — have met stiff resistance from employers, some native-born workers, and even officials of France's socialist government, who blamed strikes over such issues on "Islamic fundamentalists" and insisted that "religion has no place in factories." The CGT has, however, won demands for greater worker access to interpreters of their choice during workplace meetings with other workers and management.

A factory occupation and strike by North African immigrants protesting the government-approved lay-off of several thousand workers at Peugeot's Talbot plant in Poissy illustrates the problems that French unions face in a period of retrenchment and workforce reductions throughout basic industry. Aided by the CGT's main competitor, the Democratic French Labor Confederation (CFDT), the Talbot strikers were able to win some concessions — fewer lay-offs than the company originally planned, retraining programs for workers who lost their jobs, and lump-sum payments of nearly \$5,000 each for those who wished to return to native lands. But the dispute was marked by bitter disagreements between the two left-led unions and violent confrontations between immigrants and right-wing goons recruited by the management-dominated Confederation of Free Unions (CSL), a company union that once controlled the workforce at Talbot.

Over 85 percent of the members of ILGWU Local 23-25 in New York City are Chinese or Hispanic. To better serve them, the union has opened its own counselling center for immigrants. Staffed by lawyers, paralegals, and social workers who speak several languages, the center helps union members and their families with legal problems and other immigration-related difficulties.

These efforts have helped foster mutual respect and solidarity, but cultural differences and what is perceived as competition for jobs still breed fear, mistrust, and resentment of

immigrants among some European and American union members.

In their most extreme form, anti-immigrant feelings are expressed through membership in racist or extreme right-wing groups such as neo-fascist "National Fronts" formed in England and France.

In attempts to inspire solidarity on the part of native-born workers, there are festivals in West Germany to acquaint Germans with the cultures of the immigrants. In Sweden, 2,000 union members have participated in an unusual program called "Country Knowledge." Using materials supplied by LO, groups of immigrant and native-born workers spend several months studying the history, culture, and labor movement of a country such as Yugoslavia that has been a major source of immigrants to Sweden.

During the same period workers save or raise money so they can visit the country they are studying. LO helps arrange itineraries which include workplace tours and visits with union members and political figures.

In the U.S., far less effort has been directed toward encouraging workers to explore cultural differences and the issue of job competition. One reason is that more labor officials here agree that immigrants are a threat to the job security of American workers. While they may sympathize with the plight of individual immigrants they fear a backlash from the majority of union members if they devote money or other resources to programs for and about workers "who don't really belong here." Other American union leaders believe that integration of immigrants into the ranks of organized labor is a natural process that does not require much active assistance from the labor movement. As in the past, they argue, time and the experience of working together will reduce barriers and hostility between immigrants and the native-born.

This view ignores important differences between today's immigrants and those of previous generations. European workers who came to the U.S. 75 or 100 years ago often had been active union members at home. Where they found no unions in American, they often took the lead in forming them. Because of their previous involvement in labor organizations or labor-based political parties, they had organizational skills and leadership experience that enabled them to influence the structure, direction, and leadership of the American unions they formed or joined.

Many of today's immigrants — from Latin America, Asia, and the Caribbean — have experienced unions only as the impotent appendages of repressive regimes or as highly politicized organizations it was dangerous to join. Those who are anti-communist refugees sometimes associate unions with

the left-wing governments they are fleeing. Although often receptive to unions once they learn more about them, today's immigrants are by no means candidates for automatic assimilation into the mainstream of the labor movement and are unlikely to seek out unions for advice and assistance.

European unions have had more success for a variety of reasons. First, European unions generally have more political influence than those in the U.S., in part because of close ties to union-backed social democratic or labor parties. European labor has been able to use this influence to secure legislative backing and government financing for labor education and language training programs operated for immigrant workers under the auspices of the labor movement.

Second, European unions have been more willing to allocate resources of their own to the task of recruiting immigrant workers and integrating them into their ranks.

And third, more European labor leaders have been willing to take strong initiatives to counter anti-immigrant sentiment through membership programs designed to promote greater unity and understanding between immigrant workers and the native-born.

While many local unions in the U.S. are willing to grapple with the challenges posed by immigrant workers, U.S. unions will not be able to match programs initiated by their European counterparts until there is more coordination and a greater sharing of resources by many unions at all levels. ●

Debi Duke works for the American Labor Education Center. Steve Early is a union organizer. Research for this article was supported by the German Marshall Fund and portions of it have appeared in a Fund publication.

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LETTERS

Stop Stereotyping

To the Editor:

Not for a very long time has it been true that jobs in the auto and steel industries "are all white and male" as Barbara Ehrenreich asserts.

Chrysler, for example, is probably the largest private employer of black labor in the United States; Ford may be a runner-up; and GM is not that far behind. Chrysler is Detroit's largest employer and Detroit is a predominantly black city—black mayor, black Congressmen and all. The Director of the UAW's Chrysler bargaining department, Mark Stepp, is himself a black man as well as Vice-President of the union. Of the UAW's four elected Regional Directors in the Detroit metropolitan area, two are black. An informed guess would suggest that probably about 100,000 black people are employed in the primary auto plants, and a similar number in the feeder and supply plants.

While I am out of touch with the situation in the steel industry, I do know that the organized steel plants are far from being the private preserves of white workers.

It is true, on the other hand, that far fewer women are employed in these industries, especially in the skilled trades, than simple justice would require, but auto and steel plants are certainly not all male. At least since the close of World War II, a long time ago, tens of thousands of women have worked in blue-collar jobs in auto and auto supply plants. UAW International Vice-President Odessa Komer is a former worker in a Detroit area Ford plant, and so was her predecessor on the UAW Executive Board, Olga Madar, who also became the first President of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

I take the trouble to correct this apparently slight offense because auto and steel workers just now need all the help they can get, and because they have reason, I believe, to expect it from democratic socialists. Barbara Ehrenreich seems to be arguing against such support.

Relative to other institutions in our society, the UAW is honest and effective in winning comparatively decent wages and conditions for members; it has never been exclusionist and may be less white/male than ever before. Its leaders are not saints, nor are they villains. They deserve better from their friends. If the critics need someone to blame for the condition of the auto industry

and for hiring patterns perhaps they should focus on the executives of that industry, who greedily and grossly overpay themselves, while continuing to overcharge for their cars and short-change their workers and the public.

Brendan Sexton
New York, N. Y.

Barbara Ehrenreich replies: I think we are in far less disagreement than Brendan Sexton imagines. First, I did not in any way suggest that auto workers are all white males, and referred only to "smokestack industries which have traditionally offered well-paying jobs to white male workers." Second, I can't see how I even "seemed" to argue against support for our beleaguered unions. In fact, I expressed considerable alarm at corporate efforts to "deunionize" America and said that full employment would put working people in a much better position to fight for decent wages, etc. Plainly put, the more jobs, the fewer potential scabs.

With those misunderstandings out of the way, I welcome the opportunity to restate the main thrust of my argument: full employment is not a *sufficient* economic program or goal, for at least two reasons.

1. The kinds of jobs that are proliferating in our economy are low-wage, dead-end, often stereotypically female jobs—jobs that do not lift people out of poverty. The single mother working fulltime in a fast food restaurant, the laid-off auto worker who finds a job in a car wash—both are "fully employed" and probably also by any reasonable definition, poor. For women, as the National Commission on Economic Opportunity pointed out in its 1980 Final Report, unemployment is less likely to be a cause of poverty than is employment at the dismally low wages most women earn. A woman—or a man, especially a minority or immigrant male—can work fulltime year round and still remain in poverty.

So, if we're going to talk about "full employment" as a program, we have to also talk about decent wages—which means finding a way to reverse the current capital assault on the standard of living of American workers.

2. Not everyone can enter the labor market, nor can they be expected to. I'm thinking of the elderly, many of the disabled, the ill, the very young, and the people (usually women) who work without pay as their caregivers. Even full employment at decent

wages cannot guarantee economic security of the large numbers of people in these categories. Because of changes in the family, we can no longer assume that intra-family transfers of money (traditionally from adult male breadwinner to aged parents, women with young children, and the children themselves) are a reliable way of providing for those not in the workforce.

So, even with full employment and decent wages, we would still need vastly expanded social welfare programs, providing, for example, child care, income maintenance, housing subsidies—in short, the kinds of social programs that are taken for granted in European social democracies.

Surely the UAW—which almost single-handedly spearheaded the drive for a national health insurance in the sixties and early seventies—would support those of us who are fighting for a more generous and compassionate welfare state.

Jews and Jackson

To the Editor:

I read with dismay Manning Marable's article "Sticking with Jesse" in the January-February issue. I hope the article went to press before the "Hymietown" incident. Otherwise, what we have here is another example of the Left's sordid history of supporting alliances with anti-Semites because all the "progressive" people are doing it. Jackson's "Hymie" remarks were not isolated: His history of anti-Semitic utterances goes back at least a decade, as CBS, *The New Republic*, and the Chicago press have documented, and includes numerous allusions to Jews controlling the banks and the media, and even a claim that Nixon was insensitive to the poor because Erlichman and Haldeman were Jews!

At what point does DSA draw the line on principle? Will we really miss out on future alliances with progressive blacks, environmentalists, feminists, and others if we say simply, "We support you, but cannot support a racist candidate who purports to speak for you?"

Jeffrey V. Mallow
Evanston, Ill.

Dear Jeffrey V. Mallow:

... The article by Manning Marable went to press before the "Hymietown" incident. Because *DL* is now bimonthly we have a very long lead time that does not allow us to be

very timely. I am enclosing a copy of the statement adopted by the National Executive Committee at its March 3-4 meeting in which it criticizes Jackson. In a forthcoming editorial in "Third World Socialists" Marable does deal with the "Hymietown" incident. I am forwarding your letter to him.

If there was any ambiguity in that issue of *DL* about DSA's stand in the presidential race, I want to clarify that DSA is not supporting any of the Democratic candidates. We are supporting progressive campaigns and the effort to defeat Ronald Reagan...

Maxine Phillips
Executive Director

Dear Jeffrey V. Mallow:

I wrote the original piece in November-December, 1983, and revised it slightly in January. So there's no way I could have predicted the atrocious "Hymie" incident. Hopefully my editorial in *TWS* addresses your concerns. I would disagree, however, in your characterization that Jackson is a "racist candidate" and "progressive Jew-hater." Jackson's comments must be repudiated, but without a rejection of the overall progressive content of his campaign.

Manning Marable

Dear Mr. Marable:

Thanks for responding promptly and personally to my letter about your Jackson endorsement. While I am pleased to see that both you and Maxine Phillips categorically reject Jackson's anti-Semitic comments (especially since there have been elements of the Left, even from the early days, who found anti-Semitism "progressive"); nevertheless, I am at a loss to understand how you can reject my characterization of Jackson as "racist." Given his long history of anti-Jewish comments, as outlined in my earlier letter, just what kind of evidence do you need?

Let me pose the following question, to you, to Ms. Phillips, and to the framers of the position paper of DSA, which praises Jackson's supporters while distancing itself from his remarks:

If a presidential candidate espoused the same "progressive content" in his campaign, but had a history of anti-Black or anti-Hispanic remarks similar to Jackson's, would you still urge people to support him? If your answer is Yes, then although I disagree, at least you would be consistent. If, as I imagine, your answer is No, then why is anti-Jewish racism less of a sin than other kinds of racism?

Jeffrey V. Mallow

Dear Jeffrey V. Mallow:

I'm sure we can agree to disagree about Jackson. But to answer your question—yes, politics creates choices which aren't perfect. Some DSAers helped Ray Flynn to become

mayor of Boston, despite his flagrant support of fanatical anti-busing racists a decade ago...

At the national level in 1964, I would have voted for LBJ (although I was 14 at the time), despite his abysmal segregationist record in the U.S. Senate. In 1980, most DSA members voted for Carter, recognizing his inadequacies. When Carter ran for governor of Georgia in 1970, his running-mate was arch-segregationist Lester Maddox. All politicians aren't Ron Dellums or John Conyers. I would ask you to reflect upon the fact that most Blacks have to vote for some racist candidates at every election, just to keep out the

reactionaries. No one recognizes Jackson's errors and contradictions more than the progressives who work within the Jackson coalition. Yet support for Jackson is absolutely essential to move the Democratic party to the left—and if Jackson was not running, Mondale would surely lose to Reagan, because of the lack of electoral involvement from minorities. "Anti-Jewish racism" is no less of a "sin" than anti-Black racism, or sexism, or homophobia. But your position, which I respect, does not square with the unfortunate realities of racist and sexist America—which we are attempting to change, one step at a time.

Manning Marable

Graff Leaves Post

Regional organizer Holly Graff has had to resign from DSA staff as a result of her mother's sudden and severe illness this spring. Lack of social services in our society has meant that she could not provide care for her and continue working for DSA. She is now at home for the foreseeable future, but continues to be as active as possible with the Feminist Commission and Chicago local activities.

Graff's political career with the New American Movement and DSA spans the decade and has been focused on political education and feminist work. She joined NAM while she was in Pittsburgh teaching philosophy at the University of Pittsburgh. In 1976 she was elected to the national leadership and started the Feminist Commission, which she chaired. With Richard Healey she was the author of a basic Marxism course. The two later developed weekend schools on Antonio Gramsci that evolved into annual week-long cadre schools for NAM leaders. These schools are credited with having profoundly influenced NAM's strategy and orientation to mass organizing. She began *Women Organizing*, the journal of the Feminist Commission, and has been responsible for it in DSA.

Elected to the political committee in 1980, with Rick Kunnes and Bill Barclay, she moved back to her hometown of Chicago to staff the NAM national office. In that capacity she was in charge of merger negotiations with the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee that culminated in the creation of DSA. In DSA she established leadership schools, shaped *Socialist Forum* to reflect political debates and offer analysis of interesting local practice, published several journals from various commissions, and was responsible for providing service to 40 locals and organizing committees in the Midwest



Holly Graff

and Industrial Heartland.

Thinking back over the past two years, she commented that being in Chicago during Harold Washington's campaign for mayor and during his administration has been particularly exciting. Organizationally, she noted, our expectations for large growth were not realized, but the potential is still there. Her biggest regret about leaving staff is that she won't be able to follow through on the ground work she laid for the 1985 feminist conference. "This represents a tremendous opportunity for DSA to play a real role in the women's movement. This is something we have wanted to do for a long time but have been unable to achieve."

As the mother of a small child, she has a deepened interest in building an effective local and national organization that can include people with families. "Almost all my conversations with people now are around how we can participate politically while still raising children. We live in an anti-child society that demands choices that some of us refuse to make."

The National Executive Committee accepted Graff's resignation with regret and has initiated a search for a successor. ●

ON THE LEFT

by HARRY FLEISCHMAN

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Alaska

While President Reagan was meeting with the Pope in Fairbanks May 1, a thousand Alaskan DSAers, unionists, peace and human rights activists were marching in a May Day for Human Rights parade opposing Reagan's policies. At a "North Poll," marchers composed personal messages to Reagan, and the IBEW registered about 100 new voters.

California

DSA and the Progressive Alliance are trying to start a co-op credit union in Chico... DSA is backing the Harry Cozad campaign for Congress... About 80 young activists attended the 2nd annual DSA Western Youth Conference at L. A. City College. Students attended from 14 campuses. Among the speakers were Michael Harrington, Frances Moore Lappe and Harry Britt... Barbara Ehrenreich was a featured speaker at a DSA conference on women and poverty, "Claiming Women's Fair Share," at the Belmont High School in Los Angeles... East Bay DSA heard Ricky Sherover-Marcuse on "Black-Jewish Relations and the Campaign" at Berkeley... Todd Gitlin spoke to the Bay Area Socialist School on "The Arms Race and the Cold War." The local is holding a series of new member orientation meetings... San Francisco DSA hosted a reception for Harry Britt's reelection campaign for Supervisor. Martin Carnoy, a peninsula DSA member, and co-author with Derek Shearer of *Economic Democracy*, is running for Congress against Ed Zschau.

Colorado

Rocky Mountain Left reports that Denver DSA is forming a local PAC, working on voter registration and labor and Central America projects. The local baked "people's pastries" for a "people's fair" in May... The local is working to win Denver backing for the American Solidarity Movement.

District of Columbia

Barbara Ehrenreich, Sharon Parker of the National Institute for Women of Color, and sociologist Diana May Pierce spoke for DSA on "Beyond the Feminization of Poverty" at the Machinists Hall.

Illinois

Chicago DSA has launched Project '84, a voter registration drive that hopes to register over 15,000 people... More than 300 attended the annual Thomas-Debs dinner, whose award went to Bill Lucy, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO... Jacqui Harper stepped in as part-time regional organizer when Holly Graff resigned and organized the Midwest Regional Conference.

Kansas

Daryl Gray, an NAACP member and DSA friend, was elected State Senator from Wichita in a special election recently... Barbara Ehrenreich spoke to a crowd of 250 at the University of Kansas, sponsored by Lawrence DSA... DSAer Sherry McGowan was re-elected to the Democratic National Committee.

Kentucky

Central Kentucky DSA held its annual retreat May 20 in Lexington to plan strategy for the coming year... It also showed the film, *The Business of America*, at its first Democratic Socialist Forum in May.

Massachusetts

On May 31 Boston DSA presented Randall Forsberg, who started the Nuclear Freeze campaign, with its Debs-Thomas-Bernstein award... A capacity audience of 850 filled B.U.'s Morse Auditorium for a showing of "Seeing Red" sponsored by DSA and the Star Film Library... In April some hundred activists attended a DSA regional youth conference at Harvard.

Michigan

Ann Arbor SOCPAC endorsed Larry Hunter, Jim Burchell, Rafe Ezekiel and Doris Preston for City Council... Dave Dyson, union label director of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, spoke at a DSA-sponsored teach-in on Central America at Wayne State. He urged his audience to oppose aid to El Salvador to prevent the tragedy of the "sons of American workers slaughtering the sons of Salvadoran workers" in behalf of U.S. corporations... Detroit DSA has launched the

"Better Read than Dead" Book Club, with four monthly discussions planned.

Minnesota

When a CIA recruiter turned up at Carleton College in Northville, the campus DSA and the Central America Solidarity Group turned out 75 students for a rally against CIA intervention in Nicaragua. The *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* ran a lengthy story along with a big photo.

New York

Of the eight "Outstanding Women in the Capital District" honored by the Albany YWCA, two—Lillie McLaughlin and Maria Markovics—are DSAers... In March, 19 Cornell students and one non-student were arrested by Cornell Public Safety while protesting CIA recruitment on campus. The students sat in the doorway of the Career Center, forcing potential CIA agents to step on them to get to their interviews... Last month, Steve Jackson, of Ithaca's Planning and Development Board, spoke to Ithaca DSA on "Planning for the Future of Ithaca: A Socialist Perspective"... Dennis Altman of the Australian Labor party spoke at Nassau DSA's Memorial Day picnic on the successes and weaknesses of that Labor government. He noted that they have restored universal health insurance and promoted women's rights. DSAer Gary Stevenson also spoke on the Memorial Day Massacre of 1937 at Republic Steel and of a strike of alien and minority workers he is organizing today in Roslyn... The fifth anniversary of the creation of the Long Island Progressive Coali-



DSA members Bill Tabb, l, and Marv Gettelman, r, in handcuffs after they were arrested along with 300 other demonstrators at the Federal Building in New York City on June 7 in a protest against U.S. intervention in Central America. Other DSA members were also arrested.

tion was celebrated in May as William Winpisinger, Machinists Union president, spoke at two meetings... The Fugs, the legendary rock-satire band of the '60s, held reunion concerts June 8-9 at the Bottom Line in NYC. The group is led by DSAer Ed Sanders and by Tuli Kupferberg... Over 1600 people attended the second annual Socialist Scholars' Conference, attending some 78 panels. Chancellor Joseph Murphy of the City University of New York spoke at the opening session, along with Rep. Major Owens, Barbara Ehrenreich and Luciana Castellina, independent left member of Italy's parliament... New York DSA held forums on "Is U.S. Labor a Sunset Industry?" and "Public Alternatives to a Private Con Ed"... A reception honored Bogdan Denitch for 35 years of activism... Mike Harrington recalled the days when he and Gordon Haskell helped edit *Labor Action* from a loft on 14th Street as he paid tribute to Gordon at a farewell reception in the Brooklyn Botanical Gardens. Assemblywoman Eileen Dugan praised Rachel Haskell, and hundreds of their friends toasted Gordon and Rachel as they prepared to leave for California.

Ohio

DSA held a May Day rally at Kent State University, with folk singers Jim Quilligan and Tom Woods, the UCM mimes and a talk by Caroline Arnold... A Kent conference on the history and politics of socialism was held in April. Over 50 people attended, including people from 10 universities in Ohio and Pennsylvania. Gordon Keller of the KSU administration officially welcomed the participants at the banquet, which was addressed by British historian William J. Fishman... Over 150 students seized the Cox Administration Building at Oberlin University in protest against the firing of Campus Minister Willis Ludlow, a DSA member. The Ludlow decision, although formally made by the Religious Interests Committee, was believed by the protesters to have been made by Oberlin President S. Frederick Starr, who has committed himself to changing Oberlin's progressive image. The student protestors, an ad hoc coalition of DSA, Ohio Public Interest Research Group, the black students group ABUSUA, and others is considering a drive in the fall to dump Starr and bring back Ludlow. The students, who were threatened with suspension, left the building after a nine-hour occupation, in return for an amnesty from college authorities.

Oregon

The Portland DSA Socialist-Feminist

study group has been going over "The Powers of Desire" reader edited by Ann Snitow... The local met to consider 1984 ballot measures including the Citizens Utility Board, toxic wastes and progressive tax reform.

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia DSAers were pleased with the victory of Babette Joseph over incumbent Samuel Rappaport for state representative in the 182nd district and Tom Foglietta's successful defense against challenger Jim Tayoun... Richard Healey spoke to the peace committee on "Socialists and the Peace Movement," and Maxine Phillips, DSA executive director, spoke at a membership meeting on "An Update on DSA Around the Nation"... DSA joined hands in "The Bridge"—a human chain for jobs, peace and freedom, at the Benjamin Franklin Bridge June 2... Pittsburgh DSPAC backed Richard Adams and Ruth Hertzberg for state representative, Arline Lotman for state treasurer, Ed Grystar for state senator and Paul Garver for committeeman... A statewide conference of DSA will be held August 10-12, at Bloomsburg State College. All DSA members in Pennsylvania are invited. Call Joni Rabinowitz, 412-241-8359, for more information. The theme is "Beating Reaganism—1984 and Beyond"... The *Reading Times* carried a big story when South Dakota state representative Tarrell Miller spoke to the local about his journey from Goldwater Republican to DSA membership. Although elected as a Republican, Miller describes himself as part of a "progressive bi-partisan minority."

Tennessee

Nashville DSA promoted talks by Lautaro Sandino of Nicaragua's Sandinist Youth and Monica Anderson, international secretary of the Swedish Democratic party's youth wing, at Vanderbilt University. Sandino called financial aid to the contras in Nicaragua "state terrorism against our government."

Texas

Houston DSAers actively backed Lloyd Doggett's campaign for U.S. Senate... Five members of the Austin local were arrested at an anti-Kissinger rally when Henry the K spoke at the University. School officials had ordered demonstrators to remain silent on the sidewalk and called the police when they refused. The roundup of 53 people was the largest political arrest in Austin in 10 years. NEC member Glenn Scott, 8 months pregnant at the time, was detained but not formally arrested.

Daughter Tillie Zoe was born a month later and Glenn reports that she'll probably be on some picket lines this summer... The local also hosted a hospitality suite at the Democratic Party State Convention.

Wisconsin

Madison DSAer Lynn Haanen, county supervisor, has introduced a resolution that prohibits the county from doing business with firms that have unresolved labor disputes... The *Creeping Socialist* transformed itself into the *Creeping Social Democrat* for an April Fool issue that proves socialists have a sense of humor.

SOLIDARITY TOUR

April was a busy month for the International Union of Socialist Youth and DSA's Youth Section, which jointly backed a tour of more than forty campuses for a Central America Solidarity Tour. The tour paired leaders of Socialist Youth movements in Sweden, Denmark, West Germany and Austria with young youth leaders from Costa Rica and Nicaragua to talk about the deadly connections in the arms race and intervention. For a full report, write to DSA Youth Section, 853 Broadway, NY, NY 10003.

RELIGIOUS SOCIALISM

The Winter 1984 issue of *Religious Socialism* excerpts the "Rainbow Seder," prepared by Arthur Waskow and published by New Jewish Agenda and Adama Books. Other articles include "Abortion: Dialogue on the Left," reviews of "Religion in the Secular City" by DSAer Harvey Cox, and "The Maypole in Haymarket Square." To subscribe to *Religious Socialism* send \$3 per year to 1 Maolis Road, Nahant, MA 01908.

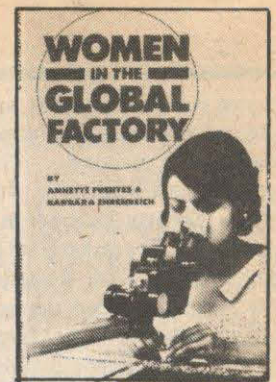
THE BOTTOM LINE

If you hate Reagan's record, you'll love this one. The Labor Theater has just released *The Bottom Line*, the original cast recording of its satirical musical revue on Reaganomics. The *New York Times* wrote, "The revue's folk-pop score...flaunts the same spirit of gleeful broadside parody as the performances." Copies available for \$10 (including postage and handling) from The Labor Theater, 100 E. 17 Street, New York, N.Y. 10003.



SEND US A MESSAGE

The September-October issue of *DEMOCRATIC LEFT* will be a special Labor Day issue. Every year we ask our members and friends to show their support for our paper and our organization.



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DSA YOUTH SECTION SUMMER CONFERENCE

August 23-26, Lake Erie College, Painesville, Ohio

For more information, write to Youth Section, Suite 801, 853 Broad-
 way, NYC 10003.

JANIE HIGGINS REPORTS

Divide and conquer. That's a time-tested tactic for employers trying to defeat unions, for reactionaries trying to set back social progress. Richard Nixon was a master of the art. What about the nice guy in the White House now? A late May hearing before the House Subcommittee on Compensation and Employee Benefits revealed that Reagan's appointees can be just as sleazy as Tricky Dick's. In response to a bill by Rep. Mary Louise Oaker requesting a study of pay discrimination in federal jobs, the Office of Personnel Management drew up a memo to show how "preposterous" the idea of comparable worth really is. The memo suggested that pay equity could be used to pit "union against union and both against radical feminist groups." OPM suggested that where men's and women's wages were out of line, they would be equalized downward. Rep. Oaker and five unions representing white-collar and blue-collar, male and female federal employees opposed OPM's interpretation and attacked the blatantly political memo.

Keeping au courant with the proper social sets has not been among this column's strengths. So, dear readers, please excuse this very late notice of a bash held in Washington last February to benefit the Princess Grace Foundation. Everyone who was anyone was there, from the First Lady through European royalty. Tickets went for \$5,000 per head, but what elegance that admission price bought. Toilets were filled with cut carnations; after flushing, a hotel maid refilled the bowl with flowers.

Attacks on liberal stands by Protestant

churches have been undertaken by the Institute for Religion and Democracy. Controversy has grown up between churches and the labor movement because of a prominent leadership role played in IRD by David Jessup, third-ranking staffer in the important AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education. Religious leaders' protests about Jessup's activity have been met with replies by Federation President Lane Kirkland that Jessup is undertaking IRD activity on his own time. Veteran labor staffers whose positions on foreign policy have differed from the official line smile wryly at the new-found civil libertarianism at the AFL-CIO. Now, predictably, the controversy is spreading into the Catholic community under the leadership of IRD's equivalent, the American Catholic Conference. Like IRD, it is a united front between the Reagan Right and a segment of the AFL-CIO. A late March meeting of ACC slandered several important Catholic leaders, including Rev. Bryan Hehir, as being uncritically pro-Sandinista. The meeting was held at the White House and chaired by Robert Reilly, Reagan's liaison to Catholics. Among the speakers was William Doherty, director of the American Institute for Free Labor Development, an AFL-CIO foreign policy operation. ACC itself is chaired by Linda Chavez, a former official of the American Federation of Teachers. Tom Hobart, the New York State leader of the AFT, also serves on the ACC board. In an election year, with Reagan's foreign policy adventurism likely to be a major issue, these are strange alliances.

