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## DEMOCRATIC LEFT

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# Mondale-Ferraro Hope — Winning by Mobilization

by Harold Meyerson

**S**an Francisco was the convention of the movements. The 1984 Democratic National Convention marked the political resurgence of those organized constituencies that had expanded American democracy in the thirties, sixties, and seventies, and suffered most from its contraction in the eighties. Taken by themselves, the AFL-CIO pre-primary endorsement, the Jackson candidacy, and the successful campaign for a woman vice president were all historic departures. Considered together, and set against the background of the atrophy of local machines (something about which Walter Mondale learned time and again during the spring's campaign) and the defection of the

Dixiecrat South to the Republicans, they signify a virtual transformation of the party. On the level of presidential politics, the Democrats have become primarily a party of social movements.

But it is an incomplete transformation. Labor and feminists got their candidates but they had to leave much of their program behind. Paradoxically, the platform passed by the convention of the movements was the first in decades to contain no reference to full employment or national health insurance.

The party's economics remain in limbo somewhere between neoliberalism and social democracy. The result was a convention that was exciting, at times deeply moving, without really resolving what it is the Demo-

crats stand for now that the days of easy coexistence between the welfare and corporate states have gone. The party is not yet sufficiently realigned to be redefined.

But it is no small achievement for the movements to have come back as far as they have. Three years ago, the Democratic congressional delegation was acquiescing in the Reagan cuts and Democratic governors everywhere were administering their own. Three years ago, the forces that came close to controlling the 1984 Democratic Convention were in the streets. When organized unionists, feminists, and minorities marched together on Solidarity Day, 1981, they were protesting not only the Reaganomics cut-backs, but the Democrats' complicity in them as well.

If at this convention the neoliberal tide was not running quite so high, credit is due both labor and the Jackson campaign in particular. Neoliberalism rests in large part on a base of upper and upper middle-class overrepresentation in the Democratic primary electorate. Those forces were brought into the party in even greater numbers this year by the Hart campaign, whose nucleus in many states and counties came more from the 1980 campaign of John Anderson than from that of any Democrat. Yet even against that background, labor and the Jackson campaign began to reverse decades of working and lower class underrepresentation. This year's AFL-CIO campaign for Mondale resulted in unionists' comprising 33 percent of the primary electorate, though they make up only 30 percent of the party membership. Black primary participation rose to 18 percent this spring, an underrepresentation of blacks relative to their strength in party membership (22 percent), but still the highest figure in modern history.

## Schizophrenic Rhetoric

Small wonder, then, that the convention seemed a peculiar mix of programmatic uncertainty and political breakthrough. Mondale's acceptance speech (and to a lesser degree, Cuomo's keynote) was a masterpiece of concealed schizophrenia, on the one passed a resolution of support for the Mon-

### PRESIDENTIAL SUPPORT STATEMENT\*

We call upon all Americans to support and vote for the Mondale-Ferraro ticket in the 1984 election. That ticket is the only serious alternative to four more years of Ronald Reagan: four years of Cold War posturing and potentially suicidal military escalation; four years threatening new Vietnams in Central America; four years of assaults on the environment; four years of increased racism and the erosion of civil rights gains; four years of reactionary assaults on the economic and social gains of the entire last generation.

Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro are not, of course, socialists. They do have the potential to create a liberal and humane administration infinitely superior to Ronald Reagan's on every count. That is why we vigorously back, and will work for, their election, knowing still that we will organize as a left pressure on them five minutes after the victory.

In particular, we are enthusiastic about the nomination of a woman as a major party candidate for an office one heartbeat away from the presidency. That fact itself has lifted this campaign above politics as usual.

But then politics as usual will not defeat Ronald Reagan. This has been the year of the movements: most dramatically, of women and minorities and trade unionists, but also of the nuclear freeze and anti-intervention campaigns, of lesbians and gays, of seniors and environmentalists and many other progressive causes.

If the entire campaign takes on the drive and dynamic of a grassroots movement of the people with a new vision of America rather than just a shopping list of unconnected demands, it can win.

If the campaign exposes Reagan's fraudulent claim that billions of tax giveaways to the rich have put the economy to work and shows how the "demand side," classically Keynesian recovery into which Reagan blundered, is itself only an interlude in an ongoing structural crisis of the world economy, it can win.

We believe that democratic socialists in the Democratic party have a significant role to play in the politics as unusual, the campaign as social movement, that we propose. We are not simply militant activists at the base; we are also those who articulate the unity of the particular struggles, who see them as part of the long-range fight to democratize the economic and social, as well as political power, at home and abroad.

We are Americans and democratic socialists and Democrats. We pledge all of our energy—and all of our vision—in a campaign which must bring together all of our fellow citizens of decency and good will to defeat the most reactionary administration of the twentieth century.

\*Adopted by phone poll of the DSA National Executive Committee, July 1984.



# DSA at the Convention

**I**f all the democratic left groups at the convention," a staffer from another progressive organization told Jim Shoch at the conclusion of the Democratic National Convention, "DSA was the only one bold enough to plan a series of major events—and you pulled them off. You guys really had your act together."

DSA's convention "act" came in three parts. As formulated by the National Executive Committee's Subcommittee on Electoral Politics and organized by Western Regional Coordinator Shoch, it consisted of a major public forum entitled "Whose Party Is This, Anyway?"; a reception for the American Solidarity Movement, and the second caucus for socialist delegates in Democratic Convention history (the first was held in New York in 1980). All three were resounding successes. They were preceded on the weekend by a Western Regional Conference.

Co-sponsored by *Harpers*, *In These Times*, *Mother Jones*, *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, and the Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED), "Whose Party Is This?" brought 1700 spectators to a packed Nourse Auditorium on convention eve to hear presentations from pollster-campaign strategist Pat Caddell, DSA Co-Chair Michael Harrington, CED Chair-California Assemblymember Tom Hayden, neoconservative Michael Novak, political scientist-Human Serve Co-

Chair Frances Fox Piven, and California Assemblymember-Jackson Campaign State Chair Maxine Waters. *Mother Jones* Editor Deirdre English moderated.

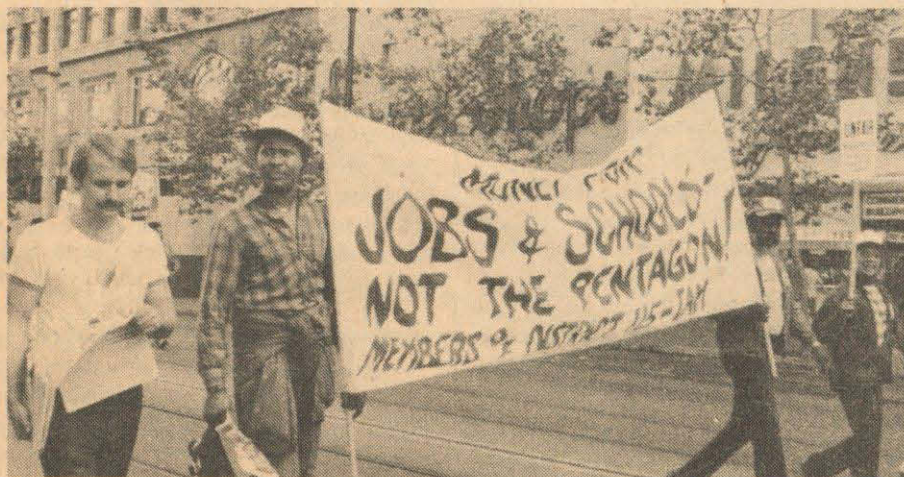
A chief focus of the evening's discussion was the search for common ground on which to unite the party's diverse constituencies—or new ground the party could break to bring in new constituencies. Hayden depicted a party currently composed of three distinct wings—New Deal, high tech, underclass—that had been represented by Mondale, Hart, and Jackson, respectively, and which could be united around a program to rebuild America. Piven's perspective placed a somewhat greater emphasis on class, gender, and racial realignment, arguing that greater voter turnout among women and minorities was the underpinning of the Ferraro and Jackson campaigns, that women and minorities were the "natural allies of organized labor," and that the three together offered a clearer direction to a party whose overrepresentation of affluent white suburbanites had thrown the party into directionless drift. Caddell, by contrast, asserted there might be significant points of agreement between the young suburbanites and the Jackson voters—at the least, a shared antipathy to the party's traditional power brokers. One of the Reaganauts' strengths, he continued, was the demonstrable passion of their conviction—"they were willing to lose elections for twenty years because they thought they were right"—and

contended the Democrats could do worse than campaign on passionately held beliefs. The most enthusiastically received of the evening's share of passionately held beliefs came from Harrington, the concluding speaker. Prophesying international economic collapse before the end of the decade, Harrington called for democratization of economic decision-making, pointed to the continuing empowerment of women and minorities as the course the party and nation had to pursue vigorously, and suggested that even Yuppies, confronting the prospect of economic collapse, had a stake in a democratized economy.

Press coverage of the forum, especially by the standards to which the left has become accustomed, was abundant, which is not to say good. The best of the mainstream pieces was in the *Washington Post*. CBS *Nightly News* sent a camera crew and reporter, interviewed Harrington for 20 minutes, and ended up showing footage of...Michael Novak. ("I didn't bust my ass for two months to get Michael Novak on Dan Rather," cried Shoch as he was dissuaded from stepping out of a seventh-floor window in the Hotel Yerba Buena.) On the plus side, the C-Span Cable Network filmed the event and showed it in its entirety several times during convention week.

Tuesday night after the platform proceedings, 400 labor and other progressive activists in town for the convention attended the reception for the American Solidarity Movement. Labor delegates from around the country (including Bricklayers President Jack Joyce, AFSCME Secretary-Treasurer Bill Lucy, and Florida AFL-CIO head Don Resha) heard talks from Michael Harrington, IAM President William Winpisinger, and CLUW President Joyce Miller. "The event has increased American Solidarity's visibility and credibility," said Harrington afterwards, "and means that our timetable for making it into an ongoing labor support organization is advanced."

On Thursday morning, more than 150 delegates and activists crowded into a meeting room at the San Francisco Hilton to attend the Socialist Caucus and hear addresses by New York City Councilmember Ruth Messenger and San Francisco Supervisor Harry Britt. The caucus enthusiastically hand sounding themes that were communitarian, populist, anti-corporate; on the other hand affirming the limits of the welfare state more explicitly than its virtues. ("There are no business taxes that weaken our economy," said Mondale of the platform, "no laundry lists that raid our Treasury.") Mondale ducked entirely the question of what manner of supply-side economics he would use to regenerate the economy; that debate was relegated to Hart (who championed private sector entrepreneurs) and Jackson (who



Sandy Chelnov

Just prior to the convention, 150,000 trade unionists staged a labor march. Signs supporting the nuclear freeze, demanding cuts in the Pentagon budget or opposing U.S. intervention in El Salvador were among those most frequently seen in the march.



dale-Ferraro ticket. Equally enthusiastically, it also passed a resolution from Massachusetts State Legislator Tom Gallagher and seconded by New Haven City Councilmember Martin Dunleavy calling on DSA to convene a conference of socialist elected officials from around the country in 1985. A number of figures in the international socialist movement attended the caucus, including the British Labor Party's Deputy Leader, Roy Hattersley; Swedish Ambassador-at-Large (and former Socialist International Secretary) Bernt Carlsson; and Socialist International Assistant General Secretary Robin Sears.

DSA also had contingents in both the giant marches of Sunday—the march of 150,000 trade unionists up Market Street, and the parade of 100,000 gays and lesbians and their supporters to the Convention Center. A number of DSA members—acting, of course, in an individual capacity—had featured roles at the convention. Representative Ron Dellums and New York City Clerk David Dinkins both addressed the conven-



Sandy Chelnov

**Frances Fox Piven at Forum on "Whose Party is This, Anyway?"**

tion on behalf of the Jackson plank cutting the arms budget. For that matter, a number of DSA members played important roles along the campaign trail this year. AFSCME's Ed Draves and Marjorie Phylfe were among those whose success with the One-on-One Program, in which shop stewards talked on Mondale's behalf with their co-workers on the jobsite, convinced the AFL-CIO that its business-as-usual approach to politics would not suffice. Today, the AFL-CIO's summer and fall campaign is centered around the One-on-One Program. And one year ago, it was the legendary Millie Jeffrey, who founded the UAW Women's Bureau during World War II and who addressed DSA's founding convention in Detroit in 1982, who convinced the National Women's Political Caucus that it should press on the Democratic presidential contenders the Utopian idea that they select a woman as their vice-presidential nominee. ●

H.M.

championed the public sector).

Fortunately, this is only half the story. For most of the delegates and activists assembled in San Francisco, as, indeed, for the party and the nation as a whole, the convention was memorable for consolidating the return, or marking the ascendance, of the progressive social movements. Indeed, what distinguished the proceedings was a highly unusual kind of elation that came when the Jackson speech and the Ferraro nomination became, as it were, the common property of the entire convention, and the party found it could enthusiastically be guided by and in turn encompass the black and women's movements.

The media tended to cover these stories as the triumphs and travails of discrete movements, and emphasized their points of division: minorities against labor over quotas and Simpson-Mazzoli, racial divisions within the Women's Caucus. But there are also strong points of convergence among labor, minorities and women on economic and social questions, points which most of the media have tended to overlook. It is no longer only labor that constitutes, in Michael Harrington's formulation, an "invisible social democracy" within the Democratic party. Organized minorities, and, increasingly, organized women do so as well. Labor, for its part, has moved much closer to the other movements on a range of social issues. The three largest union delegations at the convention came from public sector unions—the NEA, AFSCME, and AFT—and AFSCME broke ranks with the AFL-CIO to support the Jackson plank cutting the arms budget, while the NEA came under considerable internal pressure to do the same. But the story is not just in the deviations from AFL-CIO policy, but in changes in that policy as well. The Federation, for instance, did not take exception to a platform that gave full support to the nuclear freeze. Indeed, when 150,000 unionists marched along Market Street the day before the convention began, the most commonly brandished sign was, "Labor Says: US Out of Central America."

Correspondingly, black organizations were among the few that stood with labor at the outset of the Reagan years in defense of the public sector. And while Jackson himself seemed periodically ill-suited for the task of coalition-building, convention support for much of his program extended well into both the labor movement and the women's movement. Indeed, the Women's Caucus endorsed several of his planks, which when brought to the floor received two-and-one-half times the number of votes that he himself was to receive the following night.

Women, of course, are the relatively new element in this equation. Increasingly, the polls show that the gender gap exists not

only on issues of war and peace but on those of social spending as well. Indeed, the one major speech at the convention that was unstinting in its defense of the welfare state was Geraldine Ferraro's. In the past six year, Ferraro has shown herself to be a consistent opponent of neoliberal economics, resisting any cuts in entitlements in the House Budget Committee, supporting the Black Caucus budget on the floor of the House. The increasing prominence of the Feminization of Poverty issue over the last couple of years, first within the women's movement, then within the broad liberal community, was capped at the convention by repeated allusions to the phenomenon by any number of speakers at the podium. However narrow the margin by which Walter Mondale chose Ferraro over Dianne Feinstein, it was enough to tilt the women's movement even more decisively towards a social democratic politics.

That, of course, was not Walter Mondale's main intent—yet everything that Mondale is currently setting in motion to ensure his election (excepting, of course, some of his own speeches) will have the effect of tilting the party away from neoliberalism towards a more democratic politics. Mondale cannot win unless the party is redefined—if not at the top, where muddle still reigns, then at the base, where the numbers clearly dictate a shift in the class composition of the electorate. Mondale's strategy calls for the 1980 electorate to be expanded by roughly 15 million new voters. They are not to be found in the upper middle classes: 70 percent of people with annual incomes over \$25,000 already vote, but only 25 percent of those people with annual incomes under \$10,000. Mondale and Ferraro can be elected only if record numbers of workers, women, and minorities register and vote.

For any number of reasons, the Mondale-Ferraro campaign transcends politics as usual. In 1932, Franklin Roosevelt waged a campaign that was programmatically more inadequate to the challenges of that day than Fritz Mondale's is to today. But at the base of that campaign, where fear and hope brought millions of the disfranchised into the electorate for the first time, the political base for the New Deal was being put in place. By the same token, the Mondale-Ferraro campaign commends itself to the democratic left today not only because we want desperately to push this nation back into the twentieth century, but because this utterly urgent task cannot be accomplished without laying the groundwork for a more democratic twenty-first. ●

*Harold Meyerson has been writing about the Presidential campaign for a number of publications. He chairs the NEC's Subcommittee on Electoral Politics.*



# For a Pragmatic Push Left

by Michael Harrington

**B**efore I went to the San Francisco convention of the Democratic party I was convinced that the presidential campaign would have to undertake the difficult job of explaining in the midst of a so-called recovery why and how America is not much better off in 1984 than in 1980.

After San Francisco, I am doubly convinced of that proposition. Moreover, the reasons that lead me to make this emphasis within the framework of a militant commitment to the Mondale-Ferraro ticket have much to do with a more long-range socialist perspective.

## Rhetoric v. Reality

At the Socialist Caucus meeting in San Francisco, DSA Vice Chair Harry Britt, who sits on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, made a shrewd and important point. The convention, Harry remarked, was characterized by a "social democratic" rhetoric—but not by a social democratic content.

The rhetoric was present in every major speech except Gary Hart's. It emphasized fairness in terms of social class—Reagan for the rich, the Democrats for the nonaffluent majority; it celebrated the working class and smokestack America; it stressed the unconscionable and structurally inferior position of both women and minorities in the American economy. The language of the convention was, in short, taken from the stock phrases of the mass American left.

But the convention went beyond lan-

guage: the Ferraro nomination was more eloquent than the best speech given at the convention, for it delivered on a promise rather than just making one.

At the same time, as the *New York Times* pointed out, the 1984 platform reflected a move to the right compared to the 1976 document. Comparable worth was in, which was a great gain, but the traditional Democratic stress on national health insurance was downplayed. And in his acceptance speech Mondale proudly noted that the platform had not endorsed a raid on the Treasury on behalf of social programs. His saying this was to accept the neoliberal and conservative myth that there once was such a raid. For the rich there is a great Treasury raid; the rest of us have never shared in this bonanza.

My point is not to set some academic historical record straight. It is that the specifics of the Democratic campaign have to live up to those soaring generalities. That can't be done by shamefacedly conceding that the Democrats did too much for the poor, the minorities, women and other discriminated against groups. In other words, Mondale and Ferraro have to act as a truth squad attacking Reagan's fraudulent claims. If the president is given license to press the theme that we've never had it so good, he will win.

## Terms of Debate

A few examples will illustrate my point. In August, the Bureau of the Census published 1983 poverty statistics showing that, despite the recovery during much of 1983, the percentage of the official poor rose slightly in that year and the absolute numbers increased even more. This announcement prompted a debate between Republicans and Democrats over whether these numbers simply reflected the fact that the major drop in unemployment in 1984 was not included in the 1983 calculations, i.e., things really are better off, even for the poor in 1984.

The fact is, there is some justice to the Republican claim that next year the 1984 statistics on poverty will show the positive effect of increasing employment. That has always been true in the past; it will probably hold for this year. But for Democrats to allow the debate to focus on the statistics in this fashion is to miss the really critical point: that because of the shift in the occupational structure of American society, above all because the "new" jobs are inferior to the old,

poverty is more entrenched, than it was twenty years ago when Lyndon Johnson signed the Economic Opportunity Act.

There was much comment on another Census report: that for the first time in American history, white male workers were a minority of the labor force. But in the not-so-fine print of that announcement there were at least two facts that should be stressed by Mondale and Ferraro: older workers who lost their jobs may have permanently fallen out of the economic structure; and the great increase in minority and female jobs which has taken place and which will continue is an expansion, precisely, of inferior jobs. It is not that the positions of women and minorities are improving but that the entire economy is being pushed down to the intolerable and inferior levels assigned to these groups.

And this point, as I have commented throughout the campaign, relates to trade unionists and Yuppies as well as to the poor, for it describes trends that devalue smokestack skills, college diplomas and even law degrees alike.

Second, and here I repeat ironically the words of the reactionary columnist Patrick Buchanan, the Democratic party will completely forfeit its populist heritage if it does not raise the issue of the banks. The Continental Bank bailout is a mind-boggling example of the welfare programs for the corporate rich.

At the same time, the upward creep of

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"Mr. Reagan here served a nice meal, and all you can do is complain about the bill!"



the interest rates is a disaster in the Third World. During the big public meeting in San Francisco sponsored by DSA and others, I quoted William Jennings Bryan at the 1896 Democratic Convention: "Thou shalt not crucify mankind on a cross of gold." Well, they're at it again, only this time it is the wretched of the earth, not just the workers and farmers of America, who are being crucified. Will the Democratic campaign mention this fact? If Mondale and Ferraro want to win, I think they have to.

Finally, there is the incredible stock market rally of early August 1984. Washington announced that, for the first time in a long while, the economic indicators for the future were down. This announcement that Reagan's good times may well be coming to an end in the next year or so was greeted with rapturous enthusiasm on Wall Street. The *New York Times* quoted a money manager: "All the indications are that the economy is going to slow significantly. That sparked the bond market, followed by the stock market."

In Short, Wall Street continues to be bearish about America, insisting in its own way that the Reagan recovery is exceedingly shaky and perilous. The Democratic campaign has to be as radical as the money managers.

*"The New York Times quoted a money manager: 'All the indications are that the economy is going to slow significantly. That sparked the bond market, followed by the stock market.'"*

I have no illusions about the impact of "correct" analyses in political campaigns. If elections were settled by debaters' points both Norman Thomas and Gene Debs would have been presidents. And yet, in 1984, the Democrats cannot let Reagan have his bogus recovery and expect to win. They have to go beyond the social democratic generalities in rhetoric and get down at least to liberal particulars on policy. Mondale's challenge to Reagan on the tax issue was a brilliant case in point. Now it has to be generalized.

### Socialist Perspectives

Socialists working in the Democratic campaign have to prove themselves in hard,

routine tasks, like voter registration and canvassing, but they also have a unique and socialist function. On these issues, and on questions of anti-interventionism, peace, race, and gender, they must push the campaign as far to the left as possible. That is not a purist strategy; it is in my opinion the only winning strategy.

A final word addressed to the longer run and to socialist perspectives. If we, and Wall Street, are right, our ideas will not only be more relevant as the next economic crisis develops. They will seem to be more relevant to more people. If that crisis comes under a Mondale-Ferraro administration we will have the maximum possibility of organizing to push public policy toward the democratic left. If, God forbid, it occurs during a second Reagan administration, we will be a less distinctive part of the broadest possible front for basic human decency.

But the strangely optimistic point on which I want to conclude is this: in these difficult times, we have to prepare to become more relevant. The "final crisis" is not at hand—but a fairly dramatic confirmation of our analysis of the crisis-ridden character of contemporary capitalism is not too far in the distance. ●

# 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 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.

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# BEYOND THE BANDAIDS

by Maxine Phillips

**A**s a teenager in the fifties in Fort Worth, Texas, DSA vice chair Frances Moore Lappe was a cheerleader. She terms that activity part of her "survivor's life" in an "anti-intellectual, racist culture." Her "secret life," the one that sustained her, was in the Unitarian church that her parents helped found and for which they were red-baited during the McCarthy period. There, and at home, she found the values that led her to become today one of the most well-known, effective, and outspoken proponents of alternative food and development policies.

A dynamic woman who is a perfect advertisement for the healthy eating she promotes in *Diet for a Small Planet*, Lappe laughingly refers to herself in the early part of her career as the "Julia Child of the soybean circuit." To hundreds of thousands of Americans she is the person who revolutionized their eating habits. When the book, which has sold more than two million copies, appeared in 1971 it stressed the enormous protein waste caused by eating habits in industrialized countries and showed that the protein fed to American livestock and not returned for human consumption was close to the whole world's protein deficit. If we combined plant foods properly to form complete proteins and cut back drastically on meat production, we could free enough protein to feed the world's hungry *and* live healthier lives. In later editions her analysis focused much more on how agribusiness keeps our consumption geared to protein-wasteful, and profitable, patterns. Her writing has changed the way development issues in the third world are discussed.

Lappe's interest in international development started early, but it took a while for her to find her path. She entered the School of International Service at American University as an undergraduate in 1962, planning to prepare for a career in the foreign service. "It took six weeks for me to figure out that this wasn't what I wanted," she recalls. She transferred to Earlham College, a Quaker school, where the burgeoning anti-war movement gave her a "world-flipping" experience that brought a period of searching. A liberal like her parents, the best she could imagine was making the system work.



Michael Jang

Thinking about changing the system challenged all her beliefs and caused her first major conflict with her parents. She considered going to Vietnam to work after graduation, but ended up at the Martin Luther King School for Social Change in Philadelphia. There, where part of the training involved standing on soapboxes in Rittenhouse Square and talking to crowds, she went to work for the welfare rights movement. Uncomfortable in the role of a white organizer of black women and distressed by the poverty and injustice she saw, she felt compelled to learn more about the roots of the problems. She entered a community organizing program at the School of Social Work at Berkeley, but by 1969 had decided to "stop trying to change the world till I knew what I was doing." She dropped out of school and began a self-education program, reading and auditing classes on everything from geology to political economy. She was looking for a concrete way to understand and explain how the world didn't work and found that handle in food. The prevailing belief that there isn't enough food for all the hungry spurred her to write the book to show that humans caused the problem of scarcity and humans can change it.

The book came out in 1971, the same year that her son was born and she moved to New York. For four years, as the mother of two children, she was primarily a homemaker who enjoyed fame primarily as a popularizer of eating lower on the food chain. It was the World Food Conference in Rome in 1974 that propelled her to the second major change in her life. Before she went to Rome, she says, she still thought that the "experts" knew more than she did. Hearing these experts talk about increased production, which she was sure was wrong, she felt "a final lifting of self doubts... I knew I had to take my own work more seriously."

She returned to the U.S., completely rewrote the book to highlight political solutions to hunger, completed a publicity tour, then "went into a depression." She wasn't sure what to do next. "I wasn't part of any political community."

At a Food Day conference in March of 1975 she met Joe Collins, then with the Institute for Policy Studies. He wanted to write a book on the roots of hunger and came to New York to persuade her to work with him. "This was the book I wanted to write," she remembers, but with two small children she wasn't sure she could take on such a collaboration with someone in another city. Then she saw a film on the Ethiopian famine and her emotions overwhelmed the intellectual reasons for not acting. "I called Joe at midnight and said I was ready to do it."

Within three weeks he had moved to New York. By June they had a book contract for *Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity* and by October they had used the publisher's advance to found the Institute for Food and Development Policy. *Food First* showed that economic and political power concentrated in the hands of a few people is the real problem and changed the terms of debate on international development. "Even in 1975 I was still scolding Americans for stinginess, but I soon realized that aid wasn't the answer."

The book, and material from the Institute, sound three themes:

1) No country in the world is a hopeless case. The illusion of scarcity comes from the growing concentration of control over food-producing resources, whether in the hands of a few rich families, or by giant multinationals.

2) The hungry are not our enemies. We in the U.S. and they in the Third World are victims of the same economic forces.

3) Our role is not to go into other countries to "set them right." Our role is to remove the obstacles facing the oppressed. These obstacles are often created by our tax dollars and aid policies, which may prop up unstable regimes or introduce technology that has a devastating effect on local culture.

The Institute has published more than two dozen books and booklets, a *Food First* comic book and slide show, and dozens of articles. Its curriculum materials are used in 200 college courses. Its staff appear on television and radio and make hundreds of speeches. The goal is to educate nonpolitical people, those who are "on the brink" of having a structural understanding.



"There's always a tension between wanting to use the food metaphor to make people understand structural problems and the danger of being dismissed as superficial or of being taken too literally," she admits. But she is convinced that if people can gain control over and understand one part of their lives, such as diet, then they can be moved to take power in other areas. Many readers have written to her to tell her that once they changed their eating habits they went on to food activism.

Her desire to find ways to reach large numbers of people is a major reason behind her latest project—a book for families called *What To Do After You Turn Off the TV*, which she is writing with her children, Anthony and Anna. She sees it as a way to communicate politically in a "non-alienating form" to help people stop being passive about what they see and hear. "If people can't even take charge of their own leisure, how can they take charge of their political lives?" she asks. In addition, she smiles, it's been a "great antidote" to the heavier struggles and a wonderful way to "capture and relive memories" now that her children are older.

*"If people can't even take charge of their own leisure, how can they take charge of their political lives?"*

Other books on which she has worked with Collins and others include *Aid as Obstacle*, *World Hunger: Ten Myths*, and *Mozambique and Tanzania: Asking the Big Questions*. Recently she worked with Collins and Nick Allen on *What Difference Could a Revolution Make?: Food and Farming in the New Nicaragua*. She was impressed by the "prudence" of the Nicaraguan land reform program. "It is one of the more cautious reforms ever attempted." Much of the Nicaraguan program has faltered because of attacks by *contras*. The best people in the program are being sent to defend the borders.

Her voice becomes more intense as she speaks of the Nicaraguan experiment and the dangers it faces from the U.S. Much of her public speaking these days focuses on Central America. She tries to convey to audiences that they do not have to support anti-democratic elements in order to be against U.S. intervention. "We have to answer only one question: Do we shore up elites or get out of the way?" when revolution is inevitable.

It was her concern for struggles in the Third World that brought her to DSA. "If I was afraid to use the word 'socialist' how could I help people in the Third World?" She decided to be more publicly identified with the word in order to "help humanize it, in-

terpret it to the United States," so that there would not always be a negative knee-jerk reaction to countries that call themselves socialist.

Finding ways to interpret the need for structural change into an American idiom has led to the "No More Bandaid Solutions" project and plans for a book on American values.

This year, on October 16, the "No More Bandaid Solutions" project of the Institute will present awards to the worst government "bandaid" programs (surplus cheese?) and stress the theme, "Fairness Is the Cure." A position paper for the project proposes democratic alternatives familiar to socialists, such as full employment at decent wages and income support for those unable to work for pay, targeted government credit and tax incentives for small and middle-sized enterprises, renegotiation of Third World debt, democratic control over all economic policy institutions, particularly the Federal Reserve Board.

Throughout the discussion of these proposals, the words democracy, fairness and efficiency re-occur. "The left has to get over its embarrassment about talking about values," Lappe insists. They're "wornout flags" now, and the right "has claimed the moral high ground with them."

She is preparing to tackle the "biggest challenge of my life"—a book on American values that will interpret them in a "liberationist" and a "conservative" way, leaving the choice of which way to go to the reader. The values—democracy, freedom, securi-

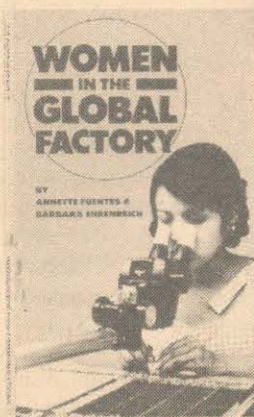
ty, efficiency, work, fairness, responsibility, self-reliance, competition and community—will be presented from each angle. Depending on which side of the book is up, the reader will start with either a conservative or liberationist view. By turning the book upside down the reader will find the other view.

At every stage of her career Lappe has opted for communicating with the largest number of people. She tells of stirring rice and beans on numerous inane talk shows so that she could talk about the economic and political roots of hunger regardless of the interviewer's interest in the best soybean recipe.

Her message of personal empowerment, whether in diet, leisure time, choice of vocation, choice of friends, or political activism, has brought many previously apolitical people into activism.

As she prepares for a time of study, writing, and reflection, worrying about maintaining a balance between thought and action, her admonition to her readers to keep "a sense of moral outrage" seems to ring true for her own life. "The 'what can we do?'" she writes, "is then answered, not in one act but in the entire unfolding of our lives."

For more information about the "No More Bandaid Solutions" Campaign, write The Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1885 Mission, San Francisco CA 94103, (415) 864-8555.



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# Exposing Boston's Rulers

by Joseph M. Schwartz

One of DSA's unique tasks is to demonstrate the systemic nature of the myriad forms of injustice combatted by social movements and single-issue groups. Boston DSA has made a concrete contribution to this task by its publication of *Who Rules Boston: A Citizen's Guide to Reclaiming the City*. The 116-page book, a 'power-structural' analysis of Boston's corporate elite, exposes that elite's role in the post-war transformation of Boston into a tale of two cities—the neighborhoods blighted by a declining industrial base surrounded by a booming downtown of finance and real estate development and suburban high-tech. *Who Rules* is a sophisticated and accessible examination of Boston's 'permanent government'—the bankers, corporate directors, lawyers and developers, who play an inordinate role in determining the politics and political economy of Boston.

*Who Rules* has sold over 1,000 copies since its June 1984 publication, culminating two years of work by a score of Boston DSA activists. The project originated at a spring 1982 meeting of DSA urban and community activists with progressive urban policy expert Chester Hartman. The impromptu gathering decided to initiate a DSA local community action project. Recognizing that the intense involvement of individual DSAers in such grassroots organizations as Mass Fair Share, the Mass Tenants Organization and 9 to 5 precluded a grassroots organizing project, the amalgam of policy analysts and activists decided on the production of an invaluable and lasting resource for the Boston progressive community—a citizen's guide to the Boston corporate power structure.

Coordinated by then Tufts University sociologist and NEC member Peter Dreier (who now deals with Boston's 'permanent government' daily as populist Mayor Ray Flynn's housing adviser), a dozen DSA members and friends spent over a year researching the leading business associations, social clubs, law firms, hospitals and universities which constitute Boston's corporate government. Based on both archival research and extensive interviews, the book's detailed expose of the secretive 'Vault' (an elite coordinating committee of 30 leading corporate executives) and of the recently formed Mas-

**Who  
Rules  
Boston?**  
**A Citizen's Guide  
to Reclaiming the City**  
by the Boston Urban Study Group  
With a foreword  
by Michael Harrington

sachusetts Business Roundtable and Massachusetts High Technology Council brings to light corporate power's domination of the political process. *Who Rules* also examines the way Boston's corporate elite attempts to mediate intra-class disputes (such as the division between suburban high-tech firms which favor low property taxes and established urban financial interests who fear a collapse of governmental infrastructure).

The Study Group decided early on that for the book to have an impact on Boston politics would require both skilled marketing and professional production. Armed with early drafts and testimony from grassroots organizations as to the book's political importance, the Study Group garnered \$8,500 in grants and loans from the Episcopal City Mission, Haymarket People's Fund, the Villers Foundation and individual donors.

A six-month publicity and distribution effort, chaired by chapter activist Lisa Sloane, culminated in a June press confer-

ence covered by the major area media (highlighted by a lengthy piece in the next day's TV and media page of *The Boston Globe*). Spokespeople at the conference reflected the diversity of Boston DSA activists: Felix Arroyo, a prominent Latino activist and former School Board candidate; Professor Michael Lipsky of the MIT Political Science Department, a noted urban policy expert; and Curt Troutman, the research director of Mass Fair Share, the state's leading citizen action organization. Troutman, who has served as the official spokesperson for the book, has been interviewed on almost every major local TV and radio talk show.

Two months after the press conference, the book has already sold over 1,000 copies—400 by direct mail to local subscribers of progressive publications; 300 through bookstore sales; and 500 in bulk to a major bookstore distributor. An effort to have the book adopted in spring term university courses should guarantee a rapid sell-out of the first edition. Plans are already underway for a major second printing. Not only will the local reap financial benefits—the clear identification of the book with Boston DSA (the last page is a detailed description of both national and Boston DSA) has yielded a large number of inquiries about the local.

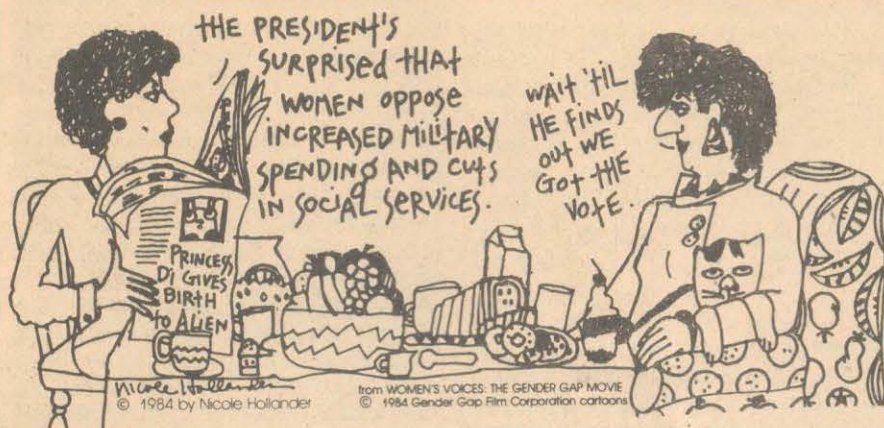
Word of the success of *Who Rules* has begun to spread through DSA. Numerous copies were sold at both the West Coast DSA conference and at the Midwest Academy Retreat. Los Angeles DSA is already at work on a similar project. As an aid to similar projects, *Who Rules Boston* concludes with a chapter on "Methods: How to Study the Power Structure." Boston DSA would not only be glad to sell *Who Rules* to interested individuals and chapters; the project coordinators look forward to exchanging ideas with other DSA members who wish to make a similar contribution to their progressive community.

*Who Rules Boston: A Citizen's Guide to Reclaiming the City* by the Boston Urban Study Group is available for \$9.95 from the Institute for Democratic Socialism, 145 Tremont Street, 6th floor, Boston, MA 02111. Bulk rates available on request. ●

Joseph M. Schwartz is a member of the DSA National Executive Committee and chair of Boston DSA's Political Education Committee.



# ALL OUT TO REGISTER



The cartoon accompanying this article is from "Women's Voices: The Gender Gap Movie," a 15-minute film on the gender gap geared for use with voter registration volunteers, in classrooms (especially of unregistered students) and for fundraisers and political discussions about the impact of the gender gap. Rental: \$50. From New Day Films/Kartemquin, 1901 W. Wellington, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-4366.

**M**illions More by October 4" is the latest voter registration slogan—one that will provide the push for the last stage of the most massive voter registration drive in recent history. The campaign, which continues through August and September, will culminate on October 4 when thousands of volunteers make a final effort to register voters before the deadline in most states.

October 4 sponsors, including DSA, are asking for a minimal commitment to "Register 10, Write 10, Call 10." The minimum goal set by the Institute for Democratic Socialism Voter Registration Project is for 1,000 activist members to register 10 new people each.

Many DSA members have already met their quotas, with the record going to Stu Cohen of Pittsburgh DSA, who has personally registered 4,000 people. Cohen, research director for the Urban League, gets up early to go to bus stops before work. Wearing his "May I register you to vote?" button, he canvasses social service waiting rooms, unemployment centers and the county jail on his lunch hours. After work he goes to supermarkets. On weekends he puts in several hours a day at supermarkets, laundromats and shopping areas. "All it takes is commitment," he tells awed friends and co-workers. A high point this summer was a write-up in the "Pittsburgh Press." A low point was being thrown out of a bar for attempting to register patrons.

Chicago DSA has been active all summer in a citywide voter registration coalition. Members have gone to street fairs in targeted neighborhoods with low registration figures. In Santa Cruz, DSAers work with the local Democratic party. During the primary season Portland DSAers registered voters through Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Co-

alition effort. Throughout most of the country, DSAers participate in voter registration as part of coalitions.

Voter registration fever has swept progressive groups previously uninvolved in electoral politics, and has given fresh energy to groups that have been making steady inroads for years. Nevertheless, it is estimated that there are still 60 million unregistered voters, most of them poor and working class. Progressives count on the fact that most of these voters would vote Democratic. Republicans, however, have not ceded the territory, and are reported to be ready to spend \$8 million for registration. Additional support from right-wing groups brings the estimated figure closer to \$20 million. By comparison, the Democrats have budgeted \$2.5 million, and all the progressive groups working on voter registration have less than \$5 million at their disposal.

What these groups don't have in money, they try to make up for by doing "cost-effective" registration (finding large numbers of non-voters in welfare lines, for instance) and mobilizing lots of volunteers.

Will you be one of those volunteers? You can register voters and give more visibility to DSA. Start now to:

- Form a DSA Voter Registration Committee if one doesn't exist in your local.
- Find out about barriers to registration in your state and what you need to do to be able to register people.
- Start pressuring the Board of Elections for registration forms so that you and other DSAers will always have forms with you and enough will be available during the drive.
- Set a quota for your local over and above what you've already done. Bring previously inactive members in.

- Plan events, or tabling parties where you target a site such as a supermarket in a neighborhood with low registration rates.

- Plan a party for October 4 when all DSA members will bring in their voter registration cards or names of people they've registered. Give a prize to the one who has the most names.

After October 4, prepare your Get-Out-the-Vote effort. Ten days before the election send a postcard to everyone you registered urging that person to vote. Start your follow-up phone calls about four days before the election. Take election day off and work in a pulling operation to call people, drive them to the polls, post flyers reminding people to vote, or hand out reminders in crowded areas.

In 1982, a one percent shift of the vote in five states would have meant a Democratic majority in the Senate; a shift of 44,000 votes would have denied House seats to 20 Republicans. Every voter we register who is likely to vote for progressive candidates represents change, not only this November but in the 1986 elections, when 22 Republican senators will be up for re-election. The stakes are high. To paraphrase a slogan of the machine era, we should register early and often.

## REGISTRATION PLEDGE

\_\_\_\_\_ I will help IDS meet its registration goal by personally registering *at least* 10 people. Sign me up as part of the IDS network.

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



# ON THE LEFT

by HARRY FLEISCHMAN

## NATIONAL ROUNDUP

### California

Orange County DSA heard talks on the history and philosophy of the German and U.S. Green movements last month... The local held its annual picnic in July... "Cold War Politics and the Olympics" was discussed by San Diego DSA last month. The DSA youth section at the University of California-San Diego helped start a Committee on U.S. Foreign Policy... San Francisco DSA raised over \$3,000 for Harry Britt's re-election campaign as Supervisor.

### District of Columbia/Maryland

Four DSA members won positions on the D.C. Democratic State Committee. Alexa Freeman, Ruth Jordan and Joslyn Williams won at-large seats and Howard Croft won from Ward 6... Israeli Marxist Sholmo Avineri spoke at a forum on Israel's political future, sponsored by DSA's Cultural and Educational Affairs Committee... Takoma Park, Md. DSA supported Montgomery County teachers in their contract dispute with the school board... Prince George's County DSA is working with the Maryland Action Coalition on voter registration drives for the fall.

### Kentucky

Harry Fleischman spoke to the Central Kentucky DSA local in Lexington on "Why There Is No Mass Socialist Party in the U.S."... Progressive candidates Ernesto Scorsone and Shirley Cunningham defeated, with DSA help, incumbents in Democratic primaries for legislative seats in the 75th and 76th districts... The Lexington Task Force on Latin America is using the new slide/tape show, "Dollars and Dictators," for many meetings this summer.

### Maine

DSAer Harlan Baker won solid re-nomination last month for a fourth term in the state legislature. He is pushing to force Central Maine Power to explore conversion of the Seabrook nuclear plant to a coal-fired plant. He also urges that Maine's pen-

sion fund be divested of holdings in companies that do business with South Africa.

### Massachusetts

Western Massachusetts DSA held a premiere of "Seeing Red" on Aug. 1, with a discussion with filmmakers Julia Reichert and Jim Klein... The DSA religious caucus in Boston heard Prof. Yaakov Tzur of Bar-Ilan University in Israel speak on "Judaism and Socialism."

### Michigan

Ann Arbor DSA supported a commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the murder of civil rights activists Goodman, Chaney and Schwerner in Mississippi. The Ann Arbor SOCPAC (Socialist Political Action Committee) met July 14 to plan fall endorsements... Perry Bullard, Lowell Peterson and Gregory Scott are working on an American Solidarity Ad for the *Ann Arbor News*... Terri Stangl, chair of Michigan DSA's Feminist Commission, spoke on Zillah Eisenstein's "Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism" at the Detroit DSA "Better Read Than Dead Book Club." Fran Shor of the New Jewish Agenda spoke last month to the club on Chomsky's "The Fateful Triangle: U.S., Israel and the Palestinians."

### Minnesota

Jack De Maars of the National Education Association and Rosa Maria Rivera of El Salvador's teachers' union, ANDES, spoke last month at the Minnesota Labor Conference on Latin America, which was supported by many unions and DSA... The Twin Cities DSA has organized a study group meeting during the summer on the history of socialism and current problems.

### Missouri

Vicky Starr, a.k.a. Stella Nowicki, spoke in Columbia, where DSA and the central labor body organized a showing of "Union Maids."

### New Hampshire

ABC-TV's 20/20 program featured a segment on DSAer Earl Bourdon of Claremont, showing how he was elected a delegate to the Democratic National Convention and reporting his steelworkers' union and senior citizen victories in New Hampshire.

### New York

A fundraiser for Democratic Congressional nominee Ed Bloch, sponsored by Albany DSA-PAC, New Democratic Coalition and the Eleanor Roosevelt Democratic Club, raised over \$1,345 and brought together a large, politically active crowd... The same groups have challenged the Democratic party machine for twelve 6th ward posts on the powerful Albany Democratic Committee... Rezsins Adams, a peace and justice activist, challenging super-hawk Sam Stratton in September's Democratic primary, was the guest at a DSA potluck dinner in her honor in July... Larry Wittner was the subject of stories in three Albany and Schenectady newspapers after a new version of his *Rebels Against War: The American Peace Movement, 1933-1983* appeared this summer (see review on p. 14)... Ithaca DSA is working with other groups on an October community economic symposium which will discuss goals for Ithaca's future... Nassau DSA is working with the Long Island Progressive Coalition (LIPC) on a voter education drive, as well as a campaign to counteract Reagan's war plans for Central America... In a family media blitz DSA vice chair Barbara Ehrenreich was on the "Today Show," discussing the "New Man," and her husband, Naussau local member Gary Stevenson, was on television the next day in regard to an organizing strike... As part of an American Solidarity Movement effort to gain international support for U.S. Western Union strikers battling MCI, Harry and Natalie Fleischman met with Spanish and Portuguese Socialist leaders on their recent tour as well as with a committee of the Spanish Telephone Workers Union.

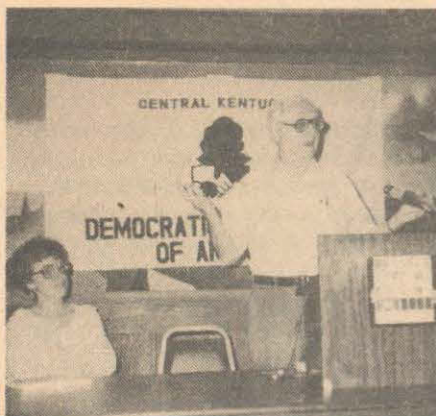
### Ohio

The Kent local participated in the annual city festival—Kentfest—in July with a colorful literature booth that featured political T-shirts, posters and small American flags. The local prepared special leaflets geared to reclaiming the traditions of the American revolution for the democratic left. A week later Kent hosted 40 DSA members and friends from Cleveland, Akron, Youngstown, and Canton for the first Ohio Bastille Day Picnic, which featured all-beef kosher hotdogs, vegetarian alternatives, softball, volleyball and enthusiastic renditions of the Marseillaise.

### Pennsylvania

Dennis Brunn has been elected Philadelphia DSA chair, while Gail Radford be-





Harry Fleischman, in Lexington to receive (with John Herling) the Eugene V. Debs Award of the Midwest Labor Press Association, spoke to the Lexington local. Local chair Mary Dunn, L., moderated.

comes the first part-time paid staffer... Northwest Philadelphia DSA heard a group of Salvadoran refugees speak on life in their homeland... In June DSAers joined in "Hands Across the Bridge," a human chain across the Ben Franklin Bridge for Jobs, Peace and Freedom... A new campus branch has been organized at Bryn Mawr... The Philadelphia Unemployment Project won a major victory when Gov. Thornburgh signed SB 1357 into law June 1 to provide \$25.6 million to fund the nation's first mortgage assistance program, which will give unemployed homeowners low-interest loans to pay their mortgages... DSAers from across the state gathered at Bloomsburg State College August 10-12 for a statewide mini-conference.

### Tennessee

Nashville DSA worked with several women's groups on a "Celebration of Women" held in July at Centennial Park.

## LABOR VICTORY

David Lange, a 41-year-old lawyer, is the new Prime Minister of New Zealand as the Labor party bounced the conservative National party out of office after a 9-year reign. Labor won 56 seats to the National party's 37, with 2 seats staying with the Social Credit party. This was a gain of 15 seats for Labor.

Premier-elect Lange made it clear that he stood by his party's pledge to ban nuclear-armed and nuclear-powered ships from New Zealand waters.

## RESOURCES

*El Salvador: The Union Response* (labor film) highlights the growing labor opposition to military aid to El Salvador as well as the condition of unions there. Dave Dyson talks on a labor fact-finding tour to El Salvador. Included is exclusive footage of Salvadoran unionists in Mariona Prison charged with the capital offense of going on strike. Also featured are interviews with Ed Asner and Marta Rivera of the Andes Teachers' Union.

The 28-minute videocassette is available from the Labor Film Club. Rental \$35; purchase \$75. Order from Carol Anshien, 45 Riverside Drive, #4B, New York, NY 10024. Make checks payable to Community Cable Center, Inc.

*Rebuilding America—A Blueprint for the New Economy* by Gar Alperovitz and Jeff Faux (Pantheon, \$10.95) is a hard-nosed evaluation of what's wrong with our economy and what can be done to set it right. The authors call for a program to create community stability and full production.

*The Radical Vision of Saul Alinsky* by P. David Finks (Paulist Press, \$9.95) is an intriguing biography of one of the most unusual community organizers in history.

Finks does an admirable job of describing Alinsky's development, one which community organizers today can still learn from.

Several DSAers were involved in the preparation of *A Job Safety and Health Bill of Rights* published by the Philadelphia Area Project on Occupational Safety and Health (Philaposh) and written by Rick Engler. Good for union education classes, it can be ordered at \$3 a copy from PHILAPOSH, Fifth Floor, 3001 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19194. Orders of 5 or more are \$2 each.

*Rights and Goods: Justifying Social Action* (The Free Press, \$22.95) by DSAer Virginia Held has just appeared. Robert Heilbroner calls it a successful "attempt to establish a morality that will do service in the rough world as well as withstand scrutiny in the philosopher's chambers."

Two peace publications were recently brought to our attention. *Unmask* (\$10/4 issues) is published by The Nerve Center, an organization formed to provide information on chemical and biological weapons issues. For more information, write to the Center at 2327 Webster St., Berkeley, CA 94795. The other, *Space for All People*, is put out by the Progressive Space Forum, 1724 Sacramento St., #9, San Francisco, CA 94109. The forum is concerned with

arms control in space and opposed to the "Star Wars" scenarios spun by the Reagan administration.

# CLASSIFIED

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# REVIEWS

by Maurice Isserman

**THE PEACE REFORM IN AMERICAN HISTORY**, by Charles DeBenedetti. Indiana University Press, 1984. \$7.95, paperback.

**REBELS AGAINST WAR: THE AMERICAN PEACE MOVEMENT, 1933-1983**, by Lawrence S. Wittner. Temple University Press, 1984 (revised edition).

**A**lthough we associate the New Left with the 1960s, the movement's political style and outlook is rooted in developments in the late 1950s. In the spring of 1958 a group of Quaker peace activists, led by Navy veteran Albert Bigelow, attempted to sail a boat called "The Golden Rule" into a nuclear test zone area in the Pacific Ocean, to disrupt a scheduled H-Bomb test. The crew was arrested, and the boat impounded before they were able to leave Honolulu. Stepping into the breach, Earle Reynolds and his family set off in their own boat, "The Phoenix," successfully penetrating the test zone before being arrested by the Coast Guard. Despite the attention that the voyages of "The Golden Rule" and "The Phoenix" attracted, the nuclear tests were held as scheduled. Marvin Oppenheimer reflected later that year in an article in *Dissent* on the "failure" of the pacifists' voyages:

**If the project was not undertaken primarily for effectiveness, why then? The answer comes down to an 'existential' argument: They did it because they could do no other, because no one else did it for them, because politics failed to do it, because the hour was late and because they had to. Effectiveness had little to do with it. This was the individual act undertaken against a state and a condition which seemed omnipotent; above all this was the propaganda of the deed, one's physical body thrown into a void where no other bridge seemed to exist. (*Dissent*, Summer 1958, p. 281)**

Given the collapse of the Communist and Socialist parties in the United States, the apparent quiescence of the organized labor movement, and the bad taste that the word "ideology" left in the mouths of most intellectuals in the 1950s, it is not surprising that the generation of campus activists who came of age in the 1960s should initially find pacifism far more attractive than Marxism as a strategy and a vision. Marxism was part of the old, dead past; it had a lot of crimes committed in its name to apologize for; to adopt a Marxist viewpoint was to embrace a politics of futility and marginality. Pacifists were also marginal, but they did not have to apologize for their past, and they offered a new definition of "effectiveness" that made an isolated gesture of resistance seem meaningful and exciting. Oppenheimer's analysis that "effectiveness had little to do with it...the hour was late...one's physical body thrown into a void" proved to be a brilliant anticipation of the sensibility of New Left politics in the coming decade.

Charles DeBenedetti's *The Peace Reform in American History* and Lawrence Wittner's newly updated *Rebels Against War, The American Peace Movement, 1933-1983* provide a complementary overview of American pacifism from the 17th century to the present.

DeBenedetti, who begins his account in colonial America, makes it clear that one cannot make easy generalizations about pacifism from century to century: William Penn, Andrew Carnegie and A.J. Muste all opposed war, but each operated from a different set of motivations. In the 17th century, pacifists were motivated primarily out of concern for the individual soul; in the 19th and early 20th century, pacifists were more concerned with constructing a stable social and international order; after the Second World War, many pacifists decided that wars could only be ended through a revolutionary transformation of the social order.

Wittner's account of the rebirth of American pacifism in the later 1950s is instructive. In the worst of times, the seeds of a new insurgency were sown. A small group of activists continued to write and speak and demonstrate against war—and to experiment with new ways of communicating their message. They were inspired by the doctrines of Gandhian nonviolence, particularly as applied and developed by Martin Luther King, Jr. in the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955-56. One of the particular virtues of Wittner's book is its portrait of the symbiotic relationship that the civil rights and pacifist movements developed in the late 1950s. Many pacifists, like Bayard Rustin and James Farmer, played important roles in the early organization of the civil rights movement: the heroism and victories of the civil rights movement in turn inspired college students at Oberlin and Michigan and Berkeley who would soon become the organizers of the anti-war movements of the 1960s.

But political ideas have a way of taking strange twists and turns that their progenitors never dreamed of. In the supercharged atmosphere of the 1960s, the politics of "putting one's body on the line" underwent a significant metamorphosis. Civil disobedience gave way to street skirmishes; moral witness gave way to a politics of theater, therapy and megalomania. Bill Ayers, a leader of the Weatherman faction of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) declared in the summer of 1969:

**What we have to communicate to people is our strength, and to show people our strength we have to show them the strength of fighting on the side of the worldwide movement.**

A few months later Weatherman cadre would be brandishing lengths of lead pipe as they charged down Chicago streets in the "Days of Rage." "Propaganda of the deed" would soon turn full circle back to its original meaning—acts of individual and small group terrorism.

The pacifists of the 1950s and 1960s were brave and committed individuals who well deserve the respectful treatment they receive in DeBenedetti's and Wittner's books. But the political impact of pacifism upon the New Left was not entirely positive. The Weathermen were no more pacifists than they were meteorologists. And yet there were certain continuities running through the political history of the New Left, from the gentle idealism of its earliest days to the violent nihilism of its final moments. Those who turn to political movements expecting to find stark moral choices, and who measure political success by the yardstick of personal fulfillment, often wind up espousing a politics of the dramatic and empty gesture. Pacifism, like socialism, has bequeathed the American Left an ambiguous legacy.

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# THE LAST WORD

## The Forty-Year War

by Fred Siegel

**T**he challenge facing Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro is how to turn the question of America's changing social structure into a bread and butter issue. They, like Mario Cuomo, have begun to do this obliquely with their repeated evocation of family, social mobility, and middle-class values. While the neoliberals look for ways to hasten this transformation, Mondale, if he is to win, must question its consequences and, in turn, its underlying source: the domination by business of the national agenda.

Progressives are trying to expand the electorate, but it is not enough to merely register people to come out and vote against Ronald Reagan. Reagan, for all his flaws, is not a demonological figure. Trade unionists, civil rights leaders, feminists, and other activists—white and black—have to talk about the social structural realities that lie on the other side of the fools' paradise of prosperity we are temporarily living in.

American politics since 1941 can best be understood as a running duel between the shifting coalitions that comprise the heirs and enemies of the "Roosevelt Revolution."

The 1980 election can be seen as part of a 40-year political/cultural war fought in large measure over the role of government in American life. Seen in this light, Ronald Reagan's victory in 1980 was but the latest round in the continuing cycle of revenge and repression set off by the trauma, for Republicanism, of the New Deal. McCarthyism, to oversimplify, was the revenge of isolationist "true" Republicanism on Roosevelt's foreign and domestic policy. Then, in the 1960s the political losers of the 1950s and their children got a chance to wreak havoc on their former tormentors. In the course of these forty years, alliances have been altered and reshaped by the social and economic transformation of, first, mass consumption and then post-industrialism. Nonetheless they remained tied to the past through "conflicting chains of emotional symbols," and a tripartite consensus that assumed:

- That although the United States engaged in substantial international trade, exchange with other countries would remain marginal to the huge American economy, which would remain uniquely independent of international pressures because of the vast North American mass market.

- That labor and management had come to a social contract in which high wages for mass-production factory workers enabled those same workers to be an essential part of the market for goods produced in America.

- That while rising prosperity was dependent on technological change, the pace of that change would be neither so fast nor destabilizing as to outweigh the benefits of new production methods.

While the nation's political life focused on the *Kulturkampf* at home and Communism abroad, capitalist dynamism, what Joseph Schumpeter called "creative destruction," undermined the postwar consensus. Before the mid-1960s foreign trade was only a small part of our economy, but between 1965 and 1980 the American economy was internationalized. In 1970 a little more than 9 percent of American-made goods were exported; the percentage more than doubled by 1980. But even more significantly, by 1980, as Robert Reich points out, more than 70 percent of the goods produced in the United States were actively competing with foreign-made goods. For the first time, American workers were in direct competition not only with Europe but with the often low-wage labor of Asia and Latin America.

Since 1960 American trade with other countries has grown at roughly twice the rate of the American economy. Investment abroad has risen even more rapidly, as intense foreign competition for what former West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt calls "the world product" forced U.S. companies to produce and market around the globe. With customers worldwide, high-wage American labor was no longer the essential consumer for the goods produced by American manufacturers. Moreover, high-wage American labor came under increasing competition from low-wage foreign labor employed in plants built by American corporate investments. In many cases, American unionized jobs were lost or wages and benefits reduced in order to meet the threat from abroad. American labor, particularly hard-hit steel and textile workers, responded to the foreign competition with calls for protective tariffs.

Finally, for a growing segment of the American middle class, the costs of technological change clearly outpaced the benefits. The old smokestack industrial economy which created a large number of middle-in-

come jobs is being displaced by a new "post-industrial" economy which produces either high- or low-wage jobs.

Between 1970 and 1980 the total U.S. labor force grew by only 18 percent while service jobs grew at many times that rate. In an employment category called "eating and drinking places," comprised largely of waiters, waitresses, busboys, cashiers, and dishwashers, the *increase* in employment between 1973 and 1980 was greater than the *total* employment in the automobile and steel industries. The middle is dropping out of the American job structure.

As the United States becomes the university center, bookkeeper, and technician for the world, America is becoming a sharply divided two-tiered society. On one level are the highly paid and highly skilled lawyers, computer analysts, and upper-level managers, people who can write their own ticket in life and whose "superiority" will be meritocratically affirmed by the credentials required for their prestigious jobs. On the other level there are the "left-behinds," the restaurant and cafeteria workers, mechanics, medical technicians, and day-care workers, the people who serve the affluent. These divisions are most visible in the nation's cosmopolitan cities, such as New York, Washington, Boston, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, where restaurants catering to upper-middle-class, often childless, two-career professional couples, with considerable disposable income, flourished in the midst of the late 1970s recession, a recession which devastated many of the older industries hard hit by foreign competition. "What is passing is the traditional American promise, fulfilled particularly after World War II [for whites], that someone whose only credential was a willingness to work long and hard with his hands could earn a good wage."

The creation of a dual society spells an end to the cultural civil war of the past forty years. The economic and social forces which threw up the New Class cultural challenge to middle America in the 1960s began in the 1970s to undermine not only the social standing but the jobs which had made the American middle-class lifestyle possible. These tensions were played out in the themes of the three campaigns of the contenders for the Democratic nomination. The winner of that campaign must now find a way to build a new consensus.





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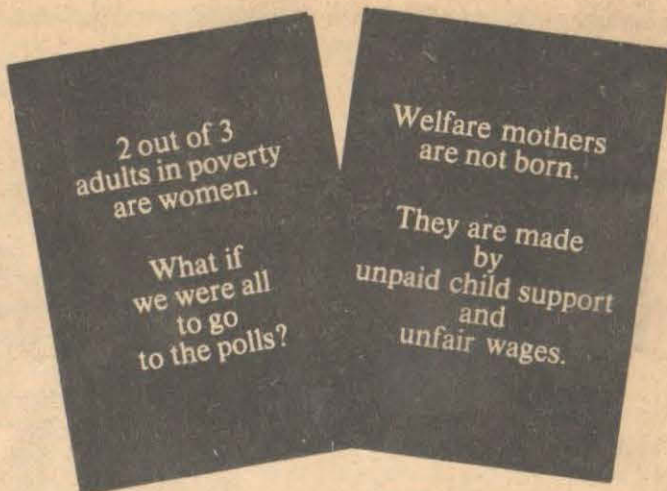
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# JIMMY HIGGINS REPORTS



**Ha, Ha.** Load of laughs that President Reagan. Warming up for his August 12 radio broadcast, the Commander-in-Chief tested his microphone with this knee-slapper: "My fellow Americans, I am pleased to announce that I just signed legislation which outlaws Russia forever. We begin bombing in five minutes."

**Inexperienced?** Elected to Congress in 1978, Geraldine Ferraro is now nominee for the second highest office in the land. Would any man advance so fast? Does she lack critical foreign policy experience? Well, compared to whom? Spiro Agnew? William Miller (the star of American Express commercials and Barry Goldwater's 1964 running mate)? Two unfortunate examples also suggest themselves for comparison: 1960 and 1952. For all his Senate leadership experience, Lyndon Johnson lacked foreign policy testing; no one questioned his nomination on the basis of qualification or experience. The Republican vice presidential nominee in 1952 had

first been elected to public office in 1946, giving Richard Nixon exactly the Congressional experience of Geraldine Ferraro at the time of nomination.

**A noble crusade.** The June 11 *Fortune* salutes a group of "freedom fighters" not often applauded. These particular zealots are New York City landlords prosecuted this past spring for burglary, coercion, extortion and conspiracy. Among the landlords' acts were shutting off hot water, dumping garbage in the hallways and arranging matters so that their buildings would be peopled by thieves, narcotics dealers, prostitutes and strong-arm characters with names like Trigger. "The latter," *Fortune* tells us, "having been instructed to break pipes under people's sinks." So why does *Fortune* view their cause as just? "Friends, it is because all they ask is freedom. It says right there in the news release... that the whole purpose of the conspiracy was to force the original tenants to move out so that the landlords would be free of rent control and in a position to get fair value for their properties." Demonstrating that history is as foggy as economics to *Fortune* writers, the article concludes: "Try thinking of them [characters like Trigger] as Hessians in the revolution against rent control." The Hessians, of course, fought on the other side of the American Revolution.