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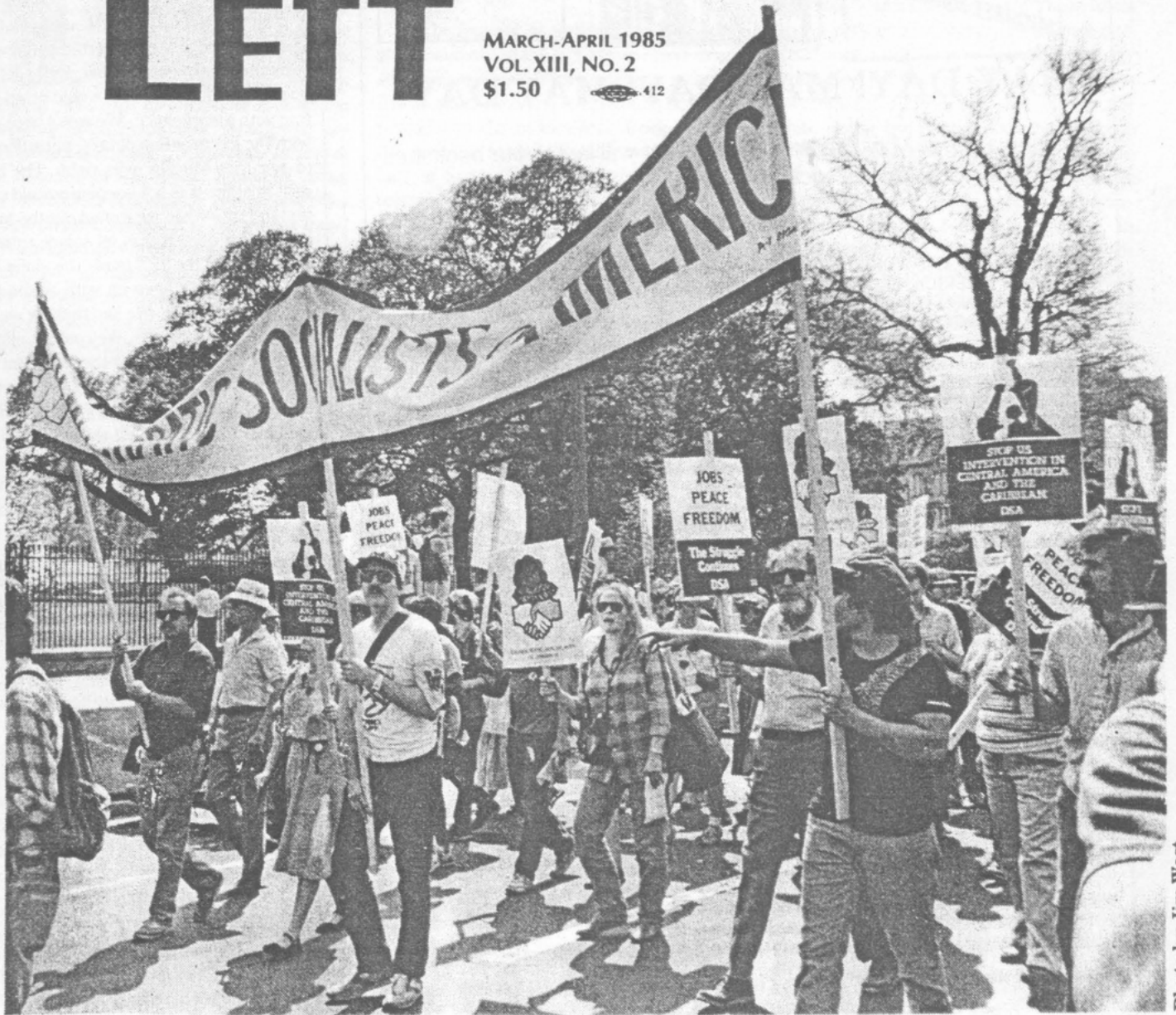
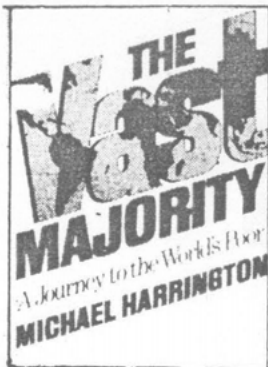


Photo by Jim West

Democracy Under Siege

Michael Harrington, Frances Moore Lappe, Paul Garver on Nicaragua



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COMPUTER CRAZINESS

In the last issue of DL we asked for your patience as we converted to our own computer for the mailing list. Little did we know that Murphy's Law would be operating with a vengeance. We won't bore you with the excruciating details, but suffice it to say that Murphy was right. The biggest mistake was not keeping our old system in place while we ironed out the bugs in the new one. It was no solace to read recently that the IRS made the same error and couldn't keep up with all the tax returns as a result. We like to think we're smarter than they are. We couldn't afford to keep both systems at the time, but as it's turned out, we couldn't afford not to. We hesitate to speak of light at the end of the tunnel, but if you got this issue of DL then we're making progress. Again, we apologize for the delays and hope that we won't have to print any more items about the computer.

DEMOCRATIC LEFT
Formerly Newsletter of the Democratic Left and Moving On.

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Killing Democracy

Ten years after our defeat in Vietnam we are mired in conflicts in Central America. President Reagan debases the language with praise for fascist "freedom fighters," and calls up the specter of dominoes tumbling into Texas and threatening the "American way of life." In this issue we look at the situation in Nicaragua. Ironically, as we are told that the Nicaraguan government must be overthrown, hundreds of Americans travel to Nicaragua and bring back reports that contradict official statements. Three DSA members who have made such visits speak here of what they saw and of what the response of the left must be. —Eds.

by Michael Harrington

An immediate response to the situation in Nicaragua is simple enough to describe: principled, implacable opposition to a single cent of American money going to the fascist-led *contras* now trying to overthrow the Sandinistas; pressure for genuine peace negotiations to end the unconscionable American intervention in the region.

The President of the United States has been so extreme, so preposterous, so factually wrong in making his case for aid to the *contras* that one must conclude that he is either lying or ignorant to a degree that raises questions about his capacity to hold his office.

Consider a few items. The *contras*, he has said, are "our brothers," "freedom fighters" like Lafayette and Bolivar, "the moral equivalent of our Founding Fathers." Two recent articles in the *Wall Street Journal* by David Ignatius and David Rogers suggest a slightly more balanced assessment.

The *contras*, the *Journal's* reporters documented, were created by the Central Intelligence Agency with leaders who were graduates of Anastasio Somoza's National Guard. The CIA hired professional thugs from the (then) Argentine military dictatorship as instructors and then "repackaged" their Somocistas with some democratic elements when there was a great outcry about what they were doing. The notion that an army led by men who dedicated their lives to dictatorship

is an instrument of democracy is clearly ridiculous.

The *Journal*, as well as *Americas Watch*, also documented the fact that the *contras* are engaging in classic terrorist tactics, including the murder, rape and brutalization of civilian populations. In an excellent article, also in the *Journal*, Michael Kinsley quoted Secretary of State George Shultz's definition of terrorism: "Where the terrorist cannot bring about anarchy he may try to force the government to ... impose tyrannical measures of control and hence lose the allegiance of the people."

The evidence would indicate that the Nicaraguan movement supported by the government of the United States is terrorist in precisely Shultz's sense of the word. But then the President doesn't pay any attention to his Secretary of State. For him, when the Sandinistas clear villages in order to create "free fire zones," it is an example of "Stalin's tactic of gulag relocation." One might ask if similar American tactics in a Vietnam war vigorously supported by Mr. Reagan were also Stalinist, but the point is, as Shultz understands, that terrorism almost always leads to such counter-terrorist measures.

But then, isn't Nicaragua "totalitarian," "Marxist," "Marxist-Leninist"? Those labels have a very explicit, totally illegitimate purpose: once a regime is so branded, then any means are justified in fighting it. A fascist government in Chile does not disturb the White House and neither does the minority, racist dictatorship in South Africa. Presumably the latter outrages fall under the Jeane Kirkpatrick rubric of the merely authoritarian, and therefore reformable, regime. In the totalitarian and "Marxist-Leninist" society there is no possibility of opposition. In this theory, salvation must come from armed intervention from abroad.

There are a number of problems with this concept as applied to Nicaragua. First, this country is not totalitarian in any sense of the word; and second, it has incomparably better channels of internal change than either Chile or South Africa.

In an article in the *New York Times*, Tom Wicker pointed out that there was a large recent public meeting of anti-Sandinistas within Nicaragua that denounced the government as "Stalinist." Isn't it obvious that no Stalinist regime in history has ever allowed opponents to gather and accuse it of



See? He doesn't have a decent, democratic leg to stand on!

being Stalinist? In all of the writings of Alexander Solzhenitzin is there a single reference to an election in the Soviet Union in which seven opposition parties were given the opportunity to criticize the Kremlin? Bayardo Arce, the Sandinista commandante, met with Arturo Cruz, the principle leader of the anti-Sandinista Coordinadora last October at the meeting of the Socialist International in Rio to discuss changes in the electoral procedure.

The agreement between Arce and Cruz broke down when Cruz demanded more time to consider the terms, quite possibly because the United States, which has more than a little influence in the Coordinadora, did not want it to give any additional legitimacy to the vote which did in fact take place. But leaving aside the complexities, has anyone ever heard of a totalitarian negotiating the details of a democratic election?

Still, isn't Nicaragua an aggressive Soviet base located in the American backyard? A fine article in the *Wall Street Journal* by Clifford Krauss and Robert S. Greenberger sheds some light on this thesis. Headlined: "Despite Fears of U.S., Soviet Aid to Nicaragua Appears to be Limited," a subhead said: "Managua Shuns Puppet Role."

Ironically, Mr. Reagan may well be giving Moscow too much credit for its commitment to the Sandinistas. As Sergio Ramirez, the Nicaraguan vice president points out, the Soviets have not obligated themselves to defend Nicaragua in case of attack. "Most of the Sandinista's military hardware is relatively old," Krauss and Greenberger write, "and Moscow has repeatedly turned down their requests for advanced jet fighters." They quote a report commissioned by the State Department: "In revolutionary circles Moscow wants to be seen to have done everything to ensure (the Nicaraguan regime's) ability to survive and defend itself, but the bottom line, that the regime must defend itself, is explicit."

Moreover, a classified U.S. intelligence report, obtained by the *Journal*, analyzes the Nicaraguan military and concludes that "the overall buildup is primarily defense-oriented and much of the recent effort has been devoted to improving counter insurgency capabilities."

How, then, should the democratic left respond to this blatant and reactionary attack upon Nicaragua?

First and foremost, by mobilizing to see to it that the Congress does not fund the *contras*, particularly now that the President has tried to confuse the issue with his phony peace proposal.

That means maintaining and extending the broadest possible coalition in the struggle against intervention. And that, in turn,

means that anti-interventionists need not—should not—be uncritical adulators of everything that happens in Nicaragua. There are disturbing trends within the Nicaraguan Revolution: harassment of *La Prensa* (and that goes no matter how much one might disagree with the editorial line of that paper), the refusal to separate the Sandinista and state apparatuses, and so on.

I have talked about these matters with Sandinista leaders when I have met them at meetings of the Socialist International and they have been quite able to distinguish fraternal and sororal criticism, particularly when it comes from those who are principled opponents of American intervention, from Reagan's reactionary nonsense.

But my political point does not simply relate to individual criticism, comments and exchanges. The anti-intervention *movement* should welcome opponents of the Reagan policy who are much more critical of the Sandinistas than I. Our bottom line should be simply this: the outrageous interventionist policies of the United States, which would not be justified even if every Reagan charge were true, are based upon systematic falsification of the facts. Every American who is opposed to neocolonialist politics, no matter what their precise attitude toward the regime in Managua, should be part of a gigantic movement to stop the administration from

pursuing its criminal policies.

I do not, however, want to end on a tactical note. When I went to Nicaragua in 1981 as a member of a Socialist International delegation led by Felipe Gonzalez, I felt that this was a revolution which was indeed, as it said, "generous." The Somocista National Guardsmen were not executed, even though they had been committing crimes against the people for years. There were, to be sure, political tendencies in Nicaragua toward one-partyism. But there were profound contrary trends, people who wanted to make a democratic and social revolution, to find a "third way" between the American and Soviet (or Cuban) models.

Since 1981, the United States has done everything in its power to encourage the "Marxist-Leninists" in Nicaragua, to make the most simplistic of anti-American theories seem like the gospel truth. And the surprising fact is that, despite our reactionary role, so much liberty survives in that country almost six years after the revolution.

Washington clearly has a "Chilean" strategy in mind, i.e. an indirect strangulation of the Sandinista regime through terrorist subversion and an economic and financial blockade. That is harder for the left to oppose than an obvious outrage, like the Bay of Pigs invasion. But that opposition is more imperative today than ever before. ●

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Distorted Visions

by Frances Moore Lappé

In early November the author spent five days in Nicaragua as an official observer of the election. While there she spoke with "ordinary" people in their homes and on the street, two high-level opposition figures, and several government officials, including Minister of the Interior, Tomas Borge. Following are her impressions, based on observations and interviews, of the political climate. —Eds.

Before I begin, let me say that the questions on which I chose to focus were influenced by an article I read a few weeks before my trip: Robert Leiken's "Nicaragua's Untold Stories" which appeared in the *New Republic* on October the 8th.

Leiken's article suggests these generalities:

1. Most Nicaraguans have become disillusioned with the Sandinista Front.

2. Nicaraguans realize they are no better off now than under the Somoza dictatorship. (Even the literacy campaign's success and health advances are called into question by Leiken.)

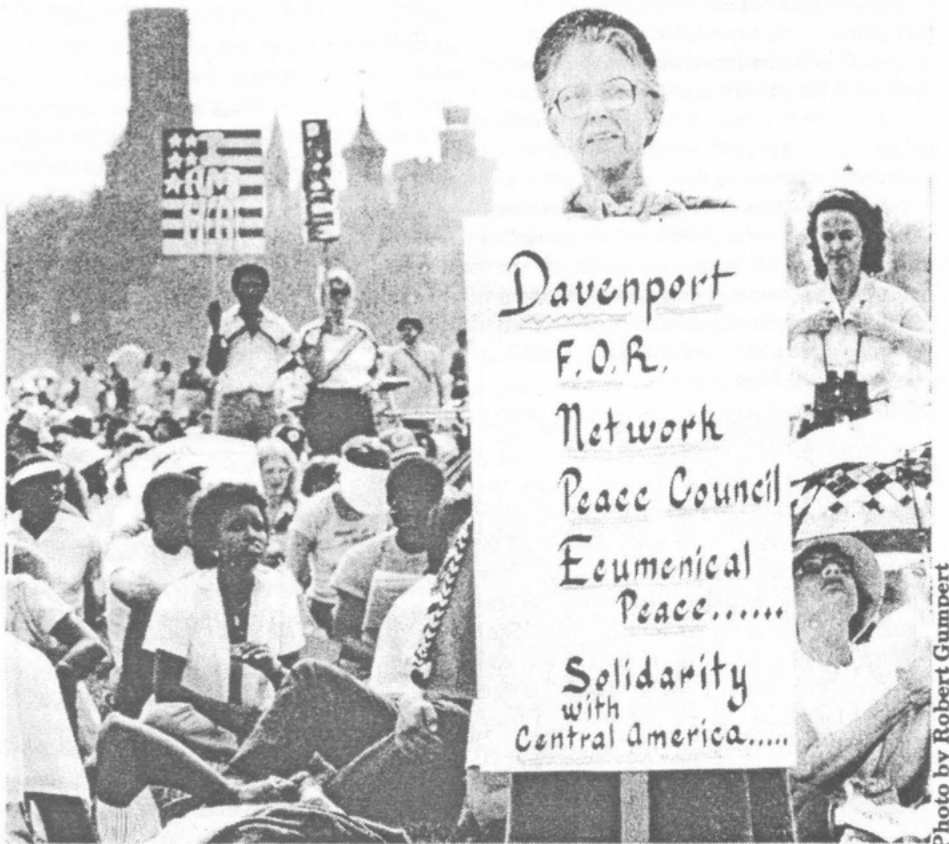
3. Corruption is widespread from top to bottom.

4. Totalitarian intimidation is used by the Sandinistas more or less officially to keep people under control.

These are strong charges and are particularly disturbing because Leiken presents himself as someone who once had been sympathetic to the Sandinista government.

Leiken's perspective interested me because it tied in with more general questions I have been pursuing. For some time I have been struggling with how to discuss democracy in the third world in terms that avoid extremes with which I personally disagree: first, that modern-day revolution inevitably ends up in totalitarianism; second, that nothing is "democratic" unless modeled on western democracies; and third, that "democracy" (and therefore any attempt to develop it) in emergent third world societies is irrelevant to the people's real concerns, for food, land, jobs etc.

I don't agree with these views. I believe that human beings have the capacity for true creativity and therefore we cannot prejudice the outcome of revolutionary change. And I believe that it is possible to talk about princi-



ples of democracy that transcend any particular form of government. Finally, I believe that the world's poor and powerless *do* care about "democracy," though their vision may be significantly different than ours.

I would suggest that there are at least two questions about democracy/totalitarianism that transcend particular political systems:

First, does all power emanate from one center or are there countervailing centers?

In Nicaragua, possible centers are:

● *The mixed economy.* In the eyes of many, the fate of the private sector is one critical measure of whether power becomes overly concentrated. In Nicaragua, 60 percent of the economy and over 80 percent of the agricultural land is in private hands.

On this trip I was reminded of the Sandinista Front's commitment to the mixed economy model in a conversation with Malena de Montes, an official in UNAG, the Sandinista-allied organization of agricultural producers. She noted that the head of UNAG, who came from a poor background, had just been replaced by someone who had been a large cotton and cattle producer be-

fore the beginning of the revolution. The change was motivated, Malena reported, by the need to have a director known and trusted by the big growers on whom the economy is still so dependent.

Nicaragua's significant private economy and ongoing efforts to gain support of the big private growers as long as they are productive simply does not jibe with the U.S. government's characterization of a Soviet-style state economy in Nicaragua.

● *Structure of government.* In this short report, I can only suggest additional information I gained on this critical question during this trip. I was told by several official observers who interviewed the head of the Supreme Court, Roberto Arguello, that he stressed several instances in which the Supreme Court and top government officials have disagreed over important cases.

Another key question concerning "countervailing power" has been the role of the Council of State, the legislative arm of government, during the five years of the Government of National Reconstruction. On my 1983 trip, I found evidence that the Council was not the "rubber stamp" that some

foreign observers claimed it to be. (See "Nicaragua: Revolution and/or Democracy?" in *Christianity and Crisis*, December 26, 1983.)

The electoral law, which established the electoral system, also provides for a separation of power between the executive and the legislative functions of government.

● *The "national dialogue."* In the final days of the election campaign, the country's main interest groups began what was called a "national dialogue" with the Sandinista Front—a series of discussions on the most controversial questions, including the role of labor organizations, how to achieve an impartial judiciary, amnesty for those who have taken up arms, etc. *Even those parties and others who refused to take part in the election participated* in these discussions, almost ignored by the U.S. press.

● *Separation of party and state.* Perhaps the greatest challenge for Nicaragua is the question of the separation of state and party (the Sandinista Front). Critics, even sympathetic ones, have been concerned by the lack of a clear line between the two. They point out, for example, that many Nicaraguans see the army as an arm of the Sandinista Front, not the government. I was distressed that when I asked Tomas Borge about this issue, he did not seem to truly understand my question. His response centered on the fact that over time the symbol of Sandino will become a national symbol for all Nicaraguans (like our Washington and Jefferson) rather than associated with one party. He did not take up what I believe is one of the greatest challenges facing the creativity of the Nicaraguans: can a revolutionary movement which gains control of government because of its critical leadership role in overthrowing a repressive government gradually come to share power with other forces in the society? And for all those who care about Nicaragua's poor majority, this question must include another: can such a transition be made without the society reverting back to leadership accountable only to the privileged minority?

In sum, in contrast to Robert Leiken and others, I believe it is much too early to answer these questions in Nicaragua. Moreover, we must never forget that a positive outcome is rendered immeasurably more difficult by foreign aggression. When under pressure for survival, governments invariably come to see democratic debate as an unaffordable luxury.

Next, we must ask about informal structures of control or empowerment—and the question of corruption.

The most commonly rumored abuses related to the use of ration cards to coerce people either into participating in the CDS (Sandinista-allied block organizations) or voting and the pilferage of rationed goods for personal profit. No one denied that abuses of power exist. When asked, they told me of instances of abuse and how they were confronted.

We heard of two instances in which the food sent to the retail outlets for distribution through the ration system had been tampered with. In Ciudad Sandino one of the retail distributors, who had been selected for her honesty by her neighbors, quit because she could not make a profit, due to this tampering. Someone was putting water in the bottom of the cooking oil cans she received from the government. That missing oil was her lost profit margin. We heard of the same problem in a neighborhood in San Carlos.

"My impression is that the fear is much more widespread than is the substance of abuse to have caused such fear."

A young mother in Ciudad Sandino told us that she had heard of no instance of using ration cards to coerce people. We asked about abuse in general. "Well, after 50 years of Somoza, it's hard to get rid of that mentality," she said. For example, "It was up to the zonal level CDS to give out house plots to families in the community. And what they did was give them to friends and relatives. This made people real angry. The local coordinators denounced the zonal level coordinators. They're not going to make the people who have them give back the plots, but, you can be sure it is never going to happen again like that."

Asking everyone whether they had heard of an actual case in which ration cards were used to coerce people, I did get one "yes." It came from Malena de Montes, the UNAG official I mentioned earlier, who is also a member of the Front. Malena told me that before the election her housekeeper had told her that the CDS leader on her block had taken people's ration cards and threatened not to return them unless they voted for the Sandinista Front.

According to official CDS policy his action was illegal. Malena told us that she informed the members of the Sandinista Front who lived in her housekeeper's community. "He could be put in jail for this. This is a serious abuse of the rights of citizens."

The impression I received from everyone I spoke with was that while abuses do exist they are not the norm. The stories that I heard were memorable to those with whom I spoke precisely because they were exceptional occurrences. What also struck me about the cases presented was that people did not take the abuse lying down.

Even though the CDS leaders don't have the power to deny people rationed goods if they don't participate, still, people can believe they have this power and it's the belief, not the fact, that creates fear.

One barrio leader we met stressed that on a national level the CDS has been working to change these attitudes of the neighborhood leaders. "Most of those who have abused their power have been removed. Some were charged in the courts. Some have continued on in the CDS but not as coordinators. (Interior Minister Borge said that many CDS leaders had been brought to trial for abuse of their power.)"

Sources of Fear

On each of my trips to Nicaragua I have talked to people who have told me of their fear that Nicaragua was going to become "another Cuba" and a sense that Nicaragua was "totalitarian." Some have complained of the pressure they feel to participate—often expressed as "they look at you funny" if you don't participate (for example, in the neighborhood self-help work). I believe these fears are real. Some are no doubt related to people's real experience of abuses such as those mentioned above, but I have sensed that the fear is more widespread than the actual abuses would explain. Why?

First, we must bear in mind that every day Nicaraguans (especially those who read newspapers) are exposed to the same virulently anti-Sandinista attacks that we here in the United States hear from the Reagan administration.

In the opposition's organ *La Prensa* some stories merely work on the subconscious—such as the juxtaposition of pictures of horrible accidents next to high-level Sandinista officials. Some are deliberate distortions that are intended to confuse.

Nicaraguans also hear regular attacks on the government from the church, since many of the priests in Nicaragua are anti-Sandinista. One of the women with whom I spoke in her home in a poor barrio in Managua told me that she doesn't go to church anymore. "Why should I? The priest spends one-half hour celebrating the mass and one hour in an anti-government tirade. So I just stopped going."

My impression is that the fear is much more widespread than is the substance of abuse to have caused such fear. I am *not* saying that abuses do not exist. They do. But my impression is that when any people is told regularly that they live in "totalitarianism," their impressions of reality are necessarily affected.

My colleague at the Institute for Food and Development Policy, Julia Rosenbaum, recalls standing in a bus line while a man told her adamantly how there was no "free speech" in Nicaragua and how lucky she was to live in the United States, a "free" country. In the middle of his loud declarations, he needed a light. He turned to an armed soldier standing in front of him in line, got the light, then turned around and continued his tirade against the repression of free speech!

Opposing Abuses

Tomas Borge told us that approximately 300 former members of the military and government officials are in jail for abuse of power.

Robert Leiken charged that high-level officials enjoy all sorts of privileges including dining at special, restricted restaurants and shopping at "hard-currency" stores. When I asked Tomas Borge about the special privileges of the high party officials, he laughed and said that a French journalist who had just interviewed him would not believe that his home was his because it was so modest. He said that instead of privileges, he personally felt he had had to give up many pleasures. "I can't go to my favorite restaurant anymore and I can't just go to the movies anymore—because of security," he told me. The "hard currency" store, one of the government's desperate measures to get more foreign exchange, is not for members of the Front but for anyone with dollars.

With exceptions, such as Leiken, most observers of Nicaragua agree that high-level Sandinistas are extremely overworked and live modestly, compared certainly to their counterparts in the governments of other Central American countries.

Are the Sandinista-allied organizations seen as transmission belts for orders from on top or vehicles through which ordinary people can gain more power over their lives?

On this trip I was struck by the attitude of the head of the big Sandinista-allied union, CST. He was apologetic because his organization had not yet achieved the militancy he wanted, in part because its members were still gaining the tools they needed to build a strong organization, including literacy. What he meant by "militancy" was having the

capacity to develop the organization's own positions, including proposing and even drafting new laws for the benefit of the workers. He saw his role not as getting the workers to serve government goals but as pressing workers' demands.

I have also looked at the role of the Sandinista-allied organizations in the Council of State during the five years of the Government of National Reconstruction. Were there occasions in which they took positions in conflict with those of the national directorate of the Sandinista Front and the Government Junta appointed by it? I believe the answer is "yes." Examples include the issue of women being drafted and a law which

RESOURCES

NICARAGUA: What Difference Could a Revolution Make? by Joseph Collins, with Frances Moore Lappe, Nick Allen and Paul Rice. This revised and updated edition analyzes the dilemmas encountered by Nicaraguans as they work against a legacy of injustice and poverty to create a more equitable food and farming system. 264 pages with tables, charts and notes. Paper, ISBN 0-935028-20-X, \$9.50 ppd.

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would have abolished tenancy in housing.

Malena de Montes, now at UNAG, was previously with the planning ministry (MIPLAN). That her job was developing a model for participatory planning in itself suggests the government's interest in non-authoritarian development strategies.

Complex Reality

What I have attempted here is not to provide conclusive responses to the perspective presented by Robert Leiken and others but to indicate that the reality is much more complex than they suggest.

I can say without hesitation, however,

that Nicaragua today is not totalitarian, if by totalitarian we mean a society governed by fear in which people are afraid to speak their minds. Whether on the street, in restaurants, or in private homes, no one I met appeared afraid to express criticism.

I have detected among many Nicaraguans a profoundly democratic spirit, if by this we mean a belief in people choosing their own leaders and having the opportunity to actively participate in developing policies affecting their lives.

This, of course, does not mean that the democratic spirit will grow and triumph over authoritarian forms of social organization. The forces for authoritarianism are strong—the inherited attitudes of deference, fear and passivity in regard to civic affairs on the part of the people, the legacy of corruption and abuse which characterized government under Somoza, and the difficulty of evolving clear boundaries between the power of the Sandinista Front and that of the government.

But even the opportunity of tackling these multiple challenges is in jeopardy. For the necessity for military mobilization against the U.S.-supported counterrevolution threatens Nicaragua's experiment with new democratic forms. As Malena de Montes put it so poignantly, "military organization is exactly the opposite of democracy. Nowhere in history have you ever seen a democratic army. So as long as we are forced to defend ourselves, our resources will be pulled away from our democratic process. It's a pity. Our democratic process has been delayed by the invasion. Nevertheless, our democratic instincts have not been killed."

(DSA Vice Chair Frances Moore Lappe is co-director of the Institute for Food and Development Policy.)

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Challenge to Solidarity

by Paul Garver

In January 1984 I joined a dozen other U.S. trade unionists in a whirlwind visit of Nicaraguan factories, farms, hospitals and union halls. Since then, I've read hundreds of articles and interpretative essays on the situation of Nicaraguan labor. Still, when I think about my obligation as a U.S. trade unionist to my Nicaraguan brothers and sisters, I remember voices from that whirlwind.

Coni Pinell, an EEG technician and local union officer equivalent to a "chief steward" at a large acute care hospital in Managua, leads us through the dimly lit cheerless hallways. She shows us x-ray technicians without lead aprons, a hot water boiler crippled for lack of a \$15 spare part. She introduces us to department stewards who describe the frustrations of trying to cope with inflation on minimum wages. Coni and the other stewards, with their dogged determination to somehow provide the free medical care promised by the revolution despite scanty resources, remind me of our best union stewards at home.

Sandbags are piled high against the glass doors.

Every urban worksite we visited was plagued by shortages of essential supplies and spare parts. Local union officers struggled gamely with basic problems of production caused by lack of foreign exchange, inadequate public transportation, inexperienced administration. Every union hall had its photographs of its "heroes and martyrs," killed in the anti-Somoza uprising or, increasingly, in the war against the *contras*. The swollen, chaotic sprawl of Managua, far from the war zones as it is, eloquently proclaims the need for peace, for a breathing space to carry out desperately needed social reconstruction to improve the lot of the urban worker.

I did not directly witness the effects of the war on the campesino, but I did spend several hours with the head of the farmworkers union (ATC).

Edgardo Garcia is simply the most impressive union leader I've ever met. His conversation ranges easily from detailed description of improvised methods for saving the cotton crop without imported pesticides to the implementation of higher wages for rural laborers. A former Catholic lay preacher, he speaks eloquently of the determination of the campesino

to fight to keep open a future of hope, to continue the gains in health, literacy, sanitation, and security of land tenure. To turn back now because of the losses of life and the destruction of property wrought by contra terrorism would be to betray that dream.

Garcia also serves as the chairman of the Labor Coordinating Council (CSN), which includes all national unions and federations except the Christian Democratic CTN and the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD)-sponsored CUS. Thus Garcia is the counterpart of Lane Kirkland, and like him has a reputation for using diplomacy and conciliation on the council. At our "despedida" (going away party), which was attended not only by pro-Sandinista unions but by the entire national committee of CUS,

"I felt baffled and ashamed that our labor movement was supporting a war against theirs."

Garcia repeatedly urged the CUS leadership to enter into a dialogue about their joining the CSN.

After the rum and whiskey toasts to international worker solidarity and peace and the rousing chorus of "Solidaridad Par Siempre" joined by U.S., Sandinista and anti-Sandinista unionists alike, I felt baffled and ashamed that our labor movement was supporting a war against theirs. Instead of working against Reagan's intervention, the AFL-CIO tends in practice to support a war that injures our fellow unionists in Nicaragua.

Since 1962 AIFLD has conducted the AFL-CIO's foreign policy on Latin America. Its work has generally been coordinated with the U.S. Department of State and Central Intelligence Agency. The AFL-CIO follows AIFLD's lead in condemning the Sandinista government as a "totalitarian dictatorship" that represses "free trade unions" and de-

nies workers essential rights. Without openly supporting aid to the *contras* or direct U.S. military intervention, the AFL-CIO's international affairs bureaucracy has directed a steady stream of hostile propaganda against the Sandinista "betrayal" of the Nicaraguan revolution. In April 1984 AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland circulated an AIFLD report under his cover letter denouncing "the campaign of disinformation which has been undertaken by the government of Nicaragua and their representatives and supporters... here in the United States."

Trade union opponents of the AFL-CIO's official policy have tried to counter this propaganda by publishing sympathetic reports on Nicaraguan labor from touring delegations of U.S. unionists.* These reports emphasize the numerical growth of Nicaraguan unionism (about eightfold from 1979 to 1984), the gains in health, education, and workers' participation, and the ideological pluralism of the several contending union confederations in Nicaragua.

They call on U.S. unionists to oppose U.S. intervention against Nicaragua, change the AFL-CIO's belligerent policies, and demonstrate solidarity with the efforts of Nicaraguan workers to reconstruct and defend their nation.

Certainly democratic socialists within the U.S. labor movement should vigorously support these recommendations. Because of the desperate need for an end to U.S. intervention, our major thrust must be to end any labor support for Reagan's Central America policies. The sordid history of AIFLD's complicity in the destruction of reformist governments and unions throughout Latin America must be publicized to wider circles. DSA activists have a special responsibility to combat the virtual hegemony that hardline Social Democrat ideologues have gained over labor's international activities.

It would be unproductive and unwise, however, to equate solidarity with the workers of Nicaragua with apotheosis for every action of the Sandinista government. This

*See "Nicaragua: Labor, Democracy, and the Struggle for Peace," published by the Labor Network on Central America (P.O. Box 864, Oakland, CA 94668) and "Face to Face: An Inside View of Labor in Nicaragua," published by the American Labor Education Center (1835 Kilbourne Place, Washington, D.C. 20010).

would simply turn on its head the misleading AIFLD equation of "free" and "independent" trade unions with anti-Sandinista ones. Our commitment must be to a broad and pluralistic definition of the Nicaraguan working-class movement. The Sandinista regime has indeed tilted the scales toward its official federation in several jurisdictional disputes with right- and leftwing contenders. When locals of the Sandinista federation went on strike at the Victoria Brewery and the San Antonio sugar mill, the government permitted negotiated settlements. When activists of the Christian Democratic Federation (CTN) tried to organize strikes of Managua bus drivers, they were imprisoned as counter-revolutionaries.

This does not mean there are not legitimate national security concerns that can justify government intervention in union disputes. When the AIFLD-trained CUS tried to win jurisdiction of longshoremen at the Port of Corinto, the government helped the

Sandinista federation retain control of the local union. Eighty-five percent of Nicaragua's trade passes through Corinto, and it has been a favorite target of CIA mines and speedboat attacks. Given the well-documented history of AIFLD support for CIA covert activities in Brazil, Chile, Guyana and the Dominican Republic, the Nicaraguan government would have been irresponsible not to have intervened at Corinto.

Our major responsibility, of course, is to oppose U.S. intervention and to end the war. We must leave to Nicaraguan workers themselves the right to determine the future of their movement. As I think back to my memories of Coni Pinell, Edgardo Garcia and the many other Nicaraguan unionists I met, I am certain that they will meet their responsibilities.

Will we meet ours as well? ●

Paul Garver is a trade union activist and a member of Pittsburgh DSA.

freeze and put conversion directly on the Los Angeles political agenda. According to Larry Frank, organizer for the group: "We had to confront directly the notion that the labor movement would never embrace peace issues and at the same time challenge the peace movement to deal with economic realities."

While the coalition campaign reached out to the entire city, Unions for Jobs with Peace continued its task of "organizing the organized." The strategy for building a base of support for conversion among trade unions involved going back to those locals that had endorsed the Freeze and asking them to endorse Jobs with Peace. Resistance to the initiative appeared with an anti-communist face and a cold war mentality, but very seldom with the argument that military spending provided enough jobs. And although there was resistance, enthusiasm was much more common. In fact, the response surprised all but the most optimistic of the organizers. The Farmworkers gave inked contributions and lent an office for the union work; the Communication Workers of America Local 11574 and United Auto Workers Local 645 lent staff organizers to collect signatures. Many unions made financial contributions.

Despite this response, a certain credibility was lacking as long as the campaign did not have official AFL-CIO endorsement.

A lobbying campaign started to make sure the leadership of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor knew of the impressive signature-gathering, the number of local unions that had endorsed and, possibly most important, the number of new voters registered (over 38,000—more than 43 percent of all new Democratic voters registered in Los Angeles). This lobbying, coupled with the endorsement from the District Council of Carpenters, one of the most important of the building trades unions, carried the day.

Nationally, the AFL-CIO has always supported expansion of the military budget. The closest the Executive Council came to a "dovish" position was in February 1983 when it urged that Reagan's proposed military increases be reduced. This slight turn from an all-out hawk mentality has created an ambiguity that allows for local campaigns such as Proposition X to receive official endorsement. According to William Robertson, Executive Secretary-Treasurer of the County Federation, "The AFL-CIO is strongly supportive of adequate defense. However, I feel we have to take a very close look at the allocations of the defense budget."

It is the "close look" requirement of Proposition X that eclipses national AFL-CIO policy. Proposition X calls for more fed-

Union Coalition Key to L.A. Peace Victory

by Jan Breidenbach

In municipalities across the United States, Jobs with Peace initiatives calling for reduced military spending and more funding for nonmilitary jobs and programs have succeeded. Proposition X, which won in Los Angeles this November, was similar in most respects to many others but unique in one important way—it originated from the Los Angeles labor movement.

Southern California has the largest concentration of military-connected jobs in the country. The Los Angeles area alone gets one-third of all military dollars coming into the region. Of the 12 largest military contracts in the state, ten are in Los Angeles County. Of the ten cities in the state with the highest ratio of military spending, six are in Los Angeles County.

Over the last several years, heavy industry has been leaving Los Angeles (the rubber industry is gone, the last steel plant closed in 1983, only one auto plant remains). This erosion of the industrial base, combined with the recent recession, would have pushed the area's unemployment rate at least three percent higher than its 1982 peak of 11 per-

cent, if military contracts had not been flowing into the area.

Undaunted by seemingly insurmountable obstacles, a small group of trade unionists decided that the Los Angeles labor movement would support a Jobs with Peace initiative if union workers were educated about what the military was actually costing them in terms of jobs. Calling themselves Southern California Unions for the Freeze, the group formed originally to garner labor support for the freeze initiative in 1982. Bringing together rank-and-file workers, staffers from progressive unions and some local union officials, the group organized presentations on Proposition 12 in as many union meetings as they could. Despite official AFL-CIO "neutrality" on the freeze, the group obtained endorsements from over 65 local unions. To build organization, Unions for the Freeze began a series of programs on peace and conversion issues, sponsored tours of European trade unionists involved in conversion and Central American trade unionists visiting the west coast. The number of endorsements, the receptivity in the union meetings and the success of the educationals inspired the group to go the "next step" beyond the

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REVIEWS

by Maurice Isserman

LOVE, ANARCHY, AND EMMA GOLDMAN, by Candace Falk. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1984. \$25.

THE HAYMARKET TRAGEDY, by Paul Avrich. Princeton University Press. 1984. \$29.50.

When Kate Richards O'Hare, a leader of the American Socialist Party, was jailed for opposing American involvement in the First World War, she was sent to the state penitentiary in Jefferson City, Missouri. Emma Goldman, also convicted of making anti-war speeches, occupied the adjoining cell. To O'Hare's evident surprise, she soon came to admire the anarchist leader. "My memories of Emma Goldman," she wrote her husband from prison in 1919, "will not be of the fiery agitator, but of Emma the healer of sick souls, the valiant supporter of wavering spirits, and the comforter of broken hearts."

O'Hare's reassessment of Emma Goldman is a testament both to the gap between "Red Emma's" bloodthirsty public image and her motherly private demeanor, and to the political chasm that had opened up between the socialist and anarchist movements within the lifetime of the two women. Candace Falk's new biography, *Love, Anarchy, and Emma Goldman*, focuses on the private side of Emma Goldman's life, while Paul Avrich's study of *The Haymarket Tragedy* recreates a moment when the lines between anarchism and socialism were not yet rigidly drawn.

It is (I'm quite sure and you can quote me on this) a measure of something-or-other that an earlier generation on the left preferred its historical, fictional and contemporary heroes to be strong and "selfless" while today we find it much more reassuring to learn that they too suffered the pangs of self-doubt, unrequited love, and similar infirmities. In 19th and earlier 20th century novels, memoirs and the like, male revolutionaries were described as men of iron and steel, like "Ernest Everhard," the protagonist of Jack London's 1907 revolutionary fantasy *The Iron Heel*; in contrast, female revolutionaries were described as pure—and sometimes self-consuming—flames (hence O'Hare's description of Goldman as the "fiery agitator"). I leave it for another occasion, or to someone more competent than I in this kind of textual exegesis, to figure out the sexual politics of that particular phenomenon. But the gap between the lives of revolutionary leaders, as their followers imagined them to be, and as they were actually lived, weighed heavily on Emma Goldman, and perhaps upon others. In describing her as-yet-unwritten memoirs to her closest comrade, Alexander Berkman, Goldman wrote:

I naturally want to let people see what one can do if imbued with an ideal, what one can endure and how one can overcome all difficulties and suffering in life. Will I be able to do that and yet give also the other side, the woman, the personality in quest for the unattainable in a personal sense?...I mean to do it.

And yet, on another occasion, she wrote Berkman:

We all have something to hide. Nor is it cowardice which makes us shrink from turning ourselves inside out. It is more the dread that people do not

understand, that what may mean something very vital to you, to them is a thing to be spat upon.

Goldman's "something to hide," according to Candace Falk, was her ten-year love affair with Ben Reitman, the man who accompanied her upon and managed her annual lecture tours in the years of her greatest fame before the First World War. Goldman's affair with Reitman, and Reitman's defects as comrade and lover, are no secret to anyone who has read Goldman's autobiography, *Living My Life*. But what was not known, until Falk stumbled across a large cache of Emma's letters to Reitman, was the abject submissiveness that Emma displayed in the relationship, and the masochistic way in which she repeatedly set herself up to be wounded by yet another example of Reitman's selfishness and promiscuity. Reitman's term of endearment for Emma was "Mommy," and he behaved like a particularly spoiled and manipulative child. Emma could be critical of Reitman, but she could never bring herself to hold him to the stringently responsible code she herself tried to live by. As she wrote Reitman in 1911:

Mary Wollstonecraft, the most daring woman of her time, freest and boldest exponent of liberty, of free love, [was] the slave of her passion for Imlay. How could anyone forgive such weakness? Thus I reasoned many years ago. Today? Emma Goldman, the Wollstonecraft of the 20th century, even like her great sister is weak and dependent, clinging to the man, no matter how worthless and faithless he is. What an irony of fate.

I have to confess to a weakness for reading other people's mail: it may account for my career choice (the only other alternative was to join the FBI). So I found Falk's biography fascinating just for the opportunity it provided to read the Goldman-Reitman correspondence. What it tells us about Emma Goldman as a political leader is another question. Falk tends to see all of Emma's career through the prism of her relationship with Reitman, an approach which works well in some cases: Goldman incorporated a lecture on "Jealousy—Its Cause and Possible Cure" in her speaking repertoire soon after she got involved with Reitman. But it works less well in other cases, as when she argues that in 1911 Emma "threw herself into supporting the Mexican Revolution as a means of diffusing the pain of her separation from Ben, and of luring him back to work with her." In the absence of more compelling evidence, I assume that Goldman threw herself into support for the Mexican Revolution because she was, after all, a revolutionary, and not simply Ben Reitman's unhappy lover. Falk sometimes forgets that while the personal is certainly political, the political is not always personal.

Emma Goldman was initially drawn to anarchism by the Haymarket case. When a bomb exploded at a protest meeting in Haymarket Square on May 4, 1886, killing and wounding a number of policemen who had just shown up to disperse the gathering, eight leading Chicago anarchists were arrested, tried and convicted for the crime. Four of the defendants were hung the following year; one committed suicide; and three were eventually pardoned and released. Paul Avrich's *The Haymarket Tragedy* is the best history yet written of those events, and of the early anarchist movement in the United States. Avrich calls his book a tragedy for two reasons: because good and innocent men were put to death for a crime they almost certainly did not commit; and because, despite their innocence, they did bear some responsibility for what happened. The

Chicago anarchists were heroes, but they were flawed heroes; and the movement they gave their lives for was a flawed movement.

The leading figure in Avrich's story is Albert Parsons, surely one of the most unusual men ever to emerge as a leader of an American radical movement. Born in Alabama in 1848, and raised in Texas, Parsons could trace his ancestry back to the first Puritan settlers of Massachusetts Bay Colony. At the age of thirteen he ran away from home and enlisted in the Confederate Army, and fought until the defeat of the rebel cause in 1865. He then underwent a remarkable transformation, and at considerable personal risk became an outspoken advocate of full political and social equality for the newly freed slaves (one of whom, Lucy Parsons, became his wife). When white supremacists regained political control of Texas in 1873, and ended the state's experiment in Radical Reconstruction, Albert and Lucy moved to Chicago, where they encountered the "labor question" for the first time, and soon joined the socialist movement.

At a time when the movement was composed largely of German immigrants, Parsons was an unusual and important recruit, and rose swiftly in the leadership of the Socialist Labor Party (SLP). Apart from his credentials as a native-born American, he had formidable speaking and writing abilities. But Parsons grew increasingly dissatisfied with what he regarded as the SLP's over-reliance on the ballot, and in 1880 cast his lot with a splinter group from the SLP which favored direct action and armed struggle as the means to bring about a socialist revolution. This was the origin of American anarchism, although Parsons and the other men who would be arrested with him six years later referred to themselves as both anarchists and socialists, without any sense that the two terms were contradictory. The distinct anarchist critique of the state, then being developed by Bakunin and Kropotkin, would only slowly spread its influence on this side of the Atlantic. In the 1880s the dispute between Parsons and his friends on the one hand, and the more orthodox wing of the SLP on the other, was still a family quarrel within the socialist camp.

When the bomb exploded at Haymarket Square, and police began rounding up anarchist suspects, Parsons fled Chicago and went into hiding. But when seven of his comrades were brought to trial, in an atmosphere of public hysteria that virtually guaranteed their conviction, Parsons chose to stand beside them. On the morning that the trial opened he dramatically strode into the courtroom, and was immediately placed under arrest. In effect, Parsons had chosen to die for his beliefs. Sentenced to death, and facing the scaffold, Parsons refused to ask for executive clemency, despite the fact that his American origins, and the public sympathy that had developed for him since his voluntary surrender, made it likely he would have received it. The gallows trap released beneath his feet

and he choked to death before he was able to finish his last words, on November 11, 1887, but one of his comrades on the gallows, August Spies, did manage to deliver his own defiant message: "The time will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today!" Those were the words eventually inscribed on their common tomb in Waldheim Cemetery, on the outskirts of Chicago. (Emma Goldman and Ben Reitman would both choose to be buried nearby.)

For all his admiration of the Haymarket defendants, Avrich does not hold them blameless for their own fate. All eight defendants were addicted to the "cult of dynamite" that flavored the rhetoric and sometimes determined the actions of the early anarchist movement. Six months before the Haymarket explosion August Spies defended violent revolution before an audience of Congregational ministers. "What does it matter," he asked, "if some thousands, or even tens of thousands of drones are removed during the coming struggle?" A month later, in a gesture of senseless bravado, he gave a bomb casing to a *Chicago Daily News* reporter and told him, "Take it to your boss, and tell him we have nine thousand more like it—only loaded." The consequences of such rhetorical extravagance would be grim, as Avrich concludes:

The fear of an anarchist conspiracy gripped not only capitalists and the authorities but public opinion in general. For a large segment of the population the anarchists had ceased to be human beings. They had become the incarnation of evil, monsters endowed with infernal powers, onto whom businessmen and ordinary citizens alike projected all that they dreaded and detested. The anarchists responded in kind. Stripping their opponents of their humanity, they reduced them to animals and insects. Policemen were "bloodhounds," the equivalent of "pigs" as used by radical demonstrators during the Vietnam era. Capitalists, by the same token, were "reptiles" and "leeches"—and thus worthy of extermination. Each side had become convinced of the depravity and diabolism of the other. The language of both was full of hate... The stage was set for the Haymarket tragedy.

Albert Parsons, August Spies, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were extraordinary individuals who devoted their lives to a movement that did not make very good use of their talents. If the purity of revolutionary vision and will were all it took to overthrow the old order, we would have reached the anarchist (or, for that matter, socialist) millennium a long time ago.

Maurice Isserman teaches American history at Smith College.

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ORGANIZER'S DIARY

Jeremy Karpatkin: On the Student Left

The student movement is enjoying a modest revival. It isn't only the blockade at Columbia University demanding divestment from firms that do business in South Africa or 7,000 students at Harvard turning out for a record demonstration against apartheid April 4. It's small student organizations and efforts everywhere and the strengthening and development of DSA student groups throughout the country.

UPSTATE NY Mild weather in mid-

winter made this leg of my tour an unexpected pleasure. At Colgate University progressive student activity centers around the Ralph Bunche peace house, where, in addition to my talk on democratic socialism, there was a slide show and talk from a representative of Witness for Peace, and a planning session for an action against the Fraternity Rush the following day to protest the sexist, racist and elitist practices of the Greek system. We formed a modest DSA chapter and a student anti-apartheid group emerged from our meetings.

SUNY Binghamton, active in the Pledge of Resistance, the campus anti-apartheid coalition, and an escort service at the local abortion clinic, advertised my visit with a poster featuring a giant rat decked out in academic regalia. The rat held a diploma and a Master Charge card. The poster said, "Heard on campuses across America—'I've got mine, Jack, Fuck You.'" Below the rat, an invitation to a discussion of apathy, conservatism and careerism among college students. Of the 40 people who showed up, there were even a few conservatives who came to listen and not heckle.

More than 20 people turned out to a talk on democratic socialism at SUNY Albany on a Friday afternoon. Oswego State DSA is being initiated by a leading progressive student government activist, and is already establishing strong links to the community. Ithaca DSA, for years almost completely community-based, is now establishing a student presence again.

CALIFORNIA The most striking difference about the

sprawling, commuter campuses in Southern California, after the weather, is the constant barrage of Top-40 FM rock. It pervades not just the outdoor lounges or walkways, but is piped into meeting rooms in the Student Union buildings.

Our most promising chapters are at Occidental College (a small liberal arts school where our core activists come out of the science fiction club), UC Riverside, a state school where our core is made up of grad students in political economy, and Cal State Long Beach, where during my visit the big issue was forging left unity behind a student government slate. At UC Santa Barbara we talked over beers with a group of three students from a socialist discussion group, mainly soft Trotskyists from Britain.

I traveled in Northern California with Paul Baer, who for five weeks was our DSA California Youth Organizer. This, supposedly, is the cradle of whatever is left of the student movement. And it is

true that the Bay Area is still active. Central America and other groups still thrive at Berkeley, San Francisco State and Stanford. The April 20 activities (known as the Spring Mobe) are very big on area campuses. A small but fruitful DSA meeting at UC Santa Cruz decided to make the April actions its main priority. But the plethora of single-issue groups in the Bay Area makes it difficult for us to find political space, especially among undergraduates. Berkeley DSA turned out several hundred to *American Pictures*, a slide show on poverty in America, and has a regular series of educational forums. Stanford DSA sponsored a talk with me and NEC member Sandy Chelnov on socialism and feminism co-sponsored by the Stanford Women's Center. One activist asked: "I agree that socialism and feminism are interrelated, and I consider myself a socialist feminist. But what does that mean to me as an activist except going to one more meeting every week?" In different ways, that is the question we will have to answer if we are ever to become relevant to American politics.

In the last few months the Youth Section has begun reaching out to progressive student organizations that are not necessarily socialist. One such group is Students for Social Responsibility at Sierra College. SSR is into everything—Central America, environmentalism, nuclear free zones and more. Their latest project is "Patriotism Day," and they are planning all sorts of events to give their particular perspective on patriotism. Talking with SSR activists it is clear they will not become a DSA chapter per se, but they are eager to be involved with us. Some may join. This sort of relationship will be crucial to our success in student politics.

OREGON We have similar relations to Students for A Progressive Agenda

and other student government activists in Portland. SPA is used to running the student government, which means several hundred thousand dollars of budget and over 20 staff jobs to dispense. I attended a meeting where members strategized for the elections (which they won) and tried to choose a balanced slate. Later, I talked with them about student politics nationally, and how democratic socialism related to their efforts at Eugene.

Boise State was the underground success of the season. A nascent local and a would-be campus group held a joint meeting that attracted several key activists from a failed PIRG drive last year. They seized upon the state right-to-work law as their project. The state labor federation is circulating a petition to force the legislature to reconsider the hastily passed bill and submit it as a binding state-wide referendum, so that people can vote on it.

SOUTHEAST I am struck by how every student activist in America thinks that their campus is the most conservative or is uniquely apathetic and difficult to organize. They are all wrong. The University of Virginia for the

first time has a functioning DSA group very involved in anti-apartheid work and getting closer to Central America and other anti-racist work going on in the area.

Chapel Hill, North Carolina has had a hot spring. Of nine candidates running for a student government president, the most radical and militant, backed by a multiracial "Coalition of Conscience," came out on top. The campus neoliberals and the campus right struck an unholy alliance to prevent Youth Section Executive Committee member Doug Berger from winning the run-off. They succeeded, but the new student government president is nervous about an "anything but Doug Berger" mandate. For us the battle has meant incredible visibility on campus. Everyone knows, or thinks they know, DSA. The turnout to my meeting was small, but almost all were new people with lots of energy who had been brought in by the Berger race.

Eastern Carolina University is not so lucky. In rural Greenville, ECU lost a PIRG drive last year and ECU students voted overwhelmingly for Reagan. The ECU students who came to the February Youth Conference determined to develop a multi-issue radical group. Shying away from the "s" word, they named themselves Students for Economic Democracy. A teach-in on a wide range of national and global issues is planned for April, and the core activists are confident that SED can be a vehicle for radicalizing and eventually "socialist-izing" students. "Use the word socialism down here," an activist told me, "and people look at you like you're from Mars."

The Martians are making an impact at Georgia State in Atlanta. Georgia State DSA has ten active members and has spun off a Central America group. They are currently heavily involved in a campus divestment effort that is tied closely to the Rainbow

Coalition in Atlanta. They set up a debate for me with a campus conservative.

N.Y.C.

The blockade at Columbia University began just before a road trip to the Midwest. As of this writing, the blockade has lasted almost two weeks and the organizers are determined to take it to commencement. DSAers are scheduled to spend a night outdoors with the blockaders. There is no way to describe the breadth and depth of the Columbia experience in a few short paragraphs, but it does demonstrate what the Youth Section has been saying and doing for years. There is an activist left on the campuses. It did not die in 1972, and successful actions are not the product of spontaneous combustion, but of months or even years of patient coalition work and base building. Sophisticated strategy and politics do make a difference. Understanding the dynamics of confrontation politics and the real possibilities and limits can make an action stronger. And understanding that the resurgence of U.S. opposition to apartheid offers opportunities not only to renew pressure on the University to divest but also to raise a wide range of issues relating to the University as a corporation and slumlord and the future of higher education in America is central to an effective student politics for the rest of this decade. The Columbia blockaders understand this. The students who occupied the Oberlin College administration building last May understood this. The students who have been inspired by Columbia at Rutgers, Boulder and Berkeley understand this. And increasingly, students from Atlanta to Portland to Minneapolis to Albany understand this.

It's almost enough to make an optimist. ●

Peace

Continued from page 9.

eral money for "jobs and programs in education, housing, health and human services, public transportation, the arts, rebuilding the civilian economy and conversion of military jobs to peace-time production." These jobs would be funded by reducing the taxes "spent on nuclear weapons, wasteful military programs and military aid to undemocratic governments known to violate human rights."

Perhaps more significant, however, Proposition X requires the City Council annually to determine the amount of taxes paid by L.A. residents, noting that portion which goes to the military. Using this dollar figure, the City will study the impact on Los Angeles if the amount of those military-directed taxes above the 1980 level were applied to the local programs listed, rather than to the military budget. The study will pay special attention to communities most in need of jobs by targeting programs to those communities and assuming affirmative action hiring. The results will be published annually in major Los Angeles newspapers, thus allowing resi-

dents to see the number of jobs the weapon industry costs them each year.

Proposition X passed handily, by over 63 percent. There was no significant opposition, the only noteworthy opponent being the *Los Angeles Times*. The campaign involved a detailed precincting operation, the most comprehensive and thorough ever attempted in the city. This apparatus (which actually set up its headquarters at the L.A. County Federation's offices) was so successful that it became *the* precincting operation of the election. (Precinct organizers estimate that it brought in over 115,000 votes for Mondale/Ferraro that would otherwise have been no-shows.) Organizers are committed to making sure that the precinct structure is in place for 1986.

With the euphoria of the successful campaign waning, Unions for Jobs with Peace is faced with building an ongoing presence in the labor movement—not an easy task. A possible project would involve a campaign to take Los Angeles City Pension funds that are invested in the military and in South Africa and invest them in jobs for the city. Another possibility is an initiative to tax the military industry. These would face opposition which might not be overcome. Certainly military contractors would be even less open

to actually being taxed as a result of an initiative. Other possibilities include doing education within unions, using the results of the study and the general knowledge the group has on military spending and job development. Educationals could be done for locals that might be faced with changes in the military budget which, certainly, occur more frequently than reductions. (Virtually all the major weapons systems—B-1, the MX, Stealth and Cruise, have major components made in Southern California.)

Proposition X was an excellent example of how to do conversion organizing within the labor movement. But questions remain. For socialists, the Jobs with Peace concept is clear. It is a good tactic as a part of a larger strategy of changing the economy. What is less clear is how to tie local initiatives into a national campaign with some ability to go beyond advisory propositions and studies. Such changes will require indepth planning that is far more complex than anything now being discussed in the present political discourse. It is just such new questions that will confront groups like Unions for Jobs with Peace as they struggle to make their name a reality. ●

Jan Breidenbach was a co-founder of Unions for the Freeze, and is a DSA NEC member.

ON THE LEFT

by HARRY FLEISCHMAN

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

California

Los Angeles DSA's new flyer, *Between People and Power Is Politics*, has been mailed to 2,600 non-members and is bringing impressive recruitment results...

Baldemar Velasquez, president of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC), spoke at an International Women's Day Solidarity meeting in San Diego in March. The DSA local there is backing FLOC's boycott of Campbell's Soup... San Francisco DSA held its third annual retreat in March in the Santa Cruz mountains... Its Anti-Militarism Committee worked with the Coalition to Stop the Homeporting (vs. the USS Missouri). The Board of Supervisors voted 6-5 to back the resolution against homeporting, but the Mayor vetoed the resolution... A Northern California DSA Leadership School was held on March 23 at the University of California, Berkeley.

Connecticut

Wesleyan University's Democratic Socialists for Citizen Action have signed over 400 students to a pledge of resistance to U.S. war efforts in Nicaragua.

District of Columbia

Georgetown University DSAers drew 400 to a protest against the proposed appearance of Roberto D'Aubisson of El Salvador (at the invitation of Young Americans for Freedom).

Georgia

Cornel West spoke to over a hundred at Georgia State University DSA.

Illinois

Ed Asner, president of the Screen Actors Guild (AFL-CIO) and star of the "Lou Grant" show and Vicky Starr, founding member of the United Packinghouse Workers who was featured in "Union Maids" will be honored at the Chicago local's Thomas-Debs Dinner May 4. Featured speaker is U.S. Rep. Lane Evans.

Iowa

Iowa City DSA is sponsoring a Labor Workshop May 2 on *Labor at the Crossroads: What Does the Future Hold?* with David Moberg of *In These Times* and Mark Smith, Secretary-Treasurer of the Iowa AFL-CIO.

Kentucky

Central Kentucky DSA met March 24 in Lexington to consider options for dealing with the nerve gas currently stored at the Bluegrass Army Depot in Madison County. The local also held a Socialist Feminist Pot Luck brunch March 31 to discuss social responsibility for child rearing.

Maryland

Baltimore DSA has a part-time staffer, Bill Wilson... DSA joined with a hundred others at the South African Embassy to protest apartheid. Baltimore DSAer Barbara Ruland joined 12 others arrested that day... Chris Riddiough spoke on socialist feminism at a public forum March 15.

Massachusetts

The documentary film, *Shout Youngstown*, about the town's three plant closings, was seen by Boston DSA in March, with filmmakers Carol Greenwald and Dorie Kraus discussing the issues of plant closings and economic dislocation... The Debs-Thomas-Bernstein Award Dinner April 11 saluted four local labor leaders: Thomas Evers, president of the Massachusetts Building Trades Council; Carol Doherty, former head of the Mass. Teachers Assn.;

David Slaney, who leads a Steel Workers local in Everett; and Jack Davidson, president of UE Local 276, locked out by Litton Industries since September 1983. William Winpisinger, Machinists Union president, and Paul Eustace, Mass. Secretary of Labor, were scheduled to speak at the dinner... DSAer Carl Proper has designed and is producing a TV series for the Greater Boston Labor Council. *Solidarity 85* is being carried on cable TV

Michigan

Ann Arbor SOCPAC, the political arm of DSA, endorsed Democratic mayoral candidates Bunyan Bryant and Ed Pierce for the Ann Arbor general election and Pete Murdock for the Ypsilanti mayoralty... The Democratic Ann Arbor city council slate contains two DSA members, Jeff Epton and Lowell Peterson... Detroit DSAers demonstrated March 19 against apartheid at the Fruehauf Corporation, which has manufacturing facilities and 12 service centers in South Africa.

Minnesota

Carleton College DSAers demonstrated against a CIA recruiter and held a public forum, which the college president addressed, on the ethics of recruiting;

New York

Albany DSA members contributed \$115 to the Arizona Phelps Dodge copper strikers... Binghamton DSA gathered 60 signatures to a pledge of resistance to U.S.



Judith Helfand

DSA Youth Section members spent the night outside with Columbia blockaders as one of support actions.

war efforts in Nicaragua. It heard Charles Schultz of Witness for Peace and Dag Tangen of the University of Oslo on the situation in Nicaragua... Cornell DSA will work with the South Africa Divestment Coalition, which is pressuring Cornell University to divest its large holdings in banks and corporations involved in South Africa...

In New York City close to 1500 people attended the 3rd Annual Socialist Scholars Conference April 4-6 co-sponsored by CUNY DSA, IDS and several left-wing journals... New York DSA has endorsed the campaigns of three DSAers—David Dinkins for Manhattan Borough President and Bill Perkins and Ruth Messinger for City Council—as well as the campaigns of gay activist David Rothenberg and DSA friend Steve DiBrienza for City Council.

Oregon

Jim Shoch spoke in March at the DSA Northwest Regional Leadership School in Portland... Corvallis DSA is working in a new coalition, Corvallis Organized for South African Freedom... Portland DSA's annual convention formed a political action committee to develop alternatives to a state sales tax.

Pennsylvania

New York City Council Member Ruth Messinger and Philadelphia's Council Member David Cohen spoke to the first Philadelphia DSA membership conference on coalition building around municipal issues... DSA joined in sponsoring a symposium on comparable worth at Temple University April 13. Speakers included Dr. Ronnie Steinberg of SUNY-Albany and Ronnie McPherson, president of Philadelphia's Women's Alliance for Job Equity... Dick Greenwood, of the Machinists Union, spoke on full employment at the March DSA forum... Bill Tabb of Queens College will speak May 31 on *The American Economy Approaches the 21st Century: How Democratic Socialists View the Issues...* DSAer Dick Porpora spoke at a panel on *America: Two Countries Under God*, a discussion of the economy at Lansdale Catholic High School... Pittsburgh DSAPAC held a Candidate's Night on April 14... The local has put out a leaflet on "The Pittsburgh-South African connection: It hurts here and there" that describes investments in S.A. by Pittsburgh firms... Paulette Pierce of CUNY-Queens and Jack Milliones, Pittsburgh School Board president, spoke

RESOURCES

The Fall/Winter issue of *Religious Socialism* features articles on "The Bishops' Letter: A Socialist View," "Will the Naked Emperor Please Stand!" - a review of Richard Neuhaus, and "Religion and Politics - A View From the Left." Subs at \$3 per year should go to Institute for Democratic Socialism/Religious Socialism, 1 Maolis Road, Nahant, MA 01908.

The Winter/1985 issue of *Our Struggle/Nuestra Lucha*, newsletter of the DSA Anti-Racism Commission and the Latino Commission, carries articles on the DSA National Board meeting, the 1984 elections and race, Central America, news of a Chicano leadership workshop and the movement against South African racism. Dues in the Commission are \$6 per year.

You can get a free introductory issue from *National Boycott Newsletter*, 6506 28th Ave., Seattle, Wash. 98115. The newsletter reports on boycotts, the reasons for them and even the drawbacks.

Workers Cooperatives in America, edited by Robert Jackall and Henry M. Levin, has been published by the University of California Press (\$24.95). It explores the development of worker-owned businesses as a promising alternative for the future of American enterprise.

Covert Action Information Bulletin researches and exposes the CIA and the western intelligence complex. In-depth coverage of CIA activities. Quarterly, \$15 from P.O. Box 50272, Washington, D.C. 20004.

Jamaica's Democratic Socialist Experience by Evelyne Huber Stephens and John D. Stephens has just been published by the Wilson Center. The pamphlet is an excellent analysis of the successes and failures of Michael Manley and the People's National Party governments in Jamaica. Their book on *Democratic Socialism in Jamaica: The Political Movement and Social Transformation in Dependent Capitalism* will be published by Princeton University Press in 1985.

Reprints of DSA member William Spinrad's article, *Work Democracy: An Overview*, in the International Social Science Journal, the official publication of UNESCO, are available by writing to him at the Sociology Department, Adelphi University, Garden City, N.Y. 11530.

Co-op America has just released the first issue of its new quarterly magazine, *Building Economic Alternatives*. It offers practical strategies for progressives to integrate their daily economic choices with their politics and values. Membership, including the magazine, available from \$15 up. Write Co-op America, 2100 M Street, NW, Suite 310 (574), Washington, DC 20036.

The Center for Renewable Resources has just released *Renewable Energy at the Crossroads*, a guide to energy options. The Center hopes it will be used in debates on tax policy on energy investments and purchases. Copies are \$5 each from the Center at 1001 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Suite 638, Washington, D.C. 20036.

March 22 at a forum in Pittsburgh against apartheid, sponsored by DSA and Pittsburghers Against Apartheid... The Pittsburgh Municipal Pension Board voted to divest its stock in companies that do business with South Africa.

Rhode Island

Margaret Randall, author of *Sandino's Daughters*, spoke on Central America at a forum sponsored by the Sarah Doyle Center and Rhode Island DSA. The local backed attempts to pass divestment bills in the state legislature.

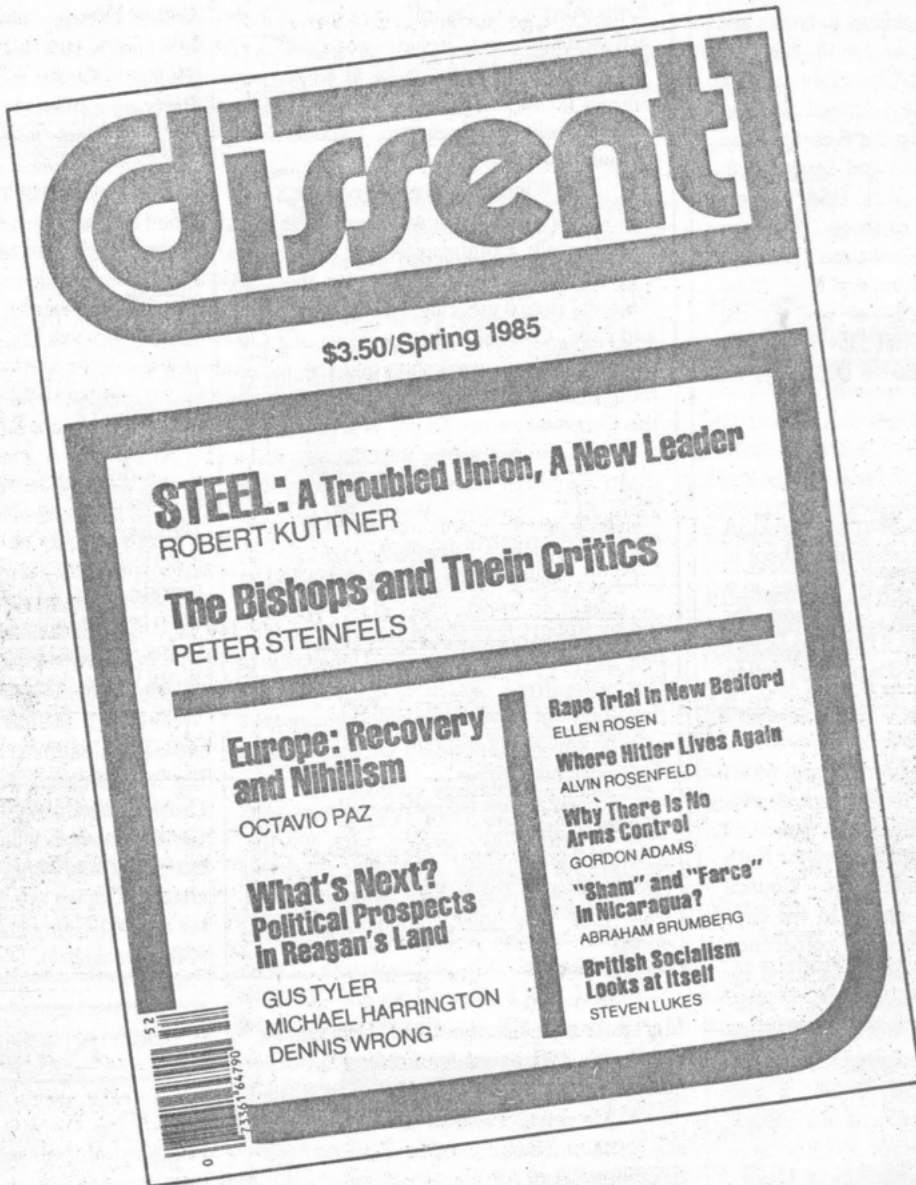
Virginia

Some 30 students attended the first organizational meeting of the University of Virginia DSA. The chapter plans a boycott against a local supermarket for its racist hiring practices, and a teach-in on UVA's investments in South Africa.

IN MEMORIAM

Doris Wheeler, 78, died recently in St. Louis. Coming back to St. Louis after college in 1932, she joined the Socialist party, influenced by Norman Thomas and Upton Sinclair. In 1934, she became secretary of the Socialist Auto Workers National Caucus, when auto workers were members of AFL Federal locals, not of any international unions. The caucus helped lay the groundwork for the creation of the United Auto Workers. She became education director of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in the Central States in 1935 and later ran as Socialist candidate for state superintendent of schools. She helped set up the Labor Health Institute in St. Louis, and pioneered in promoting racial integration in union educational activities.

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