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**Whither
the
Rainbow?**

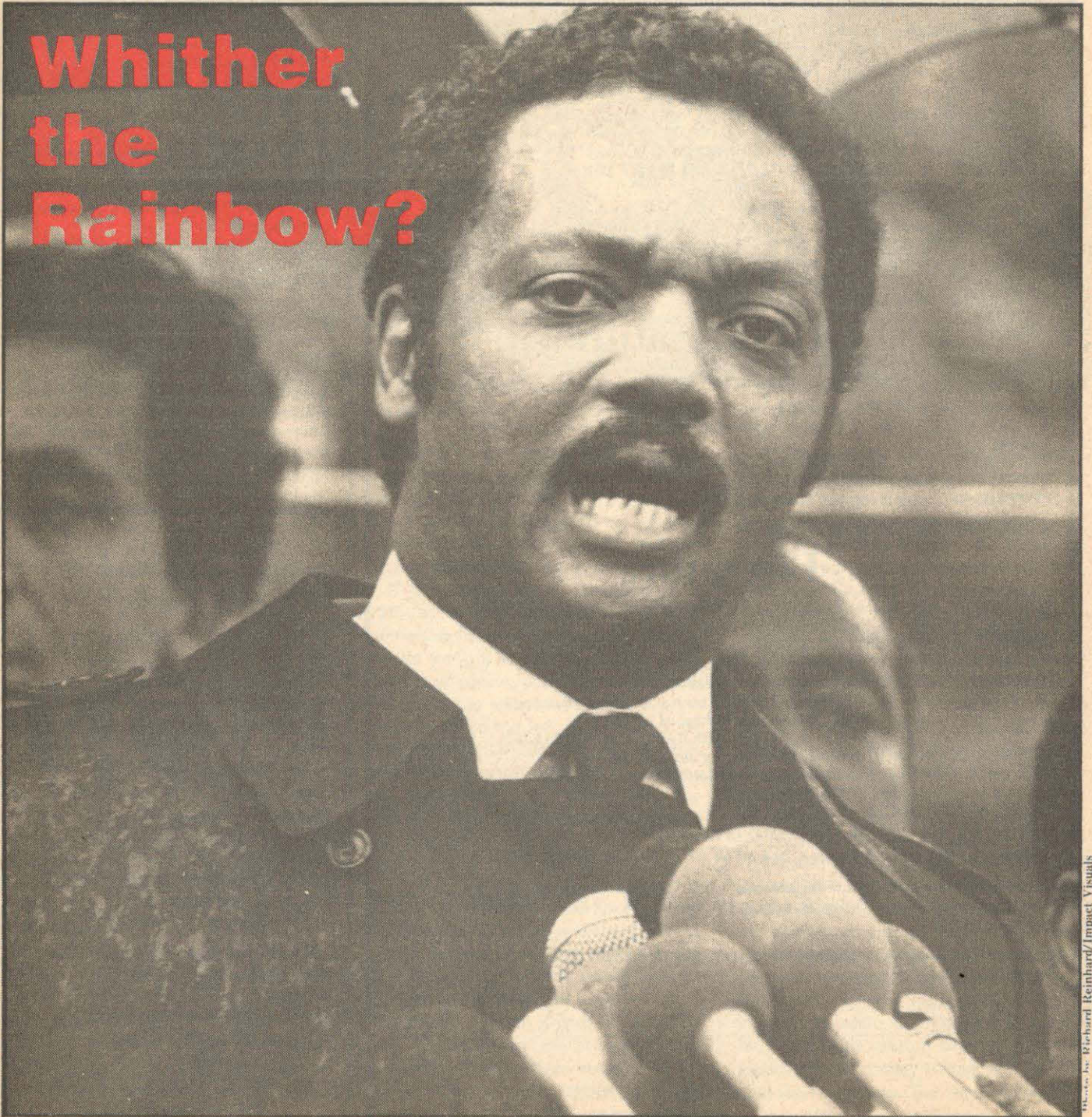


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TAKING SIDES

THE EDUCATION OF A MILITANT MIND

Michael Harrington

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TOWARD A SOCIALIST THEORY OF RACISM

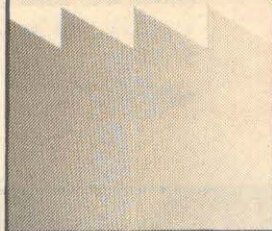
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The Rainbow Coalition: Complex Realities



Photo by David Vita/Impact Visuals

Jesse Jackson and advisors at first Rainbow convention.

Editors' Note: The role of Jesse Jackson and his Rainbow Coalition has emerged as an important issue for the democratic Left. We have invited three writers with divergent viewpoints to share their thoughts on the significance of the Rainbow and socialists' proper relationship to it.

by Jim Shoch

Many on the democratic left, including individual DSA members, supported Jesse Jackson in the 1984 Democratic primaries. Many will do so again in 1988 because of his exemplary role in mobilizing and empowering blacks, his ability to pull the primary debate to the left, and the pressure he'll put on the eventual Democratic nominee.

Although these are important considerations, I will argue here that a decision to support or endorse Jackson in 1988 must be based on a thorough consideration of the context in which the campaign is waged. The stakes in this upcoming election are unusually high. Despite the recent and encouraging Democratic Senate victories and

the "move back to the center" which they may signal, we remain in a period of conservative "realignment" of the American party and political systems — albeit a realignment of a unique, partial, and now hopefully weakening character.

If this realignment is strengthened in 1988 (which could happen if the Republicans retain their hold on the presidency and recoup some of their losses in Congress), millions of people, both here and abroad, will suffer, as will virtually all the social movements of the left within which we work. In this specific context, campaign activity that builds the left in the short run but unintentionally contributes to the process of realignment in the long run would be a serious mistake.

Realignment?

A political realignment of the classic variety involves an ideological shift to the left or right, a surge of new voters into the electorate, a durable shift (a generation or more) in the balance of partisan identification, the capture and sustained control by one party of the various branches of the state, and the successful implementation of the newly dominant party's policy agenda.

Such a realignment is often catalyzed by an economic collapse that discredits the party in power; it is then consolidated when the realigning party constructs a successful new model of economic growth.

In the wake of the depression of the 1930s, the Democratic Party effected a successful electoral realignment of this kind, based on a coalition that dominated the political life of this country for two and a half decades following World War II. Since the late 1960s, however, this Democratic political order has been increasingly discredited by the crisis of Keynesianism, the economic doctrine and policy underpinning the Democratic coalition.

Unlike the Great Depression or the earlier crash of 1893, the economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s has not been severe enough, nor has Reaganomics been successful enough, to trigger a top-to-bottom realignment capable of marginalizing the Democrats for a generation. There has been no pronounced ideological shift to the right. We've seen no surge of new voters into the electorate, and while the Republicans have made substantial gains in partisan identification, they still lag slightly behind the Democrats. The Democrats have held control of the House of Repre-

sentatives throughout Reagan's tenure, and their recapture of the Senate has further reduced the chances of a Republican realignment of the "classic" kind.

Yet realignment may still be a necessary part of a new analytical framework for comprehending current trends in American party politics. Rather than living through a lengthy period of what political scientists call "dealignment," it's possible that we have experienced since 1968 what political analyst Kevin Phillips terms a "split-level" realignment — a realignment in which one party controls the presidency for several consecutive terms, but not the Congress or lower levels of government. The Republicans did, however, pick up eight governorships in the 1986 elections. In fact, the Republicans have won an impressive four of the last five presidential races, and if the party wins the presidency again in 1988, this "split-level" electoral realignment would be perpetuated.

Riding the strength of a "split-level" electoral realignment, Reagan has also used the growing power of the executive branch vis a vis the Congress to bring about a conservative realignment of economic, social, military, and foreign policy. It is this policy realignment and its effects on various social movements that may well be Reagan's most significant and damaging legacy.

The Reagan Coalition's Future

The key to understanding the nature of Reagan's presidential coalition lies in the emergence of what German social democrat Peter Glotz has termed the "two-thirds society." Contrary to the most extreme predictions of some left economists, the middle one-third of the income distribution does not (yet) seem to be "disappearing;" instead what seems to be occurring is that the top third is doing quite well for itself (some are doing extremely well); the middle third is "sliding" (its income has declined a bit during the Reagan years); and the bottom third has seen its standard of living seriously eroded.

The Reagan coalition rests principally, although not exclusively on an alliance of the top two-thirds. The New Deal coalition formerly rested on an alliance of the bottom two-thirds, but the crisis of Keynesianism has loosened much of the "middle class" (which includes many workers) from its Democratic moorings.

What will happen in 1988 when Reagan is not running for office? If the economy grows rapidly enough over the next two years to allow solid income gains for the

middle third of the American electorate and if the Democrats mishandle their control of the Congress, then the recent Senate gains could be lost (especially since 19 of the 33 seats that will be up in 1988 are in Democratic hands); the Republican presidential coalition will most likely remain united; the party will win the 1988 election; and the conservative "split-level" election; and the icy realignment will be that much firmer. If the economy crashes, an alliance of the bottom two-thirds could be reconstructed fairly easily. If, however, the economy continues on its current uneven course toward what the Democrats have termed the "swiss cheese" or "bi-coastal" economy (the most likely outcome in my estimation), then the 1988 election will involve a battle for the nation's future, and the struggle for the allegiance of the middle third will largely determine whether Republican realignment is strengthened or undermined.

The Consequences of Realignment

If the Republicans do prevail in the 1988, we would face the continuation of the right's intolerable social and foreign policies, as well as the mean-spirited economic agenda that strikes hardest at the bottom third of the population. Equally important from a strategic point of view, we will face *the marginalization of the demo-*

cratic left from the political life of this country, perhaps for decades.

Over the past six years of Reagan's rule, we've seen what happens to the left when the right holds national power. The labor movement has been decimated by political attacks, a hostile National Labor Relations Board, and persistently high unemployment levels — all fruits of Reaganomics. The black and citizen action movements have been badly hurt by cuts in social programs like VISTA and Legal Services that supported their organizers. The women's movement has been weakened by the defeat of the ERA, the victim of a well-organized campaign by the right. NOW has 40 percent of its members in the past several years. Most other social movements (with perhaps the exception of the non-intervention, anti-apartheid and environmental movements) have also been demoralized by the climate of political conservatism that seems to pervade this country. In these difficult times, many activists have lost hope and have retreated into their private lives.

This point could not be more important. If progressive institutions are undermined and if the aspirations of their members are crushed, it is a long road back.

A cursory review of twentieth century American history shows that left social movements fare best when at least moderately liberal Democratic administrations



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Jackson at Rally in Washington, D.C.

hold power in Washington. The labor movement made important organizing gains under Woodrow Wilson and the New Freedom before and during World War I. The labor movement again, particularly the CIO, grew explosively under Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal after the realignment of the 1930s. The civil rights movement was most vital during the Kennedy-Johnson years as close electoral competition at the national level forced the Democrats to seek the support of blacks.

Jackson's 1984 Impact

So, if the victory of a moderately liberal Democrat is necessary to block Republican realignment and prevent the destruction of the democratic left, we have to use a critical yardstick in evaluating a Jesse Jackson campaign. What was his impact on the Democrats in 1984, and what effect is he likely to have on the 1988 presidential race?

Let's start with 1984. On the positive side, Jackson undoubtedly helped mobilize large numbers of blacks (both voters and non-voters). He succeeded in pulling the primary debate to the left and applied pressure on a rightward-moving Mondale during the general election campaign. Black voter turnout in 1984 was up 5 percent from 1980, as against a .5 percent increase for whites. About 90 percent of the new black voters probably cast their ballots for Mondale in the general election. Jackson's regis-

tration and mobilization efforts must be given much of the credit for this.

On the other side of the ledger, however, there were ways in which Jackson's candidacy probably did hurt Mondale. Jackson's strategic orientation to what he called the "excluded" groups, his consequent slighting of the labor movement, and his understandable efforts to mobilize his pivotal black constituency with "nationalist-sounding" slogans like "Our time has come" undoubtedly played a part in alienating from the Democrats some working and middle class whites within the "middle third" who saw the party preoccupied if not dominated by the concerns of various "special interests," including blacks.

In my own view, we should not overestimate the importance of this. Numbers of polls have shown that only a relatively small number of voters think blacks have too much power as a "special interest" in the Democratic Party, and much of this sentiment is concentrated in the South, a region the Democrats had little chance of winning in 1984. On balance, Jackson's campaign probably won more votes for Mondale than it lost him.

A related issue has to do with the desirability of moving Mondale farther to the left. Ironically, I would contend that one of the reasons Jackson's role was positive rather than negative was that he failed in his attempt to move Mondale much to the left.

Clearly this is an unhappy conclusion that runs counter to the perspective many progressive activists, so let me explain. Studies have shown that most voters in 1984 saw themselves squarely between Reagan and Mondale on important role-of-government, social, foreign, and military policy issues; they were to Reagan's left to be sure, but to Mondale's right. Therefore if Mondale had moved to the left, he would have lost some of the support he did have.

Looking Ahead: 1988

Given this evaluation of the 1984 election, how should we approach the 1988 race? Realistically, the best we can hope for in the general election is that we'll have an acceptable "left neo-liberal" to back, such as Hart or Cuomo. The harder question is how to relate to a Jackson campaign in the primaries. On the one hand, a Jackson candidacy could help to build the black movement and the wider left while also helping to reverse the "split-level" Republican realignment. On the other hand, Jackson could divide the Democratic Party, weaken the eventual Democratic nominee, and risk throwing the election to the Republicans. We can't ignore the Democrats' need to preserve some semblance of unity in order to avoid the "special interest" problem. In this context, Jackson will be an important factor in the 1988 campaign.

In the primaries, Jackson is once again likely to do very well in cities with large black populations, but he's also likely to do extremely well in the so-called "Southern primary," virtually every southern state will hold its primary on the same day in early March. Originally designed to boost the presidential chances of conservative white southern candidates, Jackson may be the big winner. If so, he will come to the convention in a strong position.

How he uses this strength will be the pivotal issue. If, in his anger at the current rightward drift of the Democrats, he strikes a hostile stance, he could be disruptive of the party's ability to build a workable alliance of middle and lower income voters. But if he places the goals of the Rainbow in the wider context of the vital need for this alliance, then he can play a significant role in bringing it into existence.

The task for DSA over the next year is to assess which of these two scenarios is most likely and to play whatever modest part we can in supporting Jackson's ability to unify a new Democratic coalition. In both ways, a Jackson candidacy presents DSA with its most important current challenge. ●

Jim Shoch is DSA's Political Director.

Golden Opportunity

by Shakoora Aljuwani

The candidacy of Jesse Jackson and the growth of the Rainbow Coalition were the most exciting developments of the 1984 election. Jackson's impressive showing in the primaries, winning more than three million votes and more than 400 delegates to the Democratic National convention, shocked political pundits from left to right. The Rainbow Coalition showed that it is possible to build a broad and powerful constituency of the "locked-outs and drop-outs," the poor, and working people — groups that in other countries form the base of parties of the left. It was the major progressive voice to counter the onslaught of conservatism. It brought dynamism to the otherwise lifeless efforts of the Democratic party against the Reagan offensive. In doing so, it helped to open up important space for the socialist perspective on the critical issues facing this country.

Unfortunately, the work of the Rainbow and Jackson was met not with support but often outright opposition from the left. Critics accused the Coalition of engaging in racially polarizing polemics, with the cry for black empowerment seen as a veiled threat to whites. They spoke of programmatic shallowness, smoke and mirrors, and Jackson's supposed antilabor stance.

In contrast, listen to the voices of Jackson supporters:

- "The only one paying attention to the plight of the family farmer." — Leroy Neal, white Missourian who lost his farm the previous year;
- "The only candidate willing to come out and attack the corporations for their greed . . . the only one with a new direction calling for economic and social justice which knows no color barrier." — Darrell Becker, president, Local 61, Shipbuilders;
- "Understands the plight of the working class of people and no one can solve our

problems unless they first understand them." — Ron Weisen, president, Local 1397, United Steelworkers of America.

Was it "anti-labor" when Jackson spoke to a group of 250 mostly white striking shipbuilders in April of 1984 and said, "The Reagan administration is working with Big Industry to destroy the unions of working people in this country. We need a new industrial policy. We need a new foreign policy."? Somehow the left press managed to ignore Jackson's frequent appearances on picket lines, and focused instead on activities from the distant past. This is not to say that candidates should not be examined critically, but it often appeared as if Mondale, who has been known to switch positions or evade issues, were being held to a different standard. The same double standard now seems to be used with Mario Cuomo.

Jackson's candidacy and the building of the Rainbow Coalition reflect a new understanding on the part of the black liberation movement. Building a broad multiracial, multiclass coalition with a strong, militant movement for black empowerment at its base is a sophisticated new development. Far from being a vehicle for advancing the interests of a narrow black elite, as has been charged by some, The Rainbow Coalition's strength is based on the realization that the effectiveness of the black fightback depends on its ability to adopt a multiracial response to the right-wing attack. Jackson's candidacy was in fact an assault on the narrow nationalist position in the black community, a point often missed by white analysts of the black struggle.

This broad-based organizing approach is reflected in the well-known statement by Hillel, "If I am not for myself, who will be for me? And if I am for myself alone, what am I? And if not now, when?" Many of us in the black liberation movement have fought long and hard for the development of such a tactical policy and have been ashamed and disgusted to find that the response of most of the left to this outstretched hand of sol-



Photo by Mary Babic

Jesse Jackson at New Directions conference in May.

idity is ridicule and criticism. We need fewer articles attacking the Rainbow Coalition for being largely black and more support from activists willing to work shoulder-to-shoulder to help build the coalition's grassroots base for the electoral battles over jobs, peace, and justice.

In the moral vision and political program of Jesse Jackson and the Rainbow Coalition there exists a deliberate attempt to embrace the interests and needs of Afro-Americans, the elderly, women, Hispanics, indigenous peoples, small farmers, Jews, Arabs, displaced industrial workers, trade unionists, gays, peace activists. The major problem has been convincing the three major liberal constituencies — labor, feminists, and Jews — of the seriousness of that vision and rhetoric.

It is here that DSA can play a major and possibly even a key role. Some in DSA have raised the question of whether the Rainbow Coalition will be a tool only for ethnic political interests or become a broadly based multi-issue grassroots movement. *Our* response to the Rainbow can help shape the answer. ●

Shakoora Aljuwani is chair of DSA's Afro-American Commission, and works for the Workers Defense League.

Whither the Rainbow?

by Jerry G. Watts

A Jackson candidacy in the 1988 Democratic primaries will almost certainly weaken the eventual Democratic Party candidate (provided of course that Jackson is not that candidate). We saw evidence of this in 1984, when the Jackson candidacy ultimately hurt the Mondale-Ferraro ticket, though one cannot blame their loss on Jackson. As it turned out, neither Mondale nor Ferraro could claim any real depth of support among any definable constituency of Americans (except perhaps for blacks). Yet, the backlash registration of whites in response to a high profile, over-marketed Jackson-led voter registration of blacks not only weakened the already pathetic appeal of Mondale-Ferraro in the South, but also helped to defeat moderate white candidates throughout the region. While it should not be our task to develop strategies for Democratic party functionaries, we should understand contemporary electoral dynamics in developing our democratic socialist agenda. In this sense, we should understand that Jackson will hurt the Democratic Party's nominee (whomever it is) because of the following:

(1) *The deeply resilient racial parochialism of large sectors of the American white electorate.* This parochialism, which is deeply reinforced by the media, views Jackson as the blacks' candidate even though he obtained more interracial support in 1984 than either Hart or Reagan (neither of whom was granted the status of the "white candidate"). Furthermore, the black candidate is inherently seen as the bearer of parochial interests as opposed to the universal-minded white candidates. Jackson becomes therefore a tremendous burden on white candidates associated with him, and the need for any Democratic candidate to close ranks with Jackson at election time is potentially a kiss of death. That Jackson usually demands that such recognition be given in the most public manner possible only exaggerates the problem.

(2) *Jackson's deep ethnic parochialism.*

Insofar as Jackson believes that blacks best represent blacks, he openly celebrates black political mobilization. On face value this is neither unusual nor unethical. Yet, the Left should find it problematic that Jackson campaigned for a progressive black candidate in the 1986 Democratic party congressional primary, running against Peter Rodino, a staunch liberal congressman, despite the lack of any real political differences between them. Simply put, "Our time has come" was the governing logic. Jackson's authentic ethnic parochialism becomes cannon fodder for racist claims of inherent black ethnic political parochialism.

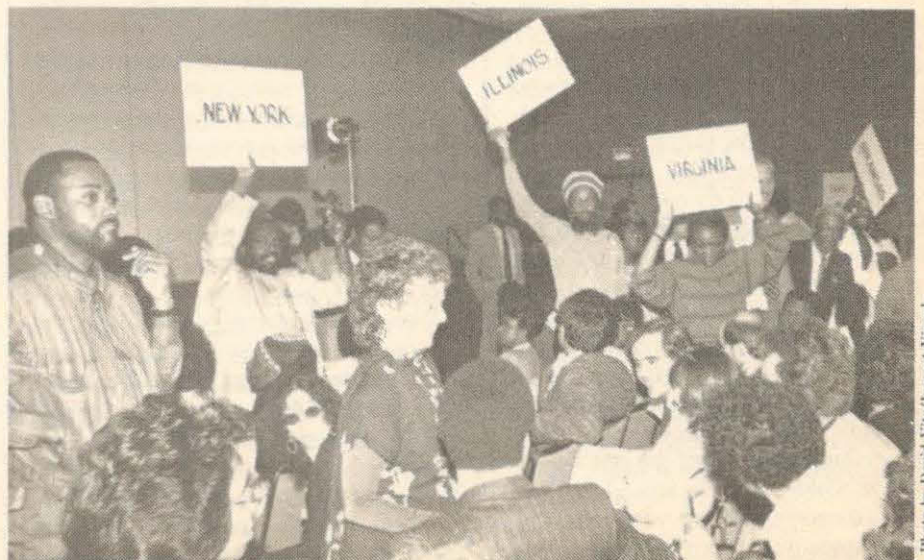
(3) *The conservatism of the broader electorate.* Because the national electorate has become increasingly conservative under Reagan's tutelage, Jackson's identification as an ultra-liberal makes him a stigmatizing ally for any moderate Democrat. Given the national mood, potentially successful national Democratic Party candidates must express some fiscal moderation.

(4) *The disproportionate importance of competing in the South during the 1988 presidential election.* The large number of black southern voters, coupled with their very strong identification with the Democratic party, means that a Democratic presidential candidate would carry the South

even if he/she lost the majority of the white southern vote. Yet, winning the 40 percent of the white vote necessary for victory will not be easy. After all, Jimmy Carter, a southerner, did not carry the white southern vote in his race against Gerald Ford in 1976. Jackson will help to register southern blacks, but if he does so while evoking images of a massive black bloc vote he will inadvertently aid in the registration of many more conservative whites.

(5) *Jackson's ever-present quest for media attention.* Jackson has always assumed that his power quotient is highest when he maximizes his publicity. This is not irrational insofar as publicity protects Jackson's access to the halls of power without the backing of a major organization or definable constituency. However, the above ways in which Jackson could hurt the 1988 Democratic candidate are magnified by this unceasing effort to obtain media attention.

(6) *Jackson is not a team player.* Jackson's quest for media attention means that he is necessarily provocative. Jackson could one day be seen on the podium with the Democratic nominee and the next week on a podium with Fidel Castro. Appearing with Castro is not an error in itself, but during the course of an electoral campaign such behavior could hurt the nominee.



Delegates at Rainbow convention in Washington.

Photo by David Vitua/Impact Visuals

Though Jackson wants to be one of the insiders of the Democratic Party, he does not want to live by those constraints that make the party a major political institution. His inability to live by the party rules could be disastrous.

However, even if I am correct in my analysis of the ways in which a Jackson candidacy during the Democratic primaries will hurt the electability of the party nominee during the general election, we cannot necessarily conclude that Jackson should not run. *Electing a Democrat, any Democrat, to the presidency should not be the central goal of democratic socialists.* Our task is to challenge the rightward drift of the party, and the willingness of the Left to close ranks behind liberal and moderate Democratic nominees for reasons of political realism only feeds the conservatizing tendency in the party. We must especially be vigorous in highlighting the centrality of

are the *culminations* of a long period of contestation, *not the initiators*. Such former Goldwater advisors as Howard Phillips (Conservative Caucus), Paul Weyrich (Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress), and Phyllis Schlafly (Eagle Forum) concertedly began to create a mass ideological base for conservatism. One cannot truly account for the success of Reagan without grasping the degree to which conservative activists, who established interest groups, PACs, think tanks, magazines, and television talk shows projected conservative ideals into mass political debate.

But make no mistake: the fact that conservatism now informs the political beliefs of large numbers of Americans is also the result of a confused and impotent Left. Increasing numbers of Americans articulate conservative positions on crime, nuclear weapons and labor unions precisely because they have not been exposed to any

our political energies primarily towards the electoral arena is indicative of the degree to which we have lost our way.

Movement Building

What the Left and the dispossessed need is precisely that which Jackson *could* help to initiate: a mass-based, grass-roots political formation. But — and this is my central criticism — we must not confuse Jackson's electoral mobilization with such a movement. The fundamental difference centers around the ways in which the public's needs are projected to the powers that be. Electoral campaigns regulate public dissent in ways that social movements do not.

Had Jackson's "campaign" expressed an insurgent social movement, he would not have had the individual power to close ranks with Mondale. Such a movement would place deep constraints on Jackson's ability to maneuver. Furthermore, a social movement has no party ties — it doesn't vie for acceptance from party leaders but seeks to pressure whomever happens to be in power. In 1984 the Rainbow campaign was totally ignored by Reagan, and rightfully so, given American electoral logic. After all, the Rainbow candidacy was merely a Democratic party affair.

The benefits of a movement are numerous. First, the participation is qualitatively richer than voting, and consequently a social movement is often more democratic than electoral efforts. Second, social movements create the space for more liberal-Left issues and candidates. Finally, they prevent the Left from overburdening the electoral arena. We can more easily choose between the lesser-of-two-evils if we are involved in democratic socialist non-electoral political efforts.

If Jackson were to participate in a broader social mobilization he would probably function at the national level in a way that helps to empower efforts at the local level. Such efforts could include national-local fights around rent control and decent housing for the poor, welfare, health policies, education, environmental issues . . . the possibilities are endless. Suppose for instance that Jackson and the Rainbow Coalition targeted health care for the poor and elderly as their central issue around which to mobilize. If the movement became sufficiently large, perhaps they could succeed in placing national health insurance or a national medical care system on the agendas of both major parties, the media, and the churches.

In this sense, the Left can begin to take some type of absolutist stance in behalf of

We must not confuse Jackson's electoral mobilization with such a movement . . .

racism in American life, which is downplayed by liberals and neo-liberals (and some white Leftists) as too "divisive" an issue.

Ironically, it is argued that the presence of Jackson is crucial to those Democrats interested in keeping the conservative wing in check. That Jackson would now function as the liberal-Left's guardian within the party may lead one to conclude that we should endorse his candidacy. Such a conclusion, however, would be politically naive.

Electoral Focus

We have little proof that candidates who run in a national campaign can use the campaign to widen the range of tolerated ideological discourse. Has social change ever been that easy? We need only look at the contemporary Right to illustrate the limited possibilities for ideological challenges within the national electoral arena.

Barry Goldwater seized the Republican nomination in 1964 and ran a campaign far outside the "mainstream." He lost miserably. More important, however, is the fact that many of his staunchest supporters realized that they had put the cart before the horse. Goldwater, they argued, had lost because conservatives had not created the cultural space from which to launch a conservative electoral bid. Electoral efforts

popularized progressive policy formulations. The Left must generate contestations at the level of consciousness formation before we can run a viable Left candidate at the national level.

The Jackson candidacy does not confront the highly problematic nature of electorally oriented social change. Even if Jackson is not intent on winning, his candidacy will not be able to step outside of the media hype and consumerism which dominate national campaigns. Worse, Jackson needs to maximize his voting support because he believes that it will increase his brokerage power within the Democratic party. Yet, once maximizing one's vote becomes the paramount goal, issues always take a back seat. In fact, Jackson defines the success of his 1984 candidacy in terms of congressional districts won, not the issues that he brought before the public. Indeed, Mondale and Reagan were never forced to deal with an issue that resulted from Jackson's candidacy in the primaries.

With the resurgence of the Right, the Left needs to rethink its strategy of collapsing its political energies into national electoral efforts. After all, the Left, broadly defined, has had its most effective politicizations occur outside of the electoral arena. The labor movement, civil rights movement, the women's movement, and now the gay rights movement have all been extra-electoral efforts. That we now concentrate

the black urban underclass. Organizing a social movement makes a great deal more sense than pursuing this issue through the contemporary national electoral arena. DSA could be a major help in this effort, and DSA locals could work with local chapters of the Rainbow. But we should realize that however much the Rainbow seems to inspire various local political activities, it will never completely mature as long as it remains mired in the belief that electoral politics is the only political option.

Black Politics

Finally, this discussion has centered on the significance of a Jackson candidacy for the Left. Another important issue concerns the impact of the Jackson candidacy on Afro-American politics. Of course, if I am correct in my argument that a Jackson candidacy hinders the electability of a liberal/moderate Democrat without generating equally significant benefits for the Left, then it should be clear that Jackson's efforts will have a detrimental impact on black America. However, the most salient impacts of the Jackson candidacy in black America lies in its open glorification of charismatic leadership and in its ethnic parochialism. These deserve further comment.

Because charismatic leaders elevate their personalities and celebrity status to the forefront, they by definition undermine the possibility of serious political discourse. Jackson assumes the leadership style of a traditional southern black Baptist preacher and brings this into the electoral realm. In doing so he unfortunately reproduces one of the most authentically autocratic leadership styles produced by black Americans. The white Left, in witnessing this autocratic style, often simply legitimates it as something that black Americans do and understand. Yes, anti-democratic politics is alive and well in the black community, but there is no black cultural argument that will make it appear to be anything but what it is.

The black Left is thoroughly split over the Jackson phenomenon. Some believe that Jackson's Rainbow Coalition, when institutionalized, could become the mechanism needed to articulate the needs of the black poor. Others, including myself, see the Rainbow as merely the codeword for Jackson's candidacy. There is no Rainbow Coalition without Jesse Jackson. And any organization that is so thoroughly beholden to the whims of one individual cannot be said to have a viable organizational identity. In fact, it is in Jesse Jackson's

interests to keep the Rainbow from being deeply institutionalized, for in the absence of an institutional infrastructure he has freedoms that otherwise would be curtailed. Those who now desire to turn the Rainbow into something other than Jackson's campaign vehicle will have to fight Jesse Jackson every step along the way.

In addition, because Jackson functions like a ward boss in the black community, rushing here and there to help elect black officials, he does not play a Leftist oppositional role within the black community. Jackson does not want to violate ethnic power circles by criticizing black mayors and their policies. Instead he celebrates them as the keys to the emergence of an empowered poor. This is utter nonsense.



Jackson welcomes Great Peace March to New York City.

Black mayors are not inately more progressive than anyone else. Those of us who attempt to organize protest efforts against the policies of a black mayor can *never* count on Jackson to help in our effort. Where was Jackson, for example, when Wilson Goode "dropped the bomb"? Had Goode been white, Jackson would have been all over the national airwaves protesting violence and racism, but because Goode was black Jackson remained virtually silent. The very fact that Jackson believes in the old black nationalist myth about the unity of black interests hinders the ability of progressive blacks to emerge within various black polities, for it appears to the black populace that the most outspoken black leader can find nothing to criticize in entrenched black leadership. Ironically, Jackson, who carries

an aura as the champion of the poor in the national political arena, does not do so within the black political arena.

Fair Criticism

Jackson's presidential candidacy appears to bridge class boundaries and aspires to bridge racial ones. Because it succeeds in part in doing that at which we usually fail, it is difficult for some of us to recognize the Rainbow's severe limitations. But recognize them we must.

In criticizing the Rainbow, we could easily be guilty of articulating a class- or racially-premised dislike for its style of politics. Worse, we could be guilty of displaying a distaste for a black man and his black followers who refuse to remain in their tra-

ditional roles within interracial coalitions. Such criticisms are unacceptable. Nevertheless, a central fact remains: *Jackson's strategy is not viable.* Moreover, there is no indication he is likely to move in a movement-building direction. And ignoring this reality does nothing to help black Americans or the Left.

Jesse Jackson is undoubtedly one of the most complex political characters on the contemporary American scene. I cannot do the man justice in a short article, however I do believe that we can and must begin confronting our simplistic views towards him and his efforts. I hope I have contributed to this project. ●

Jerry G. Watts is an assistant professor of government at Wesleyan University.

ON THE LEFT



by HARRY FLEISCHMAN

COMING EVENTS

• **March on Washington: April 24-25.** A coalition of church and labor groups have called for a massive mobilization against U.S. policy in Central America and Southern Africa on the weekend of April 24-25, 1987. The march will target Reagan administration policies that promote social injustice and war in these volatile regions of the world. Specifically, the coalition is seeking an end to U.S. support for "contra" armies and corporate profiteering from apartheid. Organizers expect at least 100,000 people to attend the weekend's events, which will include civil disobedience actions and an interfaith prayer service on the 24th, and a mass march and rally on the 25th.

At its October meeting, DSA's National Interim Committee voted to make the march a major priority for the spring. Since then, DSA and a number of other peace and social justice groups have joined with the church-labor coalition to plan the weekend's events. Starting in January, similar local coalitions will begin forming in cities and states across the country. The march will be an historic opportunity to demonstrate popular support for a humane and just U.S. foreign policy. Mark your calendars now.

• The 1987 DSA National Board meeting will be held in Washington, D.C. on Saturday-Sunday, January 17-18. The Board agenda will be heavily oriented toward decision-making, with resolutions focusing on DSA strategy in the late Reagan years. DSA's relation to the Rainbow Coalition and its perspective on Central America will be major topics of debate.

JOB OPENING

The DSA Youth Section is a progressive, activist organization with chapters at over 40 campuses, working in coalitions to build a movement for peace, economic

justice, and social equality, and working to build a socialist student movement. They are hiring a new national youth organizer.

Duties: travel and speak on campuses; organize socialist conferences; work with elected leadership to organize national political projects; service chapters, produce literature, and administrative tasks.

Qualifications: writing, speaking and general communication skills; organizing experience; commitment to DSA; knowledge of a broad range of issues; ability to work long hours. Salary starts at \$13,000, plus major medical insurance.

To apply: send letter of application and resume by March 1, 1987 to the Youth Section hiring committee c/o DSA Youth Section, 15 Dutch Street, Suite 500, New York, NY 10038. Women and people of color encouraged to apply.

RESOURCES

• The DSA Youth Section has established a Student Reproductive Rights Organizing Network, providing political and logistical resources to activists organizing around reproductive rights. Its Organizing Manual includes a political perspective on working towards reproductive freedom, a piece on initiating campaigns in this area of work, brief summaries of major fronts in the battle, a bibliography, and a short resource guide. Copies of the manual can be had for \$1.00 from the national office. We request a contribution of \$5.00 if you would like to receive regular mailings from the network. Checks should be made payable to the Institute for Democratic Socialism. All inquiries should be addressed to the DSA Youth Section.

• The Institute for Democratic Socialism and the Analysis and Policy Press (founded by Philadelphia DSA members Joan and Jay Mandle) have begun joint publication of an exciting new pamphlet series — ALTERNATIVES — which will address a wide range of analytical and policy-oriented topics. The first two pamphlets in the series are: Ruth Sidel, *A Call for a U.S. Family Policy*, and Gar Alperovitz, *The Common Good*. Single copies are \$1.50 each. Subscriptions to the entire first 8-pamphlet series are \$12.00. To order, write Analysis and Policy Press, Box 374, Bryn Mawr, PA 19010.

• *Religious Socialism*, published by DSA's Religion and Socialism Commission, carries articles on "Power, Socialism and Religion" by Charles Yerkes and Judy Harrow . . . It features a review by Ralph Del Colle of *Democracy and Capitalism: Property, Community and the Contradictions of Modern Social Thought* by Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis (Basic Books), plus excerpts from John Cort's history of Christian Socialism, to be published by Orbis Books in 1987. The excerpts deal with "Sex and Socialism in the Debs Era." Subs are available at \$5 per year from Religious Socialism, 45 Thornton St., Roxbury, MA 02119.

REPORTS

• Two regional leadership schools, concentrating on the "nuts-and-bolts" of local strategy and organizational development, were held in New York and Ann Arbor in late September and mid-October, respectively. The participants in both schools felt they were of great value in pinpointing and addressing problems faced by most DSA locals. A good cross-section of locals was represented at each school. Activists from the New York City, Nassau County, D.C./Maryland, Philadelphia, Central Pennsylvania, Albany, Ithaca and Boston locals were in attendance at the New York school. Members of the Ann Arbor, Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Central Kentucky, and Chicago locals were present in Ann Arbor.

Local activists made brief presentations on each school topic, and some used creative exercises to complement their talks. In each case, lively discussion ensued. The topics covered at the schools included 1) why and how did you become a socialist?, 2) experiences of different locals, 3) developing local strategy, 4) issue and coalition organizing, 5) leadership development and membership activation, 6) explaining our politics and recruitment, and 7) internal local process issues. The exchange of experiences among activists from many different DSA locals was particularly appreciated by those in attendance. Everyone agreed that schools of this kind should be held again in the future.

• DSA has added three new staffpeople in recent months. Lisa Baum, our office

manager, is a graduate of Bucknell and has worked for the North American Congress on Latin America. Jane Welna, administrative assistant, recently graduated from Carleton College, where she helped found a DSA chapter. And Matthew Countryman, who fills the new position of anti-intervention coordinator, is a graduate of Yale University, where he was active in the anti-apartheid movement and the Black Student Alliance. Welcome aboard!

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

California

The September meeting of San Diego DSA heard Eleanor Richmond lead a discussion on "The Deficit Dupe: Who Will Pay the Bills?" . . . The local backs the monthly vigils for peace and justice in Central America held at the Federal Building in San Diego.

spoke at the October centennial celebration of the Charles H. Kerr Company's socialist and labor publishing. Singer Bucky Halker performed.

Iowa

Iowa City DSA is now publishing *The Prairie Progressive* as a newsletter for Iowa's democratic left. Its Labor Day issue features articles on prospects for progressive politics in Iowa City and one by Judy Wilson of the State Democratic Central Committee on "Labor Day 1986: One Woman's View" . . . On Oct. 20, it sponsored a talk on South Africa's apartheid system by Susan Mnumzana of the African National Congress.

Kentucky

Central Kentucky DSA sponsored a meeting on "Freedom Now! The Anti-Apartheid Struggle in South Africa" . . . CKDSA is planning a major media project focusing on a pilot monthly news program

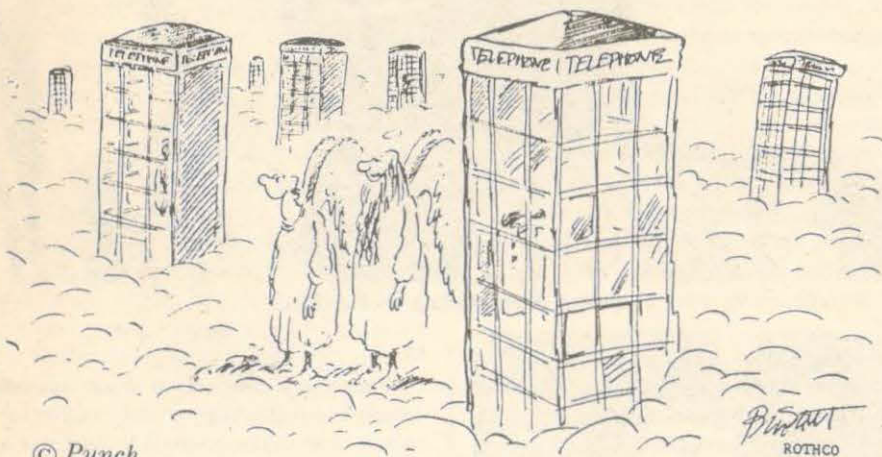
"Banking" . . . Howard county DSA met Oct. 21 to discuss "The State of the Economy: How Shaky Is It?" . . . *DSA Today*, the bulletin of Baltimore DSA, features an article by Peter Causton on "Putting Together the Puzzle That is Syria," a discussion of Hafiz-al Asad and the Baath Socialist Party.

Massachusetts

State Rep. Tom Gallagher, longtime DSA member, spoke on "Future Directions for the American Left" at the annual Boston DSA convention October 25 . . . DSA joined the Nov. 1 march and rally for peace, jobs, and justice on Boston Common . . . A conference on "Developing Democratic Socialism in America" was held Oct. 18-19 at Brandeis University.

Michigan

Barbara Ehrenreich was keynote speaker Oct. 25 for the regional conference of the Union for Radical Political Economics in Ann Arbor . . . A DSA regional leadership school was held in Ann Arbor Oct. 18-19 . . . Detroit DSA joined with many other groups to picket President Ronald Reagan on his September visit to campaign for Republican gubernatorial candidate William Lucas.



© Punch

"And they all work?"

District of Columbia

The September issue of *Democratic Socialist*, published by DC/MD and Northern Virginia DSAs, featured articles on "D.C. Labor's Struggle," "JAIL — Conventional Solutions Have Failed Utterly," "School's Out — DSA's Evolving Identity," and "Sanctuary — The Idea, The City" . . . George Washington University Hillel and DSA cosponsored a showing of "Salt of the Earth," a film about mine workers and their families, followed by a discussion led by producer Paul Jarrico.

Illinois

Studs Terkel, author and historian,

on the Cable Public Access Network . . . Anne Braden of the Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice and Willis Polk of the Rainbow Coalition spoke at the September DSA meeting on Jesse Jackson and 1988 plans of the Rainbow Coalition . . . A meeting on "Feminism, Realities and Closets" was held October 26.

Maryland

Baltimore DSA and the Baltimore Anti-Apartheid Coalition co-sponsored a talk Oct. 10 by Susan Mnumzana . . . Tom Chalkley, of the MD Citizen Action coalition, spoke to Baltimore DSA Oct. 12 on "Efforts to Create Community Control of

New York

The New York Board of DSA meeting in August had representatives from DSA locals in Albany, Ithaca, New York City, Westchester, Nassau, and Suffolk. New officers are: chair Jack Alan Robbins, vice chair Nancy Kleniewski, secretary Howard Malone, and treasurer Theresa Alt. The board stressed DSA opposition to Reagan's military option in Central America and work for progressive Democratic candidates . . . A thriving DSA chapter is again working on the Cornell campus. It plans a study group and public forums as well as a regular journal . . . Amiram Efrati of Mapam and the Kibbutz Artzi Federation spoke at the September Nassau DSA meeting . . . Jack Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, hosted a DSA Labor breakfast in New York November 6. The meeting, attended by over 40 labor leaders and activists, heard Michael Harrington and Sam Meyers speak on the

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On the Road Against Apartheid

by Jane Welna and
Matthew Countryman

It has been more than a month since Susan Mnumzana, a representative of the African National Congress' International Bureau, returned from her DSA-sponsored tour across the U.S. But she's still receiving mail thanking her, praising her endurance, asking questions about the ANC, and requesting resources for follow-up educational and fundraising events.

Mnumzana's message, which she delivered at events sponsored by 27 different DSA locals and youth section chapters, was inspiring to all who heard her. Her people, Mnumzana told her audiences, live in abject poverty and without voting rights in a nation considered part of the civilized free world. She called on Americans to aid the South African freedom struggle by working for complete and mandatory sanctions against the apartheid regime, for direct aid to South Africa's neighboring black states, and for material assistance for the ANC's educational projects.

Numerous local newspapers, as well as television and radio stations, covered Mnumzana's speeches. According to the *Salt Lake Tribune*, Mnumzana declared to her audience that: "When the ANC takes over the country, the wealth will be shared. The land will be distributed to those who work on it." She also described the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, or SOMAFSCO, which is the ANC's model community for a post-apartheid, free South Africa. For years, exiled black South Africans have come to this community in Mazimbu, Tanzania to receive the kind of education unavailable in South Africa.

In Reading, Pennsylvania, Mnumzana spoke of the "slave-like conditions" under which blacks must live. The government requires that all blacks carry 32-page pass booklets recording each person's life history. The *Reading Times* quoted her: "Black people are excluded from all meaningful positions in government. . . . [Apartheid] is organized racism made possible by the countries of the United States and Great Britain. . . ." And at Oberlin Mnum-



Susan Mnumzana in Boston.

Photo by Mary Babic

zana was quoted as saying that: "What we need is a complete boycott of the system [of apartheid], to give us a chance to prove we have a will, we have the ability, to govern ourselves....Our aim is not to destroy the country. But we'll be forced to bring down G.M., Chrysler [and other multinationals] if they don't pull out of South Africa....The most important thing is to be paid a living wage; to be treated as a human being; to be given the right to vote."

While Mnumzana spoke of the ANC and international support for the struggle against apartheid, she also humanized that struggle. In a Yale University shanty, she discussed the living conditions of her friends and family confined to Soweto, and spoke passionately of the continuing terror in everyday life, the violence and strikes, and the manipulation of the media to disguise the methods of the white racist regime. She regularly shared her own traumatic personal experiences in South Africa with DSAers and local anti-apartheid activists over meals and free

time.

Overall, the tour was a great success. Locals found it an opportunity to further educate themselves on the ANC and southern Africa, to build greater ties with local anti-apartheid activists, and to raise funds for the ANC's Freedom College in Tanzania. In different cities, DSAers cohosted Mnumzana with local Rainbow Coalition, American Friends Service Committee, American Civil Liberties Union, Southern Christian Leadership Council, and Trans-Africa groups, as well as churches and state black legislative caucuses.

Mnumzana, recently reunited with her two daughters, is currently working at the ANC Mission to the UN in New York City. We hope to continue working with her and others in the ANC in the struggle for a free and just South Africa. ●

Jane Welna and Matthew Countryman work on DSA national staff as, respectively, administrative assistant and anti-intervention coordinator.

Notes of a Little League Coach

by Mark Naison

It all began five years ago when I escorted my daughter, then aged 5, to the opening meeting of the St. Saviour's Youth Council baseball league. I entered with a lot of trepidation. I had grown up playing sports on the streets of New York and had not belonged to a team with coaches and uniforms until I was 13-years-old. Little league, which I had never been exposed to, evoked visions of screaming parents, coaches haranguing umpires and kids crying from the pressure. In addition, my daughter, although trained from the age of 3 in throwing, catching and hitting, was decidedly ambivalent about playing on a team with boys. She was into dresses, dolls and other classically "female" things prized by her peer group at school. Where baseball fit into this she was not at all sure.

The atmosphere at the meeting reinforced my own ambivalence. At least half of the people were Park Slope working class — heavy, often powerfully built, with stoic and tough faces. The rest were school teachers, social workers and professors in our circle of neighborhood friends, looking uncomfortable and out of place in the church gymnasium. When the time came to pick managers, I searched for some sign of familiarity, so I matched up with my neighbor, Lou Menashe, and with another professor, John Ehrenberg, as to become the coaches of one team.

When the three of us got together, we commented on the irony of three Jewish Marxist professors coaching a team in St. Saviour's parish. By coincidence, we were assigned red uniforms, so in a double-entendre understood by few outside our circle, we named our team the "Red Jets."

The early practices of the Red Jets, ages 5 to 7, were an exercise in self-discovery. Lou, John and I had been athletes as kids and had very positive memories of our experiences. Despite years of exposure to the counterculture and left politics, none of us had problems with athletic competition. We started working with the kids in a highly organized fashion, teaching them the

mechanics and rules of the game and the responsibilities they had as members of a team. Our practices were divided between individual skill instruction and group scrimmages. Our politics entered in three key areas: the special encouragement we gave to girls on our team (there were three out of fifteen) the attention we gave to younger and to less athletic kids; and our team discussions after each game and practice (which we pedantically thought of as a version of criticism-self-criticism).

To our surprise, the kids responded quite well to our coaching style. Not only did they have fun, but they rapidly learned to play baseball. After the first few games, it became clear that we had developed a cohesive group of players with impressive concentration and a wide array of baseball skills — and the results showed in a string of victories. Equally gratifying, my daughter began to discover that a girl who could hit and throw could be something of a celebrity. Moved to the leadoff spot in the middle of the season, Sara responded by hitting almost every time she came up, grinning from ear to ear whenever she heard people say "Hey, they've got a girl leading off."

But the rise of the Red Jets was not greeted with unanimous enthusiasm. Many of our neighborhood friends, who had kids on other teams, thought our emphasis on winning was unseemly. Our insistence on attention, concentration and performance deeply offended people who preferred a more laid-back approach to sports. They expected this from the St. Saviour's old guard, but why were a bunch of radicals building a little league dynasty? The Red Jets became a passionate, and not wholly positive, source of discussion at some parties of the Park Slope left.

We had great difficulty answering this criticism. Our style of coaching, which had evolved by trial and error, reflected not only our positive feelings about athletic success, but our conviction that learning required discipline and clear expectations as well as emotional support. Given the strong negative feelings many of our friends had about competitive sports, the test of our approach would not be in our won-loss record, but in how the kids on our team felt about their experience.

By the end of the season, the individual success stories on the team had started to



Mark Naison and his daughter Sara.

give us confidence that we were doing something right. With one exception, every kid on our team emerged with more skills and self-confidence that they had when they started. All of them wanted to play again, with us as their coaches. The kids' enthusiasm silenced most of our critics. Some of the people who had expressed the greatest reservations about our approach asked to have their kids on our team. We had, more or less by accident, found an approach to youth sports that worked, that reconciled egalitarianism, competitiveness and fun. How did this happen?

First, we projected total enthusiasm about athletic competition. We taught baseball with the attitude that you played hard, win or lose, and that gratification came from giving your best effort. We worked hard and we asked the kids to work hard.

Second, as coaches, we were deeply involved with the development of each child on our team. We set goals for each based on their ability, experience and personality. Every week we discussed what we wanted to work on with each child, as well as the team as a whole. We gave the less experienced kids a lot of attention and responsibility and the results showed in the won-loss column — all the kids on our team got hits, all of them contributed.

Third, we helped each other in those moments when competitiveness got out of hand. When one of us yelled at a kid, or pushed the team too hard, the others would intervene to ensure that this behavior did not become a pattern. Given the thin line between competition and craziness, having colleagues who could give and receive criticism was quite helpful.

Fourth, we consciously tried to deal with the special problems that girls confront in sports. Girls were constantly getting messages from friends, parents, teachers and the media, that discouraged them from regarding sports as their "territory." They would not stick with sex-integrated team sports unless they were constantly given encouragement and had some experience of success. We gave special attention to girls on our team to make sure they learned the mechanics of throwing, hitting and catching; placed them at important positions in the batting order and the field; and made no concessions to their impulses toward passivity and resignation. The biggest difference between the boys and girls on our team was not in their ability to acquire athletic skills (with proper training, the girls could throw and hit as well as the boys), but in how aggressively they used their bodies. Girls even at 5, were far more

reluctant to hustle on the base paths, dive in the dirt to stop a ground ball, or throw and hit with reckless abandon. We took their ambivalence head on, insisting that if they wanted to enjoy the game, they had to play hard. As a result, girls on our team became major contributors, getting extra base hits, making key fielding plays and astonishing opposing teams accustomed to girls being "easy outs."

After the first successful season, the Red Jets stayed together for three more, until our children were nine years old. What we had approached with trepidation had become a positive experience. We made many new friends, became much more familiar with our neighborhood and had the privilege of teaching baseball to kids from a wide variety of backgrounds.

In addition, my daughter, once a reluctant athlete, has become a skilled and enthusiastic competitor determined that traditional sex roles will not stand in her way. During the past year, she "integrated" the Brooklyn Catholic Youth Organization boys basketball league, won the right to play hardball in the St. Saviour's Pee Wee Division (9 and up); and forced her local elementary school to teach football to mixed, rather than sex-segregated groups. Sports has given her pleasure and self-confidence without dulling her passion for justice. As a parent and a political activist, I could not ask for more.

Given these experiences, it is amazing, and disappointing, to see how few girls choose to play team sports. Although every sports organization in Park Slope is now sex-integrated, the ratio of boys to girls in baseball, basketball and soccer leagues is still at least four to one. Even parents who are theoretically committed to sex-equity seem reluctant to challenge the athletic preferences that children draw from their environment. But if there's one thing I've learned in the last five years, it is that girls do not spontaneously become involved in sports. They need parental affirmative action to give them the skills and emotional support to ignore the taunts of peers and the hostility of adults who still think sports is "male turf." The rewards for those who succeed — in terms of confidence, strength and sociability — are enormous. But they do not come effortlessly, or without a willingness to make waves. ●

Mark Naison is the author of Communists in Harlem During the Depression and co-editor of The Tenant Movement, 1904-84. In his spare time he coaches soccer, baseball, and basketball and still tries to play competitive tennis.

Left

continued from page 11

election results and new tasks for labor and socialists.

Pennsylvania

A Three Rivers DSA Youth Section chapter in Pittsburgh has been organized by Laurel Beecher and Michael Wiener, graduate students at Carnegie Mellon University . . . Pittsburgh Bishop Anthony Bevilacqua won Squirrel Hill NOW's "Caveman Award" by at least two feet for his pronouncement forbidding the washing of women's feet as part of Catholic lenten services . . . Central Pennsylvania DSA elected George N. Demshock chair; Jack R. Spooner organizer; Anne K. Wilson treasurer; Curtis D. Sanders secretary, and Chuck Barone educational director . . . Reading DSA saw "Seeing Red" in September at Albright College.

Tennessee

Nashville DSA saw *Salt of the Earth*, the classic film about the Empire zinc mine strike Oct. 24. The local's monthly meeting was Oct. 26 . . . *Political Solutions*, the IDS/DSA newsletter, featured an interview with Michael D'Andrea of the Rainbow Coalition on progressive electoral work in Nashville.

Texas

Houston DSA heard Susan Mnumzana speak about the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa Oct. 22.

CLASSIFIED

SWEDEN THIS SUMMER. All ages. Int'l. group. Study language, Swedish democracy. \$900 four weeks. Tuition, room, meals, trips. W.H. Hendrickson, 33266 Road M, Mancos, Colorado 81328.

"CAPITALISM IS ORGANIZED CRIME." "SOLIDARNOSC" buttons, two for \$1. Free catalog of books, buttons, and bumperstickers to aid agitation, education, and organizing. SOCIALIST PARTY FAVORS, Box 8211-D, Des Moines, IA 50306.

MEET OTHER LEFT SINGLES through the Concerned Singles Newsletter. All areas/ages. Box 7737-D, Berkeley, CA 94707, for free sample.

SOCIAL CHANGE JOBS - COMMUNITY JOBS, a nonprofit newspaper, lists progressive jobs/internships nationwide you can believe in. Current listing \$3. COMMUNITY JOBS, Box 807, 1520 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

REVIEWS

American Hero?

by Elsa Dixler

QUIET RAGE: BERNIE GOETZ IN A TIME OF MADNESS by Lillian B. Rubin. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1986. \$16.95, hardcover.

Nearly two years and dozens of *New York Post* headlines after Bernhard Goetz shot four black teenagers on the downtown IRT subway, is there really anything more to say about him? It turns out there is, and Lillian Rubin, author of *Worlds of Pain and Intimate Strangers*, has said it. Although Goetz refused to talk to her, Rubin tracked down neighbors, business associates, and classmates, and plowed through the written record. The result is a serious and sensitive analysis of Goetz and his actions that is as compelling as a psychological thriller.

Rubin does a good job of telling the story. She reminds us of the outpouring of support for the gunman that initially transcended race and class. One of the strengths of *Quiet Rage* is Rubin's account of the press's handling of the case — how, in early reports, the screwdrivers carried by two of the boys in order to break into video games became deadly weapons; how the newspapers that made much of Goetz's slightness failed to mention the four youths were even smaller; how they downplayed the fact that two of the boys were shot in the back, that is, as they were running away. Rubin follows public reaction to the shooting from the initial orgy of identification through the gradual realization that Bernie was, by Mayor Koch's description, "flaky." As Rubin shows, within a few weeks public opinion on the shooting had polarized along racial lines.

Yet the facts were there all along for anyone who chose to see them. There were the dum-dum bullets, those wounds in the back, and Goetz's admission that he had shot one of the boys a second time because he did not appear to be badly wounded. The police in New Hampshire who were the first to hear Goetz's story were stunned that he became a hero. "Bernhard Goetz is no innocent good guy who was just defending himself," said the Concord chief of police, pointing out the discrepancy between the \$500,000 bail set for Goetz in his state and the \$50,000 posted in New York.

At his forthcoming trial, Goetz will claim that he reached for his gun in self-defense. Two of the teenagers now say they intended to rob Goetz, just as he allegedly feared. Regardless of what one makes of their testimony, Goetz's choice of a seat across from four roudy teenagers when there was plenty of room in the car, and their claims that he was staring at them, make it difficult to escape

the conclusion that, as Jimmy Breslin put it, Goetz lured the boys into attacking him. Consciously or unconsciously, he was running a one-man sting.

But Lillian Rubin goes beyond this familiar ground in her exploration of Goetz's history of taking matters into his own hands. She tells how Goetz was fired from his first job, as an engineer at Westinghouse, for his nitpicking insistence on going by the book — except when he wanted to do something his way, in which case he broke all the rules. She reports a neighbor's tale of how Goetz tried unsuccessfully for months to get the city to do something about an abandoned newsstand being used by drug dealers. One night the newsstand mysteriously burned down; the next morning, Goetz was out on the street, sweeping up the rubble.

It is in her discussion of Goetz's childhood that Rubin excels. She describes a lonely child who often walked home in tears after being mocked by classmates, and points to Goetz's strange statement to the first Manhattan district attorney who asked him what he expected the four boys to do: "They were going to have some fun with me." Other reporters have mentioned that the senior Bernhard Goetz was charged with sexually molesting two teen-aged boys. The kids who accused Bernhard Goetz had been in trouble before, like the boys his son encountered on the IRT. At his father's trial — which his twelve-year-old son attended — one of the teenagers claimed that Mr. Goetz had paid him five dollars after touching his genitals. As the world knows, the younger Goetz opened fire when Troy Canty asked him for — five dollars. Rubin presents these insights carefully, subtly, and in the end convincingly, making the point that the bullets Goetz fired on December 22, 1984, were "aimed at target that existed as much in his past as his present."

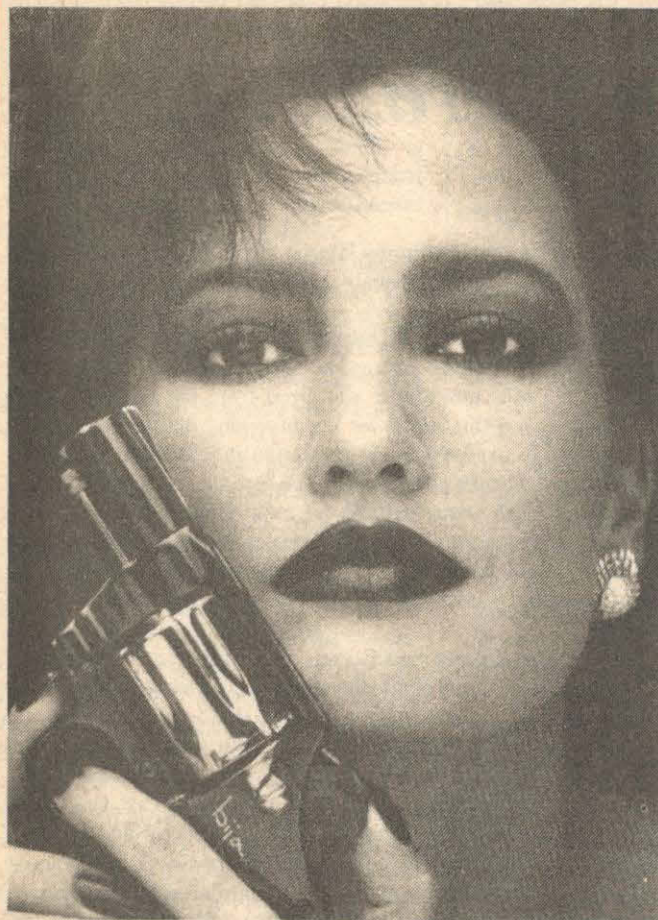
But Rubin does not insist that in suggesting some possible connections between Goetz's childhood experiences and his later actions, she has explained them fully. Rather she locates the shooting in social and political context. She is interested not only in Bernie Goetz's rage, but in the rage of the four youths he shot, and the rage of the New Yorkers who reacted to the shooting.

Rubin notes that when white Americans think fearfully about black crime, "We don't see Shirley Cabey and Eula Canty (mothers of two of the boys) . . . [or] the 50 percent of young black men who are unemployed." Rubin has interviewed Shirley Cabey, and movingly presents her struggle to raise her children in the Claremont Village project and her love for her son. But the teenagers never emerge as very real. In the course of Rubin's narrative, Goetz for all his kinks becomes increasingly comprehensible, but the boys remain cartoon figures — arrogant, drugged-up, dangerous. The relative weakness of the section on the Cabeyes and the other black families unbalances *Quiet Rage*. I

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JANIE HIGGINS REPORTS

AI Union



Perfume? Cologne? No, the ad pictured above is for a *handgun*. More precisely, a .38 special 24k gold handgun offered by a French designer "for his powerful, wealthy clients throughout the world" (we kid you not). It's not often you see the ugly aspects of American culture — sexism, violence, conspicuous consumption — combined quite so elegantly. Why is it that such genuine decadence doesn't seem to alarm cultural guardians like George Will and Jerry Falwell?

Irony, anyone? In the early 1970s, students occupied buildings at universities with holdings in Gulf Oil, because of that company's investments in Angola. Now the far Right is organizing a boycott of Gulf Oil — because it *still* operates in Angola despite left-wing rule. We can't quite understand why they're surprised to learn that businessmen prefer profits to principles — isn't that what the free market is all about?

Try living on \$70,000. One question not yet asked in the wake of "contragate" is this: why have Reagan's advisors suddenly let him down so badly? At least part of the answer lies in the administration's own *laissez faire* ideology: if greed is to be our highest social value, just where does public service fit in? Starting as early as 1982, many of Reagan's most talented (if morally bankrupt) staff has left government, often

noting quite shamelessly the difficulty of surviving on a bureaucrat's salary. David Stockman, Michael Deaver, and now Larry Speakes are only the best known of these stalwart fellows. If the President just can't get good help anymore, he has no one but himself to blame.

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Nothing up his sleeve. Perhaps the most revealing comment coming out of the whole scandal is still Don Regan's early defense of his competence: "Some of us are like a shovel brigade that follow a parade down Main Street cleaning up. We took Reykjavik and turned what was really a sour situation into something that turned out pretty well. Who was it that took this disinformation thing and managed to turn it? Who was it took on this loss in the Senate and pointed out a few facts and managed to pull that? I don't say we'll be able to do it four times in a row. But here we go again and we're trying." One could hardly ask for a clearer admission that the President's chief of staff is concerned very little with the management of policy, but very much with the management of imagery.

\$4 on the floor. The minimum wage (yes, it's still \$1.35 an hour) has now fallen below 40% of the average hourly wage for the first time since 1949, and has declined 26% in real terms since 1981. It's so low that some fast-food restaurant managers have had to offer more than the minimum just to attract workers — meaning that it has almost ceased to protect workers from the market at all. Destroying the minimum wage is part of a policy package — along with union-busting, high unemployment, deindustrialization, tax cuts for the wealthy — that is producing a two-tier economy not unlike that of many Third World nations. Here's a modest proposal: raise the minimum wage by \$1.00 (to \$4.35), restoring it to its traditional level of 50% of the average private hourly wage.



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found myself wishing that Rubin had devoted the energy and sensitivity to the teenagers that she obviously expended on Goetz.

Still, Lillian Rubin has given us a great deal in *Quiet Rage*. She had made a convincing case that the subway shooting was close to premeditated. She shows us that psychological and political perspective can be complementary, enriching each other. And she gives us plenty to think about. The people who rallied around Bernhard Goetz were reacting, she says, against their own perceived powerlessness. As Rambo might have explained, "We got to win that time." It is frightening to be surrounded by hostility, especially if you don't like to see that you may have earned it. And it is tempting to believe that a macho show of force can turn that hostility away. Ronald Reagan won't be brought to trial. It will be fascinating to see what happens when Bernie Goetz is.

Elsa Dixler is executive editor of the Nation.