

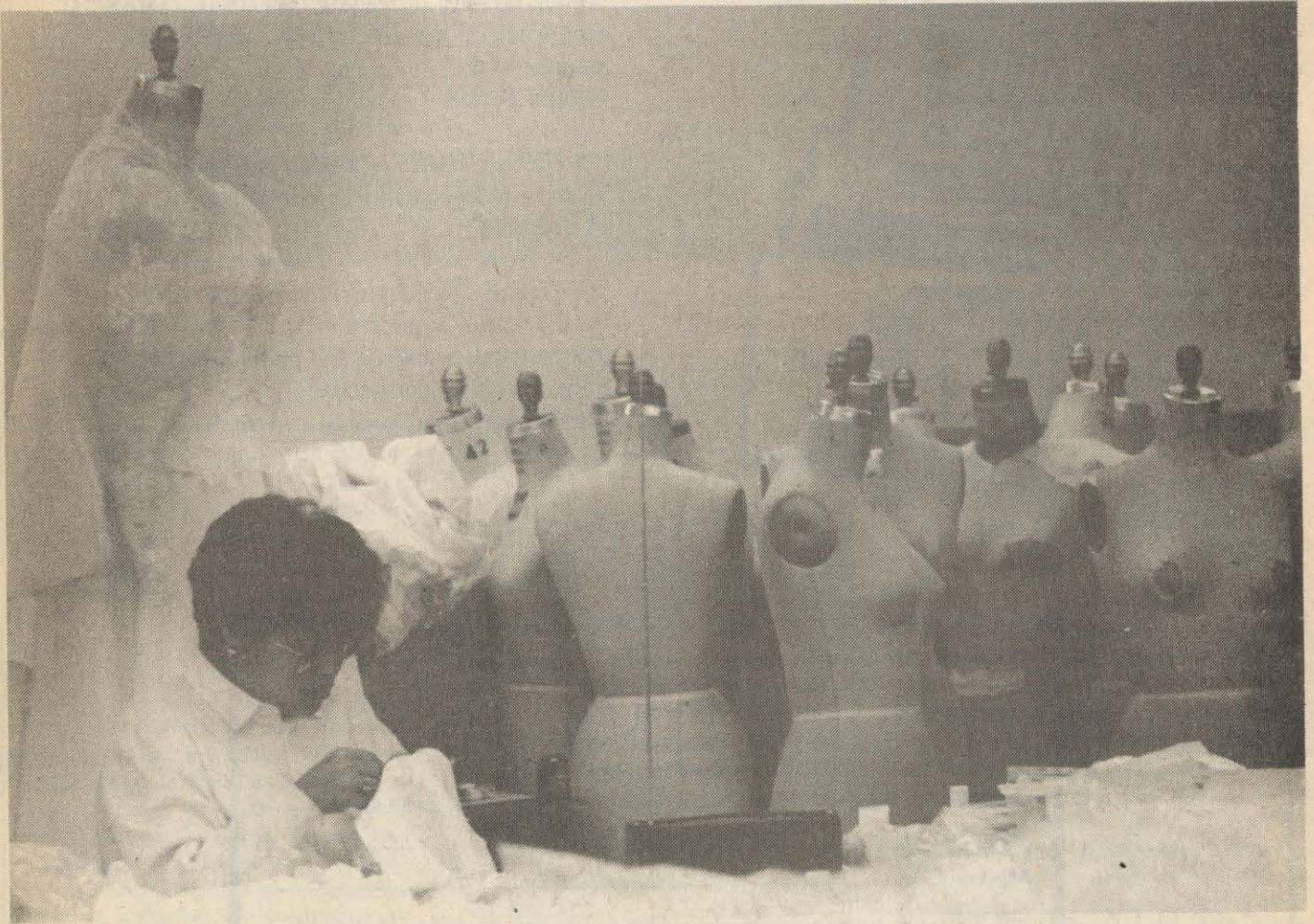
PUBLISHED BY THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS OF AMERICA

DEMOCRATIC Left

Sept.-Oct. 1987
Vol. XV, No. 4
\$1.50



LABOR AT HOME AND ABROAD



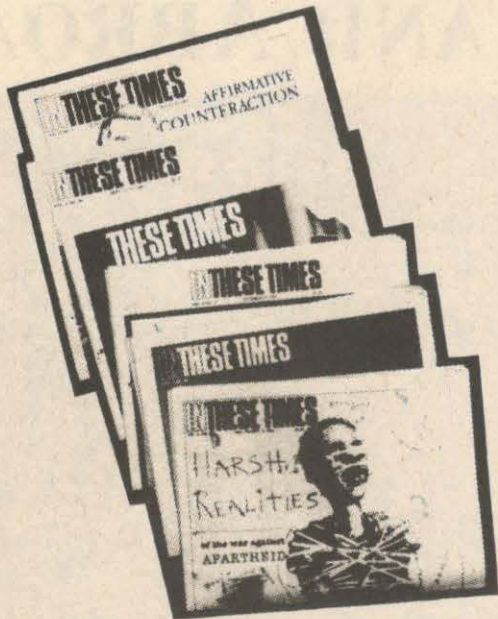
CAROL O'CLEIREACAIN • JAN PIERCE • DAVID BLANKENHORN • STANLEY HILL
JULIET SHOR • MARK LEVINSON • LARRY MISHEL • PHILLIP MATTERA • ED CLARK

IN THESE TIMES

CONGRATULATES

DEMOCRATIC LEFT

With a perspective you won't find anywhere else, look to IN THESE TIMES for weekly coverage of the nation, the world and the arts. You'll find incisive reporting, thoughtful analysis, timely reviews and exciting design. Subscribe today...you'll be in good company.



"I look forward to reading *IN THESE TIMES* each week. It has articles and insights I find nowhere else."

—Studs Terkel

"*IN THESE TIMES* is a fresh and badly needed voice in independent left journalism."

—I.F. Stone

"*IN THESE TIMES* provides a unique filter for the world—a quick review of urban, labor, international, women's and cultural news from a people's perspective."

—Ruth Messinger, member New York City Council

IN THESE TIMES

- YES! I want to know more about the world, the nation and the arts with a fresh and independent perspective. Send me *IN THESE TIMES* at the low subscription price of only: \$18.95 for six months (22 issues) \$34.95 for one year (41 issues)

Payment enclosed Bill me later

Charge my MC/Visa acct# _____ exp.date _____

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

Above prices are for U.S. residents only. Foreign orders add \$13.00 per year.

In the U.S. student/retired rate is \$24.95 for one year, institutional rate is \$59.00 for one year.

IN THESE TIMES, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700 TSXF8

EDITORIALS

"The working class," says a character in a recent British movie, "has been a disappointment to me." Many middle class American liberals and Leftists secretly feel the same way. Not only has the American working class failed in its "historic mission" of bringing about socialism, but it is — according to stereotypes that have been with us since Archie Bunker — reactionary, jingoistic and intolerant. For conservatives, the presumed backwardness of the American working class is the perfect rebuttal to the Left: If "the workers" aren't with us, why do we bother?

There couldn't be a better way to celebrate Labor Day than by putting some of these myths to rest: because they are myths, promoted by the media, nurtured by conservatives, and cherished, unfortunately, by many otherwise liberal and well-informed middle class people. Here are five well-known myths about the working class, with some factual antidotes:

1. "The working class is politically conservative." No, by any definition of the working class, it is consistently more liberal than people in professional and managerial occupations — the classic core of the middle class. Working class people are more likely to identify themselves as Democrats and more likely to favor increased government spending for social programs. In fact, although it is seldom commented upon, the "class gap" in voting is usually wider than the much more famous gender gap.

Working class liberalism extends to foreign policy issues. For example, a recent (July 1987) poll showed 37 percent of college graduates approving aid to the Contras, compared to 23 percent of non-high school graduates, who, are, of course, likely to be poor and working class. As usual, a person's level of education is a better indication of their class than of their intelligence.

2. "But isn't the working class more conservative on the 'social issues,' like women's rights?" On some "social issues," yes, the working class is more conservative; and it is this fact that encouraged the New Right, in the 1970s, to believe that they could win a working class majority. However, the social conservatism of the working class has been greatly exaggerated. For example, in the late seventies, at

the peak of the battle over the ERA, polls showed that blue collar men were more likely to support the measure than were white collar men. As for women, a 1986 Gallup poll showed that working class women are slightly more likely than middle class women to identify themselves as

feminists — and much less likely than middle class women to identify themselves as "anti-feminists."

3. "But the American working class is so affluent that it really doesn't have a stake in social change any more." This myth arose in the fifties and sixties, when workers — organized workers, that is — were making real gains. But for more than a decade, working class living standards have been undermined by plant closings, pay givebacks, two-tier wage agreements and other weapons in the capitalist arsenal. As a result, the standard of living of the American working class has fallen below that of workers in a number of other industrialized nations.

4. "It doesn't matter because the working class is gradually shrinking anyway." If we count as "middle class" self-employed business people, professionals and managers, there is a working class majority of 70 percent — up from 61 percent in 1900. The working class is expanding, not shrinking.

5. "Well, whatever the numbers are, everyone knows that the American working class is not class-conscious." This myth is disposed of in an excellent new book, *The American Perception of Class*, by Reeve Vanneman and Lynn Weber Cannon. Among their painstakingly documented findings: Most Americans do not identify themselves as "middle class," and most working class Americans have a very clear picture of the class divisions in American society.

So why, doesn't America have a labor party, a more generous welfare state, or higher levels of union membership? The answer probably has far less to do with the views of the American working class than with the power of the American business class. If there is anything unique about American labor history — from the 1800s until today — it is the violence and repression which business has used to crush working class struggles. What we celebrate on Labor Day is not — as some politicians like to think — the affluence and assimilation of the working class, but the heroism of that class in a struggle against enormous odds.

— by BARBARA EHRENREICH

ARTICLES

WHOSE RECOVERY IS IT, ANYWAY?

by Mark Levinson
and Larry Mishelpage 4

MINIMUM WAGE FIGHT KEY TO GROWTH

by Juliet B. Schorpage 6

BEYOND REAGAN: LABOR'S FIGHT FOR A SOCIAL WAGE AGENDA

by Carol O'Cleireacainpage 8

WOMEN'S WORK: NOW YOU SEE IT, NOW YOU DON'T

by Susan Levinepage 11

PLAYER OR VICTIM? LABOR AND MERGER MANIA

by Philip Matterapage 13

"ROLL THE UNION ON": MICHAEL HARRINGTON TALKS WITH NEW YORK AFSCME

CHIEF STANLEY HILLpage 17

"JOBS WITH JUSTICE" SPARKS UNION SOLIDARITY

by Jan Piercepage 35

LABOR AND CENTRAL AMERICA: CHANGE IS IN THE WIND

by Ed Clarkpage 37

SHAPING A PRO-FAMILY WORKPLACE

by David Blakenhornpage 39

VIETNAM VETS PERFORM FOR HOMELESS

by Jo-Ann Mortpage 41

DEPARTMENTS

EDITORIALSpage 3, 40

CLASSIFIEDSpage 36

DSACTIONpage 42

ON THE LEFTpage 44

REVIEWSpage 46

JIMMY HIGGINS REPORTSpage 48

Whose Recovery Is It, Anyway?

by Mark Levinson
and Larry Mishel

Since 1981 the U.S. economy has created over 12 million jobs, a number well above other industrial economies. And as we write in July 1987 the U.S. economy is three months short of the longest peacetime period of recession-free growth in U.S. history.

The main problem in the economy, according to the Administration, is a mismatch between jobs and workers without adequate skills. Secretary of Labor Brock recently summarized this position:

"We can create the technology that can foster the higher skilled, better-paying, more productive jobs . . . If we don't concentrate our efforts on acquiring these new skills, we'll be importing people to fill these jobs, or doing without the growth the jobs could provide.

"The days of disguising functional illiteracy with a high paying assembly line job are soon to be over."

This formulation of problems facing American workers — besides being insulting (the problem is those "functionally illiterate" assembly line workers!) and hypocritical (this Administration has slashed spending on education and training) — assumes there is nothing wrong with the quality of jobs in the economy. The problem, according to Brock, is one of training the workforce.

The Secretary of Labor is half right. An improved and expanded training system is necessary in aiding disadvantaged and displaced workers to find new jobs. However, no amount of job training will help if good jobs do not exist.

Contrary to Administration claims, American workers face problems that have not been remedied by the recent recovery. A response to those problems requires far more from the government than training programs.

Unemployment and Underemployment

Although unemployment has recently declined to 6.1 percent, it is still unac-

ceptably high for this late in a recovery. Actual lost output and economic distress are much greater than this figure would indicate since the official rate does not include the millions of discouraged and "involuntary part time" workers.

Discouraged workers, those who want a job but do not believe they can find one, number 1 million. "Involuntary part time" workers, those who work part time but want full time work, number 5.2 million. Including these, the total number of unemployed and underemployed workers in June 1987 was 13.6 million, or 11.2 percent of the workforce, up from 9.7 percent in 1979. These rates tell us the number of people on

when people who want full time work are forced to accept part time jobs. Of all part time jobs created since 1979, nearly three out of four were filled by workers wanting full time jobs.

Falling Wages and Family Income

In addition to unacceptably high levels of unemployment and underemployment, the current period has been characterized by a decline in real family income and falling real wages.

Between 1947 and 1973 real median family income in the U.S., after adjusting

'87 HUCK/KONOPACKI LABOR CARTOONS
KONO PAKKI



"They're searching for an agenda!"

average who are unemployed or underemployed in a given week. However, during the course of any year many more workers experience unemployment. In 1985, 21 million workers or one out of every six workers was unemployed at some time during the year 1985.

We are experiencing record high levels of underemployment disguised as part-time employment, a development fueled by job growth in the service sector. From 1979 to 1985 nearly 28 percent of all new jobs were part time. While the creation of part time jobs has some positive aspects, since part time work can provide flexibility in accommodating activities such as school and child care, problems arise

for inflation, increased by approximately 100 percent. Since 1974, however, the trend has not only stopped increasing, but actually declined. The most serious loss of income occurred between 1979 and 1985 when real income for median income families fell from \$27,676, to \$26,786, a loss of almost \$1,000.

The decline in real income for most American families in the last decade is especially disturbing in light of the growth of two-earner families during the same period. Had it not been for this growth median family income would have fallen roughly twice as much.

Since 1973 inequality has also increased. The share of income going to the

middle and bottom of the family income distribution has declined. The combined effect of these changes is shown in the following table:

Percent Distribution of Families by Income
(Income in 1985 Dollars)

	1973	1985	Change (Percentage Points)
Below \$20,000	30.7%	34.0%	+3.3
\$20,000-\$50,000	52.8%	47.7%	-5.1
Above \$50,000	16.5%	18.3%	+1.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

On reason for these disturbing figures is that workers' real (inflation adjusted) weekly wages have fallen over 14 percent since 1973. Indeed, one extraordinary attribute of the current recovery is that workers' real wages have *continued* to fall, dropping 2.5 percent since mid-1984. In the last year alone wages have fallen by .7 percent. As a result of these trends, workers are now being paid real wages equivalent to those earned in the early 1960s.

This income stagnation is especially hard on the young. Prior to 1974 it was generally expected that children would achieve a higher standard of living than their parents. This is no longer the case. Frank Levy and Richard Michel dramatically illustrate this in the following comparison of two generations of (male) wage earners:

"Suppose a young man of 18 or 19 is preparing to leave his parents' home. As he leaves, he sees what his father's salary would buy and he keeps the memory as a personal yardstick. In the 1950s or 1960s, the young man would have quickly measured up. By age 30, he already would have been earning one-third more than his father earned when the young man left home. But today, a 30-year old man is earning 10 percent less than his father earned when the young man left home. The fact that the young man's father owns a home with easy mortgage payments only sharpens the contrast in their economic status."

In other words, the myth of hoards of affluent baby-boomers, like so many of the myths of this "recovery," does not stand up to scrutiny.

The Increase in Low-Wage Jobs

Numerous studies have documented an increase in the number of low-wage jobs

being created in the U.S. economy. Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison have shown that between 1979 and 1985 44 percent of the net new jobs created paid low

wages (less than \$7,400/year measured in 1986 dollars). This was more than twice the rate of low wage job creation that prevailed during the 1960s and 1970s. And while millions of new high-wage (more than \$29,000/year) professional, technical and managerial jobs were created during the 1980s, their growth was only a third the pace of high wage job creation between 1963 and 1979.

An analysis of research by Bureau of Labor Statistics economists Patrick McMahon and John Tschetter shows an even stronger expansion of low wage employment. Their research indicates that the majority of full time jobs created between 1973 and 1985 were low paid, falling into the bottom third of the weekly wage scale.

If these trends are not reversed we can expect to see an increase in the number of working poor (whose numbers have already increased 40% from 1979 to 1985). The following table shows that a significant percent of all jobs, even on a full time year-round basis, do not pay a wage that will support families above the poverty level.

Family Size	Poverty Level (1985)	Percent of All Jobs that Pay Below Poverty Level (1985)
2	6,998	10
3	8,573	19
4	10,989	32
5	13,007	42

Job Shifts

A major force pushing the economy towards lower wages is the expansion of jobs in low wage service industries and the contraction of jobs in better paying goods producing industries and in better paying service sector industries — government, transportation, communications and utilities. The extent of wage disparities in expanding and contracting industries between 1979 and 1985 are shown in the following table. The U.S. economy is losing jobs in industries that paid weekly wages of

\$402, 56 percent greater than the weekly wages (\$258) paid by industries in which employment is growing.

Average Weekly Earnings

(1) Expanding Industries	\$258
(2) Contracting Industries	402
(3) Ratio ((2) ÷ (1))	1.56

The shift in the employment structure towards low wage industries acts as a brake on wage growth. It also shows the drastic fall in wages faced by workers displaced from the higher wage, contracting industries.

It is only by ignoring these shifts toward lower wage industries that the Administration can paint an unrealistically positive picture of the American workers' situation. Furthermore, the declining wage differential between men and women is often touted by the Administration as another achievement of the "recovery." Yet this improvement is primarily a reflection of the erosion of male earnings and only secondarily an indicator of the slight improvement of women's earnings.

Will the Democrats Respond?

Behind the Administration's "feel good" rhetoric serious problems plague the U.S. economy. While there is a widespread sense of unease about the economy, Democrats have yet to pose a coherent alternative which takes into account the complexities of today's economic situation. However, it is important to realize that an adequate response *does not* entail an aban-

donment of the traditional Democratic commitment to full employment. One hopes that the Democrats will not repeat the fiasco of 1984, when, for the first time in forty years, the party platform did not include a full employment plank. Yet every traditional Democratic constituency — unions, minorities, feminists, disarmament advocates, senior citizens, students, environmentalists, progressive religious groups — has an interest in achieving full employment. This is true not only because a humane and socially responsible society needs the resources generated by full em-

ployment to meet the needs of its citizens; it is also true because job scarcity inevitably pits one faction of society against another (women against men; minorities against white, senior citizens against youth, workers against environmentalists and disarmament advocates, etc.).

In other words, to best serve their constituencies, Democrats must aim not only for full employment but for full employment at quality jobs. Raising the minimum wage, promoting pay equity and reforming the labor law by removing barriers to union organizing would all lead to increased wages. Democrats should also be concerned about maintaining a strong industrial base — a necessity to preserve our standard of living. The Democratic full-employment strategy must include industrial policy, managed trade, an active labor market policy, expanding fiscal and monetary policy, and a progressive tax system. This requires Democrats to be concerned about the industrial composition of the economy which means some public control over capital. The Democratic full employment strategy must include industrial policy, managed trade, an active labor market policy, expansionary fiscal and monetary policy and a progressive tax system. ●

Mark Levinson is an economist for the United Automobile Workers.

Larry Mishel is Research Director of the Economic Policy Institute.

For More Information

"The Baby Boom Bust." Frank Levy and Richard C. Michel in *Challenge*, March/April 1986.

Building America's Future. International Union, UAW, 1987

"The Declining Middle Class: a Further Analysis." Patrick McMahon and John Tschetter, *Monthly Labor Review*, September 1986.

The Grim Truth About the Job "Miracle." Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison, *New York Times*, February 1, 1987

"How Have Families with Children Been Faring?" Sheldon Danziger and Peter Gottschalk, Joint Economic Committee of Congress, November 1985

The Polarization of America. Industrial Union Department. AFL-CIO, 1986

The Shrinking Middle Class. Katharine Bradbury, in *New England Economic Review*, September/October 1986

"Welfare Reform and the Working Poor," Robert Reischauer in *Work and Welfare: The Case for New Directions in National Policy*, center for National Policy 1987

Minimum Wage Fight Key to Growth

by Juliet B. Schor

Quite by accident, a copy of *Nation's Business* wound up on my doorstep the other day. The cover advertised an article dispelling common myths about the minimum wage. It portrayed the myths as silly liberal fantasies, such as the idea that raising the minimum wage would help reduce poverty or encourage people to seek employment. Instead, the article predicted "massive unemployment and disemployment," "greater hardship for all Americans," and a "renewal of the inflation spiral" if the minimum wage were raised. Apparently the evidence is "incontrovertible," but the problem is the public, which has an "information gap."

This is the standard anti-minimum-wage tripe that business groups never fail

to deliver. More interesting was the report of a survey of members of the Chamber of Commerce, who had some predictions of their own. Many respondents said that an increase in the minimum wage would lead them to cut their profit margins, install labor-saving investment, and raise the wages of other workers — in order to preserve existing wage differentials. In my view these are the more important issues: how the minimum wage affects the overall wage level, and how wages influence investment, productivity, and ultimately the rate of economic growth.

Two Roads To Growth

Let's look at the minimum wage from the vantage point of the last two hundred years of capitalist development. For the most part, countries have followed one of two paths to growth. The first — now popular in the form of export-led growth — is based on low wages, an abundance of



Change the USA! Join the DSA!



Members of the Democratic Socialists of America work in every day-to-day struggle for social justice. We bring a strategy for building alliances among all the movements for social change. And we bring a vision of a society that can satisfy the demands for dignity and justice—a socialist society. Join the people working to bring together all the movements for social change . . . and to bring together day-to-day battles and long-term strategies and visions.

Join DSA.

- Send me more information about democratic socialism.
- Enclosed find my dues (\$50 sustaining; \$35 regular; \$15 limited income. Dues include \$8 for DEMOCRATIC LEFT.)
- I would like to subscribe to DEMOCRATIC LEFT: \$15 sustaining; \$8 regular
- I would like to subscribe to the discussion bulletin, *Socialist Forum*, \$10.

Send to: Democratic Socialists of America, 15 Dutch St., Suite 500, New York, NY 10038.
Tel.: (212) 962-0390.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____ Union, School, Other Affiliation _____

surplus labor, and low productivity. This "low road" creates a two-tier economy, with the more prosperous segment producing for export. Historically, the less developed European nations, such as Italy and Spain, have followed this path, as have the poor countries of the world.

The United States took the "high road." From the beginning, a small supply of labor — made smaller by the possibility of migration to the frontier — kept wages high. In the nineteenth century, U.S. wages were one-third to one-half higher than those in Britain. At the same time, U.S. technology was more advanced and more highly mechanized, a surprising difference given Britain's long head start in industrialization. It is likely that America's high wages accounted for the difference. High wages forced the American economy into high productivity sectors, high productivity technologies, and high levels of investment. They led to the creation of a strong domestic market for consumer goods. Eventually, the U.S. economy became the richest in the world.

The minimum wage enters the story through its effect on the average wage. The

distribution of wages is like a ladder: every rung is a certain distance from every other rung. As the members of the Chamber of Commerce were quick to point out, if the bottom rung moves up, so do all the others. Companies which don't adjust their wage structure risk a deterioration of worker morale, high labor turnover, and fewer applicants for jobs. For better or worse, the wage structure is deeply implicated in questions of self-worth, quality of worklife, and workplace cooperation.

ticularly on the side of the demand for labor. If our reasoning above is correct, a wage increase can raise productivity and investment. Businesses may hire *more* labor because the economy is growing. There's no way to know in advance. All we can be sure of is that the standard story never takes these considerations into account.

It may be that instability is the more serious problem. If wages rise, some firms will be driven into bankruptcy. Others will

"High wages will force service sector companies to raise productivity, which is ultimately the key to competitiveness."

The minimum wage is often seen as a poverty issue, which it is. (A full-time year-round minimum-wage worker makes less than \$7,000 per year, far below the poverty line for many households.) It is seen as a feminist issue, which it also is. (A disproportionate 60 percent of minimum-wage workers are women, many of them heads of households.) It is a racial issue. (Again, a disproportionate number of black workers are in minimum wage jobs). But it is more than this. Because of its impact on the general path of economic development, it is an issue that affects nearly everyone.

Today, that impact is being felt largely in the service sector, where 86 percent of all minimum-wage jobs are located. (Retail trade alone has over 40 percent of them.) It is almost as if the service sector has been following its own low-wage ("low-road") growth path. Productivity and wages are low. Investment is sluggish.

A hefty hike in service-sector wages is badly needed: it'll reduce inequality, lower the poverty rate, and raise productivity at the same time. For those who are concerned about America's latest craze — competitiveness — higher wages should help. (Contrary to what *Nation's Business*, or perhaps even our common sense, tells us.) High wages will force service sector companies to raise productivity, which is ultimately the key to competitiveness.

Rise in Unemployment?

So what's the fly in the ointment? The obvious candidate is unemployment. Opponents of a minimum wage claim that it causes unemployment. It's a simple story that goes like this. There's supply and there's demand. If the price is forced up, supply raises and demand falls. That's unemployment.

Of course, it's *too* simple a story, par-

change their mix of products. The economy as a whole will be shifting rapidly, causing shifts in the demand for types of workers. This instability may be felt at many levels: industry, location, gender, occupation, and skill. This is a real challenge for public policy, but one that has been met successfully elsewhere.

Where does this leave the unemployed inner-city youth, whose joblessness many ascribe to an excessive minimum wage? The real issue is that the jobs are not where the people are, and there are not enough jobs to go around. Add to that the fact that the costs of getting and keeping a job — transportation, child care, uniforms, the loss of health insurance or other social benefits — make minimum wage jobs pointless for many young people. It's not that the minimum wage is too high, it's that it's too low. In my state (Massachusetts), even fast-food restaurants pay far above the minimum wage, because there's a growing economy.

Congress is about to raise the minimum wage. That's good, but the increase will be paltry. To really make an impact on the course of U.S. economic development, Congress should double today's \$3.35, expand labor market programs for displaced workers, and guarantee free higher education. Actually, what we should demand is that our elected representatives spend a week working in a minimum-wage job, living on what they make. That would do the trick. ●

Juliet B. Schor is an assistant professor of economics at Harvard University. She has just completed a book, with Daniel Cantor, entitled Tunnel Vision: Labor, the World Economy, and Central America. She is a staff economist at the Center for Popular Economics.

DEMOCRATIC LEFT

BARBARA EHRENREICH
MICHAEL HARRINGTON
Editors

PATRICK LACEFIELD
Acting Managing Editor

JANE WELNA
Production Assistant

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Joanne Barkan
Vania Del Borgo
Guy Molyneux

Maxine Phillips
Jan Rosenberg

LABOR DAY ISSUE INTERNS:

Liza Bruna

David Eisikovits

DEMOCRATIC LEFT (ISSN 0164-3207) is published six times a year at 15 Dutch St., Suite 500, New York, NY 10038. Second Class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription \$8 regular; \$15 institutional.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to DEMOCRATIC LEFT, 15 Dutch St., Suite 500, New York, NY 10038.

DEMOCRATIC LEFT is published by the Democratic Socialists of America at the above address, phone (212) 962-0390. Microfilm, Wisconsin State Historical Society, 816 State St., Madison WI 53703. Indexed in the Alternative Press Index, P.O. Box 7229, Baltimore MD 21218. *Signed articles express the opinions of the authors and not of the organization.*

Beyond Reagan: Labor's fight for a Social Wage Agenda

by Carol O'Cleireacain

According to President Reagan, the minimum wage "has caused more misery and unemployment than anything since the Great Depression."

There are a number of responses to such a statement. I prefer Jesse Jackson's: Ronald Reagan is finished. He's not going to be around a year and a half. Let's work on where we are going from here. What will the post-Reagan era look like?

The issue of raising and indexing the minimum wage serves as an example of what we have to do: educate and mobilize to bring about social change.

With the Kennedy-Hawkins bill to raise the minimum wage now before Congress, educating legislators is a must. There has not been a change in the minimum wage law since 1977. Many legislators have never faced this issue and don't know much about it. Many young ones are part of a generation that has known only postwar prosperity. They may know as little of the history of the minimum wage as the general public. It is our duty and obligation, not to mention a political necessity, to educate them.

Educating the public gets to an even deeper problem. We have a generation — certainly voters under 30 years old — for whom the minimum wage has not really been an issue. In the 1960s and most of the 1970s, the minimum wage fluctuated between 45 percent and 55 percent of the average private sector wage. Although it was not indexed, it was increased when necessary. It was not a major political (or economic) issue. The minimum wage is not part of the consciousness of these voters. It is part of the social and economic infrastructure they inherited — like Social Security and trade unions. They do not think about how it affects them; they do not imagine their lives without it. They have not had to.

The point of education is to use it to effect social change. And in this case we can use it in two areas. One is to promote basic justice. The other is to expand the concept of workers' rights.

Basic Justice

The minimum wage is about justice, basic justice for people at the bottom of the

wage distribution. It is based on the belief that there should be a floor below which no human being should have to work. If an employer cannot pay it, the employer should suffer, not the worker. Opponents to the minimum wage know that justice is the issue. The president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Richard Lesher, stated in February that "the ripple affect is the reason why the unions are interested in the minimum wage in the first place. They want to take the whole [wage] pyramid and shove it up." That is absolutely right. We should be clear about this ourselves. There is an existing hierarchy of wages — a pyramid, with a lot more people at the bottom than at the top. If you are a progressive in this country, you know that you don't like the shape of that distribution. As Lesher said, you want to move the whole distribution up. The way to do the most good and the most justice is by pushing the bottom up. (It also helps to push from the top down at the same time, flattening the distribution, but that is too long a story for this piece.)

The case for raising the minimum wage now is easy to make. In 1986 there were about 8-1/2 million people in this country who worked at or below the minimum wage. Working fulltime for a full year at minimum wage yields \$1,800 less than the 1986 poverty threshold of \$8,741 for a family of three. There are another 10-1/2 million people who worked at wages between \$3.40 an hour and \$4.00 an hour. About 20 million people would be affected if the minimum wage were raised to \$3.85 in 1988, \$4.25 in 1989 and \$4.65 in 1990. If you think of justice in an absolute sense, the facts are indisputable.

Justice is also relative. The purchasing power of the minimum wage is the lowest it has been since 1955. When the minimum wage was first enacted it was equal to 50 percent of the average wage. Today the \$3.35 per hour minimum wage is worth only 38 percent of the average private sector wage.

The Kennedy-Hawkins legislation attempts to address both absolute and relative justice. It seeks to raise the level of the minimum wage above the poverty threshold in steps over three years. And, it seeks to peg the relative value of the minimum wage permanently to 50 percent

of the average private sector wage after 1990. (That may require a \$5.20 minimum wage in 1991.) As the economy gets better, those at the minimum wage will be brought up with it.

Redefining Rights

But justice requires more than changing the minimum wage. The minimum wage was path-breaking in the Depression era. But the economy has changed enormously since then. American society has also changed. In both an absolute and a relative sense, justice demands that we look beyond the minimum wage to the components of a social wage necessary to achieve justice for those at the bottom of the 1980s labor market.

We have to do now for the wage-earning poor what the New Deal tried to do for them in the 1930s. We have to look at the changing needs of workers and their households: the necessities wages are expected to buy; the benefits workers have a right to expect from their jobs; the family responsibilities that workers have a right to expect their employers to understand and accommodate.

One right is glaringly absent. About 16 percent of the American population — close to 40 million people — have no health insurance. No one can afford to get sick in this society without the protection of health insurance. Right or wrong, most Americans expect health benefits to come through their jobs. Without a national health service, workers without insurance rightly see themselves at an unfair disadvantage compared to those workers whose jobs provide coverage. With the creation of more and more part-time jobs that carry no health benefits, low-wage and minimum-wage workers have a right to seek the absolute and relative justice coverage would bring them.

Family Plans

America has undergone a cultural revolution in the past two decades. The work force and the family do not look like they used to. Only one out of six families consists of a wage-earning father, mother at home, two children. Now, 70 percent of the women of prime age work outside the home. Women are almost half of the wage-earning work force. Half of this country's

infants have wage-earning mothers. Eighty percent of all wage-earning women today are still in their child-bearing years; nine out of 10 of them will have kids. Yet 60 percent of these women have no job-protected maternity rights. The U.S. is the only developed country without them. Further, only 2,500 of 6 million employers provide any kind of child care. The social revolution came, but the work place has not kept up.

provide *unpaid* medical leave as a right to workers who need it. It says much about the country that such legislation, which would mandate rights and not provide payment, is considered controversial. That is where the ideological and political battle has to be joined — The battle to convince the American public that such efforts are merely reasonable. Such a campaign would finally bring the reality of the American cultural revolution into the American



Rick Reinhard / Impact Visuals

Edward Kennedy is a co-sponsor of current minimum wage legislation.

After such a revolution, it is not enough to raise the minimum wage. We need to raise the social wage. We need to push a wider economic and social agenda that talks to the issues and problems of working families of the 1980s: pay equity and affirmative action to redress the injustice and reduce the degree of segregation of these women's jobs; alimony and child support enforcement; expanded pension coverage for women's jobs and part-time work, with pensions linked to the worker, not to the job; a range of income and job guarantees for workers temporarily needing time off from their jobs to deal with birth, adoption, serious illness, or death of a family member; and child care — before-school, after-school, and summer programs for the workers' children.

Unrealistic? Maybe all at once. But important precedents are being set. Recent tax legislation promoted pension portability by reducing vesting to five years. The Dodd-Schroeder Family and Medical Leave Act would require employers to give employees, male and female, up to 18 months *unpaid* family leave at the birth or adoption of a child or the serious illness of a child or dependent parent. It would also

workplace. We would begin to address workers' needs in as creative and radical a manner as the minimum wage did in the 1930s.

Finally, the social-wage agenda provides new issues for a younger generation to organize around. Those under 30 have never had to organize around economic issues affecting people's everyday lives. I worry about a generation that has not experienced first hand the strength of collective action, that has not had the opportunity to learn that people banding together can achieve things that a single individual cannot. They should have that experience. And, those of us who can should help in building such a movement. Raising the minimum wage and extending its concept to other issues of simple justice and workplace rights is an ideal place to start. ●

Carol O'Cleireacain is assistant to the executive director, District Council 37, AFSCME and a member of DSA. This article is based on her comments at a DSA Labor Forum in New York City in May 1987 and at a session of the New York City Local's Justice For All Project in July 1987.

DSA to Hold National Convention Washington, DC December 4 - 6

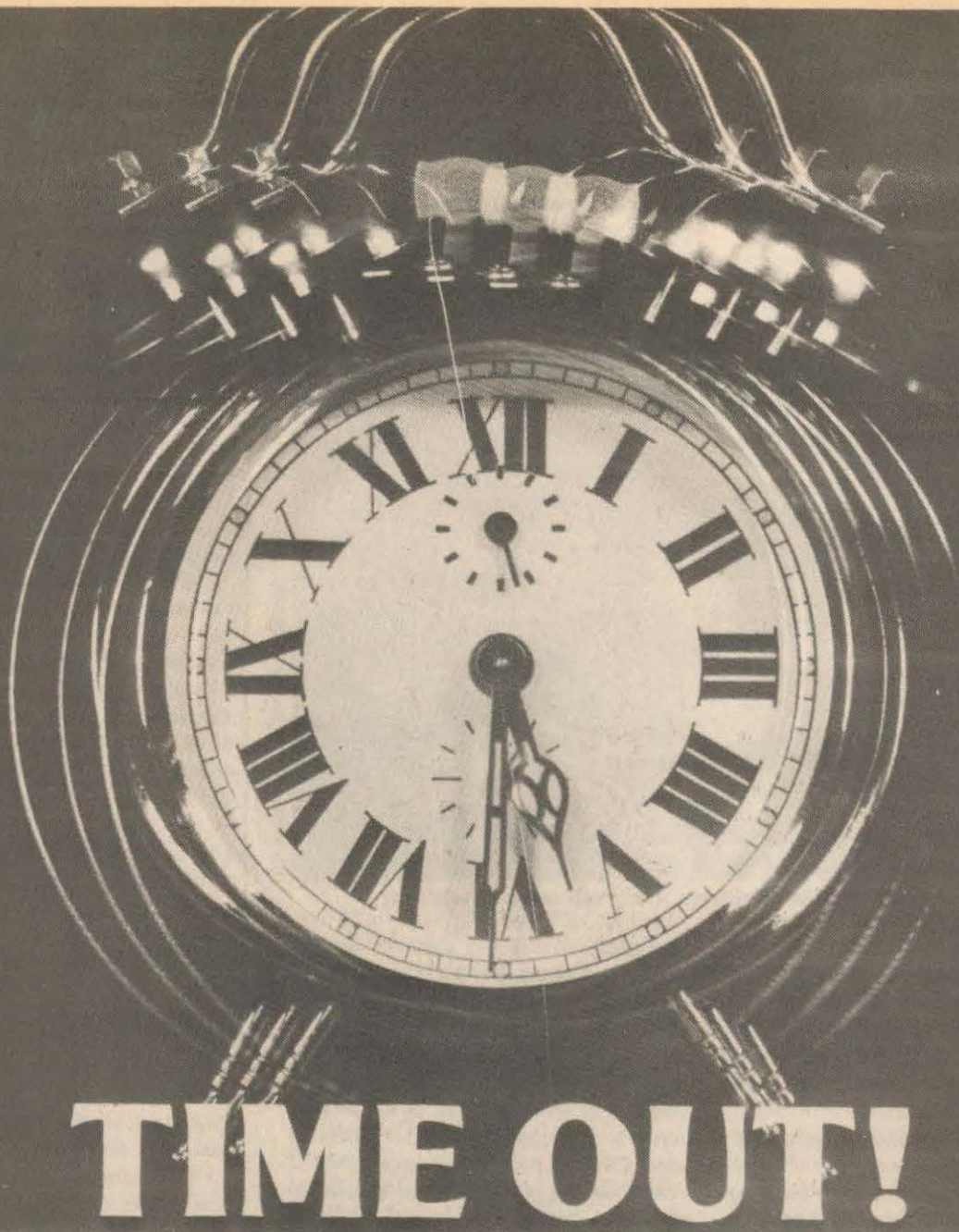
Several hundred delegates, alternates and members will gather in Washington, D.C. on December 4-6 when the Democratic Socialists of America holds its biennial convention. The agenda for the three-day conference, which runs from Friday morning until Sunday afternoon, will include plenaries, workshops and resolutions sessions on democratic socialism, DSA strategy for the coming period, and a possible presidential endorsement by the Democratic Socialist Political Action Committee for the Democratic party primaries.

Local DSA chapters will be electing delegates to the convention between now and October 20 and "at-large" members — those not in local chapters — will receive a special mailing calling for nominations to at-large delegate slots. Of course, all members are invited to attend the convocation and observe the proceedings.

In addition to electing a new National Executive Committee for the next two years, the convention also will consider resolutions on a host of international, domestic and organizational questions. For information on submitting resolutions to the convention and/or running for the NEC, contact the DSA national office. The deadline for the next *Socialist Forum*, the discussion journal of DSA which will contain resolutions and other convention materials, is October 15.

The convention, which will be held at the First Congregational Church and at the Washington Plaza Hotel in Washington, will include a mass public meeting on Friday night featuring DSA co-chairs Michael Harrington and Barbara Ehrenreich. Other invited speakers include former Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley, hunger activist Frances Moore Lappé, Ron Daniels of the Rainbow Coalition and Jack Sheinkman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and the newest member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

Looks to be an exciting convention. Save the dates! For more information, contact the DSA national office at 15 Dutch Street, Suite 500, New York, NY 10038.



TIME OUT!

Labor Day is your day. You've earned it.

In hundreds of thousands of American workers' homes this weekend, that noisy old alarm clock won't be shattering anyone's eardrums. That's because it's Labor Day. Your day. The only national holiday saluting the contributions of American working men and women.

And you've earned it! As an American worker, you've helped create one of the greatest, most productive societies in the history of mankind. And that's where we come in. We're the nearly one million men and women in all 50 states, Canada, Puerto Rico and the Canal Zone who are members of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers.

We are people helping people. On the job, our contracts with more than 12,000 employers help assure that you receive a fair share of the wealth your labor helps produce through better wages, working conditions, and employer-paid health and pension plans, to name just a few.

In the homes of our members, negotiated cost of living adjustments—usually called COLA's—help assure that workers and their families will continue to be able to buy the food, clothing, energy and housing needs they require, even in periods of rapidly increasing inflation.



In communities across the USA and Canada, union community service committees help assure that workers and their families get help from a variety of sources when their needs transcend those covered by the collective bargaining agreement.

And even in the founding of Labor Day itself, the Machinists Union was there. It was a machinist by the name of Matthew Maguire, secretary of the Central Labor Body in New York City, who helped organize the first Labor Day parade on Sept. 5, 1882.

Past, present and future. It's a tradition in the Machinists Union to be involved.

Today we're involved in scores of ways to help all workers, their families and our communities: in the fight to hold down gas, fuel and energy costs; in the fight for sound economic conversion, so that workers and communities dependent on defense-related industries are protected from the ravages of layoffs and shutdowns when the government cuts back, stops a project or moves production to another area.

And for the future, you can rest assured this Labor Day and beyond that whatever the need, wherever the place, if it helps people, the Machinists Union will be there.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS AND AEROSPACE WORKERS, AFL-CIO

Now You See It **Women's work** Now You Don't

by Susan Levine

When I think of women's work during World War II, I think of contemporary Star Wars language. The war was one of those historical moments — a window of opportunity so to speak — when possibilities opened and then closed again. Women could enter skilled, highly paid — male — occupations. But those opportunities existed in a context of attitudes towards women's work and towards the American economy that limited how far women could go. The visible opportunities were limited by the invisible values and assumptions surrounding women's work.

Although the gains women made during the war may appear to have been temporary, they changed the constellation of relationships in a permanent way. Despite the popular literature of the 1950s, which aggressively asserted an invisible role for women — women remained in the workforce after the war and continued to enter it in greater numbers. They had become visible.

War's Impact on Work

It is ironic that for women, who are so often in the forefront of peace organizations and anti-war movements, wars have traditionally brought new possibilities and provided the opportunity to break (if only temporarily) old patterns. But wars are dramatic economic as well as political upheavals and it should not be surprising that they signal major transformations on the home front as well as in the postwar political arena. We should therefore look at World War II in the context of other wars and their impact on women's work. World War II was not unique in drawing women into the workforce, nor was it unique in allowing women to enter occupations previously deemed "men's work." What was different was that it came after a century of gradually increasing participation by women in the paid workforce and a century of gradually changing expectations by and about women in relation to the public world of workplace and politics.

In American history we can go back to the Revolution to measure the impact of wars on women's work. The Revolution

and, later, the War of 1812, forced the new nation to become self-sufficient economically. The need for domestically produced goods (as opposed to imports) changed, forever, the nature of women's work in the home. By the middle of the nineteenth century, women's domestic work in many communities no longer resembled the household labor of their grandmothers. Candles, soap, clothing, and even some food, could be purchased at a store. Women's productive labor in the household was gradually eliminated, replaced by industry and factory labor. The domestic work per-

tions. Women who staffed the Sanitary Commissions or, later, the Freedmen's Bureau, learned important lessons about the public sphere, extending the expectations of virtuous domesticity into the arena of social reform work.

When the war ended, the constellation of gender relationships did not revert to their prewar patterns. Women began to view the public world of both wage work and social reform as arenas in which they could and should participate. Middle-class women in particular began to assert a visible presence in the realm of public policy



US government poster.

formed by women became invisible, unmeasurable, unpaid, and unacknowledged.

By the Civil War, wage work was not unusual for the daughters of many American families. New England farmers as well as Irish and German immigrants could expect to send their daughters as well as their sons into wage labor in the new textile, shoe, tobacco, and clothing factories. The Civil War increased the opportunities for women to enter industrial occupations. The war also brought middle-class women into the public sphere as volunteers, nurses, and even administrators of relief organiza-

concerning their industrial sisters. The war set the stage for the major transformations in industry that would draw ever increasing numbers of women into wage work. The reality of women in the workforce combined with the aspirations and concerns of middle-class social reformers meant that industrial policy questions would focus more and more on issues of women's work — wages, working conditions, hours, inspection regulations — the problematic questions of protective legislation.

The Civil War era also set a pattern for women's work and for the working women

that held until the World War II era. Most wage-earning women were domestic servants. The rest congregated in unskilled manufacturing occupations that paid little, offered few opportunities for advancement, and required little training or education. They worked mainly in textiles, clothing, and other light industries. Most women who worked for wages until the mid-twentieth century were young, single, and were immigrants or the daughters of immigrants. They planned to work for only a short period in their lives. With the excep-

industries by 460 percent. The only occupation in which women's participation declined was domestic service. Some employers offered special inducements to women such as on-the-job day care, banking, shopping facilities, transportation, and hot lunches. These received considerable publicity but were in reality few in numbers. More often, industry offered women high wages and the opportunity to learn skilled work.

The need for women in skilled occupations raised a critical policy question for

differ from women who had worked for wages before the war? The major difference for black women was that they began to leave domestic service. The number of black women in service work dropped by 15 percent at the end of the war. The major difference for white women was that they were older and more of them were married. The number of working women over 45 and married increased, although some women returned home after the war, these older women did not.

These changes provide a clue to the dramatic transformation in women's work patterns since the war. By 1980 women constituted over half of the paid workforce. The average working woman was no longer young and single; rather, she was the mother of young children and planned to work for the majority of her adult life. Women's wage work has become visible both to the economy and to the culture. These changing patterns clearly point toward policy considerations that have yet to be realized for women. The division between home and work is blurred, but public support for women's work life remains weak.

One reason for the gap between the reality of women's lives as wage earners and a public family policy that assumes most women are homemakers hinges on the continued low status, low-paid, temporary nature of women's jobs. Women occupy the least organized sectors of an economy that is poorly organized to begin with. Most of their jobs are dead ends, their wages minimal. Yet it is women in these occupations — the secretaries, clerks, maintenance workers, and waitresses — who must press for an industrial and family policy that accurately reflects the realities of American life. Child care, flexible time, maternity or paternity leaves, and comparable pay, are all issues that have become critical for women in the years since World War II. World War II did not alter the pattern of women's work, nor did it initiate a new direction, but the constellation after the war had been changed forever. It is unlikely that women's work will lose its visibility. It is too critical for the late twentieth century American economy. But women still have to struggle to assure that they as workers become a visible force for change in America's public policy. ●

This article was prepared from remarks given for a showing of the film "Rosie the Riveter" at a conference on "The Visible and Invisible in Women's Work" held at the University of North Carolina during Women's History Month, March 1987.

"After the war, the Bureau of Labor Statistics listed three reasons why equal pay had been granted."

tion of black women, few married women or women with children worked outside the home.

World War I did little to change the patterns established after the Civil War. Although wartime work drew women into non-traditional occupations — munitions, mechanics, postal carriers, stockmarket operators — it by and large did not alter the general outlines of female occupations or of the female worker. But like other wars, World War I did alter the constellation when the conflict ended. The major economic shift after World War I towards clerical and service work permanently changed women's work patterns as well as the arena in which they labored. By World War II, domestic service was no longer the major occupation for white women (and afterwards it would no longer be the major occupation for black women). Now, clerical and service (but not private domestic service) occupations dominated women's work.

During the half century before World War II, women had increased their presence in the paid labor force. In 1890 women constituted 16 percent of the total labor force and 18 percent of all women worked for wages. By 1940, 28 percent of all women over age 14 were in the workforce. This means that at the start of the war, women constituted a quarter of all workers.

Policy Questions

After Pearl Harbor and the beginning of the draft, industry began an active search for women workers. The demand for female labor was unprecedented. Between 1940 and 1944 the number of women in the labor force increased by 50 percent — in manufacturing by 140 percent and in war

government and industry and trade unions. The issue of equal pay suddenly became more than an abstract notion; now it might influence the war effort. Equal pay posed a dilemma for trade unions, which wanted to maintain a male monopoly on skilled jobs. With increasing numbers of women taking over these jobs, the male wage scale (which had often been established only after long struggles) was threatened. At the same time, equal pay would undermine the traditional barriers preventing women from entering male occupations.

In 1942, the National War Labor Board permitted employers to equalize wages for women if they held jobs comparable to men's. But Congress failed to pass a bill that would have prohibited wage differentials based on sex. Thus, while wages for women in some skilled occupations increased during the war, their days of high pay were short lived. According to some estimates, the wage gap between men and women actually grew during the war years. In 1939 women earned 62 percent of a man's wage, while during the war, the figure fell to 55 percent. After the war, the Bureau of Labor Statistics listed three reasons why equal pay during the war had been granted — justice, sustaining the male wage rates, and increasing purchasing power. Two of the three implied how impermanent the increase could be. Male wage scales could be reasserted as could the so-called family wage. In reality, purchasing power after the war was maintained by women's wage work. The postwar boom was predicated on women's work in the new and expanding service and consumer industries.

In 1950, women constituted 32 percent of the workforce. How did these women

PLAYER OR VICTIM? Labor and Merger Mania

by Philip Mattera

Hostile takeovers. Raiding corporations. Restructuring. A decade and a half ago, such terms belonged to the vocabulary of political and social revolution. Radicals spun scenarios — hopelessly unrealistic in retrospect but inspirations at the time — for remaking what was unlovingly called The System. The vision was of people raiding or taking over big business, government, and other components of the Establishment for the purpose of restructuring social and economic relations.

Today, of course, radical aspirations are much more subdued, and the language of taking power has been appropriated by a very different group. The new opponents of the status quo are sophisticated financiers who use their access to capital markets to challenge the entrenched position of corporate managers. Their rallying cry is not "power to the people" but rather "power to the shareholders." They want power to force companies to redeploy their assets more efficiently.

The 1980s have witnessed more tumult in what mainstream economists politely call the market for corporate control than any period since the great merger waves of the 19th century. Behemoths of capital, such as Gulf Oil and TWA, have been confronted by upstarts such as T. Boone Pickens Jr., Sir James Goldsmith, and Carl Icahn, and the result is that giant corporations have been taken over by these raiders or forced into the arms of friendly purchasers dubbed "white knights." Mergers and acquisitions have become a \$200 billion-a-year industry.

In this environment, some companies have changed their form of ownership almost as often as a model dons a new outfit. The frenzy of dealmaking is seen most dramatically in the case of the food-based conglomerate Beatrice. Since the early 1980s, the company has been both hunter and prey in acquisition plays. In 1986, Beatrice was taken private in a \$6 billion leveraged buyout; then new management proceeded to sell off large chunks of the company; and most recently, it was announced that part of Beatrice will be taken public again.

For the employees of firms drawn into takeover situations, the outcome of the

struggle between raider and management can have grave consequences. When raiders succeed in acquiring a firm, they often act mercilessly in spinning off, scaling down, or liquidating operations that do not meet their exaggerated standards of profitability. This invariably means loss of jobs, and it sometimes involves attempts to abrogate union contracts.

Even when target companies succeed in remaining independent, they usually do so only by taking desperate financial measures and embracing the raiders' own gospel of restructuring. CBS and Owens-Corning-Fiberglas, for instance, beat back their opponents by taking on hefty amounts of debt and using the funds to repurchase big blocks of their own stock. The interest burden stemming from this borrowing then led the firms to lay off large numbers of employees, downgrade working conditions, and cut back research and development. In short, the cure is as bad as the disease.

For the most part, workers and their unions have stood by and watched this spectacle of corporate transformation without being able to intervene. This is largely a legacy of US-style labor relations in which issues of ownership, strategy, and finance were considered the exclusive domain of management. Labor paralysis emboldened management to devise strategies such as the one used at Armour Food. In 1983, Armour's parent company, Greyhound, briefly shut down the meat-packing operation and sold it to ConAgra.

ConAgra then reopened it under a new name, refused to recognize the union, and cut wages nearly 50 percent.

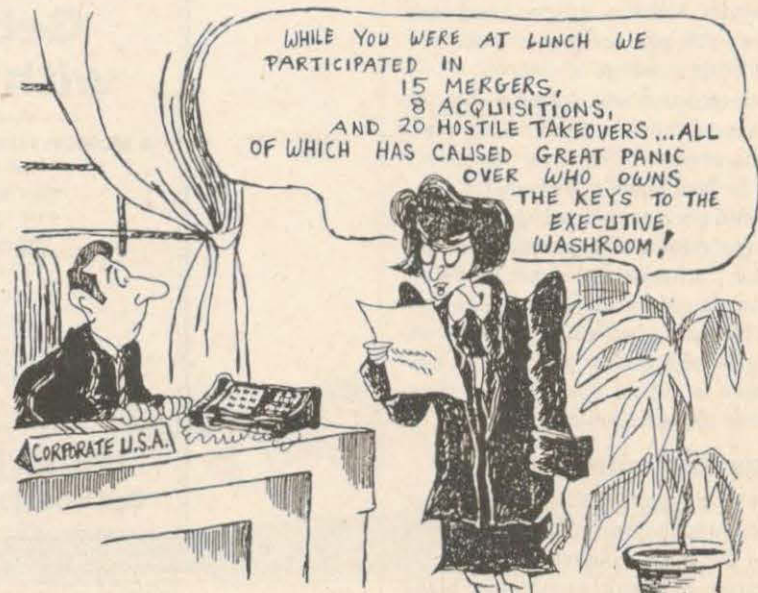
In recent years, however, a few unions have recognized that to remain a passive bystander is suicidal. These labor organizations have tried several approaches to protect the interests of workers amid the financial power plays of the Reagan era.

Intervening as Creditors

In 1986, Safeway Stores, the largest US supermarket chain, thwarted the Dart Group in its takeover effort by organizing a leveraged buyout of the firm's stock by a group of Safeway managers working with the investment company Kohlberg, Kravis & Roberts. (In a leveraged buyout [LBO], the acquiring party purchases the share of the company held by the public using funds borrowed with the assets of the corporation as collateral.)

When the LBO was announced, the union representing Safeway employees saw the writing on the wall. Under the new ownership, the company would move to close many of its less profitable stores, putting thousands out of work. To make matters worse, the company indicated that it planned to limit severance benefits.

The United Food and Commercial Workers responded to the threat in an unusual way. The union filed suit in California (where Safeway is headquartered), charging fraud. The union's argument was that the company had failed to consider the ef-



Linda Bolleau / Impact Visuals

fects of the LBO (and possible bankruptcy because of the huge debt incurred in the deal) on its workers who were, by virtue of the vacation pay and other benefits owed them, creditors of the firm.

Safeway assailed the suit as being without merit, but the UFCW persevered. In June 1987, the two parties reached an out-of-court settlement under which Safeway will give severance pay to everyone laid off as well as to employees of stores sold to other companies that refuse to recognize the UFCW contract.

Tin Parachutes

Although corporate executives usually try to prevent takeovers, they also take care to protect their own interests in case a raider prevails. Today any top manager worth his or her salt has a special employment contract that takes effect in the event of a change of control. These arrangements guarantee to the executive, who is bound to be ousted by the new regime, a healthy severance package — often worth millions of dollars. Such contracts are known as “golden parachutes,” for they allow defeated managers to bail out in a comfortable fashion.

Unions have been quick to proclaim the gross unfairness of golden parachutes. Top executives, already generously compensated, are given lavish severance benefits while workers are left to the cruel devices of the new owner.

Yet, rather than simply denounce golden parachutes, some unions have recognized that the idea might be usefully applied to workers. In 1985, the Food and Allied Service Trades department of the AFL-CIO organized a shareholder resolution at Delchamps, Inc., a supermarket chain based in Alabama, guaranteeing each employee's full pay and benefits for one year following a change of control.

The resolution was defeated, but the idea of special provisions protecting workers in the event of a takeover has slowly spread. In fact, some managements have championed the plan themselves as a deterrent against raiders. For example, Herman Miller Inc., a leading furniture producer, adopted a plan that would give veteran employees two-and-a-half times their total annual compensation after a change in control. There is even a new term for these provisions: tin parachutes.

Worker Buyouts

The most aggressive form of employee intervention in the reshuffling of corporate assets is the worker buyout.

Employee stock ownership plans

(ESOPs) were originally designed as a way for workers to share in the wealth of healthy companies by owning a limited amount of equity. During the travails of American industry in the 1970s they were redeployed as a means of preserving jobs. In buyouts such as Weirton Steel, this approach was successful. But in situations like Rath Packing, workers ended up holding the bag in companies that were headed for demise.

Partial worker ownership has become a bargaining chip during labor negotiations in troubled industries. In some cases, unions have demanded stock for their members as a quid pro quo for contract concessions, or else companies have offered the shares to make givebacks on wages and working conditions more palatable. The United Steelworkers union has aggressively pursued this avenue, and in the airline industry, similar agreements in the early 1980s resulted in workers owning 25 percent of Eastern, 10 percent of Pan American, 30 percent of Republic, and 32 percent of Western Airlines.

In a small number of instances, the quest for a worker buyout has emerged as a factor in takeover battles. In 1983, the management of Dan River Inc., a textile concern in Virginia, organized an ESOP-based buyout of the company in order to thwart a raid by Carl Icahn. In 1984, a similar step was taken at Cone Mills in North Carolina to ward off Western Pacific Industries.

Over the past few years as merger mania in the airline business heated up, the

stock holdings of workers played a part in the wheeling and dealing. In 1986, a coalition of unions at Eastern unsuccessfully tried to organize a buyout of the company to block a takeover by Frank Lorenzo. More recently, unions at Pan Am have been trying for a second time to put together a buyout of the troubled carrier. In July 1987, the labor organizations retained the notorious investment banking firm of Drexel Burnham Lambert — master of the junk bond takeover — to help formulate a strategy. There were also reports that the unions were talking with raider Sir James Goldsmith about participation in a bid for Pan Am.

The boldest takeover move by a union came in April 1987 when the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) at United put forth a \$4.5 billion bid to purchase the carrier from parent company UAL Inc. The ALPA proposal helped to put UAL (which renamed itself Allegis) “in play,” prompting another offer from a group of financiers called Coniston Partners. Allegis was forced to accept the idea of breaking up the corporation (which also owned hotel and car rental businesses), and, as of this writing, ALPA is seeking to forge an alliance with sister unions at United to make another run at the airline.

The Limits of Capital Strategies

The prospect of labor intervening in a process that has traditionally been restricted to executives and financiers is certainly tantalizing. Labor strategies argue

Get double duty with your dollars.

MONEY FUND CHECKING. At WORKING ASSETS Money Fund, you get safety, free check-writing and market-rate interest compounded daily — while your money works *for*, not *against*, your principles.¹

VISA CREDIT CARD. Every time you use your WORKING ASSETS Visa® Card, we donate 5¢ to non-profit organizations working for peace, human rights, the environment and aid to the hungry.²

→ **TRAVEL.** Use WORKING ASSETS Travel Service and we'll donate 2% of your travel purchases to our pool of progressive non-profits.

WORKING ASSETS
Call 800-533-FUND for free information.

1. Money fund kit includes prospectus with more complete information on management fees and expenses. Read it carefully before investing or sending money. 2. Last year's recipients included Amnesty International, Oxfam America and Greenpeace. Annual fee of \$20 is waived until June 1988. No finance charge on purchases paid within 25 days. 17.5% APR if you choose to defer payment. Money Fund debited by Working Assets Credit Partnership.

that decisions about corporate ownership are too important to be left to business alone. Randy Barber, director of the Center for Economic Organizing, writes in *Labor Research Review* (Number 10) that "workers and unions . . . will need to begin learning how to organize economic resources themselves and evolve what have been called capital strategies."

The problem is that some capital strategies can become strategies of capital rather than strategies of labor against capital.

It is clear that union efforts to penalize companies for shutting down operations or selling them off are in the short-term interest of workers. Tin parachutes and other forms of extended severance pay cushion the financial effects of dislocation. Yet unless these measures serve as real deterrent to shut downs, they are nothing more than a temporary cushion.

Worker buyouts are much more ambitious, but the history of ESOPs should give pause. All too often, employee ownership has served as a mere technicality, changing nothing in terms of working conditions on the job. The most distressing experience was at Rath Packing in Iowa. There the management of the employee-purchased company moved to abrogate the union contract, helping to hasten the liquidation of the firm.

In many cases ESOPs provide little or nothing in the way of worker control.

Worker-purchasers often wait years before they can even vote their shares. Many analysts in the labor movement have recognized these limitations and either have rejected the strategy entirely or, like Randy Barber, have proclaimed it a "weapon of last resort." As long as there is private ownership of industry there will be no magic solution for unions.

One capital strategy not discussed above is the creation of alternative capital pools from pension funds or from government-sponsored debt offerings. Such an approach is being promoted by Jesse Jackson. While there is some appeal in initiatives of this sort, they share with worker buyouts the pitfall of preoccupation with saving jobs at all costs. The risk is that the pressures of the market may make those jobs so oppressive that they are not worth having.

The frustrating fact is that workers and unions have a very limited ability to restrain the reshuffling of corporate assets or to establish non-exploitative forms of ownership. This is not to say that labor should not bother intervening in the merger process. But it does imply that labor involvement must be more sophisticated.

The labor movement might learn something from a particular group of players in the takeover game, namely the greenmailers. This is the pejorative title given to those financial operators who ac-

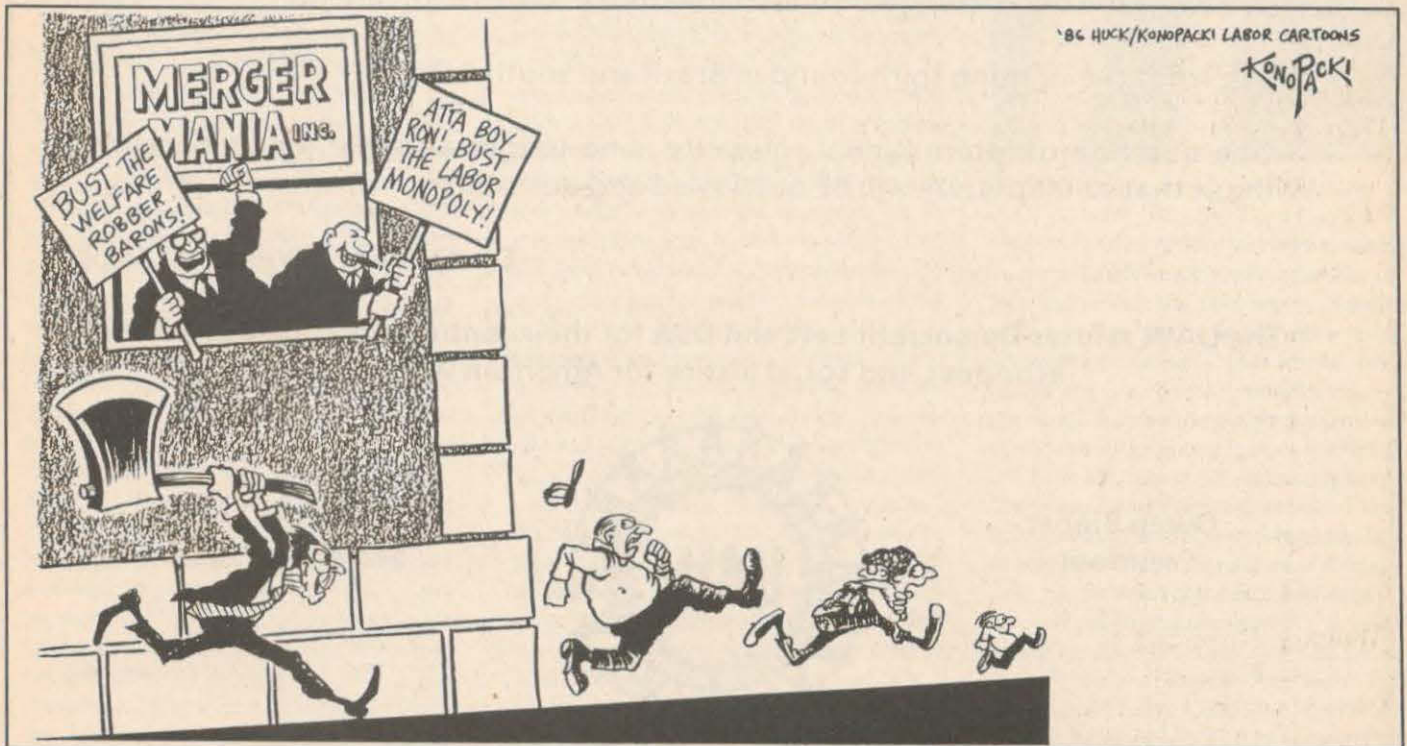
quire a block of shares in a company not to take it over, but rather to have those shares repurchased by the threatened management at a healthy premium.

Some financiers who have a record of selling back their shares in such situations — although they would deny that this was their original intention — are Saul Steinberg, the Belzberg Brothers, and Paul Bilzerian.

Financiers of this sort do not seek to purchase the target company themselves. Once they have been bought out, the firm remains independent or is acquired by a more acceptable party. In either instance, the greenmailer walks off with a fat profit on the investment.

The lesson for workers and unions is to position themselves to take advantage of the merger process. Whether it means putting a company into play or holding the decisive block of stock or making a strategic alliance with the purchaser, labor needs to gain leverage. Certainly there are pitfalls in this strategy — as the TWA flight attendants learned when Carl Icahn turned on them not long after they supported his move to take over the carrier. Yet, only by seeking positions of advantage can labor become a beneficiary rather than a victim in the all-night poker game that is the American economy today.

Philip Mattera is the author of *Inside U.S. Business* (Dow Jones-Irwin 1987) and a freelance researcher for labor unions.



The world's greatest trust buster.

SOLIDARITY AT HOME & ABROAD

Labor Day is a time to renew our commitment to win economic justice for workers both at home and abroad.

The gaps between wages, benefits, and working conditions among the countries of the world remain far too large. The poorest paid workers in Latin America, Asia, and Africa can't afford to buy the products they make.

Here at home, the best paid workers find themselves under unrelenting pressure to lower their working conditions and standards of living to be "internationally competitive."

Our goal must be the upward harmonization of the conditions of employment everywhere. We must erase the gap between workers in the industrial and the developing countries.

Workers everywhere want the job security found in Japan...

We want the strong voice in management found in Germany...

We want the rational industrial policies found in Sweden...

We want the decent wages found in the United States and Canada...

We want the fighting spirit found in Brazil and South Africa...

The question of international solidarity is no longer a simple moral question. Without that solidarity, we will be outclassed and outfought.

-- Owen Bieber, President, UAW

The UAW salutes Democratic Left and DSA for their continuing efforts to achieve economic and social justice for American workers.

Owen Bieber
President



Raymond Majerus
Secretary-Treasurer

opeiu494

“Roll the Union On”: Michael Harrington Talks with New York AFSCME Chief Stanley Hill

The following is from a discussion on August 3, 1987 between **Stan Hill**, newly-elected Executive Director of the American Federation of State, County, & Municipal Employees Union/District Council 37 and DSA co-chair **Michael Harrington**. AFSCME/DC 37 and DSA have been active together on a range of issues, including the April 25th March on Washington against US policy for Central America and southern Africa and labor solidarity work. District Council 37 represents municipal workers in New York City and ranks as the largest and most politically active union in the metropolis.

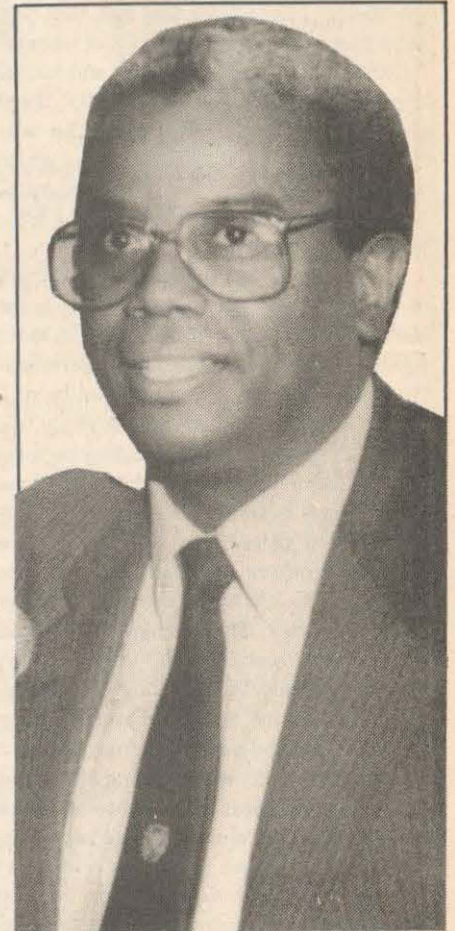
Michael Harrington: Given the fact that the trade union movement has now slipped to about 18% of the work-force, given the fact that Reagan has been doing a number on unions since he became president, given that on the average workers' wages in the United States have lagged way behind productivity and profits, why do we have a right to be hopeful about the future of the American trade union movement today?

Stanley Hill: I can only speak for the public sector. I'm hopeful because we have good leadership in Washington at AFSCME International. Also, we have good leadership in New York. I'm not trying to be modest. The communication between the leadership in Washington and here in New York is excellent. AFSCME has directed a lot of organizing nationwide. People are becoming more aware — we're educating our people more. Politically, in the public sector, we're so sophisticated in terms of dealing with issues and knowing what's going on that I think this will transcend into the future of the labor movement as they recognize how powerful we are. Now, do I have some pessimism concerning the whole of labor? Of course, but I see some light at the end of the tunnel because I feel that the private sector is now coalescing more; they're becoming more militant in terms of their demands; and they're recognizing that we've got to have unity in the movement. Wherever I go in my travels in this country I see some positive hope. I went to a Coalition of Black Trade

Unionists' conference in St. Louis. It's really the heart of America, and we had an incredible turnout from Los Angeles, New York, and as far as the New England states. People were coming to listen and not only to learn, but to request from the leadership what action can we take politically to help the labor movement. That's good. That's a healthy sign. And we're talking — at this conference — about both the private and public sector. So I see some hope.

MH: One of the things that you have done in DC 37 most successfully is you have organized blacks, Puerto Ricans, women — that is to say you have organized the new labor force. You have managed to organize those people in blue collar jobs but also you've organized them in white collar jobs. If one thinks, as I do, that part of the future of the American labor movement will depend on whether it can organize service workers and whether it can organize women and minorities, is there some part of your experience in DC 37, in the public sector, that can apply across the boards? Is there some way that you think might help other trade unionists trying to organize women and minorities in the service sector?

SH: Sure. You see, the best way to organize, besides effective communication with the workers you're trying to organize, is that you must have a program. You got to have good people who are committed to the movement, and you got to reach out to strange territories in the movement that you have never touched. We took a beating last year when we reached out to workers in the Port Authority who were unorganized. The blue collar workers — the uniformed guys — in that area were organized, but the professionals and the clericals were not. We went over there because we were approached by workers who came over to us and said, “Stan, let's organize.” We took a chance and we lost, but we left a good image about what District Council 37's all about. Organizing is not easy. I just read in the paper yesterday that in Atlantic City the casino dealers rejected two unions. That's because management is spending a lot of money, time, and skill to kill us and to kill the movement. OK, so you lose one, but we've won some big ones. We won a big



Stanley Hill.

election in Ohio, where workers needed to be organized in many service areas. So I feel, Mike, that the best way to organize people is that you've got to give them a program, you've got to educate them, you've got to have a commitment, and you've got to have the people who are willing to preach the gospel. Is it easy? Hell no! I've been through many organizing drives. I've been through several strikes. I know that the struggle isn't easy. I'm not going to sit here and tell you that it's pie in the sky . . . no, it's far from that. But, we've got to have better communication. We've got to strengthen the New York State AFL-CIO. We've got to strengthen the New York City Central Labor Council. So in our own backyard there's still a lot of homework to do. Nationwide, as I said before, I feel very

good because our International president, Gerald McEntee and our secretary-treasurer, Bill Lucy, believe in that kind of vision to organize people. We've got a long way to go. We've got a million people, but there's still a large number out there in the public sector that needs to be organized.

MH: When you organize or when you get involved in a strike, is there any part of the message that you communicate that is specifically tailored for the fact that you have a lot of minorities and a lot of women? In other words, beyond wages and hours, there are also things like pay equity, there are also questions like changing the relationship of minority workers to white workers. Is that part of your program? Does it have to become part of the labor movement's program?

SH: Of course. Absolutely. That's part of our collective bargaining demands for 1987. We have a big demand on the table right now that deals with wage discrimination and pay equity for women and minorities. We're publicizing the study this week. It's going to be a blockbuster because we're going to show where there are some glaring gaps in terms of salaries and classification of titles. The women and the minority workers have lost out over the years and it's due to the systematic segregation of titles. By putting women and minorities in certain titles with less pay, they are behind. We're trying now to correct that injustice. So we're not just talking about women and minorities from the point of view of rhetoric; we're talking now about action. We're going to the union to try to correct those mistakes that have been existent for years. And it's not only because District Council is doing it. It's because we've taken the example of our International across the country. Pay equity is happening in the state of Washington. It's happening in the state of California. So we're dealing with an issue that's very very delicate and very very crucial to our collective bargaining demands.

MH: Do you find that you can explain this to a white male member of the organization? Is he going to say, "Well, why are you doing this for all those women and all the minorities? What about me?" Can you explain to white men that this is really in their interests, too?

SH: Absolutely, Mike. You see, we're saying to all our membership that this pay equity is in addition to the negotiating that we have presented to the city. So a white male is going to benefit because if we are improving the condition of women and minorities he's going to benefit along the way. He's going to get a piece of the pie,

and he will not lose out. In fact, he will benefit also from it, because we're fighting for him — to create a better atmosphere. We're taking care of him also in terms of our demands. So we know that in the back of their heads they're thinking, "Well, what about me?" but, once again, just look at what the teachers have done when they went to Albany and got an additional \$31 million in New York State for their particular needs as teachers. Look what they also accomplished in negotiations for a minimum salary. This was all in addition to. So we're talking not just for women and minorities. We're talking for all the people who will benefit from this.

MH: How does all this play into politics? The April 25th march, which I think was very important, had, by the way, a very high turnout of both minorities and women and a very high turnout of AFSCME members. It seemed to me that probably the largest contingent was from AFSCME. I think you played a very important role in dealing with some of the criticisms within the labor movement. Do you see that foreign policy trend within the American labor movement which challenges a simplistic anticommunism as a fairly strong trend in American unionism today?

SH: Well Mike, I'm learning. I'm learning about the movement in regards to foreign policy. On April 25th, a certain segment of the labor movement took a stand against us going to Washington and supporting the people fighting against the Reagan policies on Central America and South Africa. All of labor should have joined us, but once again we're dealing with a political reality where some people felt that we're too identified with the left or "the Communists," which I seethe at because in 1963 some people from the labor movement used the same rhetoric when we marched on Washington and in support of the civil rights issues. When I was marching in Washington in '63 in support of some very important civil rights bills and Dr. King was the key person along with other labor leaders and other civil rights leaders, the same rhetoric came out from George Meany "Don't attend because you've got too many people on the left and too many Commies" all that jazz. And here I am marching and I don't understand this kind of rhetoric from George Meany because we're supposed to fight for all people. And then I hear it some 25 years later from some key people in the labor movement, saying the same thing. Stanley Hill is still here on August 3. No one has tainted me with the communism. I'm still a conscious person

dealing with the right things to do for our people and I just don't understand that kind of rhetoric. We're educating our people. That's why we took 60 buses down to Washington. We're going to continue to organize people in the labor movement. We're going to make sure they understand our position: we're here to do the right thing and not worry about the rhetoric of political labels attached to us.

MH: I'd say it's fairly clear now that barring a miracle the AFL-CIO will not in 1988 have a candidate in the primaries as it had Mondale in '84. How is that going to affect labor's political influence in the '88 campaign? Do you think there will be a trade union political influence even though there's not a candidate?

SH: Absolutely. Right now, Mike, what is happening in 1987, in preparation for '88, is something that we didn't do in the previous election. Our International had what you call an open forum discussion with the "seven presidential candidates" in Washington. They came before the International Executive Board and they presented their positions. We're educating our members by means of open forums, videotaped communication, public press communication, and we're also working with the candidates in terms of voter registration. We've got a high-level voter registration drive going on right now. We're reaching out to members. We're reaching out to people in the community to register and to become more aware of the issues. Now, let's say we don't have that two-thirds mandated by the AFL-CIO in terms of a candidate. We're still going to run our delegates for various candidates so that we can play a role at the delegate convention. Now, by some miracle if we get more than the two-thirds vote then we'll deal with an endorsement. But if we don't, we're still going to initiate the grassroots operation of supporting our candidates locally, of supporting our delegates locally, and providing all the organizational skills that we possibly can in dealing with the presidential campaign. We're going to play an active role.

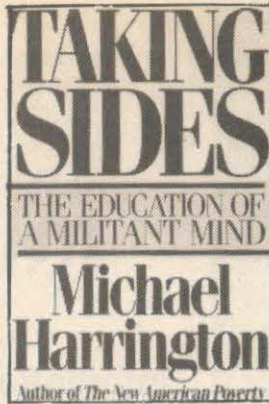
MH: Supposing that labor does at the convention have a lot of delegates in a number of candidates' delegations and has got some power. What do you think the labor movement politically, and particularly in terms of the domestic program, should press for most strongly? What are its central points that it wants to push on a Democratic presidential candidate and later, hopefully, on the Democratic president.

SH: Well, obviously the first thing we should push for among our people and

members that we represent is jobs. Jobs for not only our rank-and-file people — especially job security — but also jobs for the unorganized people who are unemployed. We should utilize our strengths to demand of our presidential candidate "What about jobs in this country?" We can't live with a seven percent unemployment figure. We can't, it's ridiculous. We've got to do something about the homeless, from the point of view of helping people to have affordable decent homes. We've got to help our people create affordable homes where they can live and not have their whole salaries wiped out by way of high rentals and high mortgages. We've got to do that. We've got to deal with the inflationary situation which is creeping up slowly and deal with the cost of living among our rank-and-file members. We've got to have a president who is not going to sacrifice butter for guns; and not become a Ronald Reagan who's constantly agitating for war. Now we've got a messed-up foreign policy as a result of his poor policy. So all of this is related. You can't separate, in my opinion, domestic programs from a sound foreign policy, because it hurts us both financially as well as politically. So these are things that I would consider: housing, jobs, a better educational system to help our kids. Of course, right now, Mike, the drug problem is also a top issue among our rank-and-file people, and it should be a top issue regarding the labor movement because drugs are killing our youth. Drugs are hurting. And of course related to drugs is the serious problem of AIDS? All of this is related, but the basic common denominator for the labor movement revolves around jobs and decent housing, and a good educational system, so that our kids will grow up and use their maximum growth, so that when they reach an age of working that they'll have the skills and the desire and the confidence to get a decent job in our society.

MH: Is there anything I've left out? Anything that you want to ask yourself and answer?

SH: Well, there's so much to say. As the new executive director I'm learning every day that people want good leadership and honest leadership and people want a person who's going to speak the truth and try to do their best. They're not asking for the world. They just want a decent place to live and to enjoy. A good world. A safe world. I've found that the average member will trust you and will respect you and will follow you if you have those basic characteristics. And you can't ask for more than that.

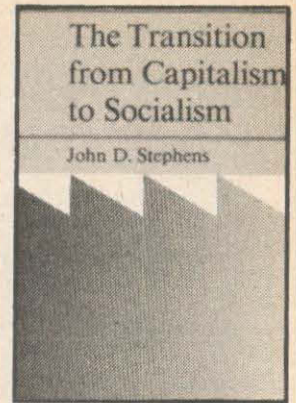


TOWARD A SOCIALIST THEORY OF RACISM

by Cornel West



Published by the Institute for Democratic Socialism and the Socialist Scholars Conference



New Titles

- ALTERNATIVES, pamphlets by Sidel, Alperovitz, Ferlerger & Mandel (\$1.50/ea.) \$1.50 _____
- TAKING CONTROL OF OUR OWN LIVES, DSA Economic Program \$.50 _____
- FIRST STEPS TOWARD A NEW CIVILIZATION, by Michael Harrington 1.00 _____
- THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM, by John Stephens. Recently re-issued. \$9.00 _____
- GLOBAL CHALLENGE, by Michael Manley and Willy Brandt. Followup to influential *North/South* report. \$3.50 _____
- THE NEXT LEFT, by Michael Harrington (published at \$17.95) \$13.00 _____

Free Literature

(Send stamped, self-addressed envelope.)

- WE ARE THE NEW SOCIALISTS _____
- WHERE WE STAND: A Position Statement of the DSA _____
- FOR A MORE LIVABLE WORLD (Religion and Socialism brochure) _____
- WHICH WAY AMERICA? Political Perspective of the DSA Youth Section _____
- FUTURE OF LABOR (Special issue of *Democratic Left*) _____

We will bill for shipping of bulk orders.

Literature

- TOWARD A SOCIALIST THEORY OF RACISM, by Cornel West 1.00 _____
- TAKING SIDES: THE EDUCATION OF A MILITANT MIND, by Michael Harrington (published at \$16.95) \$12.00 _____
- REMAKING LOVE: THE FEMINIZATION OF SEX, by Barbara Ehrenreich, Elizabeth Hess, Gloria Jacobs (published at \$15.95) \$12.00 _____
- DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP IN LATIN AMERICA, Voices and opinions of writers from Latin America 2.00 _____
- DEMOCRATIC LEFT (Most back issues available in quantity) .50 _____
- EUROSOCIALISM AND AMERICA, edited by Nancy Lieber, articles by Harrington, Palme, Brandt, Mitterrand. Published at \$17.95 2.00 _____
- PERSPECTIVES ON LESBIAN & GAY LIBERATION & SOCIALISM .50 _____
- THE BLACK CHURCH AND MARXISM, by James Cone .50 _____
- THE VAST MAJORITY: A Journey to the World's Poor, by Michael Harrington (Published at \$10.95) 1.00 _____

Bulk orders: 10% off on 5-9 copies; 20% off on 10-14; 30% off on 15 or more copies.

Postage: Orders under 50¢, add 39¢ or send stamps. Orders from 50¢ to \$2, add 50¢ for postage and handling. Orders from \$5 to \$10, add \$2. We will bill for postage on orders over \$10.

Make checks payable to Democratic Socialists of America, 15 Dutch St., Suite 500, New York, NY 10038.

TOTAL _____

YOUR NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

On this LABOR DAY, 1987
the National Officers of the
COALITION OF LABOR UNION WOMEN
salute and congratulate the
DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS OF AMERICA

Joyce D. Miller
National President



In Solidarity

International Longshoremen's and
Warehousemen's Union

Jim Herman
PRESIDENT

Curt McClain
SEC'TY-TREASURER

Rudy Rubio
VICE-PRESIDENT



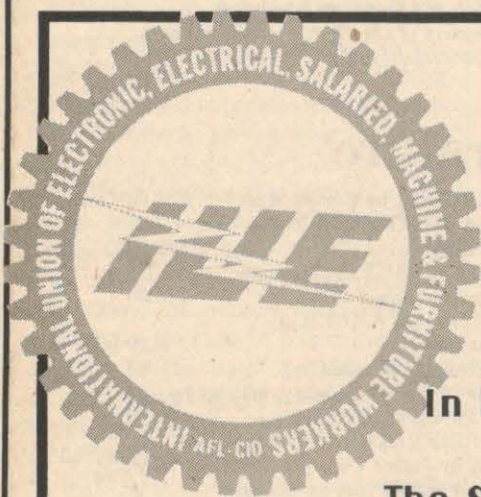
SALUTES

DSA's *Democratic Left,*

In Politics, Economics and Social Justice,
Always on the Right Side -
The Side of Working People and their Unions.

Edward Fire
Secretary Treasurer

William H. Bywater
International President



Greetings to the
Democratic Socialists of America
from the

Workers Defense League, Inc.



Rowland Watts, *President*
Harry Fleischman, *Chairman*
Catherine Lewis, *Executive Director*

15 Union Square
New York, NY 10003
(212) 242-0700



Democratic Socialists of America National Office Staff Salutes **DEMOCRATIC LEFT** on Labor Day!

Patrick Lacefield, Organizational Director
Shakoor Aljuwani, Field Director/Anti-racist Organizer
Elissa McBride, Youth Organizer
Gary Lucek, Financial Manager
Phil Steinberg, Administrative Assistant
Sherri Levine, Poverty Project Coordinator
Barbara Farrow, Receptionist

In Unity, Strength



**SERVICE EMPLOYEES
INTERNATIONAL
UNION
AFL-CIO, CLC**

John J. Sweeney
International President

Richard W. Cordtz
International Secretary-Treasurer

Shout Protest Cheer Debate Lobby Dissent
 Inform Argue Applaud Condemn Challenge
 Criticize Educate Protect Object Praise
 Oppose Persuade Discuss Sue Denounce
 Boo Commend Support Preserve Convince
 Speak Out **ACLU** Defend Win

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
NEVER SILENT

I WANT TO MAKE MY VOICE HEARD.

Enclosed is my contribution to ACLU of \$ _____
 I want to join ACLU. Credit my contribution towards membership: \$20 Individual \$30 Joint More
 Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send coupon and check to: American Civil Liberties Union,
 132 West 43rd Street, New York, NY 10036.

We want more schoolhouses and less jails, more books and less arsenals, more learning and less vice, more constant work and less crime, more leisure and less greed, more justice and less revenge – in fact, more of the opportunities to cultivate our better natures . . .

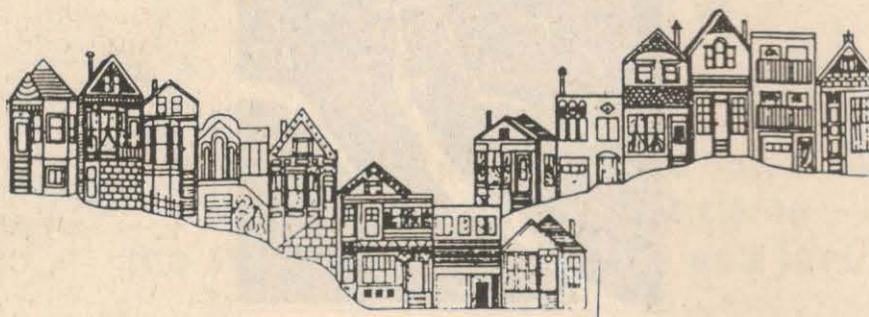
Samuel Gompers, 1893

DETROIT DSA

Executive Committee

- | | |
|------------------|---------------------|
| Marc Baldwin | Eric Pierson |
| Kathy Callahan | Roger Robinson |
| Jim Jacobs | Helen Samberg |
| Mark Levinson | Moira Kennedy Simms |
| Marianne McGuire | Marianna Wells |
| Oscar Pascal | Margaret Zimmith |

We salute DSA's continuing struggle for social justice and a better world!



**Robert Sheppard and Associates
 (Housing Rights Lawyers)
 414 Gough St., Suite 3
 San Francisco
 (415) 861-6600**

DISTRICT COUNCIL 37

American Federation of State, County &
Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO
125 Barclay Street, New York, N.Y. 10007

FRANK MORELLI

President

ARTHUR TIBALDI

Treasurer

STANLEY HILL

Executive Director

ELAINE ESPEUT

Secretary

MARTIN LUBIN

Associate Director

**We stand together with the DSA
For peace, freedom and social justice**



THE
NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL JOINT BOARD
OF THE
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING AND TEXTILE
WORKERS UNION, AFL-CIO-CLC

ED CLARK, MANAGER
AND INTERNATIONAL
VICE PRESIDENT

Greetings!

Ray Ahern
Honorable and Earl Bourdon
Fay Bennett & Roland Watts
Phillip H. Van Gelder
Howard County/MD DSA
Harry Hyde Jr.
Ann & Bill Kemsley Sr.
Nancy Kleniewski
Chrisinda Lynch

Deborah Willen Meier
Maxine Phillips
Portland DSA
Princeton NJ DSA
San Diego DSA
Carl & Wilda Schwartz
Carlton W. Smith
Evelyne & John Stephens
Roger S. Wilson

LABOR DAY GREETINGS
from
Local 2382 CWA (AFL-CIO)
Silver Spring, MD

Paul & Yvonne Baicich
Solidarity
Solidarnosc
Solidaridad

Solidarity with American Labor
**CUBAN CHRISTIANS
FOR JUSTICE AND FREEDOM**
Michael G. Rivas
Manuel Viera

**Marshall Mayer
Bonnie Lambert
Greg Lambert**

In Memory
**Hugh W. Chaffin
1900-1984**

Honorable & Earl Bourdon

In Memoriam
Dan Schelly
A Socialist to the end
Ruth and Sam Class
Oceanside, California

Democratic Socialists
Celebrate Labor Every Day.
Dorothy Tristman & Larry Wittner

**Brooklyn's Underhill Manor
Salutes DEMOCRATIC LEFT!**

Linnea Capps Robert Murden
Patrick Lacefield Kathleen Ward

For Democracy and Socialism
Jim Johnson
P.O. Box 156
Stovall, NC 27582

Brendan & Patricia Sexton

Labor Day Greetings from
Carol★Simpson Productions
Political Cartoons & Graphics
(312) 227-5826

Next to Socialism,
The best hope is working
for it.
Natalie & Harry Fleischman
(our slogan since 1940)

GREETINGS
BOSTON DSA
(617) 426-9026

Best wishes from World Fellowship
RD2, Box 53, Birch Street
North Conway, NH 03860

Walter D. Goldwater
1907 - 1985

**Marilyn M. Einhorn
Lawrence R. Maxwell**

Democratic Socialism:
The humane alternative
Greetings from DC/MD DSA.

Liberté, Egalité, Sororité
The struggle continues
**Steve Tarzynski, Kathie Sheldon,
Mercie and Benjamin.**

Labor Day Greetings
From Members of the
UAW RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
Detroit, Michigan

PETER HENNER, *Attorney at Law*

*Labor Law, Environmental Law,
Social Advocacy, General Practice*

424 New Scotland Ave., Albany, NY 12208
(518) 482-3203

Solidarity Forever!



SEIU Local 585
237 Sixth Avenue
Pittsburgh, PA 15238
(412) 828-5100

Rosemary Trump ... *President*

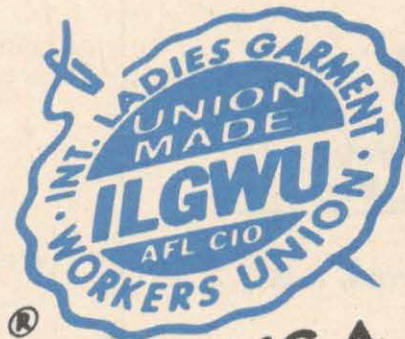
Local 840, IBT

Lenwood Terry
President

William Nuchow
Secretary/Treasurer

International Brotherhood of Teamsters

*We commend and support
DSA's efforts
to fight
labor's enemies
and build
labor's ranks.*



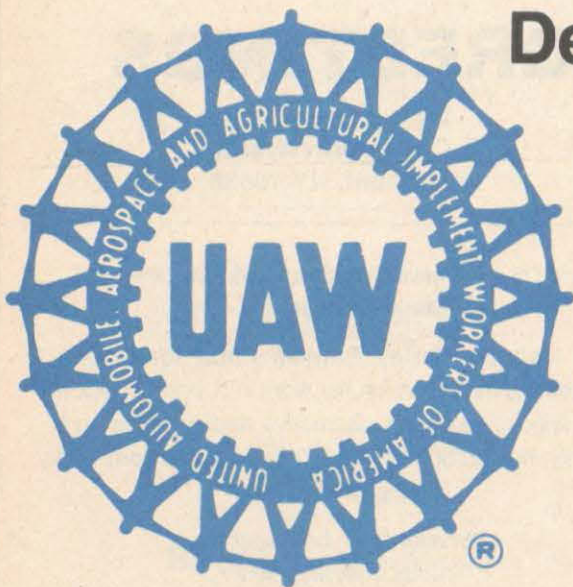
Made in U.S.A.

*Jay Mazur
President*

*Irwin Solomon
General Secretary-Treasurer*

*Wilbur Daniels
Executive Vice President*

Labor Day Greetings to our Friends in Democratic Socialists of America



Region 9A
John J. Flynn
Director

GALLON, KALNIZ & IORIO

P.O. Box 7417 Toledo, OH 43615
(419) 535-1976
Providers of legal services
to organized labor
and the American working class.



Caroline Health Services, Inc.
DENTON MEDICAL CENTER

JAMES E. CORWIN, M.D.

P.O. Box 660 Denton, Maryland 21629 • Telephone (301) 479-2650



Greetings to **DEMOCRATIC LEFT**
on Labor Day!

Michael Harrington

For a Democratic Left slant on the Jewish question, Jewish affairs, Jewish life, Jewish culture and Israel, subscribe to:

JEWISH CURRENTS

(Morris U. Schappes, editor)

22 E. 17th St., Suite 601, Dept. DS, New York, N.Y. 10003
(212) 924-5740 Monthly, \$15 per year in USA
For sample copy, send 50¢ to cover postage.

*There's always darkness before the dawn –
only 16 months of Reagan but
many years to build Democratic Socialism!
Carry it on!*

Joseph M. Schwartz
Boston DSA

*Labor Day Greetings From the
Black Swamp*

Black Swamp Local
Democratic Socialists of America
6493 Garden Road, Maumee, Ohio 43537

GREETINGS

Westchester DSA
55 Chatsworth Avenue
Larchmont, NY 10538

**LABOR DAY GREETINGS
FROM PHILADELPHIA SOCIALISTS**

Philadelphia DSA

Working in Philadelphia for comparable worth, non-intervention, and a more progressive city budget.

House of Our Own Bookstore
Radical Books and Periodicals
Celebrating Our 16th Year

Ithaca DSA will never forget our treasured member,
Malinda Runyan.

The Malinda Marlay Runyan Fund for Social Justice will help carry on her work in support of public and special education, alternative media, peace and solidarity, human rights, women's issues, and community empowerment.

Donations can be mailed to:
Luster Salk and Henry
415 North Tioga Street
Ithaca, New York 14850

COMMUNICATIONS TRADE DIVISION
American Communications Association

International Brotherhood of Teamsters
111 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10006 • 267-1374

DANIEL J. KANE, *President* MATT AYON, *Secretary-Treasurer*



*"The Labor of a human being is not a commodity
or article of commerce."*

(Chapter 133.07 of the
Wisconsin State Statutes)

**We are committed to the spirit
and the letter of that law.
It is the founding principle of our Union.**



**WISCONSIN STATE
EMPLOYEES UNION
AFSCME COUNCIL 24
AFL-CIO**

The Law Offices of
LITT & STORMER
3550 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles, California 90010
213-386-4303

We're Union. And We're Proud.

CWA

Communications Workers of America
Morton Bahr, *President*
James Booe, *Secretary-Treasurer*

NABET
**The progressive union
for progressive filmmakers.**
Local 15
1776 Broadway
New York, NY 10019

*Labor Day Greetings
from*



**LOCAL 1-3 FLM-FJC
UNITED FOOD & COMMERCIAL WORKERS
INTERNATIONAL UNION (AFL-CIO)**



New York Offices: 275 Seventh Avenue, New York, NY 10001 • (212) 242-5450
250 West 28th Street, New York, NY 10001 • (212) 924-6600
149 West 28th Street, New York, NY 10001 • (212) 244-6177
New Jersey Office: 2 Centre Avenue, Newark, NJ 07102 • (201) 642-4375-4634
Pennsylvania Office: 301 Main Street, Elkhart, PA 16920 • (814) 256-7236

In Solidarity

LOCAL 259 U.A.W.

Sam Meyers, *President*

A.C.T.W.U. SALUTES DEMOCRATIC LEFT

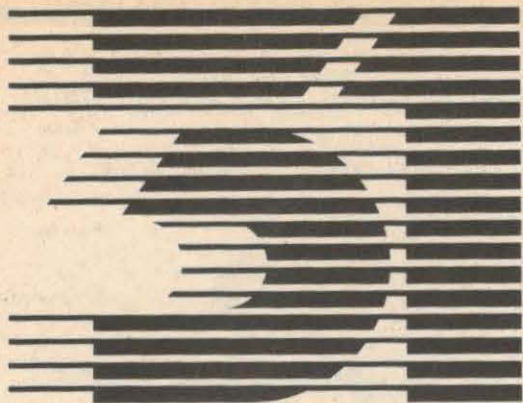
A Voice of Reason and Progress

MAY IT ALWAYS BE HEARD

**AMALGAMATED CLOTHING
AND TEXTILE WORKERS UNION,
AFL/CIO, CLC**

**Murray H. Finley
*President***

**Jack Sheinkman
*Secretary-Treasurer***



AFSCME Council 31

**The Union For
Public Employees**

AFSCME Illinois Offices:

534 S. Second
Springfield IL 62706
217-788-2800

29 N. Wacker
Chicago IL 60606
312-641-6060

Greetings from

DISTRICT 65

United Automobile Workers

AFL/CIO

David Livingston, *President*
Frank Brown, *Organization Director*
Cleveland Robinson, *Secretary-Treasurer*

*"When the union's inspiration through the workers' blood shall run,
There can be no power greater anywhere beneath the sun . . ."*

Together we can build a revitalized and **inspiring** labor movement!

DISTRICT ONE

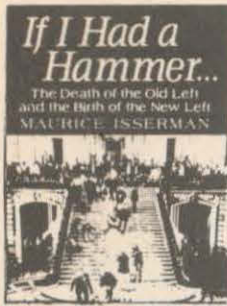


COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO

JAN D. PIERCE
Vice-President

"A brilliant book."

—MICHAEL HARRINGTON



The American historian looks at the Old and the New Left—and discovers the links between them. "A delightful, amusing, shrewd, and very perceptive look at American radicalism in the 1940s and 1950s prior to the outbreak of the New Left in the early 1960s. With objectivity and a

command of the devious and dense pathways of radical sects through one of their darkest and most discouraging periods, Isserman has identified those parts of the history which did or did not reemerge in the youth movement of the 1960s. It is a wonderful story and an indispensable look at the period." JAMES GILBERT, University of Maryland

\$18.95



BASIC BOOKS

10 East 53rd St., New York, NY 10022
Call toll free (800) 638-3030

**SOUTH END PRESS ON LABOR:
TOOLS FOR ACTIVISTS**

Labor Law Handbook

Here Michael Yates concisely explains U.S. labor laws in a way that avoids legal jargon but respects all essential details. **Michael Yates**
\$8.00



**Sisterhood and Solidarity:
Feminism and Labor
in Modern
Times**

Diane Baiser

For the first time, a study of three working women's organizations (WWA of 1868, Union WAGE and CLUW) is available to help us explore the problems of organizing around gender and work, unionizing women workers, and using economic power to facilitate social change. **\$9.00**



Available in bookstores or send prepayment (price of the book plus \$1.50 postage for the first book and 50¢ for each additional book) to: South End Press, 300 Raritan Center Parkway, CN 3137, Edison NJ 08818

IN SEARCH OF NYC

Essays, reportage, portraits, polemics and reminiscences, photos, and a roundtable on the city today, edited by Jim Sleeper.

Koch and Social Retreat

Irving Howe

Stumbling Toward Tomorrow

Ada Louise Huxtable

The New Immigrants to New York

Phil Kasinitz/Roger Waldinger

Ruins and Reforms

Marshall Berman

New York vs. American Myths

Thomas Bender

Black Factions and Feuds

Martin Kilson

Good Schools? Possible, but . . .

Debora Meier

The Downtown Personality

Paul Berman

Rappin', Writin', Breakin'

Juan Flores

To order: send \$5 (\$3 for 3 or more copies) to DISSENT, 520 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017.

dissent

dissent

\$5.00 / Fall 1987

IN SEARCH OF NEW YORK



The Industrial Union Department (AFL-CIO)
salutes the DSA on its leadership
in the struggle for progressive policies and values.



Industrial Union Department (AFL-CIO)

Howard D. Samuel
President

Elmer Chatak
Secretary-Treasurer

WE STRUGGLE WITH YOU FOR LESS INJUSTICE
FOR ALL OF SOCIETY'S VICTIMS

PHILO, ATKINSON, STEINBERG, WHITE & KEENAN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW

2920 EAST JEFFERSON AVENUE / DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48207-4208

HARRY M. PHILO
LINDA MILLER ATKINSON
RICHARD L. STEINBERG
MARY STUART WHITE
STANLEY WHITE
SUSAN G. WRIGHT
JUDY KEENAN
EMMA R. STEPHENS
SUSAN C. FISHER
JEANETTE PERAINO
DAVID D. WHITAKER

J. NELL HUNT
DIANE VIGLIOTTI
JIMMIE DURHAM
MELANIE MILLER COPTY
HARRY M. PHILO, JR.
PHYLLIS DAVIS
ALISS E. BOGENN
DOROTHY GRIGGS
JANET SEIGEL
LISA M. GAMALSKI
SHERYL SOWLES WINQUIST

PATTIE J. BOYD
ILENE J. STRICKLAND
LATONA CLARK

DAVID L. ROTH
Attorney at Law

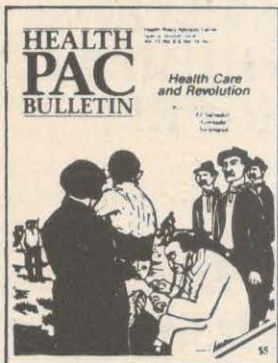
LAW OFFICES OF DAVID L. ROTH
 1440 Broadway, Suite 800
 Oakland, California 94612
 (415) 835-8181

Business Law & Litigation
 Personal Injury Cases



I am proud to be associated with active progressive people who have not forgotten the importance of a strong voice for labor in a healthy economy and the importance of a healthy economy for democracy. The fight against poverty and unemployment is our biggest battle in the struggle for human freedom.

HILDA HOWLAND M. MASON



What's Happening to Health Care?

The Health/PAC Bulletin shows you.

No one else offers independent analysis of health policy issues from prenatal care to hospices for the dying; covers medical carelessness for women and on-the-job poisoning; offers incisive international reports and lively briefs on domestic health developments; and stays on top of the changing trends that are transforming the health care industry.

Yes, I want to become a member of the Health Policy Advisory Center and receive the Health/PAC Bulletin.

Individuals \$35.00 Institutions \$45 2 years \$70 Students/low income \$22.50

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

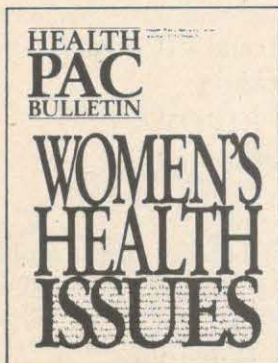
State _____

Zip _____

Charge: Visa MasterCard No. _____

Exp. Date _____ Signature _____

Send your check or money order to
 Health/PAC Bulletin, 17 Murray St., New York, N.Y. 10007



For Zionism, Socialism and the Kinship of All Peoples

ISRAEL HORIZONS ISRAEL HORIZONS

The Socialist Zionist Journal

Israel Horizons offers a critical examination of the issues facing the people and State of Israel as we enter the 1990s. For 35 years, we have been casting a wide net over Jewish affairs the world over. From the tangle of Israeli politics, to the diverse elements that make up the Jewish people, *Israel Horizons* covers the issues. We offer a different view, a view from the Left. Something you won't find in any other Zionist publication.

Israel Horizons

150 Fifth Avenue Suite 911

New York, NY 10011

Subscriptions are \$15 year for a year (five issues)

Labor Day Greetings from New York City DSA

Steve Oliver — *Chair*
Deborah Schultz — *Vice-Chair*
Frank Llewellyn — *Treasurer*
Miriam Bensman — *Publications*
Jim Devor — *Political Action*
Fritjof Thygeson — *Organization*
Mike Phelan — *Membership*

SOCIALISM—HUMANITY'S BEST HOPE!

NASSAU LOCAL (LI) DSA

CHARLIE RUSSELL and VICKIE SILVER
Co-chairs

LOTTIE FRIEDMAN
Treasurer

Mark Finkel, Joe Friedman, Steve Gullo,
Joel Kupferman, Ruth Russell, Marc Silver,
David Sprintzen
Executive Committee

The Coalition for a New Foreign Policy is working to turn America's priorities around. We organize and lobby **against** the arms race and bloated military budget; **for** human rights and peaceful solutions at home and abroad.



COALITION

For a New Foreign Policy

712 G Street, S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003

**Please
Join Us.**

Tell me how I can get involved. Here's \$2 for my information packet.

Name _____
 Address _____ City _____
 State _____ Zip _____ Phone () _____

City University Branch NEW YORK DSA

Bogdan Denitch, Chair
Announces the sixth annual

Socialist Scholars Conference:
April 8,9,10, 1988

Patricia Belcon, *Registrar*
 Peter Kott, *Space Coordinator, S.S.C.*
 Will Petry, *Publicity S.S.C.*
 R.L. Norman, Jr., *Organizer, S.S.C.*
 Richard McCarthy, *Security, S.S.C.*

Write: Socialist Scholars Conference
c/o R.L. Norman

Sociology Department, Room 801
 CUNY Graduate Center,
 33 W. 42 St., NYC 10036

FORGING A FUTURE

For almost half a century the United Steelworkers have been a force for progressive social, economic and political policies in the United States. It is meeting the challenges of a changing technology and workplace with innovation, cooperation and strong trade union principles.

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA

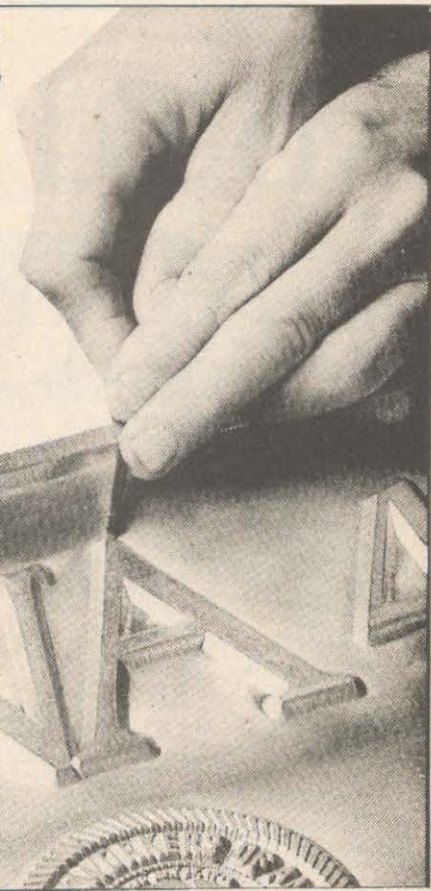
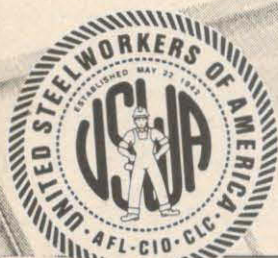
LYNN R. WILLIAMS
President

EDGAR L. BALL
Secretary

JAMES N. MCGEEHAN
Treasurer

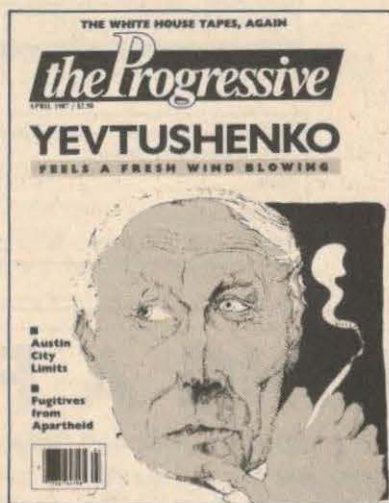
GEORGE F. BECKER
Vice President (Administration)

LEON LYNCH
Vice President (Human Affairs)



Take a **FREE**
look at an issue
of The Progressive.

Then, you
decide if
you'd like



to

SUBSCRIBE.

YES, let me decide—Send me my FREE issue and reserve a one-year subscription for only \$16.97.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE

ZIP

GUARANTEE: If The Progressive isn't for you, return the subscription bill marked "cancel" within two weeks and that's that. You've spent nothing. You owe nothing. And the sample issue is yours to keep, FREE.

THE PROGRESSIVE P.O. Box 54615, Boulder, CO 80321-4615

"Jobs With Justice" Sparks Union Solidarity

by Jan Pierce

"Until we get real wage levels down much closer to those of the Brazils or Koreas, we cannot pass along productivity gains to wages and still be competitive."

—Stanley J. Mihelick
Executive Vice-President
Goodyear Co.
N.Y. Times, June 4, 1987

The tire industry executive quoted above unfortunately speaks for a lot of employers.

Seven years of union-busting, concession bargaining, and lost strikes still haven't driven workers' wages down far enough to suit many corporations.

The *Times* article from which this quote is taken reported that "the hourly compensation of American manufacturing workers, adjusted for inflation, rose an average of only eight-tenths of 1 percent annually from 1981 through 1986, and actually declined in the year ending last March . . . During the same period, the productivity of the nation's factories rose a very respectable 4 percent annually, on average. And, in some industries — among them tires and rubber, steel, autos, copper processing, cement and railroads — productivity increased 6 percent or more a year."

Employers are continuing to push for even greater "productivity" and "competitiveness," however. And their demands are echoed in the rhetoric of presidential candidates from both major parties whose prescriptions for the U.S. economy seem to imply the need for further "sacrifices" by labor in both manufacturing and service industries.

Very few of these candidates — even those who claim to be "friends of labor" — have displayed any great concern about the implications of this downward spiral in American workers' living standards. As *The Times* noted, recent "wage restraint and the falling of value of the dollar against other currencies have already brought the American factory worker's compensation roughly into line with that of some European countries and closer to that of Japan." If management's new goal is to match the far lower labor costs of impoverished Third World countries, union members here face more hard fights in the next few years regardless of who is in the White House.

That's why my union, the Communications Workers of America (CWA), has joined together with eleven others and the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department (IUD) to begin creating a climate of greater public understanding and sympathy for labor struggles in this country. The vehicle is our national "Jobs With Justice" campaign — a grassroots protest against the erosion of job security, employer attacks on workers' rights, and the use of "competition" to destroy union members' living standards.

Jobs With Justice was launched July 27-29 of this year in Miami during CWA's annual convention. A crowd of more than 10,000 South Florida trade unionists and CWA local union delegates from around the country held a mass rally at the Miami convention center to focus attention on the impact of airline and telecommunications deregulation on union conditions in those industries. CWA members employed at AT&T and local telephone companies were joined by hundreds of Miami-based machinists, flight attendants, and pilots from Eastern Airlines who are currently locked in a bitter battle with Eastern's new union-busting boss, Frank Lorenzo.

Rally speakers included both national union leaders like CWA president Morton Bahr and International Association of Machinists president William Winpisinger and rank-and-file victims of the job elimina-

tion, workers dislocation, and de-unionization spawned by de-regulation and resulting corporate restructuring. Also addressing the crowd were non-labor supporters of the Jobs with Justice concept — Molly Yard, the newly-elected president of NOW, Joseph Lowery from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Karen Clark of the Florida Consumers Federation.

In connection with the rally, three members of the House Education and Labor Committee — U.S. Representatives James Jontz (D-Ind.), Charles Hayes (D-Ill), and Major Owens (D-N.Y.) — came to Miami to conduct public hearings on "worker abuse" by Florida employers. More than 500 people attended and heard testimony from union members, local union officers, labor economists, and community leaders. The Education and Labor Committee will hold further investigation hearings at the site of Jobs with Justice rallies planned for this Fall in Des Moines, Moline, Illinois, Nashville, and Nagadoches, Texas.

The focus of the mass rallies and related hearings is not specific legislative solutions of the sort already being promoted by the AFL-CIO during the current session of Congress or projected as part of labor's post-Reagan legislative agenda. Rather, the goal is to organize displays of grassroots militance and anger, build cross-union alliances, and demonstrate to unorganized



Michael Harrington speaks at support rally.

Tony Savino/ Impact Visuals

workers that a collective and massive response to workplace problems can and will generate positive changes.

An important aspect of all Jobs With Justice activity is encouragement of greater inter-union solidarity. Participants are being asked to sign a pledge card as a symbol of their commitment to more effective mutual aid among members of different unions. Each signer declares that "during the next year, I'LL BE THERE at least five times for someone else's fight, as well as my own." The support activity specifically mentioned includes "supporting our right to a decent standard of living (and when necessary walking the picket line with my union brothers and sisters), supporting the right of workers to organize and bargaining collectively, and fighting for employment security and against efforts by management to close offices or factories in the name of competition."

Some cities and states already have official or unofficial solidarity networks capable of mobilizing people on this basis in difficult organizing, contract campaign, or strike situations. Many other areas, however, do not. Jobs With Justice organizers therefore hope to use the local coalitions formed to sponsor the upcoming rallies and the thousands of names and addresses collected on the pledge cards to launch new community-labor support organizations.

In Miami, "I'll Be There" pledge card signers successfully blocked a scab crew from NBC television from entering CWA's convention with the backing of a court order and staged mass picketing in support of the handful of NABET members on strike against NBC in the area.

The campaign's stress on membership



Kirk Condyles / Impact Visuals

Representative Major Owens.

mobilization and education, self-help, and sticking together will hopefully convey an important message to labor and its supporters as more and more organizational resources are devoted to electing a Democrat — any Democrat — to the presidency next year. I believe that the changes organized labor needs to survive — much less revive — are not likely to occur solely as a result of ending Republican rule in 1988. And if we look to the Democratic Party (as currently constituted) to be our automatic saviour, we are in for some serious disappointments akin to those experienced by trade unionists during the Carter era.

That's because the agenda of big business, including almost all unionized employers, will remain the same regardless of who is elected president next year. And, just as in the 1930's, the only thing that will really transform labor-management power relations, enhance the role of collective bargaining, and restore workers' rights under a new Democratic Administration is the activity of workers themselves, both organized and unorganized.

It took major upheavals more than 50 years ago to force Franklin Roosevelt to aid labor's cause. It will take similar rank-and-file pressure and threats to "industrial peace" to regain the ground we have lost as the gains of the New Deal have crumbled under the employer assaults of the 1980's.

"Jobs With Justice" is just the kind of rallying cry and issue-oriented campaign that we need to get the ball rolling again in the right direction. ●

Jan Pierce is a national vice-president of the Communications Workers of America who directs its largest district, covering New York, New Jersey, and New England. For more information on Jobs With Justice, DSA members can contact the CWA Organizing Department, 1925 K. St. N.W., Washington, D.C. or the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department, 815 16th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

GREETINGS



CBTU

COALITION OF
BLACK TRADE
UNIONISTS

GREETINGS!



Shelia Berger
Heather & Paul Booth
Paul Buhle
Pat Eames
Kim Fellner
Lottie & Joe Friedman
Dianne Glinos & Brad Jones
Seymour Kahan
Ida & Abe Kaufman
Joe McLaughlin
Richard R. Renner
Penny Schantz
Bernice & David Selden

CLASSIFIED

OFFICE SPACE WITH DSA — DSA is subletting two offices from its NYC suite. Offices are 430 sq. ft. @ \$552/mo. incl. elec. & 262 sq. ft. @ \$336/mo. incl. elec. Come home to DSA . . . and bring your organization with you. Call Phil Steinberg at DSA, 212-962-0390.

THE BEN LINDER PEACE TOUR comes to Jersey with speeches by brother John Linder in Trenton on October 1, Newark on October 4 and Rutgers/New Brunswick on October 5. Let's stop contra aid! For more information, contact Carol Gay (201) 750-5880 or Joe Borralino (201) 768-7562.

HEADED FOR ISRAEL? Ex-DSOC activist and current MAPAM member Eric Lee welcomes the chance to talk with visiting DSAers. Write him at Kibbutz Ein Dor, D.N. Yezreel 19335 ISRAEL or call 06-768444.

NEEDLEPOINT, ANYONE? Large DSA needlepoint patterns (fist and rose with "Democratic Socialists of America" circling 'round) available in limited quantities. Send \$5 to DSA, 15 Dutch Street, Suite 500, New York, NY 10038.

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, 1516 P Street NW Washington, D.C. 20005.

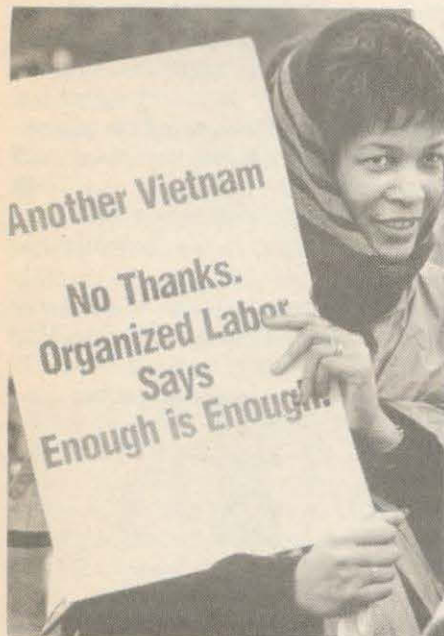
Classified advertising rates are \$2 per line, \$50 per column inch. Payment in advance. Twenty percent discount if ad runs two or more times. We reserve the right to reject ads.

Labor and Central America: Change is in the Wind

by Ed Clark

Twenty years ago I marched in Washington, D.C. to protest my government's role in the Vietnam War. Although I was a union member and the son of two union members, I marched under the banner of the Student Peace Union. There were other trade unionists there and even a few trade union banners in the crowd, but clearly this march — like many others of that period — had been organized by the "peace movement." In 1967, like many members of my generation, I saw "big labor" as part of the problem, not part of the solution.

On April 25, 1987, I marched again in Washington, D.C. This time the cause was peace in Central America and southern Africa and I marched under a union banner, with more than a thousand members of my international union, many from my region in New England. The march was organized by the mainstream leadership of the American trade union movement and the Ameri-



Jim West / Impact Visuals

can religious community. Although other constituencies were invited, this time the march was clearly *ours*.

The call to the march was signed by 22 presidents of U.S. unions representing

more than 50 percent of the membership of the AFL-CIO affiliated unions, as well as tens of thousands of nonaffiliated unions. It called for an end to *contra* aid, aid to UN-ITA, and an end to U.S. complicity in the apartheid system. Hundreds of local and regional union leaders supported this effort, with marches held in both Washington and San Francisco.

Twenty years ago, the top AFL-CIO leadership in Washington ignored antiwar marches or dismissed them as "Communist inspired." This year even though the march was called for, organized, and led by the leadership of many national and international unions, the top leaders of the AFL-CIO actively opposed it, pressing signators of the march "call" to withdraw their names and redbaiting the entire effort.

What happened around the April 25 march illustrates a growing division in the house of labor over the role of the American trade union movement in this country's foreign policy objectives, a division with crucial implications for American workers. In part it grows out of the debate held at the 1985 AFL-CIO Convention in Anaheim, California when, for the first-time a floor debate on these issues was held at a federation convention. Although there have always been international unions that have held a different point of view on foreign policy — most notably the UAW under socialist Walter Reuther — the number and breadth of the unions who signed onto the April 25 march is unprecedented.

Chips in the Cold-War Bloc

The yeoman service performed by the AFL-CIO's international department and its American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) on behalf of the cold-war policies of the top leaders of the federation and the Reagan administration has been well documented. Indeed, the involvement of the AFL-CIO leadership — through its representatives on the board of Prodemca and the National Endowment for Democracy — are beginning to emerge more clearly on TV screens across the country in Iringate hearings.

In 1981 William Winpisinger of the Machinists, Doug Fraser of the Auto Workers and Jack Sheinkman of the Amal-

gamated Clothing and Textile Workers convened a meeting of top national union leaders to form the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador. Since then the committee has produced two fact-finding tours and reports from Central America and put forth and lobbied for a progressive labor policy towards the Third World. Currently the committee is led by the presidents of 23 major national and international unions. It is clearly the major progressive voice of American trade unionism on Third World affairs.

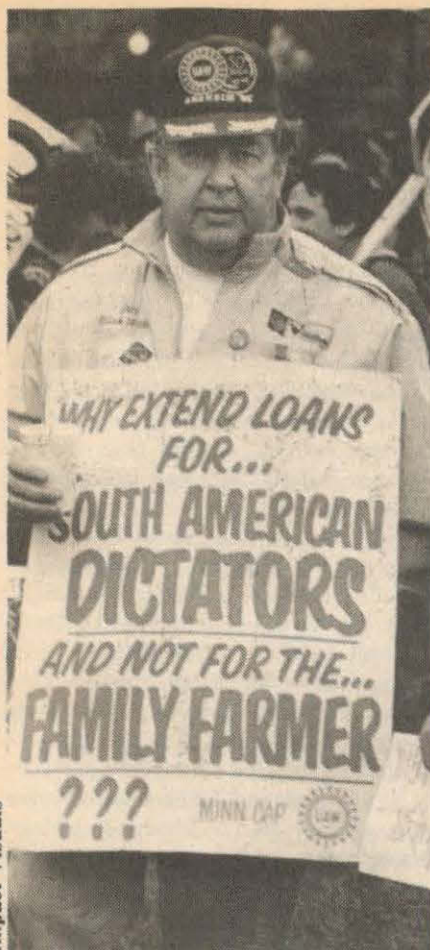
Thus, the April 25 march grew out of the momentum of those in the international union leadership who, increasingly, are disaffected with the official AFL-CIO line on foreign policy. Additionally, there is a growing dissatisfaction among second-level leadership around the country with the official AFL-CIO policy.

Linking Concerns

Most trade unionists are more concerned with how the National Labor Relations Act is working and how safety and health regulations are being enforced than with the specifics of the current political complexion of a union federation in Central America. In general, they support free and effective trade unions all over the world, but have little interest in knowing if a Salvadoran union is left-wing or right-wing. Few even know about the AFL-CIO's 43-million dollar international program (using mostly U.S. government money) to prop up and sometimes create "centrist" trade unions around the globe. (The entire domestic budget of the AFL-CIO is less than 43 million dollars.)

But workers do know that they are losing their jobs to low-wage foreign competition. The 1970s and 1980s have been decades in which the U.S. has been engaged in a fierce economic war with the rest of the world. U.S. workers, particularly industrial workers, have been the shock troops in that war. Workers seldom get golden parachutes in this economy. New jobs being created pay less in general than those that have been lost in our global war of wage competition.

Most Third World countries, particu-



larly in Latin America, are now so deeply in debt that repayment of interest and even a token repayment of principal seems almost impossible in most cases. The policies of the International Monetary Fund have created more poverty and misery in Latin America than existed two decades ago. In general, Latin American workers are not producing goods for their own use. Increasingly, they produce goods for export in order to service huge internationally held debts.

When a garment worker loses her \$6 per hour job in New England and that job ends up in El Salvador at \$4 a day — performed by a worker who can't afford to purchase what she produces — everyone loses, except, of course, the multinationals and the retail barons in the U.S.

When that worker in New England complains, she is told she is overpaid and "noncompetitive". When that worker in El Salvador complains, she is arrested, disappeared, or murdered, especially if she does not enjoy membership in an AIFLD supported "free trade union."

The real competition in the world today is competition based almost entirely on wages. The military operations needed to protect and to keep this "good business

climate" going are paid for by the American taxpayer, including our garment worker in New England. The cost gets higher every day. All workers, north and south, are now losing the war of wage competition.

Regional trade union organizations are beginning to reach out to Third World workers. In September 1986, for instance, the California Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) adopted the Salvadoran Textile Workers as a sister union and helped that union to settle a strike at a San Salvador factory where Levi jeans are made. The settlement was accomplished in part by putting pressure on the parent companies here in the U.S. The Salvadoran Textile Workers Union is part of a left-wing labor federation that AIFLD has declared to be dominated by "Marxist-Leninist guerillas" — a claim that the federation vigorously denies. When Richard Rothstein, then manager of the California Joint Board of ACTWU, was asked by the press about these allegations, he replied, "I don't know about their affiliations . . . What I know is that they represent exploited workers at textile and apparel plants in El Salvador. As long as they are doing that, they are allies of ours."

In the long run, progressives within the labor movement will continue their efforts to change an American foreign policy that serves neither the interests of the American or Third World workers. The fact that hundreds of millions of workers in developing countries don't enjoy the minimum rights of free association, collective bargaining, the right to a controlled amount of work hours, a minimum wage that allows them to purchase the goods they make, prohibitions against child labor laws, and the most basic of political rights, endangers the rights of workers everywhere, but especially American workers.

A garment worker in New England will never be able to "compete" with the system of oppression under which her sis-

ter trade unionist produces similar goods. That is why the current line of the top leadership of the AFL-CIO must be opposed.

Opposing Contra Aid

As *contra* aid becomes an issue on Capitol Hill this fall, all progressive trade unionists must lobby against it. In 1986, 23 top elected union officers, 20 of them from AFL-CIO affiliated unions, signed a public statement addressed to Congress opposing *contra* aid. Many of these leaders personally lobbied Congress for an end to aid to the *contras* and to military aide to El Salvador. That important effort will be repeated this fall.

Today, organized labor must adopt a policy based on international labor solidarity, a policy that will protect American workers' jobs and strengthen the American economy while also strengthening the economies of developing countries.

Contra aid is, in many regards, the cornerstone of the Reagan presidency. If *contra* aid fails and the Reagan administration is seen to be in disarray on the Hill, trade legislation, minimum-wage legislation, plant closing legislation, and much more will have a better change of passage.

Unless the organized labor movement clearly articulates a policy of opposition to the Reagan administration both at home and abroad — a policy dictated by democratic principals in the marketplace and in the political arena — those whom they represent, the American workers, will continue to lose jobs. That is why we marched on April 25 and that is why labor leaders are joining with their members across the country to continue to sound the progressive voice of labor in both the domestic and foreign arena. ●

Edward W. Clark, Jr., international vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, is director of the New England Regional Joint Board of ACTWU and a DSA member.

DSA MUGS

12 oz. Ironstone, with a 2-color (red & black) imprint of DSA's logo, on choice of white, beige or light gray mug.

\$5.50/each postpaid when you buy 4 or more. 2 or more \$6 each.

Singly \$6.50.

Locals: Inquire about discount case rate-- 36 mugs per case

Send checks payable to Baltimore DSA to 1443

Gorsuch Ave, Balt. MD 21218. Tel. 301.467-9388



Shaping a Pro-Family Workplace

by David Blankenhorn

“I don't see the question of parental leave as a women's issue, and neither does this union. It's a family issue.” So argues Clement Allen, a fourth generation coal miner and an official of the United Mine Workers — a predominantly male union now emerging as a leader within the labor movement on the issue of parental leaves for new parents.

On this Labor Day, two core challenges face the U.S. labor movement as it struggles to reverse its present state of decline. The first is demographic: to organize younger workers in the service and high-tech economy — the emerging majority whom Ralph Whitehead has called “new collars.” The second is ideological: to frame an agenda that promotes labor's interests, but always as part of the broader public interest. Clement Allen's view of parental leave as “a family issue,” and his union's promotion of it in both contract negotiations and legislative lobbying, suggests in microcosm what may become labor's most promising new strategy for meeting this dual challenge.

The strategy, in brief, is to demand for U.S. workers what might be called the “pro-family workplace.” Such a strategy poses the question: How much longer will corporate leaders ignore the new realities of the American workforce and the American family? In particular, how much longer will they undermine their own productivity by expecting today's workers to fit yesterday's personnel policies?

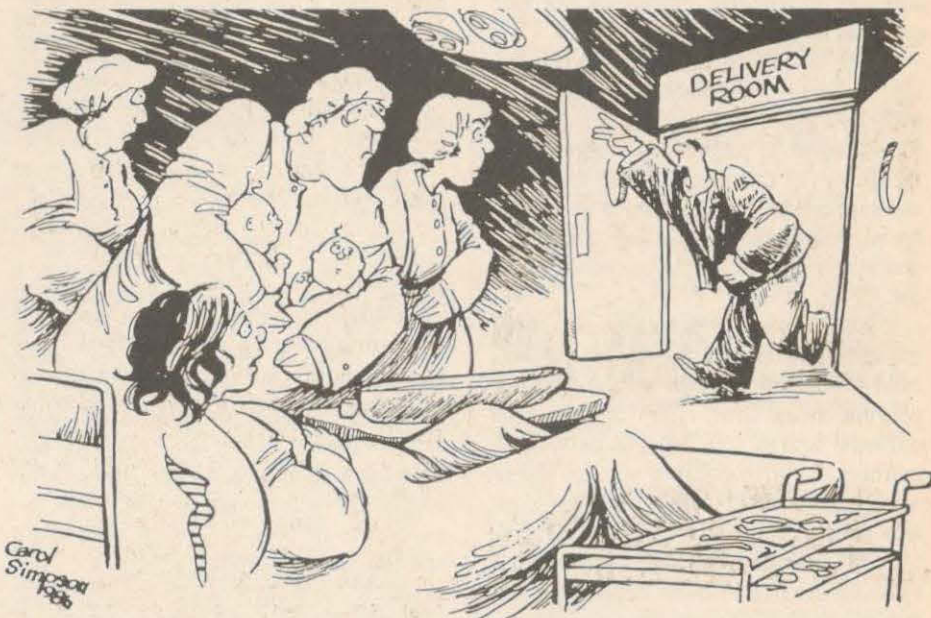
Surely corporate leaders see the trends that have transformed the labor force and restructured the family. Thirty years ago, men comprised 70 per cent of the workforce. Two out of three American families consisted of a breadwinner father and a mother who raised the children.

Today men are only 56 per cent of the workforce. Fewer than one in five families consist of two parents and children supported by a single income. Nearly 70 per cent of mothers with school-age children now work outside the home as well as in it,

as do over half of all mothers with preschool children — surely the greatest shift in family life in this century, and one that shows no sign of reversing itself.

— to employees with young children.

Among the nation's 1000 largest firms, only about one in seven offer flexible benefit plans, in which employees can purchase



“Back to work Mrs. Johnson . . . your maternity break is over!”

But today's corporate personnel policies remain stuck in a 1950s time warp, rooted in the quaint assumption that employees have “someone at home” to attend to family matters. Most don't. Above all, today's workers need flexible policies that help them bridge the gap between work and family — policies that permit working parents to be better parents.

Yet today about 60 percent of working mothers remain unprotected by even as few as six weeks of compensated pregnancy

benefits, such as child care assistance, that suit their individual and family circumstances. A recent survey of 500 major firms found that fewer than one in three allow flexible working hours. Fewer than one in five permit job sharing.

Meanwhile, public demand for the “pro-family workplace” is clearly growing. Over the past several years, the Roper Organization has polled Americans to determine which benefits they expect or desire from employers, and which they do not.

“In Congress, labor has emerged as a major voice in support of the Family and Medical Leave of 1987, which would allow parents up to 18 weeks of unpaid family leave.”

leave. Parental leaves for new fathers are rarer: fewer than one in three major companies offer even unpaid paternal leaves. Child care also remains a low priority. Only about 2,500 of the nation's 44,000 largest employers offer any assistance — financial, on-site centers or information and referral

Their key finding: the rising demand for family-support benefits for working parents.

For example, the public's desire for company-supported child care has grown nine percent in five years: 33 percent of all adults now consider it either an employer's

"definite responsibility" or a "highly desirable" employee benefit. Similarly, 32 percent strongly endorse job-sharing, up six percent in five years. Flexible working hours are now supported by 55 percent of the public. A 1986 Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll found that 52 percent to 37 percent of Americans agreed that "companies should be required by law to let men and women take up to eighteen weeks of unpaid leave from their work after the birth or adoption of their child." In the case of seriously ill children, 72 percent felt that parental leaves should be available.

The trendlines are clear. Support for the pro-family workplace will continue to grow as a growing proportion of the workforce consists of parents who require new flexibility in balancing the demands of working and parenting. Here is an agenda for labor that both reaches new constituencies and speaks clearly in the public interest.

Already some corporations and unions are setting examples for other to follow. Merck & Company, the nation's largest pharmaceutical firm, offers job-protected parental leaves, for fathers as well as mothers, for up to eighteen months. Merck also allows flexible working hours and offers several on-site or nearby child care centers. The American Can Company has established a flexible benefits program that is both cost-effective and popular among employees. American Telephone and Telegraph, Corning Glass Works, Levi Strauss and Company and Steelcase, Inc. have demonstrated similar leadership and creativity.

Within the labor movement, both the

Steelworkers and the Auto Workers, for example, recently negotiated child-care agreements with major companies. Today both the Service Employees and the Communications Workers regularly fight for family-support benefits in contract negotiations — pay equity, child care, parental leave, sick leave, and others — while the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers recently won contracts mandating "Work and Family" committees similar to the health and safety committees pioneered by the same union a few years ago. In the Congress, labor has emerged as a major voice in support of the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1987, which would require companies to allow parents up to eighteen weeks of unpaid family leave.

Employers who have introduced pro-family reforms often find that the changes actually make their companies more productive. They have found, according to a survey by the Employer Supported Child Care Project, that flexible workplace policies result in less absenteeism, lower employee turnover, better recruitment capacity and higher morale. As demographers predict tighter labor markets, and even labor shortages, for the 1990s, many employers will recognize that these investments in people — what economists call the "human capital" approach — are precisely the right strategy for improving U.S. productivity and competitiveness in today's global economy.

Here labor's interests are synonymous with the public interest and the requirements of the new economy. Here labor's demands reflect the new demands of today's families, and echo the widespread cul-

tural yearning for stronger families. To establish the pro-family workplace as a new national norm in both the public and private sectors is surely a worthy goal for the American/labor movement — one that could help turn decline into renaissance as we approach the 1990s. ●

David Blankenhorn is director of the Institute for American Values, a public policy organization based in New York that is concerned with family issues.

Editorial

The daily scene in New York — homeless people lying in doorways, stretch limos cruising potholed streets — calls to mind an hour I once spent on the terrace of a famous hotel beside the Great Pyramids of Gizeh. As we dined in elegance, just beyond a low hedge, families of famished beggars crouched in the dust, in full view, watching us . . .

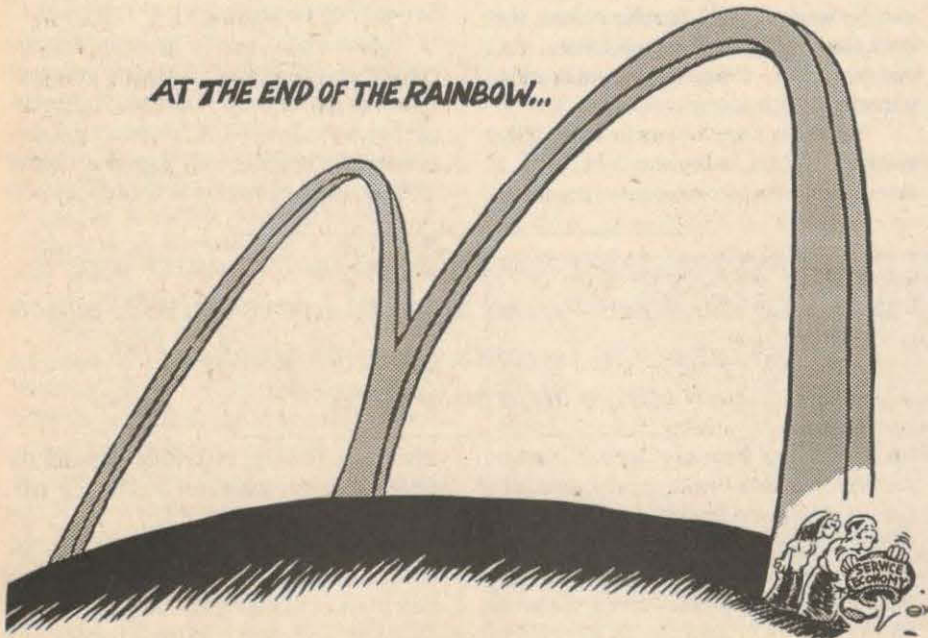
To live well in the Third World without unbearable moral discomfort one must learn to enjoy such a meal, either by ignoring the misery beyond the hedge or by believing that the poor are victims of their own sins and innate flaws and that anything we might share with them would likely do them harm.

As the distribution of wealth in our country approaches the Third World pattern, so this outlook is propagated among us. "Bleeding heart" is transformed into an epithet and the poorest of the poor into a class of wastrels and criminals — the oppressors of the working class.

Item: This morning's paper sympathetically describes the temptation of a public official to quit his \$96,000-a-year-and-perks job in order "to earn some real money." Bear in mind that a majority of Americans earn less than \$20,000, and then read editorials arguing that we cannot find competent functionaries to work for five times as much.

The *New York Times*, which insists that the right minimum wage is \$0.00, recently reported at length how hard it is for a youngish financial executive on Wall Street to make do on \$600,000 a year. In Detroit, it is taken for granted that top brass clear seven figures in a bad year; Lee Iacocca's halo was not at all dimmed by the \$20 million that Chrysler forced upon him in a good year. It is not so much the widening gap in

AT THE END OF THE RAINBOW...



Vietnam Vets Perform for Homeless

by Jo-Ann Mort

“F

inding out there were homeless Vietnam veterans brought back all the things that the

incomes that troubles me as the fact that it is taken for granted. The president of a civil-service union whose members average \$17,000 a year told me he rather agreed with a proposal to raise the pay of certain city administrators to nearly ten times as much, in order to compete for talent with private industry.

That is a Third-World outlook. It assumes that all of its members now earning \$12,000 to \$40,000 are bereft of managerial competence and that those who earn much more are that much better than they — and possibly even underpaid.

Our democracy has thrived because, however hard life has been for succeeding waves of immigrants, they could reasonably expect it to be better for their children. This is no longer true. What, now, will happen when a majority realize that they and their children are condemned to a declining standard of living?

The Right tells them to blame the poor: the welfare cheats, the teenage mothers, the youthful muggers. And the propaganda falls on receptive ears, for it permits near-poor whites to preserve a sense of superiority while directing their fears and resentment toward a weak opponent. Hence the election of the likes of Reagan, and hence Howard Beach and other outbreaks of racial savagery.

And yet, a majority voted last fall for the party accused (however exaggeratedly) of harboring a bleeding heart. The racist, anti-poor reaction defies truth, common sense, and our best instincts. We are a land dedicated to the truth that all are created equal. Our task is to persuade our people that compassion is still good, and equality is still right, for all of us.

— John L. Hess

postwar years meant to me as a vet, the lack of acceptance, the feelings of alienation,” says Tom Bird, artistic director of the Veterans Ensemble Theater Co. (VETCO), in a recent interview. VETCO, an ensemble group made up of Vietnam veterans, is best known for its off-Broadway performance of “Tracers,” a play about the actors’ Vietnam experiences.

“We use theater and the arts to communicate our experience and educate the public about the reality of war instead of the fantasy of war. Paraphrasing columnist Murray Kempton from a piece Kempton wrote about VETCO, Bird continues, “We use art as a way to come home to America.”

Bird first took VETCO to perform in shelters for the homeless after learning that a large segment of the homeless population consists of vets. According to the National Coalition for the Homeless, 40 percent of the male homeless population are veterans and of that, approximately about one third are Vietnam-era vets.

“We started to perform in the shelters in the second year of the Reagan administration,” explains Bird. This guy was saying that America was back in the saddle — standing tall — while he was paying lip service to the needs of Vietnam vets. He was using us to make revisionist, patriotic statements and yet, the truth was, I still felt like I existed outside of America. Then, there were these homeless guys who must have felt like they were on the moon.

Coinciding with the national tone being set by Reagan, here in New York, we had the local tone being set by Ed Koch. He was turning over the city to the real estate developers.

As it worked in shelters, VETCO discovered which ones housed more vets. I started out trying to do a program using selections of drama which would provoke the audience, explains Bird. I tried to select pieces of drama where the protagonist was up against the system, asking it questions and trying to change it.

VETCO’s early performances in the shelters included *Medal of Honor Rag*, a play whose main character is a black medal of honor winner from the Detroit ghetto who kills North Vietnamese soldiers after they kill his three best friends. The soldier returns to Detroit after he’s discharged from the service, severely depressed for having done what he was brought up not to do — kill people.

“All of a sudden,” continues Bird, “the White House swoops him up, makes sure he’s not addicted to any drugs, puts him in a uniform and flies him to LBJ who pins a medal on him. The army recruits him back with a nice pay raise, gives him sergeant stripes. Then he crashes, realizing he’s being honored to do what he was brought up not to do. He sees he’s being honored at the expense of his three best friends, that he’s being used as a black man by a white society to recruit more black men to go off to Vietnam.” The play is about the confrontation between him and a white New York City psychiatrist who is trying to help him get over his survivor’s guilt.

“The guys in the shelters loved it,” recalls Bird. “They could totally relate to the story, to the questions it raised. It stirred them up. It got them thinking about the system that just like them to check in, get on the chow line, pick up their bedding, go to bed, don’t cause any trouble . . . like they’re back in the army again.

“To survive in that system, you have to work full-time in that system,” he says. “It’s amazing there haven’t been shelter riots,” Bird observes.

“The guys were very appreciative that we had brought them something to make them think, that we were taking them seriously. But, the word eventually came down from the shelter system staff that these guys’ lives were too dramatic for us to lay this drama on top of them. The message was for us to cut it out.

“So, I had to make a choice,” says Bird. “Do I not do these shows or do them and change the format? I decided that it’s better to get in there, to let the guys know we care about them and remember them. So we started with different formats.” The group continued to have an impact. For example, a homeless vet saw the troupes in the shelters and spent a year doing volunteer office work for it. Eventually, he began reading his poetry about his time on the streets.

“I decided to switch gears, to use laughter and entertainment to raise the spirits of the homeless men,” says Bird. The theater group began to bring comedians, magicians, dancing girls, and other performers to the shelters. Bird says that the responses to these shows are “euphoric.”

VETCO just received a Human Resources Award for its efforts in New York
continued on page 43

DSACTION

UPCOMING

● Organizing for DSA's **Poverty Project** is well underway by many of our locals. Anti-poverty work being done in conjunction with Justice For All, the November 17th Day of Awareness on Poverty, will be facilitated by a large grant recently awarded to Justice For All. The money will be used to hire at least one field organizer, whose responsibility it will be to assist local coalitions as they develop their anti-poverty work.

Diverse coalitions are being pulled together by DSA locals in Detroit, Boston, Pittsburgh, Washington DC, Nashville, Youngstown, Albany, Claremont, NH, Los Angeles and, possibly, Baltimore. Many of these cities expect the coalitional efforts to culminate in grassroots hearings in city council, where witnesses will be national and local poverty "experts", as well as residents who have experienced poverty themselves.

Many locals have made education around the structural causes of poverty and possible long-term solutions a priority in their anti-poverty work. The New York local just completed a summer series on the politics of poverty in New York, with presentations by Jim Chapin and Carol O'Cleireacain. The Cleveland local, in conjunction with the CSU Youth Section chapter, is hosting a series of speakers the week of November 17th. They will also use the National Day of Awareness as an opportunity to announce a DSA-sponsored, semester-long school on poverty. Detroit is organizing a fall outreach educational event, and Baltimore has already scheduled Barbara Ehrenreich to speak at the 5th anniversary of the Progressive Action Center on a socialist analysis on poverty.

Princeton and Portland are playing key roles in organizing community-based workshops on various aspects of poverty. Princeton's workshops are being organized by a broad local coalition and will revolve around a photography exhibit on poverty and a November 17th presentation by Frances Fox Piven.

The Lexington and Ann Arbor locals will use the poverty project as a focus for their fall outreach meetings. Lexington plans on having a panel, at which Sherri Levine will give a national overview of

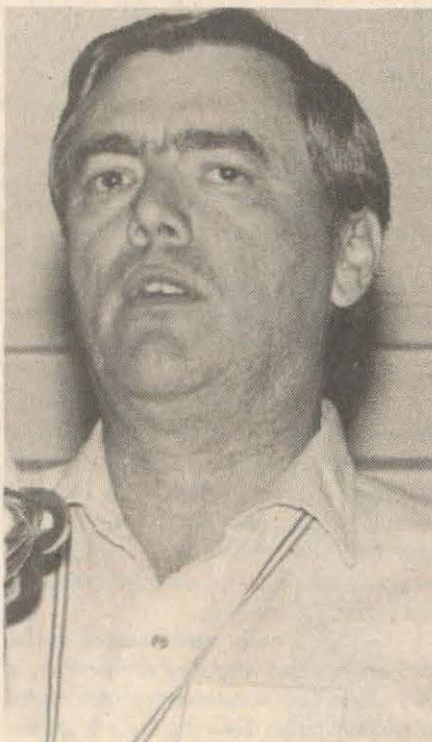
anti-poverty policy and a Lexington resident will discuss poverty in the Lexington community.

The DSA Youth Section will be making anti-poverty work a priority for the upcoming school year. Activities will include workshops, forums, and teach-ins, in coalition with campus- and community-based groups.

If your local is interested in making anti-poverty work a priority for the fall, contact Sherri Levine at the national office at (212) 962-0390.

REPORTS

● Over three hundred activists from the Plains States came together on the weekend of June 19-20 in Kansas City, Missouri to share issues know-how and organizing experiences in the fourth Democratic Alternatives conference. Farmers, unionists and Democratic party activists from Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas,



Farm activist Wayne Cryts.

Illinois and the Dakotas heard speakers like DSA Co-Chairs Michael Harrington and Barbara Ehrenreich, Machinists President William Winpisinger, and economist Jeff

Faux sound the battle cry for strengthening the alliance between labor, farmers and progressive Democrats. Farm activist and Democratic congressional candidate Wayne Cryts and actor/activist Ed Asner also spoke at the conference and were joined by journalist David Moberg, Dave Ostendorf and Dan Levitas of the Prairie Fire Rural Action, Richard Margolis of the Rural Coalition, and Claude Thornton of UAW Local 93.

The conference wasn't just talk, however. A number of activists joined Harrington and Asner (by the way, a native of Kansas City, Kansas and a former worker in KC-area auto plants) at a morning rally to lend much-needed support to Local 576 of the United Food and Commercial Workers. Local 576 is involved in a bitter contract dispute with Frank's Foodlands — a non-union reincarnation of the abruptly-closed and unionized Save Marts chain. Speaking from a flatbed truck, Harrington, Asner and local unionists called for consumer and worker solidarity with Local 576, attracting a wealth of media attention for the Local's campaign.

The success of the conference was due largely to the efforts of the Kansas City DSA local and members Walter Pearson, Cindy Neifeld, Diana Hedding and Wade Hannon, working hand-in-hand with area farm and labor activists. Thanks goes to UAW Local 93, UAW Region 5, IAM District 142, UFCW Local 576, Bakery Workers Local 218, SEIU Local 96, and the Boilermakers International Union.

The fifth Democratic Alternatives conference, initiated by Chicago DSA, is scheduled for Saturday, October 31 in Chicago. Tentative speakers for the get-together, organized in conjunction with union, black and Latino groups, include Michael Harrington, Ann Lewis and Chicago Mayor Harold Washington. Democratic presidential aspirants Jesse Jackson and Paul Simon are also invited. For more information, contact Democratic Alternatives of Illinois at 30 W. Washington #700, Chicago, IL 60602 (312) 726-1191.

● Three DSA members were the recipients of **MacArthur Foundation awards**, which are given annually for outstanding scholarly work, and are free to be used for any purpose the recipient desires. Our winners were Debbie Meier, a pioneer in suc-

cessful alternative education in New York City; Irving Howe, the editor of *Dissent Magazine* and author of many books; and William Julius Wilson, noted Black sociologist at the University of Chicago and author of *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Congratulations to all three.

● As the 1987-1988 school year begins, students and youth activists are considering a range of actions — mobilizing a student Rainbow Coalition, fighting against a September contra aid request, blocking the nomination of Bork to the Supreme Court — all of which demand great commitments of time and raise serious questions for activists.

The DSA Youth Section's Summer Conference in Cleveland last month addressed a number of these questions. Over one hundred students, representing twenty campuses, met to write up action priorities for the coming year. Presentations and workshops by representatives from the Rainbow Coalition, gay and lesbian rights organizers, researchers from the Christic Institute and the Institute for Policy Studies, and by youth section activists provided a context for detailed discussion of strategies for our activism in 1987-88.

The group also elected an Executive Committee for this year. Neal McLaughlin, of Cleveland State University, will chair the committee; Paul Baer, organizing in the South this year, will serve as vice-chair; and Jane Welna, graduate of Carleton College, and Dina Levinthal, graduate of Harvard University, were elected corresponding secretary and secretary/treasurer, respectively.

Some took advantage of the gathering to do some onsite organizing. The gay and lesbian caucus spontaneously designed a well-attended and very successful participatory workshop. In addition, two new caucuses formed over the weekend — anti-Bork and the Greens — each of which drew up agendas for DSA youth.

If you are interested in working with, or hearing more about, the Youth Section, contact Youth Organizer Elissa

McBride at the national office in New York.

● DSA has joined the Michigan AFL-CIO and the NAACP in lending support to a boycott in support of 142 workers at nine **Herman's Sporting Goods** stores in metropolitan Detroit, Ann Arbor, Flint and Lansing. The strike, which began on July 3, involves members of District 65 of the United Auto Workers, most of whom are working-class youth working their way through school.

Pay at Herman's ranges from minimum wage to \$5 an hour and the issues in the stoppage include wages, better health benefits and educational assistance (which most other Herman's contracts include). While prepping for negotiations, District 65 of the UAW discovered that predominantly black workers at outlets in more black neighborhoods earn nearly twenty percent less than white workers at more suburban stores.

DSA Youth Section activists, responding to a request for assistance by District 65 president (and DSAer) David Livingston are hard at work with strike support and are publicizing the issues involved.

● A Gallup poll in July showed the **New Democratic Party** in Canada (our sister party) with 41 percent support nationally, compared to 35 percent for the Liberals and 23 percent for the Conservatives, by far the best showing for the NDP since its founding in 1961. The party has never won more than 30 percent of the vote in a general election.

Buttressing the Gallup poll, three by-elections in widely separated regions of Canada July 20 were swept by the New Democratic Party. The victories in Newfoundland, Ontario and the Yukon gave NDP candidates an overall vote percentage of 45 percent, compared to 29 percent for the Liberals and 26 percent for the Conservatives. Will Canada soon have the first Socialist national government on the North American continent?

Old socialists never die.
They simply pass the torch.
Rube Singer

Now Off the Press

An anthology in two volumes, covering events of the 1950s and '60s as well as today's situation:

THE COLD WAR AGAINST LABOR

edited by ann Fagan Giner and David Christiano

Order copies: softcover, \$19.95; hard cover \$39.95 plus \$5 postage and handling. Contact Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute, Box 673, Berkeley, CA 94701 (415) 848-0599.

RESOURCES

● Want to know what's happening in the Socialist movement around the world? Want a fresh perspective on world events either ignored or trivialized in the media? Want to hear the voices of leading Socialists in all lands? Subscribe to **Socialist Affairs**, the quarterly magazine of the Socialist International. Send your check for \$25, made out to Stephen Thomas Associates, and mail it to Socialist Affairs, 301 Metcalfe Street, Ottawa, Ontario, K2P 9Z9, Canada.

● The June/July issue of the newsletter of the DSA's **Latino and Anti-Racism Commissions** features articles on the April Mobilizations in Washington and San Francisco, on the problems of immigrant rights and news and notes of local DSA activities. Copies available from *Our Struggle/Nuestra Lucha*, 2827 Catania Way, Sacramento, CA 95826.

Mort

continued from page 41

City's shelters. It continues to perform about 18 shows a year, from Thanksgiving to early spring.

Contemplating his work in the shelters, Bird says the problem isn't with the people who work in the shelters. "Working with the homeless, the disenfranchised — these people deserve a lot of credit. The fault is with the larger society. There's no political leadership on this issue.

Bird recounts his experience as part of the Great Sleep-Out Demonstration held this past winter in Washington, where members of Congress and entertainment people slept for one night on the Capitol's grates to highlight the problems of domestic homelessness. "Now, you know, there are a lot of jokes about this event, but I'm glad I did it. It made me think of how twenty years before, I was sleeping on the ground in the hot jungle in Vietnam. I feel like there's still a trail in this country, that Vietnam's still going on, or that homelessness is the Vietnam of the eighties.

"When I go to the homeless shelters, I always say to the guys, I wish you the best. You're a great audience, but I hope you're not here the next time I come here. But, without leadership, with Congress and the president putting a bandaid on the problem, I don't know."

Jo-Ann Mort, a poet and writer, is active in DSA. She formerly directed the "Democratic Alternatives" project.

ON THE LEFT

by HARRY FLEISCHMAN

California

Santa Monica mayor and DSA member Jim Conn presented Michael Harrington with a proclamation, while Mike spoke on prospects for the American Left in the post-Reagan era. The sing-out and party in Santa Monica on May Day included singers Kimberly Miller, Joanna Cazden, Cricket and Lenny Potash and Jo Wilkinson . . . Over 300 people participated in May Day events in Los Angeles. Ben Dobbs, long-time socialist activist, spoke to the LA local on "What's Happening in the Soviet Union?" The June meeting focused on socialist feminism . . . Shakoor Aljuwani, DSA's field director and anti-racism organizer, spoke last month in Los Angeles, Sacramento, San Diego and San Francisco on the Rainbow Coalition and the building of Rainbow Labor Committees.

District of Columbia/Maryland

Mike Harrington spoke to 4,000 delegates to the national legislative conference of the National Council of Senior Citizens in July and also addressed a legislative seminar of Network, the Catholic social justice lobby, on "Envision a Just Economy." The Washington DC local will host the DSA National Convention Friday, Dec. 4 thru Sunday, December 6. Come One! Come All! . . . DSA organizational director, Patrick Lacefield jostled with conservative columnist and former president of the American Conservative Union John Lofton, on Silver Spring, MD's WNTR about U.S. involvement in El Salvador . . . DC DSA heard Jutta Dittfurth, co-chair of West Germany's Green Party and DSAer Norman Birnbaum in July. Mike Harrington will testify on poverty October 7 before the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, chaired by Senator Edward Kennedy.

Florida

Mike Harrington spoke on his book *New American Poverty* at a July conference for 200 St. Petersburg community and legal services activists.

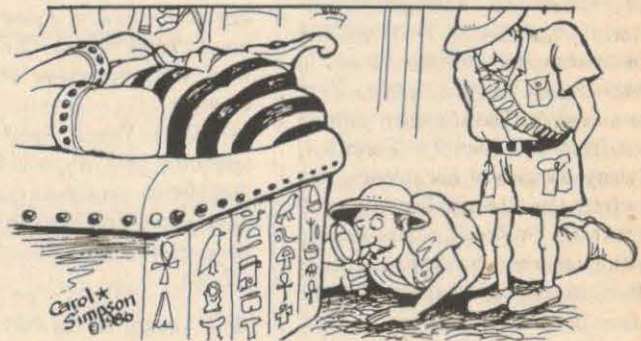
Illinois

Chicago, DSAers will host the Illinois Democratic Alternatives conference on October 31. Its sponsors include Congressman Charles Hayes; Paul Giblin, UAW; Sue Purrington, Chicago NOW; Alderman Danny Davis; Charles Williams, IAM; Sen. Howard Brookins; and Illinois AFSCME.

Iowa

Iowa City DSA's *The Prairie Progressive* features an article on the state's presidential caucus system, "Will You Still Love Me Tomorrow?," urging a stress on issues rather than "electability." . . . The Third District Democratic Work-

shop in June at the Albany Public Library. Dorrien, an Episcopal priest, is a former co-chair of Albany DSA . . . Representatives from DSA locals throughout New York State gathered in Ithaca August 1-2 to grapple with statewide problems — legislative issues, electoral ethics and reform, campaign work, etc. . . . Ithaca DSA held a discussion with both Democratic mayoral candidates, incumbent John Gutenberger and Common Council member Dan Hoffman, in July . . . DSAer Ben Nichols is running for Common Council in the 4th Ward. He has the endorsement of the Fourth Ward Democratic Committee . . . "More Than the News," Ithaca's weekly alternative TV



"By Jove, it appears to be a union label!"

shop in August focused on "National Health and the Democratic Agenda."

Kentucky

Central Kentucky DSA showed "The Molly Maguires" at Socialist Movie night in August . . . The first Gay Rights March in Kentucky was held in June in Louisville. "March for Justice" included a number of DSAers. Several churches along the march route displayed signs backing rights for gays and lesbians . . . Shakoor Aljuwani spoke at a CKDSA meeting in July and to Lexington and Louisville Rainbow leaders. Kentucky has just become the seventh state to be chartered by the Rainbow.

Maryland

DSA co-chair Barbara Ehrenreich will present a socialist analysis of poverty at the 5th anniversary of the Baltimore Progressive Action Center . . . The DSA Mid-Atlantic Retreat was held at Claggett Center in Buckleystown June 26-28.

New York

Rev. Gary Dorrien, author of *The Democratic Socialist Vision*, spoke about

news show, will make poverty the focus of one of its programs. The videotape will be available to DSA locals elsewhere interested in working with public access TV . . . The second annual DSA summer educational retreat was held in July at Pawling. Among the speakers were Mike Harrington, Fran Piven, Jerry Watts and Margaret Weir . . . Patrick Lacefield and Linnea Capps, who recently returned from 20 months in El Salvador, reported on the situation there at a New York City DSA forum in June . . . Lacefield addressed the first fall meeting of Suffolk DSA at the State University of New York at Stony Brook on the situation in Central America.

Ohio

Mrs. Elizabeth Linder, the mother of Benjamin Linder, the first US civilian killed in Nicaragua by the *contras*, spoke about the human toll of the *contra* war Washington is waging against the people of Nicaragua, at a Cleveland meeting in August co-sponsored by Cleveland DSA. Cleveland DSA is planning an educational series on poverty at Cleveland State University plus a grassroots hearing at City Council.

Oregon

Shakoor Aljuwani spoke in August to a group of 20 black unionists from seven locals on the building of Rainbow labor committees in Portland, as well as to the first meeting of Portland Labor for Jackson. In Salem, he was interviewed by the *Statesman-Journal*, Salem's major daily, on the Rainbow Coalition and DSA. He also spoke at Salem's Rainbow Coalition on "The Rainbow Challenge: The Democratic Left and the Rainbow Coalition"

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia DSA Peace Committee's phonebanking operation generated 342 telegrams to Sen. Arlen Specter opposing aid to the *contras* and another 320 to Gov. Robert Casey asking him to work to keep the Pennsylvania National Guard out of Central America . . . Philly DSA made the successful David Cohen campaign for re-election to the City Council a major priority because of his strong efforts to ban city contacts with firms doing business with South Africa, his mandatory recycling bill, and his affirmative action Bill 649 which would force city building contractors to hire city residents, minorities and women at each skill level of the building trades. Woodard of DSA's Afro-American Commission, spoke to DSA in June on "The Rainbow Coalition and the Left." . . . Fred Small will offer a profusion of songs for social change at a DSA-sponsored concert October 30 . . . Reading-Berks DSA heard member Mark Hiester in July talk on his Winter for Peace trip to Nicaragua . . . DSAer Bob Millar received 4,336 votes in his first effort at elective office, placing fourth among six candidates. Millar appeared on Berks Community TV's "ACLU Presents" programs in July and August, to discuss the U.S. Constitution.

Tennessee

Shakoor Aljuwani met with Nashville DSAers and leaders of the Rainbow Coalition in July . . . When a few neo-Nazis paraded in Murfreesboro, more than 200 opponents conducted a program of brief speeches, songs and prayers.

Utah

The May DSA meeting at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City was entitled "Why Were We in Vietnam?: Everything 'Platoon' Didn't Explain." Speakers included Vietnam vet Larry Chadwick, anti-war activist Dayne Goodwin, and History Professor Sandra Taylor, who teaches a course on the Vietnam war.

Prescott (Nick) Bayard Rustin Nichols

Remembered 1931 - 1987

by the San Diego Local

On March 4, 1987, a heart attack took the life of our friend and comrade, Nick Nichols. The following are some comments by San Diego Local members from a special issue of the Local's newsletter.

"Nick was truly an activist intellectual, combining incredible organizing talents and attention to details with a well thought out vision of the kind of world he was struggling to create."

"He used even his freshman composition classes to motivate students to write well by trying to get them as passionately involved as he in social issues such as hunger in the world and poverty."

"No student could have taken these classes without undergoing some form of metamorphosis through these experiences of learning and, of course, it was always his hope that, having learned that, we would then act towards changing this world of ours into a better place because that was what Nick was all about."

"For years, I saw Nick month after month at the labor council, raising the issues and resolutions. If Nick ever lost his impatience, courtesy, or tolerance of other peoples' idiosyncrasies, I never saw it."

"The depth of his commitment often competed with his family, but those of us who knew him also knew the love and devotion he had for his home life."

"Nick wanted the world to be a better place. Because of the way he touched our lives, the world is a better place."

The leading local newspapers in San Diego all printed articles on the occasion of Nick's death. Of course, with one exception, they mostly ignored his causes during his life. Some of the facts of that life are: he was born (in L.A.); he was educated (PhD in comparative literature from University of Redlands); he worked for his daily bread (college professor); he married (wife Lee); he reared children (3).

Another fact: Nick Nichols *lived* his socialist and humane philosophy.

Bayard Rustin died August 24 at the age of 75. I first met Bayard in September 1945, when we both taught at a Quaker international affairs summer institute for collegians. I was national secretary of the Socialist Party and Bayard worked with the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Bayard had just finished serving a three-year sentence at Lewisburg Penitentiary as a conscientious objector. Since that time, I was privileged to work with him for a variety of causes — opposing Jim Crow in the armed forces, working with him in the Workers Defense League to push minority apprenticeship in the building trades, developing programs for black-Jewish amity, and struggling for a democratic peace in the Middle East. Bayard and I disagreed on how to build a Socialist movement — he served as chairman of Social Democrats, USA and I worked in Democratic Socialists of America, but we kept on working together.

Many hailed his organizational brilliance in bringing together the massive March on Washington in 1963 — the march of 250,000 blacks and whites that led to the civil rights laws of 1964. Bayard was a disciple of A. Philip Randolph, America's foremost black labor leader, and helped Martin Luther King, Jr., in the organization of the Montgomery bus boycott.

Recently Bayard, an open homosexual, urged black leaders to push the fight against AIDS, which disproportionately afflicts minorities. Danger of the disease, he insisted, was too great for leaders to be deterred by fears that racists would exploit it as a "black plague."

"He didn't agree all the time with Dr. King or me or anybody else," said Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, who succeeded Martin Luther King, Jr. as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. "But who did — except your full-time yes-men?"

— HARRY FLEISCHMAN
Harry Fleischman managed Norman Thomas' final presidential campaign in 1948. He is a writer and activist with Nassau County (NY) DSA.

REVIEW

From Where Did The New Left Come?

by Gordon Haskell

IF I HAD A HAMMER - THE DEATH OF THE OLD LEFT AND THE BIRTH OF THE NEW
by Maurice Isserman, New York:
Basic Books, Inc. 266 pp. \$18.95, hardcover.

Isserman's thesis in this book, stated in his preface, is that the "New Left" of the sixties was a true child of the old American left which was born in the twenties and died in the fifties. The three elements of that old left to which he ascribes most intimate paternal responsibility are: Max Shachtman and his followers and political descendants, the editors of *Dissent*, and the radical pacifists. A chapter of the book is assigned to each of these "fathers". The "mother" was the historical context, as much involved with the death of the old as the birth of the new.

The largest, most dynamic and influential left movement between the wars and through the forties, the Communist Party (CP), was precluded by its collapse in the fifties from exerting direct influence on the New Left. Isserman's assessment of the relative roles in that collapse played by a decade of government persecution and the unraveling of the Stalinist myth in the Khrushchev revelations and the Hungarian revolution is well balanced. His sensitive description of the personal and political tragedy of that collapse for CP members avoids the elements of nostalgia and self-glorification or malicious glee which mar some other accounts by participants or opponents and their ideological heirs.

Speculation on "what might have been" is an inherently risky and suspect intellectual enterprise. However, in assessing the influence on each other of succeeding political movements and generations, it seems to me that the devastating impact of Communism on the evolution of the American left is often underestimated. For almost four decades this movement attracted a large majority of the best and the brightest of American radicalism, whose idealism and energies would otherwise have found other outlets. Those energies were enlisted in the service of a totalitarian state and ideology, whatever other purposes and causes they may have advanced. Much of the energy of the radicals who were repelled by Stalinism was expended in countering the CP influence on all the struggles for justice, equality and social change in this country. What would the American left have been able to accomplish under different circumstances?

As a leader of the Shachtman organizations during the forties and fifties, I was involved in the events and with most of the people Isserman describes in the rest of his book. I only met the New Left leaders briefly. I was part of the delegation sent to meet with them in Chicago just before SDS and the League for Industrial Democracy (LID) parted ways. I found them contemptuous of us, bizarre and fascinating. In fact, they seemed to have formed the opinion that among the Old Lefties on that delegation I was the most sympathetic to their point of view, and asked me to repre-

sent that view in our report to the LID board.

Isserman's description and evaluation of the genesis and political evolution of the three "father" groups mentioned above is remarkably accurate, both in fact and interpretation. His vivid style does justice to the personalities involved. He has been able to use the historical record and the reminiscences of the people he interviewed with a shrewd instinct for their biases, so that the chief actors come across neither bigger than life nor diminished by rancor or jealousy. There are bound to be disagreements on this, and we may anticipate a heated and acrimonious debate about it in left and academic journals. Still, I have not seen better, nor do I expect to.

If I Had a Hammer will be completely absorbing for all veterans of the groups described who still retain an interest in the American left. As for its value for current and future left activists and thinkers — or the interest it may arouse in a broader public — only time will tell. Isserman has largely confined himself to describing the pre-natal history and birth of the movement which dominated the left in the sixties. He gives us a few flash-forwards to its incredibly swift and powerful rise and equally precipitate decline and dissolution, but only to the extent he finds this necessary to demonstrate the way in which specific elements in the beliefs, programs, and mind-sets of the Old Left played themselves out in the evolution of the New.

Despite the warning implicit in the chapter heading "Toward a New Left" I found myself looking, at the book's end, for the next chapter — on the evolution of the New Left itself. *Hammer* sort of peters out. No historic lessons are made explicit. But, as is true of all our children, we should credit or blame only so much of how they perform as adults on their parents' genes and influence. What they do with that inheritance is *their* story. I hope Isserman is working on that tale, as well. ●

Gordon Haskell was the last editor of the Shachtmanite publication Labor Action. Later he worked for the ACLU, served on the Board of the League for Industrial Democracy, as president of the Association for Union Democracy, and, finally, as political director of the Democratic Socialists of America. He was one of the persons interviewed in preparation of the book he here reviews.

Jimmy Higgins continued from page 48

Coors Boycott Over? The AFL-CIO announced last month that it had reached agreement with the Adolph Coors Company to call off the boycott of Coors beer which began in 1976. It all started when 1500 members of the now-defunct Brewery Union walked off the job over the violations of workers' rights. The AFL-CIO agreed to drop the boycott in return for assurance by Coors to give their employees the right to join a union, the formulation of new work rules, and a pledge to give all new Coors factory construction to union labor. Some folks, however, are continuing to boycott those Silver Bullets. Citing Adolph Coors' funding of ultra-Right

causes, New York NOW president (and DSAer) Noreen Con-
nell is saying NOW will continue to press the boycott. Some
Hispanic and gay rights groups will be doing the same. There's
doubt that the boycott hurt Coors. In 1976, they sold 13.5
million barrels of brew. Ten years later, despite expanding
their market to 45 states, they sold only a million barrels more.
The Teamsters, Machinists and Auto Workers are all said to be
interested in organizing the Coors workers.

The numbers game CBS/New York Times poll says
that by 62-31 the public thinks that the Senate should pay "a lot of
attention" to Supreme Court nominees' views on constitutional
issues. Fifty-eight percent of the American people favor decreasing
the defense budget (35 say "no"). Reducing government
spending for health and education are opposed by a 76-21 count.
Raising income taxes is favored by only 16 percent with 80 percent
opposed.

A bit more glasnost, please. The Campaign for
Peace and Democracy/East and West is calling on Soviet leader
Mikhail Gorbachev to release Latvian democratic socialists Juris
Bumeisters and Dainis Lismanis from prison. Bumeisters and
Lismanis, imprisoned since 1981, were charged with treason for
their efforts on behalf of human rights and Latvian self-determi-
nation. Latvia, along with Lithuania and Estonia, were occupied
by the Soviet Union during the Second World War. Bumeisters is
an activist in the Latvian Social Democratic Workers' party, an
exile party affiliated with the Socialist International. Reestab-

lished in Latvia in the early seventies, the party publishes two
papers, one for members and another for youth. Apparently the
connection with foreign Latvian Social Democrats, based in Stoc-
kholm, provided the pretext for sentencing Bumeisters to 15
years in a labor camp. Lismanis received 12 years.

In a reawakening of political activity in Latvia, over 5000
people gathered in June at the Monument of Freedom in the
capital of Riga. They honored the memory of the thousands of
Latvians rounded up by Soviet secret police on the night of June
14, 1941 and deported to their deaths in Siberia.

In August, in yet another round of demonstrations, 5000
citizens rallied in Riga, the capital of Latvia. In Tallinn, the
capital of Estonia, 2000 protested Soviet occupation of the
Baltic republics while more than 5000 turned out in Vilnius,
Lithuania.

Hailing the recent release of some 150 political prisoners, the
signers of the Campaign for Democracy letter urged Gorbachev to
release the Latvian activists and guarantee freedom of expres-
sion. Among the signers were Ludmilla Alexeyeva of the Moscow
Helsinki Watch Group, Barbara Ehrenreich and Michael Har-
rington of DSA, Daniel Ellsberg, Sam Meyers of the UAW and
Allen Ginsberg. Readers can add their voices to the campaign to
free Bumeisters and Lismanis by writing the Ambassador Yuri
Dubinin, Soviet Embassy, 1125 16th Street, NW, Washington,
D.C. 20036.

Send us a message. Got some interesting tidbit, some inside
information you want to share with DEMOCRATIC LEFT readers?
Just address it to Jimmy/Janie Higgins care of DL.



**Greetings
from**

Disseent

521 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10017

JIMMY HIGGINS REPORTS

Selling Ollie North. Amid all the hoopla of TV Movie rights, T-shirts and other bits of Ollie-mania, sales aren't all that good. After an initial surge, *Taking the Stand*, a book of North's testimony before the Congressional committee, "just sorta died" as one publishing mogul observed. My nominee for most appropriate placement of the North book was a newstand in Grand Central Station where the volume was nestled smack dab in the middle of a sea of cheap pornographic rags. His two videos (both priced to sell at \$24.95) are being outdistanced by both *Rambo* and *Jane Fonda*.

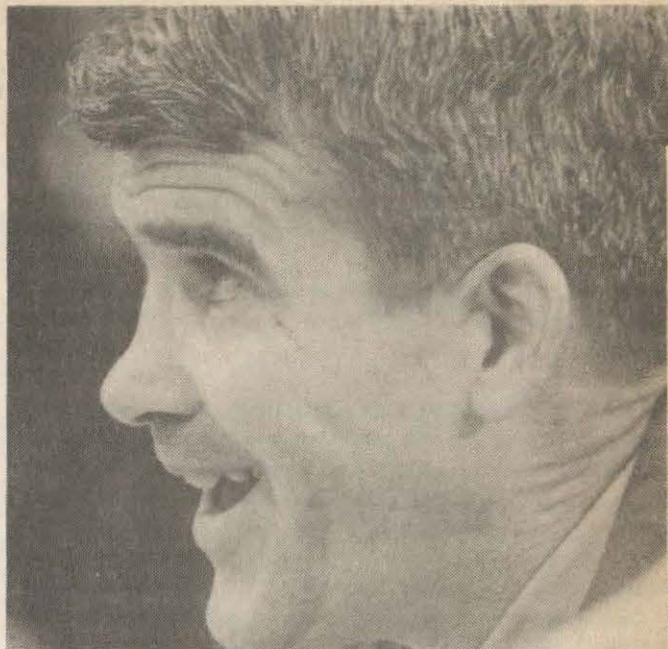
The big surge in the polls for contra aid after North's testimony now looks to have been more of a temporary blip. According to Gallup, opposition to contra aid, which had dropped to a narrow 46-43 edge in the wake of North's appearance, now has shot back up to 59-37. On the question "Who do you trust more to make the right decisions on foreign policy — Ronald Reagan or the Congress?", John Q. Public said "Congress" by a 60-23 margin.

The Conservative Caucus is looking to spend \$250,000 for a pro-contra aid media blitz this fall but admits it hasn't got the dough. "Unfortunately, most of the conservative organizations are on hard times," said Caucus poobah Howard Phillips. "But I have no doubt that by the time Congress gets back in September, our guns will be loaded." At press time, the radical right of the Administration is up in arms, figuratively, about the Reagan/Wright/Arias peace plan maneuvering. All the hopefuls on that end — Dole, Bush, Kemp, et. al. — are insisting that the U.S. shouldn't give up the contras no matter what.

The check is in the mail? Socialist Mayor Bernie Sanders of Burlington, Vermont is set to bill George Bush for local police costs in connection with the Veep's visit for a \$500-a-plate fundraiser. Says the taxpayers shouldn't foot the bill for political fundraising.

Intimidation by any other name. Recently the House Committee and Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights held hearings about the nearly 60 break-ins directed against sanctuary churches and other groups dissenting from Administration Central America policies. Among the witnesses was Frank Varelli, an ex-FBI operative who testified that he was ordered to infiltrate Dallas CISPES and that the FBI had conducted break-ins in Dallas. The committees also heard testimony about FBI, IRS, postal and customs harassment of people who visited Nicaragua, who opposed Central America policy or even some who simply had heard a speaker on Central America.

The Republican Senate Campaign Committee ended up with egg on its face recently when a confidential research report they'd prepared on Democratic Senator Howard Metzenbaum saw the light of day. Seems that they called the senator, a successful businessman before entering the Senate, a "communist sympathizer". Noting his proposals for a national corporation to purchase and distribute imported oil and his support for WPA-like Job Corps programs, the report concluded that these represented "a strong attraction to socialistic values". Imagine how they'd view a real socialist.



Rick Reinhard / Impact Visuals

Good work if you can get it. David C. Fischer, an aide to former White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan, was taking home \$20,000 per month to arrange meetings between the President and potential wealthy contributors to the contras. Regan professed shock at hearing this. "We thought he was doing it out of his concern for the contras and out of the goodness of his heart — sort of a pro bono publico kind of thing."

A dollar ain't a dollar anymore. According to the Council on International and Public Affairs, real wages have now dropped, on the average, below the level of 1962. Measured in 1977 dollars, that worked out to \$172 weekly. By the end of June of this year, the average weekly wage was \$169.40. The high point was in 1972 when wages stood at \$198 per. Real wages have been declining ever since, with only a slight increase in 1983-84.

How about some good news? At-large city council elections are a thing of the past in Little Rock, Arkansas, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. In Little Rock, ACORN and the "Committee for Leadership and Fair Representation" collected 12,000 signatures to put district elections on the ballot. On May 27, just a couple weeks before the election, the opposition threw in the towel and the City Board approved district elections. In Pittsburgh, a city that is one-quarter black, the nine-member city council had no black members and no low or moderate-income members. The Coalition for District Elections pushed the state legislature to approve a law allowing for a referendum, then collected 22,000 signatures. Building on a coalition of the unrepresented, the campaign won fully 68 percent of the vote with totals running up to 90 percent in black precincts.