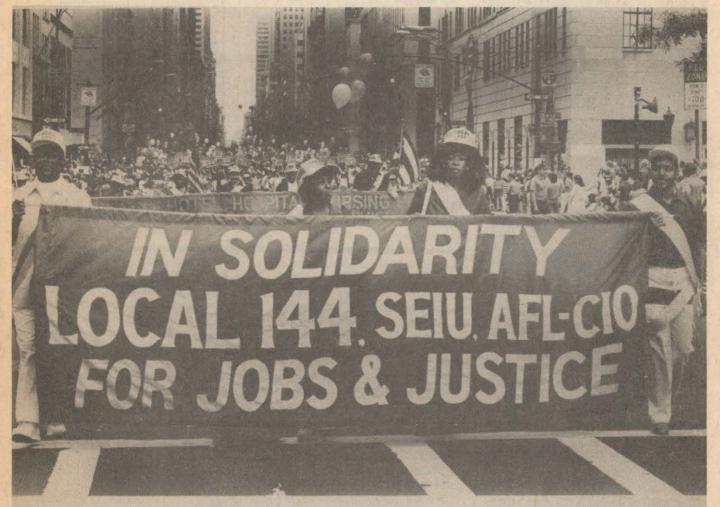
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(GCU)



The Labor Movement

International and Domestic

Harvard Victory • Justice for Janitors • South Korea • South Africa • Immigration Policy • Government Contracting •

LETTER

(The January 30-31 meeting of DSA's National Executive Committee unanimously passed a resolution on the Middle East conflict. The resolution criticizes the brutal use of force against the Palestinian population of the Gaza Strip and West Bank, as well as the occupation itself. It also criticizes the dead-end policies of the present and past Israeli government, the PLO, and the Arab leadership for their inability to arrive at a regional peace settlement. And, it calls for the recognition of the right of Israel and the Palestinians to secure and mutually recognizable statehood. The following letter, which was received in February, is a response to that resolution We aplogize for not having made the letter available sooner.)

To the Editor:

As one who has been urging publicly for a long time, that, for the sake of its soul and its future, Israel withdraw its troops from Gaza and the West Bank, within certain conditions, I find the Israeli-Palestinian resolution adopted by DSA's NEC (Democratic Left, January/February) offensively simplistic and antihistorical.

As part of the traditions of democratic socialist organizations, members must assume the responsibility of being respectful and appreciative of the role of history in the development of contemporary forces and events. It is apparent to me that those NEC members who voted for this resolution, at least in this instance, do not respect history as it unfolded in the Middle East in the last forty years. If they did, for example, they could not have possibly apportioned guilt equitably between Israel and the surrounding Arab nations. Familiarity with events in the Middle East, since 1948, would not permit one to do so.

In this resolution, one does not see a modicum of doubt plaguing its supporters, nor an attempt to understand the role of the affliction on both Israel and the Palestinians, before coming to a wise and responsible decision. The highly esteemed Learned Hand once wrote, "The spirit of liberty is the spirit that is not too sure that it is right."

A resolution on the Israeli-Palestinian situation might have been far more effective, honest, and meaningful had it restricted itself to warranted criticism of the occupation policies in Gaza and the West Bank, and then called for an immediate negotiated peace settlement. DSA resolutions should be drawn up in a modest vein, instead of lengthy, emotion-driven proclamations.

Bernard Bellush Great Neck, NY

DEMOCRATIC

BARBARA EHRENREICH MICHAEL HARRINGTON

Editors

SHERRI LEVINE

Managing Editor

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Joanne Barkan Vania Del Borgo Guy Molyneux Maxine Phillips Jan Rosenberg Gerald Hudson

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Victory for Dukakis Is a Victory for the Left.

By Michael Harrington

(This text incorporates points raised during a discussion on DSA's strategy during the fall electoral campaign and beyond, that took place at the July National Interim Committee (NIC) meeting.)

he democratic left must campaign vigorously for the Dukakis-Bentsen ticket to help it win. We must also begin preparing to bring massive pressure upon the candidates once they are elected.

I assume that the readers of Democratic Left do not need to have a demonstration of the fraudulence of the Republican "peace and prosperity" claims. After a destabilizing arms build up and a revival of heightened Cold War rhetoric, Ronald Reagan lucked into a deal with the Soviets who desperately need to restructure their inefficient economy. He deserves minimal credit for seizing the opportunity and major blame for having done nothing to promote it. The Administration's outrageous coddling of apartheid did nothing to forward the Angola-Namibia settlement, (South African casualties did that) and the flip flop from trading arms for hostages with Iran to tilting toward Iraq were hardly responsible for the end of that war.

The prosperity claim is even more preposterous. There has been a "swiss cheese" recovery, that has left depressions in some areas, increased the number of poor children and workers everywhere, and based growth on enormous Federal and trade deficits. The economy is booby trapped and it is unfortunate that it will probably not explode until after Ronald Reagan leaves the White House.

A Bush-Quayle ticket would provide four more years of voodoo economics and foreign policy, which is obviously intolerable. A Dukakis-Bentsen victory, on the other hand, will open up space in which the democratic left generally, and democratic socialists specifically, can organize and grow.

I say this even though the Democratic

convention rejected the best political platform ever proposed in mainstream politics: the Jesse Jackson program. There was no real debate in Atlanta — a significant number of those who voted against the Jackson amendments on fair taxes and no first use did so out of tactical considerations; they actually agreed with what they voted down. Even so, and even though the platform adopted by the Democrats is inexcusably vague, it is a *progressive* platform, infinitely superior to the Republican's antichoice and pro-Cold War document.

Even more to the point, a Democratic administration will open up a space for the broad democratic left. The Kennedy administration was quite moderate and hamstrung by the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition on Capitol Hill, and yet it helped give rise to the most socially conscious decade since the Thirties. Jimmy Carter went from timid liberalism to timid conservatism — and yet his four years saw significant left mobilizations around Democratic Agenda, the Citizens Labor Energy Coalition, Big Business Day, and the Ted Kennedy campaign.

Does this justify voting for Bentsen? He is, after all, a former McCarthyite, a Senator who supported Reagan's first term agenda, a Republican in disguise. Why would Dukakis choose to take the chance of putting him one heart beat away from the presidency?

The answer to that question has to do with the amorphousness of American politics — an amorphousness the democratic left must challenge. We are a presidential system, which means a two party system. We are, demographically and geographically, more complex than any other Western nation. In addition, from the very beginning, our class consciousness was undercut by racial and ethnic consciousness. Our parties, therefore, are not parties, but undisciplined coalitions designed to unite contradictory forces for one day — election day.

Within that framework, Dukakis "realistically" decided to win Texas and, as Hodding Carter put it in the Wall Street Journal, to "rise above principle." That may well turn out to have been "crackpot



Discussion of "no first use" at Democratic convention.

realism," but that is not the central point. The democratic left wants to create a minimally rational party system in which tickets actually stand for clear principles. And a victory of the Dukakis-Bentsen ticket, even if it was put together out of electoral opportunism, could create the conditions in which we can move to undercut the very basis of such opportunism.

That gets to the critical point of how the democratic left supports the ticket. We should not simply be good rank and filers, campaign workers who accept all the compromises without a murmur. We should unambiguously and even enthusiastically call for a vote for Dukakis-Bentsen, and, at the same time, prepare ourselves to push their Administration to the left.

In refuting the "prosperity" theme of George Bush, the Democrats are going to have to point out how precarious even the limited recovery is. As the campaign begins, the Federal Reserve is tightening the

Continued on page 12.

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Union Victory: An Interview With Kristine Rondeau

by James Green

(This interview was held in the Harvard Union of Clerical and Technical Workers office in Cambridge, MA on July 14, 1988. James Green, a labor historian at the University of Massachusetts at Boston and the director of their Labor Studies Program interviewed Kristine Rondeau, a key AFSCME organizer in the union drive at Harvard. The union won its election on May 17 by a margin of forty-four votes.)

James Green: Much of your union membership is female. How has this influenced your organizing efforts?

Kristine Rondeau: There are cultural and social advantages we've gotten from working women, especially younger women. We've benefited from the consciousness of working women who know that they'll always be workers, from now until in their sixties or seventies. I should have known that but I didn't. I had a lot of the benefits from the women's movement. but not the fleshed out consciousness of having had models. Poor women have always worked, and have had to work. Middle class women - even if they did work did not always have the unspoken knowledge in their bones that they were workers and will always be workers. These young women come in with that understanding. It helps us because they take their work lives much more seriously than somebody like me when I was twentyfour.

JG: What percentage of these young women have some college education? From what you are saying, it doesn't seem to make a lot of difference. They are not imagining themselves in managerial or professional jobs. They are saving, even with a college degree, we're going to be working at wage-earning kinds of jobs.

KR: We were raised to believe that going to college would propel us out of one class and into another class. It didn't do that. It gave us different habits, different manners, and different ways of talking, but we still have the same income. We just spend it differently!

Almost no one in our group of 3,500 had connections to unions in any way, either through their parents or themselves. It would have helped us if they had. Women now realize that even if they are only going to stay at Harvard for a short while and then go some place else to work or to school, they know they are going to have problems with sexism on the job no matter how high the position they aspire

One of the things we tried to do in our union was to abide by a rule to always treat each other with kindness and respect. That has worked for us. It was done in part to ensure that we created a strong sense of community that enables people to see the connection between themselves and others. We tried to make sure that we had people in our union who didn't claim. "I didn't need the women's movement; I did it on my own. I'm a personal success." In my generation I see a lot of that. We tried to make sure that we did what we could to

bring the different generations of workers together, and we were very successful at that. As a result, most of our members will always be connected to the women's movement and the labor movement.

JG: It sounds as if the organizers' experience with the women's movement shaped their sensitivity about the job and their need to act collectively. You actually cultivated this, you were looking for people with that sensitivity.

KR: We tried to find a way that people would feel that they were part of a continuous successful struggle that was progressive and really going somewhere.

JG: I see this victory as historical in a number of terms, but in particularly in terms of the organization of clerical workers. I want to raise a few of the obstacles that have traditionally gotten in the way of organizing clericals and see if they apply. One is the sense of being middle class and being closer to the supervisor than their fellow workers. What about the personal



Kristine Rondeau at a rally of Harvard workers.

Marilyn Humphries/Impact Visual

relationships between workers and the heads of the departments?. I'm sure you had to address that. Traditionally, the fear that they would undermine these personal relationships has gotten in the way of office workers seeing themselves as a collectivity.

KR: First of all, I have read some of the things people say make it difficult to organize clerical workers, and I'm not sure I agree with any of them.

We used a very specific model. By the time May 17 came, it was tested and true. We did three things. First, we drew on the best traditions and ideas of the labor movement as we saw them. The primary piece of that was considering ourselves workers. Saying the "W" word instead of the "E" word, instead of employees. Second, we made up our own way, our own model, and we didn't feel bound to other people's analyses of what the world is like or what politics are like. We came up with a new model. Lastly, we fought like hell over a long period of time. All three of those things were critically important and tied together.

In addition, we didn't organize against the employer. Our position was that the employer was irrelevant. It didn't matter how the employer acted, what our working conditions were like, or what our pay or benefits were. Those things weren't connected to our goals. Our goals were simply self-representation, power, and participation. We said that in the past, management invariably, and unions a lot of the time, have believed that people organize unions because they are disaffected, or they are miserable, or they don't like their boss, or they're underpaid. We decided not to organize around specific issues. Self-respecting and positive thinking adults represent themselves in all things, and to that extent they don't get hurt. And what I mean by get hurt is that they get re-organized out of their jobs. Or they find themselves at sixty-five with nothing to live on, eating cat food. Or they find that they get passed over for promotions. All of us in the "new generation" are smart enough to know that successful people, no matter who they are, never give up an opportunity to represent themselves. They wouldn't let anybody else decide for them. That's what it is all about and that's what we built our union on. The issues are best seen as problems to be solved. We made the assumption that we are smart enough to sit down with Harvard and solve these problems.

We didn't use any campaign literature at all. We decided that it's much more



Rally of Harvard workers supporting HUCTW.

effective to develop leadership without it. People were much more likely to talk to each other and develop their own style. It also enabled employee organizers to answer their own questions as they engaged in conversation with others. When you give an organizer literature to drop off, it stops people from talking with each other. We also didn't want to use literature because all literature is boring. Literature is written in a way that is the least offensive to the largest number of people. By writing literature, we end up defining the union. We knew here that we had a group of people who didn't know from unions. To the extent that they knew anything about unions, the best thing would be to forget it. Instead we wanted to see what they thought the union was. We didn't want to define it in any way for them. When we did define the union, we emphasized that it should be a workplace democracy, a place where people solve their problems. The union should define their relationship with their employer.

There's a paradox in forming groups: often people believe that by becoming part of a group they automatically conform to a standard. That's why I never use the word rank and file. Somehow you're giving up something. Our experience was the opposite. Within the organization we became more self-defined, clearer, and better able to develop new skills.

JG: It's really exciting that you laid all of this out. You may have discovered a solution to a central cultural and ideological dilemma for unionism in this society: people like the idea of getting together to improve their situation, but they don't trust the organizations that are suppose to do that for them. There is a credibility gap. It sounds like what you are saying, what the workers came to believe here, is that they could express their individuality more freely through collective activity. That may be the secret that unlocks the door. It seems as though in a lot of organizing drives these days the employer can say that the union is going to take away some of your freedom. And that may also affect how people feel about their relationship with their supervisors and the people above them that they work with. You were saying that the union won't interfere with that relationship. Is that true?

KR: Yes. There was heavy decentralization in what we did. We organized in that way so that people didn't think that everything would become uniform. There was a fear that that would happen, but then their experience belied that fear.

To the extent that we as union leaders think we are going to do something for someone else, or that we're going to take care of someone, or that we tell people we are going to take care of them, to the extent that we see the union as a service organization, we're full of baloney. Nobody wants that. There is a terrible sense of powerlessness in a lot of women workers. Its so terrible that it can't be articulated. So that if we come in and you say, "Don't worry, we're going to get you a big raise," the last thing that that person

wants is another person deciding for them. Between that feeling of I don't want anybody else deciding for me and being able to do it on one's own, there is a lot of thinking that needs to be done. You have to strengthen people as individuals, and you have to find a way for them to develop their own self-confidence. You have to find a way for them to express anger at being powerless, yet somehow represent themselves in a positive way that works for them.

JG: You've outlined the new model which is about self-representation and not only about the economic issues. How about the whole issue of Harvard's prestige and liberal reputation, how they tried to use it against you, and how you tried to handle the institutional questions.

KR: We had an advantage in that we knew the employer inside out. They couldn't think without us knowing that they had a thought. We are able to predict what they are going to do before they do it. There are two things in their favor. They have credibility because of their reputation and because of who they are. And they have their power.

The thing that we needed to do in order to ensure that we wor was to create an atmosphere of safety and to make sure that the best conditions of support exist. The workers needed to know that they were not the first workers to ever do such a thing. For each of us to join a union, to sign a card, to wear a button, those seem like such small things. But they are not small. They are acts of personal courage. The union's job is to make sure that when they do those things someone looks at them and says good for you, you should be proud.

To create community support, we knew that to do that we had to be ourselves and tell as many people as possible who we are and what we stood for. For a year we told everyone we could about us, and some of them would ask, "What do you want me to do?" and we would say, "Nothing, we just want to tell you what we are." Some people would laugh, others would sit there and listen to us. We had hundreds of meetings with lots of small groups and individuals. For instance, if you were a faculty member at Harvard worried about how the union would affect you, you could call us and we would try to answer your questions.

JG: What do you think was the most significant thing for the labor movement and for women workers about this victory?

KR: I think the thing that matters most is that we beat a visious anti-union campaign. Anti-union campaigns are really hard to beat because they're simple and evil; any low-life can make someone vote no, all you have to do is make someone afraid, feel self-doubt. It doesn't even matter if you have power over the person. It's really disgusting behavior. Everyone is happy because we were able to beat this, and we've never stopped building.

"We have a movement and it is not going away."

JG: Where are things with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)? According to the latest newspaper accounts, a challenge will take place which could involve months. What is your sense of how this is going to take place, and what are your chances of winning?

KR: Our chances of winning are 100 percent. We are here to stay. We won and everybody knows it. It may be that Harvard can't understand clear language, a clear message, but if we have to beat them over the head to make them understand, we will. In the meantime, we are also confident of our ability to prevail over their objections. Initially, the university said we had intimidated and coerced people, but they have clearly pulled back from that strategy. Now, they are arguing about a technicality on list-keeping.

JG: The technicality has to do with your organizers having employee lists and taking them into the workplace to contact them?

KR: Yes. They're saying, for some purpose, we wanted to know who voted and who hadn't. We had no power — if they voted, or didn't vote, we couldn't determine if or how they voted, and we couldn't retaliate. What we did want to do — and what we were successful at doing — was making sure that pro-union people voted. If we had more practice we could have done it better, but it was an exciting day, a painfully emotional day. Considering the hugeness of the place and the four hundred different locations, it was a good effort.

JG: On the NLRB, is this clearly an attempt by Harvard to discourage you, and are they counting on the Reagan board to weigh in on their favor, considering the smallness of the technicality?

KR: That they can even imagine this is possible is incredible. It clearly means

they're out of touch with reality. We have a movement, it's not going to go away. It's related to our organizing efforts, but also the changing consciousness of service workers, university workers, and certainly women workers. Now, it's clear to me that they intended to crush us, but we have more resources now than when we began seventeen years ago. There's nothing better we can do than to dedicate ourselves to making this happen. It's interesting to me that the union, from a position of strength, is calling for cooperation. When the union is in a position of weakness, management wants cooperation. When the union is in a position of strength, they want nothing to do with it, and this goes back to an old-fashioned us and them relationship.

We organized in a positive way — we didn't organize against Harvard, we organized for ourselves. People who voted yes were not cynical, but they are now becoming cynical. The relationship Harvard didn't want is what it's creating.

JG: The significance of what your saying needs to be noted. During the Reagan years, the NLRB and labor law has been blamed for the decline of union organization, and it sounds like you're restating that you're not afraid of the NLRB, the Reagan connection, and the possibility of losing support if — worse case scenario — a new election is ordered.

KR: One, a lot of people like me learned that the NLRB was not a friend to workers. A whole generation or organizers learned to stay away from the labor board. We knew we couldn't rely on the legal system. We knew we could rely on them as an agency which processed papers, but not as an agency which would lead to justice, and so we created our own ways of making sure we could win outside the labor board. Also, winning makes you stronger.

JG: I take it that's what you mean by the movement sensibility about the union, The reason these NLRB elections and delays are so devastating is that the sense of movement often doesn't prevail after the election.

KR: That's often the union's fault. In our case we knew that we'd have the support of our national union, AFSCME. This is symbolic to all of us, not just the people who work here. In elections, with a referendum, where there is no emotional or intellectual commitment, leadership ability, or internal structure solidly in place, win or lose, the union falls apart Organizers are then sent to build the union. We built the union first.

Janitors Fight Back

by Nancy C. Lenk

campaign to unionize cleaning personnel in office buildings gained national publicity during the Democratic national convention.

Justice for Janitors, launched by the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) in 1986, has targeted San Jose, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, Atlanta, and other major cities. It has won citywide contracts in San Diego and Denver. SEIU is the largest janitors' union in the country, representing 200,000 janitors. The campaign operates on three levels.

Owners and Contractors

When janitor organizing first began, the owners of the office building were directly involved in hiring the custodial help. Since the rapid growth of cities through the construction of major highrise office towers, building owners now hire building managers who hire janitorial contractors.

Organizers put pressure on building owners of some of the wealthiest companies in the world. They include Prudential Life Insurance, Equitable, Asahi, Trammel Crowe, and Trizec. Although not directly involved in hiring janitors, the owners are the ones who can hire those contractors who will employ only union janitors. Getting them to take that responsibility is part of the union's goals.

The Justice For Janitors campaign attempts to disrupt owners' lives enough so that, if they want labor peace, they will consider a union contractor. Tactics include leafleting tenants of the buildings to gain their support, staging demonstrations at certain targeted buildings, civil disobedience, ridiculing owners through street theater and costumes, "clean-ins," and other actions.

The second tier of the campaign involves pressuring the contractors to go union. The workers themselves are instrumental in this. They wear campaign buttons and shirts, sign up coworkers for the union, resolve work-site grievances,

and make delegation visits to their companies, sometimes bringing along signed petitions demanding benefits such as pay for the Fourth of July. If the campaign is working well, the building owners should also be calling on the contractors in order to keep the peace in their building.

Moral Persuasion

A third and essential tier to the organizing effort is community involvement. No matter how much the union organizers are baited with names like "socialists" or "outside agitators," the facts are clear; janitors are overworked, underpaid, and treated with less than dignity and respect by some of the richest companies in the world. The moral justness of the campaign can never be negated and has impact on the community.

In the cities where Justice for Janitors is organizing, the community has been very supportive. Religious leaders, civil rights leaders, labor leaders, and the like have signed pledges of support for the janitors. In addition, they talk to their own congregations and organizations to mobilize support for demonstra-

tions. For many, the words Justice for Janitors is a household phrase.

Democrats Bring Publicity

In Atlanta, the campaign began in July 1987, with 1,300 janitors in fifty-six major downtown office buildings organizing for a citywide contract. Most of the janitors in downtown Atlanta are black women who make \$3.50 per hour on the average with virtually no benefits.

Some of the targeted buildings include the Cable News Network Center owned by Ted Turner, Southern Bell, Georgia Pacific, and Peachtree Center, which was designed, developed, and is partially owned by wealthy international developer John C. Portman, Jr.

The biggest legal dispute in the Justice for Janitors campaign thus far has involved Portman's Peachtree Center Management Company, which manages the Peachtree Center. The Peachtree Center complex includes eight office towers, a shopping mall, an Apparel Mart, and the Merchandise Mart. The company has had union organizers arrested, slap-

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SEIU president John Sweeney and DSAer Ann Hill walk the picket line in Atlanta.

/Impact Visuals

LABOR

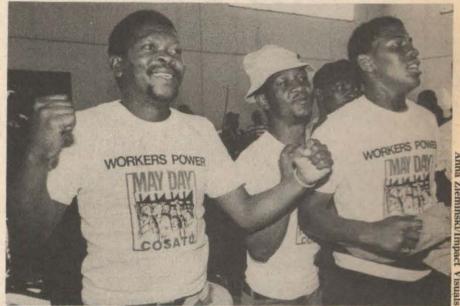
The Struggle Continues In South Africa

by Nomonde Ngubo

n a time of intensified repression in South Africa, the labor movement has not only survived, it has emerged as a major player in the struggle against apartheid. Throughout this year, unions have demonstrated their ability to mobilize broad national support for demands on both political and economic fronts.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was formed in 1985 with a clear mandate to represent the interests of its members on the shopfloor and in broader society. COSATU demands are voiced in all negotiations with management. They are: a living wage for all; a forty-hour work week without loss of pay; May Day, June 16, and Sharpeville Day as paid public holidays; job security; no tax deductions without representation; six months paid maternity leave; the right to decent education and training for all; and an end to the concentration-camp lifestyle imposed on migrant workers.

The formation of COSATU was a milestone in South Africa's labor relations. In only three years, COSATU campaigns have shaken the South African government and awakened the world to the atrocities working people face under apartheid. The living-wage campaign is currently the biggest challenge to the South African business community, COSATU has won wage increases that at least keep pace with the country's high rate of inflation. Unity under the umbrella of one federation is a force too strong for management to divide and conquer. The livingwage campaign emphasizes organizing the unorganized; building links with other groups fighting poverty and hardship in the townships; and establishing living wage committees in every union branch



Members of COSATU celebrate May Day, 1988.

and region. COSATU has emphasized the building of solid shopfloor structures, increasingly involving workers in meaningful decision making, and in the process creating a more sophisticated and educated work force.

On June 14, 1987, a state of emergency was imposed on the workers of South Africa for the third time.

On February 24, 1988, the South African government banned seventeen antiapartheid organizations, including COSATU. The rationale for this extreme measure was that it would allow the municipal and local authorities to conduct elections in October, though it is clear that elections will not take place without black cooperation. This ploy was used in 1960. Forty years of one-party rule have deprived the Nationalists of any understanding of political behavior outside their own privileged circles. The apartheid regime can no longer claim that it is the activists who have rendered the state ungovernable. Bans,

restrictions, and the state of emergency are clear indications that there is a need for leadership and security. Two things the current government cannot provide.

The banning was widely viewed as the action of a panic-stricken government. Conflict in our country is inevitable while the black majority has no political rights. The labor movement and other progressive organizations remain the only legitimate voices putting forward the aspirations and demands of the people.

The banning last winter came together with a labor relations bill, which, if adopted, would reverse the gains workers have won through years of struggle. Almost a decade ago, the Wielhalm Commission was established to study industrial relations in South Africa. It made recommendations that led to the legalization of trade unions in 1979. Since then trade unions have been able to bargain collectively, go on strike, and boycott. This labor bill

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DEMOCRATIC LEFT 8 SEPTEMBER- OCTOBER 1988

ABROAD

No Justice for Workers In Korea

by Pharis Harvey

oon Song Myun was only fourteen when he died on July 2, 1988, the victim of mercury intoxication at the thermometer factory in Seoul where he worked. The son of a poor farmer, he had come to the capital in the hope of earning enough to go to high school, like thousands of others from poverty-stricken rural South Korea, His dream was swiftly shattered. Two months after he started work at the Hyopsong instrument factory, he fell ill. In January, university researchers found Moon and five other workers in the plant, four of whom were under the legal age for factory work, seriously contaminated with mercury. On April 7, his family reported his illness to authorities and applied to the Labor Ministry for industrial diseaserelated medical assistance. They were refused. Three months later he died.

Moon's death underlines the stark contrast between the prosperity found at the center of South Korea's modern cities and the drab ring of poverty encircling them. The "engine of Korean development" has been fueled by dismantling labor laws and ignoring workplace safety regulations. At least 142,000 workers, 2.26 percent of all workers, will be killed or seriously injured by industrial accidents this year, if the rate remains as high as it has been every year for the past fifteen years. (In Taiwan the rate is 0.7 percent, in Singapore it is 0.93 percent, and in Japan it is only 0.61 percent.) According to the International Labor Organization (ILO), Korea has the highest industrial accident and death rate in the world. The number of these workers who are also underage is unknown. Statistics are not kept nor are inspections conducted on small factories, where most children too young for legal factory work are employed.

The tragedy of Moon Song Myun didn't end with his death. When his family and co-workers tried to get compensation and to seek correction of the dangerous

work conditions that led to his death, company and government officials conspired to deny any corporate responsibility. The company owner forced workers to sign statements saving that Moon had not worked in the mercury room. These statements were then showed to National Assembly members investigating the incident. The government has taken no action to force a cleanup at the factory or to investigate the illegal employment of underage workers. Moon's family, meanwhile, had to sell their farm animals and take on an onerous debt to pay the hospital bill.

Moon's story, like hundreds of others, not only highlights the continuing problems of poverty in Korea, but casts a deep shadow across the carefully crafted image of the new Noh Tae Woo government as democratic and committed to correcting past human and labor rights abuses.

Last December, when Noh was elected president in the first direct presidential election in sixteen years, his victory was touted internationally - particularly by the Reagan administration - as a triumph of a democratic process. Some progress has indeed been made; the press is less restricted, and there has been an active National Assembly under opposition party control since April of this year. But the middle class, whose massive political demonstrations last year pushed the government to compromise on the election process, have been the primary beneficiaries of that progress. Workers, farmers, and the urban poor, who constitute about 75 percent of the Korean public, are still waiting. And the conditions under which they wait are growing more violent. There are three key demands being made by these disenfranchised workers; increased wages; better working conditions; and the right to form and maintain democratic unions.

The Privatization of Violence

The key difference from past repression is that violence against workers has now been "privatized," as is the case in the Philippines. There, privately organized vigilante groups are undermining the government's commitment to human rights by murdering human rights lawyers, labor leaders, and opposition activists. In Korea, the violence is carried out mostly against workers, by so-called "save-thecompany corps." (Kusadae, in Korean.) These gangs of men, hired by company management, terrorize workers attempting to form unions free from company control. Many men in Kusadae are reported to come from the ranks of the police.

Kusadae violence, a feature of Korean labor-management relations for many years, appears to be on the upswing in the wake of last year's unprecedented wave of labor organizing. Between July 1 and September 15, 1987, more than 3,000 labor strikes occurred, and as many as 1,400 new unions were formed. The government, then in the heat of an election campaign in which every candidate was promising immediate democracy if elected, did not intervene. But when the unrest died down, gangs of "company employees" appeared in factory after factory. attacking "fellow employees" involved in labor unions. The violence included kidnappings, beatings, torture, and the destruction of union offices. By November more than 300 new unions had been elimin-

When Noh was inaugurated president in February, there was hope that this vio-



Child labor in Korean factory.

lence would subside. It didn't. In fact, it worsened. Workers in hundreds of companies have reported attacks by newly organized "employees' groups." Further, complaints about the violence have almost uniformly been ignored by police and labor ministry officials.

United States Involvement

In July, the southern industrial city of Masan was rocked by *Kusadae* violence. On July 7 attacks by the *Kusadae* on Japanese- and American-owned export plants began. According to a Catholic newspaper in Seoul, the attacks were similar in both the Japan-based Hankuk Sowa Company and the Texas-based Tandy Corporation's TC Electronics, makers of "Radio Shack" brand equipment.

At the TC Electronics plant, where 1,600 employees assemble telephones, computers, and other electronic equipment, women were subjected to extreme physical and sexual violence in a companyled effort to suppress a new trade union. On July 7, women union leaders were assaulted by managerial and other male staff armed with clubs, steel pipes, and heavy boots. The women had been protesting the company's suppression of their organizing activities by symbolically refusing to wear company uniforms.

The labor union president, Ms. Chong Min-Ja, was beaten by one of the managers. Several women were confined in rooms, beaten about their breasts and genitals, hung upside down, and forced to ingest water for a period of about two hours in an effort to force them to sign resignation letters. The next day the violence worsened. Twenty-three women active in the unionization effort were brought, one by one, into a conference room, severely beaten and forced to sign resignation letters. Many lost consciousness and had to be hospitalized. Five union leaders and several other workers were beaten again the following day by a gang of eighty men, in a rampage that lasted nine hours. The five, who were distributing leaflets, were taken away by the Kusadae.

Police called to the scene to rescue the workers refused to intervene, saying that it was an internal company matter.

By July 13, public rage against the company in Masan had brought 1,500 people to the gate of Tandy's factory to demand an end to the anti-union violence. The sit-in protest continued several weeks. On July 16, the police finally arrested one member of the *Kusadae*, Mr. Lee Chungkil.

Most Korea-based, U.S.-owned multinational firms, in an attempt to diffuse strong anti-American reactions, have avoided this kind of blunt violence in recent years. But the new government's tolerance for privatized brutality has unleashed a new level of anti-union activity in which the American firms are caught up. even as the opposition controlled National Assembly prepares to reform the country's labor laws. And, as progress towards unionization and increased wages is made in Korea, a greater number of U.S. firms are relocating to countries, such as Thailand and Indonesia, more "hospitable" to profit-making.

Earlier this year, the Reagan administration reviewed the labor rights situation in South Korea because the trade act requires the U.S. government to bar special tariff benefits for countries that suppress workers' rights. The Administration, despite considerable evidence of ongoing systemic suppression of internationally-respected rights, determined that Korea was "taking steps" to afford its workers protection. Shortly thereafter. the president "graduated" Korea and other newly-industrializing Asian countries from the Generalized System of Preferences. This abolished the tariff preference from which Korea had been benefitting. At the same time, it removed Korea from possible scrutiny under the purview of the labor rights protection clauses. In Seoul, Reagan's first action was applauded; his second lamented, but with a sigh of relief that some new, less anti-labor American administration would not be able to affect trade by charging Korea with labor violations. In the period following, the level of kusadae violence against labor unions began to increase.

The sigh, however, was premature. When the President allowed the trade bill to become law in August, a new provision went into effect allowing complaints about labor repression to be filed with U.S. trade representatives, as examples of "unfair trade practices." U.S. human rights, labor, and religious organizations now have standing to file complaints. So, unless the Korean government begins to stop the Kusadae violence, companies like Tandy, Hyopsong, and Sowa, to say nothing of giant automakers such as Hyundai and Daewoo, will face fresh challenges when they try to enter the U.S. market with their bloodstained products.

Pharis Harvey is the executive director of the North American Coalition for Human Rights in Korea.

Janitors

Continued from page 7.

ped court injunctions against the union, and has intimidated, isolated, and fired janitors for union activity.

During the recent Democratic national convention held in Atlanta, Justice for Janitors enlisted the help of many labor and progressive delegates to demonstrate and picket at certain Portman sponsored events. These included picketing a brunch for United States Congresspeople sponsored by USA Today/Gannett, taking seventy-five people to Portman's house, where he was hosting a dinner for trustees of the Democratic National Committee (DNC), and twice picketing the Marriott Marquis Hotel. Portman designed the Marriott Marquis and still owns 20 percent of it.

The picketing successfully pressured the "Good Morning America" show to cancel plans to broadcast from the Marriott Marquis. The Delta Airlines reception was virtually unattended because of the picketing outside. Rev. Jesse Jackson, a Justice for Janitors supporter, sent a handwritten message to the picketers saying,

"I can't join you today in person, but I am with you in spirit. Your cause is just. John Portman may have all the money in the world, but you have something much more precious — you have each other. Portman's buildings do not get cleaned by themselves. In the New South, all workers deserve fair wages and dignity. That is why I support your battles to organize a union. You have made the convention week one that John Portman will never forget. Stand together and victory will be yours. Keep hope alive!"

DSA activists attending the convention, including Michael Harrington, joined the picket line. Representatives of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), United Steelworkers of America (USWA), American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), ACORN, Jobs with Justice, United Automobile Workers (UAW), National Organization for Women (NOW), and others stood strong with the ianitors of Atlanta. The broad community support makes it inevitable that the janitors of Atlanta and other cities will win their citywide union contracts.

Nancy Lenk, a DSA member, is an organizer for Justice for Janitors in Atlanta.

The Politics of Immigration

by Saski Sassen

he politics of immigration in the United States are inadequate, and the terms of the debate are misplaced. But there's little chance of correcting the problems until policymakers understand three key aspects of immigration. They are the relation of immigration to the internationalization of production; the relation of immigration to deteriorated economic conditions for large segments of the United States working class; and the consequences of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986.

Immigration and Internationalization

The ongoing debate in the United States places the responsibility for immigration on the immigrants themselves. Migration policy tends to assume that immigration could be halted or reduced by controlling U.S. borders and regulating the number of visas issued by U.S. embassies. Debating in these terms, policy makers do not recognize that broader forces, many generated by the United States, shape patterns of migration.

Current policy presumes that economic stagnation causes people to emigrate. Yet statistics clearly show that countries with high unemployment and poverty are not emigration countries. In fact, much of the new immigration to the United States has originated in a few Asian and Caribbean Basin countries with high growth rates throughout the 1970s and 1980s, as well as high levels of direct foreign investment. By 1981, these Asian countries were second only to the United States as recipients of global direct foreign investment.

A better analysis starts with the understanding that migration takes place within the international market for goods, capital, information, and military equipment; migration follows rather than precedes the formation of this market. Before such an international market existed. there were forced mobilizations of labor (notably slavery and indentured servitude) and colonizing migrations, but no labor migrations. Military, economic, and political relations create bridges between countries, and these bridges determine the direction of migration flows. If no

bridges exist, even a country with extreme poverty and high unemployment will not produce emigration.

Deterioration of Workers' Conditions

Alongside the overall effort to lower wages and undermine unions in the United States throughout the 1970s, labor demand in major cities was being restructured. As these cities became strategic centers for the management of the world economy, they created a large demand for both high-income and low-income jobs. Immigrants then filled the need for a highly disciplined, low-wage workforce. Marginal firms struggling for economic survival have also used immigrant labor. Forty percent of counted immigrants live in the ten largest cities compared with only 10 percent of the U.S. population as a whole. In addition, the occupational distribution of immigrants, including Asians, has become noticeably less advantaged over the last fifteen years.

The polarized income structure in major cities has generated a demand for highly customized goods and services at the top and extremely cheap goods at the bottom.

Customized production often takes place in small units rather than large standardized firms and therefore lends itself to sweatshop and homework production. Inexpensive goods, too, are produced in sweatshops and through homework. While catering to different consumption markets, both kinds of production recruit very low-wage labor. Again, immigrants have been channeled into these "opportunities." They did not, however, create them. This shift in production is part of the overall restructuring of the last twenty years, and, in that context, it is also part of the larger defeat suffered by U.S. labor during the same period.

The New Law

The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act has three key provisions: an extended contract-labor program; a regularization program for undocumented aliens who can prove continuous residence on or before January 1982; and sanctions against employers who knowingly hire undocumented workers.

Liberals and conservatives disagree on the terms, not the objectives, of this



Puerto Rican migrant farmworker in New Jersey,



INS detention center in California.

new law. In the case of regularization, there is disagreement on what the cutoff date should be and how to go about the process; but no one questions regularization itself. Instead the greatest controversy surrounds the implementation of employers' sanctions as a way to stem further illegal immigration. At the heart of the dispute is the concern that employers' sanctions will lead to more discrimination against all Hispanics, the group that contains the largest number of undocumented immigrants. Employees might suspect any "Latino looking" worker of being an undocumented immigrant.

The debate on employers' sanctions involves not only a large array of Hispanic organizations, but also organized labor and the ACLU. These groups argue that employers' sanctions could lead to a requirement that all workers have identification cards in order to prove citizenship. Universal ID cards would be a new mechanism for state control over all citizens. Initially some sectors of organized labor supported sanctions, arguing that they would keep employers from undermining wage levels and the power of unions. But the unions have changed their position to one against sanctions, helping to create a broad opposition to the program.

The purpose of the third aspect of the new law — the extension of contract labor (guest workers) programs — was to ensure an ongoing and abundant supply of low-wage workers for growers. Although this aspect of the law was highly controversial, the debate has been smaller because fewer constituencies were involved.

The 1986 law ignores the larger forces influencing migration and addresses the question only in terms of the immigrants themselves. A better approach would shift attention away from individual migrants and onto U.S. government policy and the economy of both the public and private sectors. Military intervention can direct political and economic refugees into the United States. Concentrations of direct foreign investment can disrupt local economies and precipitate international as well as regional migrations. Temporary contract-labor programs can produce largescale migrations of undocumented labor alongside the regulated labor migration.

By replacing small-holder agriculture and locally-oriented manufacturing with large scale export-oriented enterprises, direct foreign investment and international subcontracting create a ready supply of potential migrants. Emigration becomes an almost inevitable option in these situations. Yet, emigration is not an option for most people in the world; for them, the specific and historically variable combination of conditions for emigration don't exist.

Within U.S. borders, the 1986 immigration law will encourage the formation of an underclass. By putting a severe burden of proof on residents who have lived for years trying to leave no trace of their existence, the regularization program will probably exclude large numbers of the undocumented, including many legally entitled to a change in status. Employers' sanctions will restrict work opportunities for these undocumented workers

even further. They will become a supply of completely disenfranchised labor, confined to the most unscrupulous employers. Employers' sanctions alone might be a vehicle for enfranchising workers; in combination with other provisions, the outcome will likely be the opposite

The current terms of debate and the language of the law make it impossible to ask whether immigration does indeed begin at our borders. In order for the right questions to be asked, the debate itself must change.

Saskia Sassen teaches at Columbia University at the Urban Planning Program.

Harrington

Continued from page 3.

economy when there are still tens of millions poor, unemployed, and underemployed Americans. The business cycle of boom and bust, Alan Greenspan has reminded us, is far from dead.

The American people sense this fact, which is one of the reasons why Bush is down in the polls even though the conventional academic wisdom says he should be a shoo-in (incumbents are supposed to be strong when there is "peace and prosperity"). The Democrats have to appeal to that popular concern. In supporting Dukakis-Bentsen, the democrat left can, and must, point out the full implications of this Democratic campaign argument. If the American economy is indeed in trouble, then the generalities of the Atlanta platform - or the experience of the Massachusetts miracle - are not enough. And Bentsen's Republican version of the Democratic platform is even less relevant.

Finally, let us leave aside all of the complicated analysis. The activists of the left have to ask themselves a simple question. If Bush-Quayle win, will it be easier to rally our constituencies on the day after the election than if the Democrats win? That question answers itself. And conversely, if Dukakis and Bentsen prevail, with all of their inadequacies, evasions, and crackpot realism, won't it be easier to mobilize ourselves behind a concrete program to deal with an economy and world in crisis? The answer is yes, and the corollary is that we have to do all we can to elect that ticket and to prepare to push the new Administration toward a genuinely new politics.

Michael Harrington, co-chair of DSA, recently published his sixteenth book The Long Distance Runner.

In Celebration of Michael Harrington

by Joanne Barkan

ifty-second street in Manhattan empties out for a brief time after the evening rush hour and before the theater crowds arrive. Just west of Broadway, the street looked lonely and dilapidated. Scaffolding obstructed a sizable stretch of sidewalk, and wet sand from a construction site had settled in the gutter. Years of corporate strategizing to rehabilitate the district hadn't produced much. About a third of the way down the block, the large marquee of the old Roseland Ballroom announced the evening's entertainment in immense black letters: IN CELEBRATION OF MICHAEL HAR-RINGTON.

Perspectives can suddenly shift. Fifty-second street was a splendid sight!

Stepping into the Roseland, an out-ofthe-ordinary sense of excitement was balanced by the familiarity of faces. Volunteers from the youth section of the Democratic Socialists of America took tickets and greeted guests. It was one of those events at which DSA "regulars" recognize one another with an edge of surprise and amusement, seeing T-shirts and jeans replaced by silk dresses, jackets, and ties.

The event officially marked Mike's sixtieth birthday, the publication of the second volume of his autobiography, *The Long Distance Runner*, and the launching of The Next America Foundation. But in reality, everyone had come for a bigger and better party — a celebration of Mike himself.

At the well-organized press table in the lobby, a correspondent from *Time* magazine and another from the *Today Show* picked up their badges and press kits and hurried into the main ballroom. A journalist from the RAI, Italian state television, began his broadcast in front of a video camera. "Siamo al Roseland..."

The 1929 hall is a deep cavern of a place but quite modest in its decor compared to any of the hottest New York clubs. White nylon tarps crisscrossing a black ceiling; the vast stage painted with a

rose motif; a few mirrored disco globes hovering over a plain, hardwood dance floor; and, for the occasion, great clusters of red and white balloons massed in every

Most of the 250 guests at the higher priced, "pre-celebration reception" crowded into one area to the side of the dance floor. They drank, ate hors d'oeuvres, leafed through Mike's latest books, *Dissent*, and DSA pamphlets on a literature table; they watched the television cameras taping and the "notables" being interviewed. But most of all they caught up with old friends and chatted with political allies.

For this was a representative gathering — a sampling — of the social forces that Michael Harrington has brought together over the past thirty-five years. There were trade unionists of every description, from young organizers to international presidents; there were civil rights activists, feminists, community organizers, Democratic party liberals, and New Leftists who twenty years earlier wanted nothing to do with Harrington's politics. (In any number of conversations, veterans of the 1960s traded stories about their ideological odysseys.)

There were international guests — from Sweden, El Salvador, South Africa,

West Germany, Israel, and Canada; there were longtime comrades of Mike's who journeyed with him from the Young Socialist League to the Socialist Party to the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and finally to DSA; and then there were young people — a wonderfully large number of them — whose political lives began during the Reagan era and whose first organizational commitment has been to DSA.

Each person there knew at least two dozen others, and yet the diversity of the group demonstrated the breadth of the network. It was a comfortable gathering, an easy affair where shared values could be assumed. Ted Kennedy described the mutually held principles a little later in his speech: "Some call it socialism; I call it the sermon on the mount."

When the formal program began at eight-thirty, more than 500 people moved to the dance floor where tables and chairs had been set up, facing the stage. Over the course of the next two hours, twelve speakers, including Eleanor Holmes Norton, Barbara Ehrenreich, Edward Asner, William Winpisinger, and Ed Broadbent praised Mike's work, described his character, and told favorite anecdotes. Midway through the speeches, folk singer Tommy Makem — an old friend of Mike's — per-



The audience at In Celebration of Michael Harrington.

chard Laird



Ruth Messinger, Michael Harrington, Gloria Steinem, and Edward Kennedy at the close of the tribute to Michael Harrington.

formed Irish ballads and rebel songs.

The list of speakers was long, but most kept their presentations brief. There was humor. There were some political insights. There were moments of poetry. Certain themes recurred again and again: Mike's place in history alongside Eugene Debs and Norman Thomas as the great American socialist of his time; the pivotal role of *The Other America*; Mike as both activist and intellectual; his passion for justice and clarity of vision; his never-failing optimism balanced by pragmatism.

No one in the room forgot for a moment that Mike is fighting a grueling battle against cancer. When he came up on stage to speak at the end of the program, he looked thin and pale. But he moved with vigor, and his voice resonated as it always has. With just one sentence, he shifted the focus of the evening. "Tonight can be a success," he said, "only if a celebration of my past leads to a celebration of our future."

And then he spoke of that future: first, of the most immediate goal, which is to defeat George Bush in November; and then of the long-term project — constructing a worldwide solidarity of the human race so that the liberation of the poor will mean the liberation of all, and promoting the interests of the peoples of the Southern Hemisphere will mean benefiting the peoples of the North as well.

In the last part of his speech, Mike explained why he's continued to use the word socialism for thirty-five years. Any listener might have winced, thinking how many times this man has been obliged to repeat the same explanation. And yet it seemed clear that his simple answer has

grounded his every thought and action: Through the incremental changes that socialists win, a new society will eventually emerge; each increment is part of a process, but along the way, you must have an idea of where you want to go.

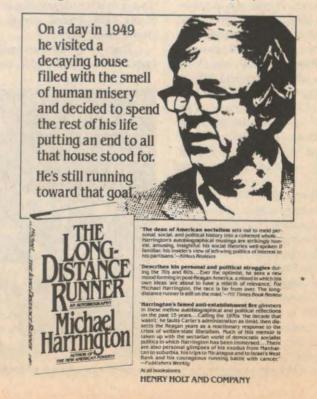
Before closing, Mike paid tribute to his wife, Stephanie, and his sons, Alec and Teddy (all sitting at a center table) for their generosity; the tremendous amount of time he devoted to the movement was in part, he said, time taken away from them.

The speeches had ended. After a standing ovation for Mike, Tommy Makem led the audience through "This Land Is Your Land" — the song one observer called "our real national anthem." The program seemed to be over...but no — the audience, or at least a good portion of it, began to sing the "International." Off-key and with uncertain wording as usual, but there it was, another anthem. The two songs functioned as musical shorthand for the coalition represented at the Roseland.

It was nearly eleven o'clock. Most people said goodbye, elated, but "the youth" — as the youngest generation of DSA activists is often called — stayed on. They'd arranged for a D.J. and danced till one in the morning when the Roseland staff finally cut the lights. The future of the movement. "If I can't dance...I don't want to be part of your revolution," Emma Goldman once insisted. The evening ended just as it should.

Joanne Barkan is a freelance writer. She serves on the National Executive Committee of DSA.

This article will also appear in the Commemorative Journal being edited by Irving Howe. The Journal will contain a series of specially commissioned essays, articles, and photographs, as well as coverage of In Celebration of Michael Harrington. To order your copy of the Journal, send \$25 to the Commonwealth Foundation, 15 Dutch Street, Suite 500, New York, NY 10038. Your order must be received by September 25.



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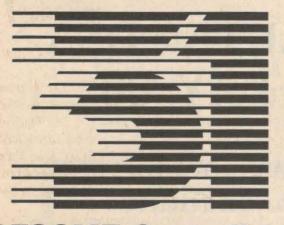
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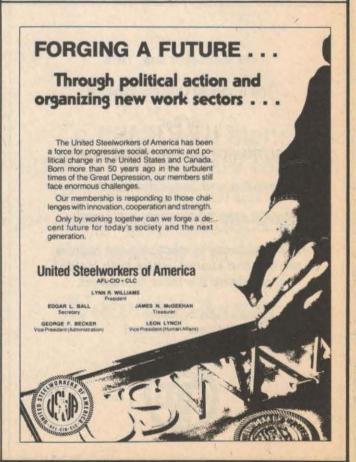


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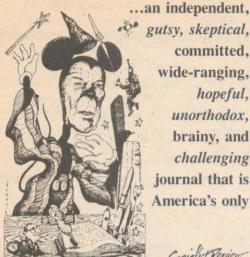
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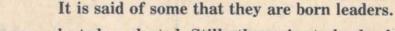
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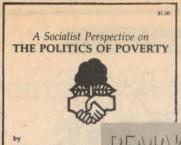
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The Impact of Government Contracting

by Marilyn Dantico and Nancy Jurik

he move to contracting has been propelled by factors that can be thought of as dimensions of the capitalist economic crisis. Demands for public services increased as a result of unemployment, worker dislocation, urbanization, and a growing elderly population. At the same time, there are conservative critiques about the legitimacy of those services and state monopoly over their provision. Faced with demands to reduce subsistence resources that are independent of wage labor (e.g., welfare payments) and to undercut the power of those who demand state supported economic relief; claims that government workers are indolent. overpaid, and incompetent; and the need to provide areas of expansion for the capitalist economy, the Reagan administration embraced privatization. Privatization has as some of its goals, the decentralization and fragmentation of professional constituent support for the provision of social services, the transference of jobs and money to the private sector, and the undercutting of workers' power. Since costs are one of the primary arguments used to defend the need for privatization, the threat to privatize an industry often undermines unions' ability to make wage and benefit demands.

Privatization is pervasive; it has been adopted by hundreds of state, county, and local governments. It has been embraced in the Sunbelt in such places as Scottsdale, Arizona and San Diego, California, and in the North in cities such as Boston and Detroit. In Phenoix, a fiveyear, \$95 million contract was signed with a private company to collect the trash of 50,000 homes. The contract was ended early, however, because of financial conflict with the company. In Chicago, responsibility for parking meter maintanance and coin collection was contracted out. This service cost the city \$99 per meter for the year. Non-urban areas

purchase services from the private sector and from other state and local governments (inter-government agreements) when the costs of direct service provision are considered too great. And, all types of service are privatized — from prisons and rehabilitation centers, to sanitation collection, golf course maintenance, and janitorial services.

Privatization obfuscates a redistribution program. It has harmful effects on workers, especially on women and people of color. Government jobs provide competitive wages, job security, fringe benefits, and career ladders to groups that have been historically disadvantaged in the private sector. In fact, many of the reported advances made by these workers over the last several decades are attributable to their success in government jobs.

Government spending transfers income, and any change in the pattern of government spending redistributes income. While the manifest purposes of privatization may be cutting the size of government and improving efficiency, there will inevitably be negative income effects for certain constituencies.

There are examples of it costing governments more to contract out a service than it had originally cost them to provide the service directly. In other instances, the government may spend the same amount of money to provide a service indirectly as it does directly. But, with direct service provision, government creates jobs for middle class workers and lifestyles, while with privatization we expect deflated salaries and benefits to assure owners of a profit.

As a result of the transition from a

manufacturing to a post-industrial economy, public employment has become a major component of a new economic base. The public sector has grown in absolute terms and relative to other employment sectors, despite a decade of economic recession and growing discontent over tax burdens. Between 1970 and 1980, the number of municipal jobs alone increased from 1.9 million to nearly 2.2 million. Perhaps more important is the fact that the public sector provides jobs for many more professionals than the private economy does.

Public sector growth has provided a disproportionate number of employment opportunities for women and people of color. Historically an opportunity ladder for disadvantaged groups, public employment provides more jobs of higher rank and better wages than the private sector. Furthermore, by moving into middle-and upper-level management positions in government, women and people of color have had an opportunity to participate in policy formation.

Women, and people of color (especially blacks and Hispanics) depend heavily on public sector jobs. In 1976 the public sector directly employed 18.4 percent of employed workers. That group included 16 percent of the men, 21 percent of the women, 25 percent of the blacks, and 15 percent of the Hispanics in the paid labor force. Even if the dislocation among government workers that results from privatization was color and gender blind, privatization would effect disproportionate numbers of women and people of color.

Moreover, government jobs pay women and people of color substantially



more than private sector jobs. While some try to argue that the wage differential is due to overpayment in the public sector, most social analysts agree that the greater gender and racial wage disparity in private firms is due to discrimination. Government raises the wages of women and people of color directly through employment and indirectly by decreasing their numbers in the private sector employment market.

Some differences in employment patterns between the public and private sector are a by-product of the civil service system's emphasis on seniority and due process for adjudging job performance. This interferes with gender and racial discrimination in advancement. In addition, government places a higher value on the skills and professions that are disproportionately occupied by women and people of color.

Coupled with other on-going trends in the public arena, such as federal budget limits and tax cuts, privatization will impact many workers. It will further reduce the number of government sector jobs and limit opportunities for advancement. It may also lower wage scales in the private labor market.

A net reduction in the number of public sector jobs will necessarily mean that some government workers will be laid off. Since women and people of color are disproportionately clustered in low ranking, low seniority positions, they are more likely to experience lay-offs when jobs are privatized. The effect on women may be especially great because recently they have been hired for public service jobs at higher rates than men.

The decreasing demand for public employees will have implications for the job security of those who remain. Collective bargaining ability may be severely hampered and, as a consequence, workers' wages, benefits, and working conditions may deteriorate.

With a decline in the number of government jobs, workers must find comparable employment in the private sector. Some claim that though such employment is not yet available in the private sector, it will become available as public service responsibilities are transferred to the private economy. Thus, former government workers would be able to find comparable jobs in the private sector.

There are, however, reasons to doubt this scenario. While the absolute demand for private sector jobs may increase proportionately to public sector layoffs, comparisons of similar private and public service providers suggest that private firms rely more heavily on unskilled labor than do government providers. While on the surface the work to be done appears to be the same, jobs are restructured; there is a "deskilling" in the private sector.

The private sector workforce is more bifurcated than in the public sector. Some skilled private sector positions pay higher wages than comparable public positions, but the mobility between lower and higher positions is very limited in the private sector. In lieu of providing on-thejob training, private firms prefer to rely on already trained labor to fill their higher-level jobs. Since so many low-level service jobs are dominated by women and people of color, those who transfer to private sector firms will find a decline in the demand for skills and limited opportunities for the training essential for upward mobility.

Subjectivity in hiring, decreased benefit levels, lower pay, lack of career ladders and on-the-job training, and discretionary power in terminations will all undermine the positions of these displaced workers. The impact of women and people of color in the policy formation and implementation processes will be severely undercut. At the same time, employers' profits will increase and the real cost to taxpayers are likely to remain constant.

Marilyn Dantico and Nancy Jurik are both associate professors at Arizona State University. Dantico writes for AFSCME on the issue of privatization

South Africa

Continued from page 8.

would roll back all these rights.

Despite the February crackdown, mass dismissals, and the dissemination of government propaganda, COSATU was determined to enter the 1988 annual wage battles with a heightened level of organization. COSATU reached its third annual congress with a renewed commitment to the living wage campaign. At this meeting, all possible steps to defend their right to freedom of association were discussed. Although stayaways and boycotts are illegal under the state of emergency, the congress decided to organize a general strike.

Those who believed that the state of emergency would be successful in halting black mobilization were in store for a few three-day work stayaway was announced by the two labor federations, COSATU with 800,000 members, and the National Congress of South African Trade Unions (NACTU), with more than 450,000. (NACTU was formed in 1986 from the merger of Azanian Congress of South African Trade Unions and the Council of Unions of South Africa.) The South African Council of Churches and United Democratic Front affiliates supported the call. Schools in many townships and universities were deserted. There were no buses and taxis on the streets, and empty trains ran back and forth along the tracks. Every delivery van and every lorry sat idle. This was a demonstration of true working-class solidarity and it is what makes the stavaways an overwhelming powerful tool. The three day protest was a tremendous success, costing the South African economy nearly \$250 million. This was the biggest and costliest stayaway in South African history.

surprises. On June 6, 7, and 8, a call for a

The action took place amid a large police and defense force presence in black townships. Threats of dismissal and "no work, no pay" by employers were commonplace. And yet the people seemed determined to continue the protest even after seeing television reports showing that the actions had drawn scant support.

International Solidarity

In June, an international call to protest the clampdowns was organized to complement the general strike in South Africa. Throughout the United States, solidarity actions were organized and protest letters were sent to pressure the Botha regime. These responses help to keep South Africa in the international spotlight, while at the same time boosting the morale of antiapartheid activists in South Africa. NACTU and COSATU are asking the American people to take advantage of the access they have to the political process to push the U.S. government to take meaningful economic sanctions against South Africa.

The comprehensive sanctions bill now pending in Congress will cut off oil, high technology, and foreign exchange, all of which the apartheid regime needs for its survival. Anything short of economic sanctions would be a betrayal of the people who have demonstrated their willingness to make the necessary sacrifice in the face of insurmountable risks.

Nomonde Ngubo works for the South African Mineworkers.

On Tour With Billy Bragg: Confessions of a Groupie

by Elissa McBride

became a die-hard Billy Bragg fan on the first night of his recent "Help Save the Youth of America" tour of nearly twenty-five concerts. We were in Albany. New York. I had driven north from New York in the tour van, winding up one of the states most beautiful highways, listening to blues on the tape player, and talking about politics with Billy and his manager, Peter. Before the concert started, I set up a DSA literature table with Marty Gaworski of the Albany local and some youth activists from the State University. Even before the music started, the lobby was filled with concert-goers talking about political activism and local issues. After the concert began, I abandoned my literature table and stood in the back of the music hall listening to an amazing musician with an amazing message. Harsh chords and strong words echoed against the walls of the Troy Music Hall, urging the crowd out of their seats and their complacency. "Peace, bread, work, and freedom is the best we can achieve/and wearing badges is not enough in days like these." And for the DSAers in the audience, there were words of affirmation: "I know how hard it is to be a socialist in Britain, and the DSA members here know that it's even harder in the U.S."

Billy Bragg has been one of the heroes of DSA youth section activists for many years. At thirty years old he is, perhaps, Britain's most outstanding progressive musical voice. Billy works with Britain's Labour party, a member of the Socialist International. He was a founding member of Red Wedge, a group of left-wing musicians connected with the Labour party. Red Wedge first came together as a result of their collective support for the British miner's strike in 1984. Last year, Red Wedge launched a campaign to get more youth to participate in the 1987 British elections. Part of this effort involved organizing public meetings where concert audiences met with Labour party officials to discuss issues, party policy, and

strategies. Red Wedge insists that greater youth involvement in the Labour party will benefit both youth activists and the Party.

Billy contacted the DSA Youth Section to help him with a similar project in the U.S. For his "Help Save the Youth of America" tour, he wanted to provide information to his audience about where and how to register to vote. In his new album, he included a list of voter registration locations, which we helped him compile, along with an appeal to participate in the upcoming elections. Later, he invited us to help do voter registration and distribute literature at the concerts. Activists from CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) and ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) were also involved. Eventually, they offered DSA a seat in the tour van to help coordinate literature distribution and voter registration at the concerts. I became the token American on the tour and I

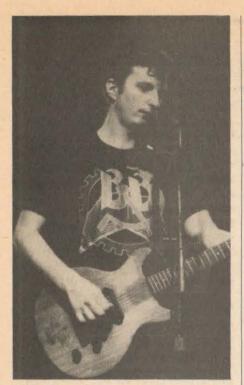
went along with Billy and the crew for about half of the concerts. There are almost fifty active youth section campus chapters across the country, and the tour stopped in over half of the cities where we have chapters.

I first met Billy the day after he arrived in New York. Jane, his American publicist, asked me to try to get hold of some tickets for him to go to the Labor for Jackson rally in New York. I took some passes up to them, and he thanked me. One of the first concerts was at the State University of New York at Binghamton. We drove down from Albany, where we'd been talking about the Jackson campaign over a late breakfast. After Billy and his manager, Peter, had attended the Jackson rally they were extremely committed to supporting his candidacy. We had been joking around about Jackson's supposed "unelectability," noting that some of our best friends are unelectable.

Binghamton is a campus that has a



Elissa Mcbride on tour with Billy Bragg in Chicago.



Billy Bragg in concert.

DSA chapter, that works on issues ranging from poverty to labor support to education on the Middle East. Several chapter activists met me when we arrived in town to help set up the table. Activists from the local Public Interest Research Group showed up to register voters. During the show, Billy dedicated his song "There is Power in a Union" to the campus activists attempting to form a student worker association to protest the personnel policies of the Marriott corporation, which has a monopoly on the campus food service. In fact, Billy always dedicated that song to a local struggle, and I would usually try to do some research for him about labor activism in the communities we visited. On the closing night of the tour, in Pittsburgh, I suggested that he dedicate the song to the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), since their "American Family Celebration" was coming up that weekend. He did, and the president of the local CLUW chapter happened to be in the audience. She was surprised and moved by his support.

Billy often hung out and talked to activists before and after the shows. In Minneapolis, when I introduced him to the people who had distributed literature and registered voters at the concert at First Avenue, he said to them, "All my efforts would mean nothing if it weren't for you people working on the local level," For Billy, the importance of his "fans" goes

beyond selling tickets and albums. His fans tend to be political activists (or potential activists) working with him for change. He resisted efforts by the press to make him the center of attention. At the press conference which was held in New York City before the concert at Roseland, Billy shared the platform with several campus and local activists, and the "press conference" turned into a two hour discussion about directions for the left and the importance of the new student activism. His support for DSA and other left-wing organizations exemplifies his understanding that political change is a collective effort. He would always give us a pitch from the stage at the concerts, which meant that audience members were eager to see our literature when they left. Youth section activists standing by the doors experienced the joy of having people taking literature out of their hands as they exited. Not only did new members join DSA on the spot, but many youth were recruited to the organization through subsequent mailings sent to those who signed our mailing list.

Billy pointed out that we must work for political change on all fronts, claiming that "both the ballot box and the barricades" are important strategic tools. In urging us to use our right to vote, he acknowledged that our choices are limited by the two-party system in the U.S. However, he also reminded us that our choice does make a difference, both for our lives and for the lives of people all over the world. He acknowledged that as socialists, we were constantly on the defensive under Reagan, attempting to protect the most basic of civil and human rights. Reagan's presidency also made a difference in the lives of British citizens and other non-Americans. However, they had no input into the selection of the "emperor" of the free world.

Billy will be back in the U.S. before the November election, touring across the entire country during the month of October. He would like to work with DSA again. The Youth Section is developing literature on voter registration and participation and on the candidates positions. Perhaps some public meetings could also be organized in local areas to discuss a left-wing agenda for the election and beyond. If you are interested in helping out at the concerts or in organizing a local meeting, please contact me at the DSA office.

Elissa McBride is the organizer for DSA's Youth Section.

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Labor Educator Program Coordinator, Labor Center, the University of Iowa. Must be able to develop and teach noncredit labor education classes/conferences, maintain liaison with Iowa organizations, prepare budgets. Masters' Degree in labor studies. Salary, \$30,000; Direct resumes to: Roberta Till-Retz, Director, Labor Center, the University of Iowa, Oakdale Hall, Iowa City, IA 52242. An AA/EEO employer.

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Labor and Politics: The Decade Ahead, a symposium sponsored by UAW-District 65 and Hofstra University. Saturday, October 8, 1988, 9:00 - 4:00 p.m., 13 Astor Place, New York City. Registration and lunch: \$10.00/person. For information call (516) 560-5659.

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DSACTION

REPORTS

- DSA was very visible throughout the Democratic convention in Atlanta. On Tuesday evening, July 17, DSA hosted a "Democratic Alternatives" reception. Over 100 activists, delegates, and unionists attended the informal gathering and heard Mike Harrington, DSA co-chair, call for the need to get Dukakis elected and to begin organizing now to pressure him in a progressive direction if he is elected. On Thursday morning, DSA organized a socialist caucus, the official socialist caucus of the Democratic convention. Fifty people turned out to hear Harrington provide an analysis of prospects for the democratic left in the upcoming period. Dolores Huerta, DSAer and vice president of the United Farm Workers (UFW) spoke on the need for DSA to be bold with its politics and recruitment strategies. Thousands of copies of the convention issue of Democratic Left were distributed throughout the convention, as well as copies of Dissent's "Democratic Promises."
- The DSA National Board, the second highest governing body of DSA, will meet November 12 14 in Los Angeles, CA to map out a strategy for DSA during the first 100 days of the next Administration and beyond. Plenaries will include; the state of the socialist project internationally; whither DSA?; and local building. Articles for Socialist Forum are due mid-September. Questions? Contact the National Office at (212) 962-0390. See you in LA.
- On the weekend of August 25-28, 1988, over one hundred youth section activists met at the Circle Pines Retreat Center in western Michigan for the 13th annual youth section summer conference. The conference, "Finally the Tables are Starting to Turn: Economic Justice, Student Empowerment, and the 1988 Elections," was attended by new and old youth section activists from campuses and communities all over the country. California, Kentucky, Illinois, Massachusetts, Louisiana, New York, and Ohio were among the states represented.

The conference got off to an energe-

tic start with greetings and remarks from veteran DSA and UAW activist Millie Jeffrey and DSA youth organizer Elissa McBride. After a review of process and an orientation, conference participants immediately launched into discussions about the organizational and political priorities for the youth section for the upcoming school year. Issues ranging from electoral politics to drug legislation to foreign policy were debated, and a set of priorities and resolutions emerged by late Saturday night. Youth section efforts will be focussed on three major areas of work in the coming year: economic justice, electoral politics, and university in society. In these areas and many others a course and a strategy was charted for the year ahead.

In and around these political discussions, activists attended plenaries and workshops dealing with a wide range of issues. DSA field director Shakoor Aliuwani. Citizen Action executive director Heather Booth, and World Hunger Year chair Jim Chapin laid out an analysis of electoral politics and a strategy for working with the Dukakis campaign. Michael Harrington, DSA co-chair, and Roberta Lynch, political director of Illinois AFSCME, provided an overview of the domestic and international economy and suggestions for organizing for economic justice. Joel Bleifuss, In These Times journalist, Selma Goode, Detroit community organizer, and Ron Sable of the Chicago Gay and Lesbian Political Action Committee, gave their thoughts on "Living Our Politics" and engaging in socialist activism on a variety of fronts. Bob Fitrakis, a professor at Ohio University, Maryann Mahaffey, Detroit City Council member, and Komozi Woodard, former SNCC activist, represented three "generations of socialism" and told activist stories from their past. Finally, Mike Harrington gave a moving benediction as the conference finished up on Sunday, inspiring all participants to return to their communities and begin the work that lies ahead.

 Jobs with Justice, a broad coalitional campaign for worker's rights, is gearing up for the elections. It is encouraging supporters across the country to work to elect a President and Congress who support the goals of JwJ: the right to a decent standard of living; the right to employment security and resisting efforts by management to close offices or factories in the name of competition; and the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively. To get involved in your community, call (202) 728-2396 or (800) 424-2872.

RESOURCES

- "Social Democratic News From Austria," a new periodical published by the Socialist Party of Austria, is now available. In it you will find news about Austria and the International Socialist Movement. For a free subscription, please write directly to: Socialistische Partei Oesterreichs, Internationales Sekretariat, Loewelstrasse 18, A-1014 Wien, Austria.
- Do you want to support the United Farm Workers' boycott of table grapes? For more information on how to support the struggle, contact the UFW at Boycott Group, P.O. Box 62, Keene, CA 93531
- The summer issue of "Our Struggle/ Nuestra Lucha," the newsletter of the Latino, Afro-American, and Anti-Racism Commissions of DSA, is available. Included are articles on the Jackson campaign, Central America, electoral strategy, and the upcoming national board meeting. For more information or to subscribe, write to DSA, Box 162394, Sacramento, CA 95816.
- Extra, the newsletter of FAIR (Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting) is available for only \$24/eight issues. To subscribe to this journal that monitors the press, write FAIR, 130 West 25th Street, New York, NY 10010, or call them at (212) 633-6700.
- Keep your eyes peeled for Who Built America?: A Social History of Working Men and Women, a multi-media curriculum on American social history. Contact the American Social History Project, Graduate Center, City University of New York, 33 West 42nd Street, New York, NY 10036, or call them at (212) 944-8695 for more information.



California

The Los Angeles Times carried a long article in its Valley View section about Leo Whitaker, secretary of the San Fernando Valley branch of the Los Angeles DSA, and about DSA activities. DSAer Mike Lee chairs the Democratic party PAC in the San Fernando Valley. The branch helped elect a very progressive woman to the Los Angeles School Board...On July 28, the Los Angeles local heard Eric Morello of ACT UP (AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power) speak on "The Politics of AIDS."... The Bay Area DSA local held their summer picnic July 31 at Lake Temescal, Oakland, San Francisco, DSA heard Ron Dudum, a Jackson delegate, speak after the Democratic convention on "Democratic Directions and the Jackson Campaign." The local revived its Socialist School with a sixweek summer session on "The History of Socialism."...The Sacramento DSA local is actively supporting the United Farm Workers California grape boycott. Duane Campbell, co-chair of the local, was quoted in the Sacramento Bee urging Safeway shoppers to boycott table grapes and ask the supermarket to remove them from the shelves. National DSA is also backing the United States Farm Workers boycott of California table grapes.

District of Columbia

DC/MD DSA's annual meeting elected Bill Mosley and Rich Burning co-chairs. The July meeting discussed "Feminism's Role in Democratic Socialism and DSA's Role in the Feminist Movement." The annual pool party was held August 16 and the executive board met August 23.

Georgia

Atlanta DSAers met with Mike Harrington and DSA national staffers during the Democratic convention to explore ways of revitalizing the local chapter...Local DSAers are playing key roles in the "Justice for Janitors" organizing campaign by Local 679 of the Service Employees International Union.

Iowa

The summer issue of *The Prairie* Progressive of Iowa City DSA features articles on the Democratic State convention, an effective family policy, and Afghanistan.

Kentucky

The Kentucky Socialist Banner reports a meeting in Louisville at which eighty-three-year-old DSAer Lyman Johnson, the first black student at the University of Kentucky, head of the Bureau of Prisons, and Louisville school board member, spoke about his work in desegregating Louisville's public schools and his earlier activities in Detroit's labor and radical movement...Mary Dunn, vice chair of Central Kentucky DSA and former staff member of the 1988 Jackson campaign, spoke in Lexington August 29 on "What Really Went on at the 1988 Democratic Convention."... DSAer Sue Massek of the Reel World String Band performed July 23 to celebrate the anniversary of the overthrow of the Samoza dictatorship and the ninth year of a free Nicaragua.

Massachusetts

Boston DSA threw a goodbye party August 5 for Joe Schwartz, Boston DSA activist for close to a decade. Having completed his PhD in political theory, Joe will teach at Temple University in Philadelphia. Boston's loss is Philadelphia's gain, but Joe is sure to continue his classic tirade on the theme, "We need socialist cash to fight capitalist trash!"

Michigan

The Ann Arbor local held its annual DSA Bastille Day Barbecue July 17. Eric Ebel and Krista Schneider were elected co-chairs of the local at their annual elections. The local had a strong tabling operation at both the Art Fair and Heritage Festival this summer.

Minnesota

DSAer Jim Scheibel is president of the St. Paul City Council and works with the Minnesota Peace Council. New Jersey

A New Jersey-wide DSA meeting, organized by the Princeton local, was held mid-summer to discuss plans for how to work together statewide. A follow-up meeting is scheduled for early in the fall.

New York

DSAer Ben Nichols, an alternate delegate for Jackson, reported on the Democratic convention in Atlanta at Ithaca DSA's local meeting July 24. Ithaca DSAers are backing Marty Luster for the New York Assembly seat being vacated by Republican Sam Mac-Neil. At their August meeting, voter registration and fall recruitment work was discussed...Nassau DSA met July 28 to plan a series of Saturday seminars, and to discuss their work in the Long Island Progressive Coalition (LIPC), on Central America, with the Rainbow Coalition, and in the 1988 elections. Sixteen members of the Nassau DSA are members of the Nassau Democratic county committee...New York City DSA considered "The Democratic Convention: What are the Prospects for the Left?" at a late August meeting. Speakers included Jim Chapin, former executive director of DSOC, and Sherri Levine, DSA Publication/Education Director. The Disarmament Branch of DSA met August 8 at Robert Delson's home, DSA's New York Feminist Commission meets September 7 to discuss New York City politics and Ruth Messinger's role on the City Council...H.L. Mitchell, cofounder of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, (STFU) will speak at the New York City premiere of the film "Our Land Too: The Legacy of the STFU." Sponsored by the Workers Defense League, the showing will be held on Saturday, September 17 at 2 pm at District Council 37, AFSCME.

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia DSA held its annual picnic July 24 at Pastorius Park. The Philadelphia Socialist features an article by Irving Lewis on "Homelessness: An Inside Look" and "The Budget: Wait Till Next Year." When the thirty-year-old British rock star Billy Bragg performed in Pittsburgh recently, he told his audience, of more than 500 fans, "I'm a socialist and I owe it all to one woman — Maggie Thatcher. If it hadn't

been for her, I would still be confused." He insisted that his promoters include DSA literature in each of his American concerts, so Pittsburgh DSA had a literature table at the concert and did voter registration. The Allegheny Socialist carried an article on "Labor in Guatemala" by DSAer Paul Garver, a union official who joined with U.S. unionists to support strikers in the Lunafil textile factory and to hold discussions with a wide spectrum of Guatemalan unions...Organizational director Patrick Lacefield spoke to several dozen DSAers at the Reading DSA annual picnic July 9... Central Pennsylvania DSA will host its annual meeting and dinner on September 11. Liz Hrenda, president of the Harrisburg local of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and former steel worker (Local 1688), will speak on unionism, and work and family issues.

Texas

Texas DSA was out in full force for the Texas State Democratic convention in Houston June 17-18. In addition to a much-visited exhibition booth during the convention, a socialist caucus addressed by Patrick Lacefield drew fifty convention delegates. A hospitality suite of Texas DSA played host to over 100 people who heard talks on DSA by Lacefield and DSAer Judge Ben Levy. A post-convention DSA activist meeting also drew folks from El Paso, Galveston, Dallas, Fort Worth. and San Antonio. Thanks to Jerry Lynch of Houston DSA and Paul Mitchell of Austin DSA for organizing the affairs.

Vermont

Barbara Ehrenreich, DSA national co-chair, has sent out a mailing seeking funds for Bernie Sanders, Burlington's fourth-term Socialist mayor, who is running as an independent for Vermont's lone Congressional seat. The most recent poll shows he is now tied for the lead with the leading Republican and several points ahead of any Democrat. If elected, he would join Ron Dellums of California and Major Owens of New York as the third socialist in Congress.

DSA National Board November 11-13

Salvadoran Opposition Leader Highlights National DSA Speaking Tour

octor Ruben Zamora, leader in El Salvador's Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), will tour the United States in October in a speaking tour sponsored by the Democratic Socialists of America. Only recently Zamora's Popular Social Christian party joined with Guillermo Ungo's National Revolutionary Movement (a sister party in the Socialist International) and the Salvadoran Social Democratic party to form the Democratic Convergence. The Convergence has announced its intention to contest next March's presidential elections against the fading Christian Democrats and the favored, ultra-right ARENA party.

The purpose of the tour will be to focus attention on U.S. policy and the worsening crisis in El Salvador — given the illness of U.S.-backed President Napoleon Duarte, the continuation of the war, and the deterioration of human rights and the economic situation.

Zamora was elected vicepresident of the FDR after the assassination of the FDR leadership by the Salvadoran army in November, 1980. He had been a member of the National Executive Committee of the Christian Democratic party before leaving in March, 1980 over that party's pact with the military. He served as presidential chief of staff in the brief reform junta that ruled Salvador until January, 1980. Zamora and his family fled the country in February after the assassination, by death squads, of his brother Mario, the country's attorney general. In his capacity as FDR leader, Dr. Zamora has participated in dialogues between the FDR/FMLN alliance and the government. Braving continual death threats, Zamora returned to El Salvador last November to promote political support for social justice and a negotiated settlement to the eight-year-old civil war.

"No matter who is elected U.S. president in November, El Salvador is certain to be an early foreign policy challenge," said Patrick Lacefield, DSA organizational director. "DSA stands for a political solution to end this



Doctor Ruben Zamora.

war and guarantee political democracy and human rights for every Salvadoran. That's the message that Ruben Zamora will be bringing our way."

The tentative tour schedule is as follows:

Ruben Zamora

October 10-Baltimore
October 11-Washington, D.C.
October 12-Philadelphia
October 13-New York
October 14-Boston
October 15-New York
October 16-San Francisco
October 17-Sacramento/San Diego

For more details on the tour, contact the DSA local in your area or call the national office.

October 18&19-Los Angeles

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