

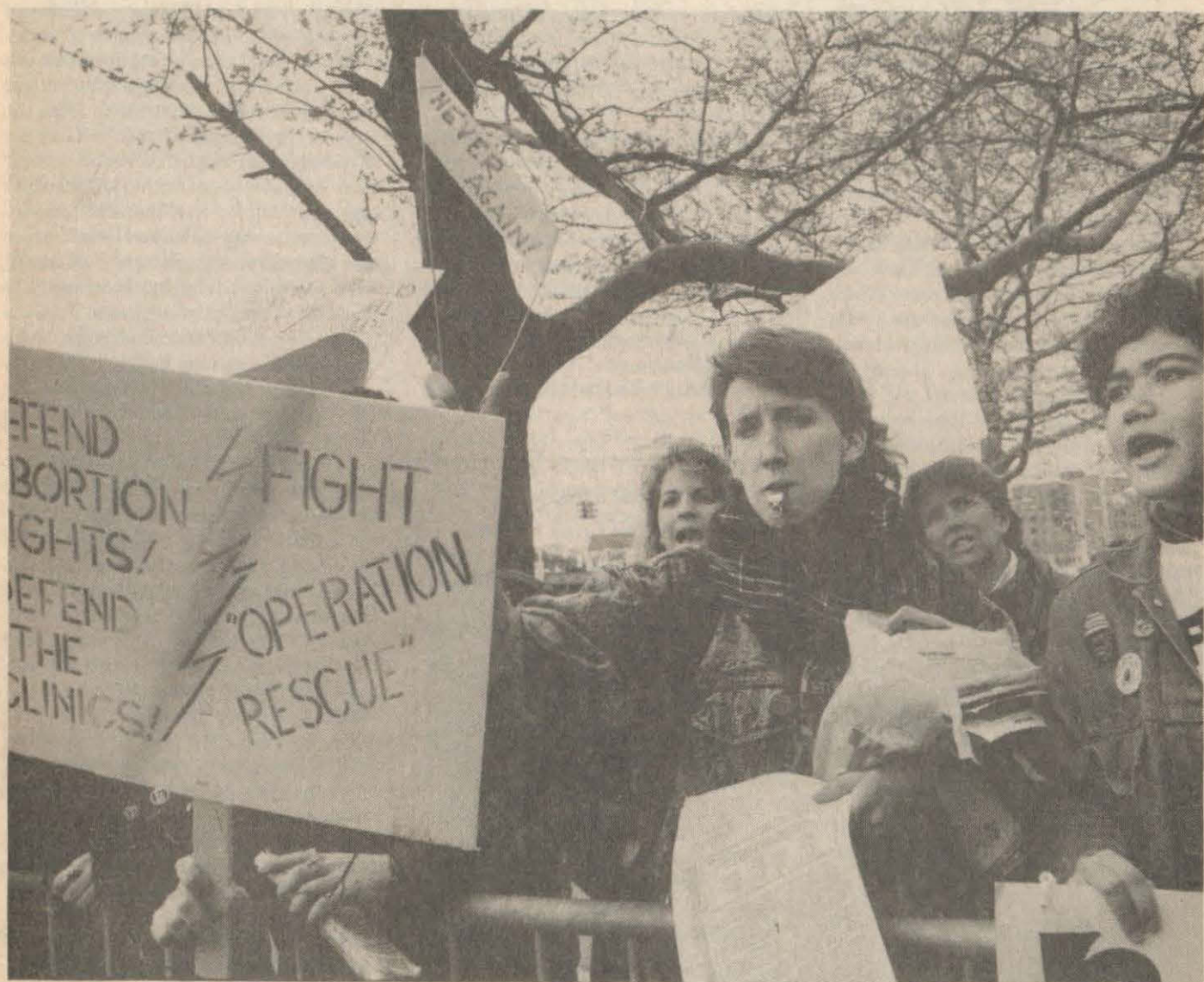
PUBLISHED BY THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS OF AMERICA

DEMOCRATIC Left

January-February, 1989

Vol. XVII, No. 1

\$1.50



Michael Harrington on the Elections

Linda Gordon on Reproductive Rights

Plus: The Middle East • Eastern Europe • Music Review

EDITORIAL

WE NEED MORE THAN POLITICS AS USUAL

There was an eerie sequence of events in the weeks immediately following the 1988 Presidential election. Conservatives who had enthusiastically supported George Bush began to worry out loud that their victorious candidate would now have to face radical economic problems. Alan Greenspan of the Federal Reserve warned of debt overload, Paul Volker his predecessor said that, under present circumstances, a recession could be particularly difficult to control, and the Dow Jones took a nose dive on Wall Street.

The debate that should have been initiated by the Democratic party during the campaign was opened up by the American right after the results were in.

Fine, I can hear many liberals and socialists saying, that proves our point. Michael Dukakis would have won if he had run as a populist from the very start. What we have to do now is build a coalition around populist themes and prepare for an economic down turn which will give us the relevance and appeal that we — or rather, Dukakis — failed to generate in the campaign.

That is too simple. One of the most depressing events at the Atlanta Democratic convention was the "debate" over Jesse Jackson's tax policy amendment. The Jackson policy was moderation itself. It pledged that there would be no new levies on the working and middle class. (The officially poor, who had their taxes raised in 1981, were taken off the rolls in 1986.) The new revenue, Jackson argued, would come from a modest return to progressive taxation, where the rich would be required to pay the same rates they had paid in 1977. The proposal, in other words, was hardly revolutionary.

There was, however, no discussion on the Dukakis side. It was wrong, the candidate's people said, to have any discussion of tax policy, for it would open Dukakis up to the charge of being a high-taxing Democrat. This argument did not simply ignore the fact that the Jackson amendment pledged no new taxes for the

majority of people; it also assumed that the Democrats would win in 1988 by ducking the real issues. It was one more sign that the Democratic party, including some of those who still publicly call themselves "liberal," are far from united on the issue of progressive taxation. Many of those who did not want to even discuss the Jackson proposal were motivated by principle — they have retreated from what was once a liberal Democratic dogma — and not just by tactical considerations. That bears on the future as well as the past.

We should have a "populist" answer to a crisis, the cliché says. Fine, but *what does that mean?* It was important for Dukakis to finally say that he was on the people's side, and his support did pick up during the last three weeks when he hit that theme. But overall, he never defined a clear, progressive agenda, and the politics of liberal retreat will not be adequate if a crisis occurs.

Consider for a moment just a few of

the impressive possibilities of economic trouble in the future. There is, let us say, an ordinary down-turn in the business cycle which "normally" would result in a year or so of 8 or 9 percent unemployment, followed by a recovery. But now — and if the reader thinks this scenario ultra-left, it is the one now being entertained by people such as Greenspan and Volker — that could trigger a series of bankruptcies. The one third of shaky Savings and Loans could join the one third already drowning, and the bail-out costs could rise to \$200 billion from the current projections of \$100 billion; the Federal deficit will balloon even without that problem because the jobless don't pay taxes but do — if they are lucky — get benefits; Argentina and Brazil, which are in precarious shape right now, might well see *coups d'état* by the military to head off a turn to the left (or, in Argentina, to Peronism); and the foreign creditors who financed the Reagan prosperity might take a dim view of seeing the value of their holdings slashed by a cheap money policy.

If only half of these disasters were to take place, what will the Democrats do? A speech on "populism" and the assurance that, "we are on your side" will not be enough. Indeed, at that point the Jackson tax amendment begins to look like an extremely moderate proposition. The issues of international economics, which are not even part of the current discussion but already have a major impact on the lives of every citizen, will be felt even more severely. The new poverty of the working poor and single mothers, so profoundly discriminatory against minorities, would grow. And the limits of maneuver in a post-Reagan America, with its impossible structure of debt and a Gramm-Rudman psychology, would become even narrower.

I am not counseling despair. I think that the democratic left does have, if not "the" answer, then the beginning of answers to these challenges. Jackson presented them in his campaign; economists such as Jeff Faux of the Economic Policy Institute have been articulating them with precision; DSA in its advocacy of the Willy Brandt-Michael Manley com-

Continued on page 17

ARTICLES

- Israel 1989: The Crisis Deepens**
by Eric Lee..... page 3
- Socialist Feminism, Reproductive Rights, and Teenage Pregnancy**
by Linda Gordon..... page 5
- Crisis and Hope in Eastern Europe**
by Bogdan Denitch..... page 7
- Election Round-Up: DSAers Speak Out.**
by John Atlas, Peter Dreier, Noreen Connell, Roberta Lynch, Carisa Cunningham, and Joni Rabinowitz..... page 14
- DSA National Board**..... page 18
- Best political Records of 1988**
by Geoffrey Himes..... page 22

DEPARTMENTS

- Editorial*..... page 2
- DSA Action*..... page 11
- On The Left*..... page 12
- CLASSIFIEDS*..... page 17
- Review*..... page 20
- Jimmy Higgins*..... page 24

Israel 1989: The Crisis Deepens

by Eric Lèe

The November 1 election results, the political chaos that followed (including the inability to organize a government) and Israel's refusal to react positively to the PLO's peace initiatives all confirm one fact: Israel is a deeply troubled country these days.

No matter how one measures the depth and severity of a social crisis, ours goes deep and is quite severe. Underlying it is the persistence of the Jewish-Arab conflict of more than forty years. But the scope of the crisis goes beyond security issues. It goes to the very heart of the Zionist project in the land of Israel. And it raises profound doubts about the future of the Jewish state.

Election Night

The election results were a terrible blow for the Israeli democratic left. For the fourth time in eleven years, the social-democratic Labor party led by Shimon Peres failed to secure enough votes to form a government with other center and left parties.

The various parties on the left gained and lost votes, but their total share remained what it was four years ago. Labor lost votes to parties to its left — a phenomenon that, if it continues, may bode well for Israel democracy in the long run. Those benefitting from Labor's decline were parties perceived as being more dovish, less bureaucratic, and more radical on social issues, including women's rights. Foremost among these was Shulamit Aloni's Citizen's Rights Movement (CRM), which reaped impressive gains, yet failed to emerge (as some polls had predicted) as a vibrant third force to rival the Labor party and Likud.

A surprising and positive result was the re-emergence of the democratic socialist party MAPAM, which last ran independently of Labor in 1965. After a highly effective campaign linking social issues in the struggle for peace, MAPAM emerged with three seats in the Knesset.

(DSAers may be interested to know that former DSOC activist Alex Spinrad was one of MAPAM's Knesset candidates — although he wasn't elected.)

The three parties supported primarily by Israeli Arabs divided those votes, directing most of their fire against one another rather than the right. According to some analyses, this divisiveness cost Israeli Arabs five Knesset seats. The political power of Israel's Arabs (who vote overwhelmingly for the left) remains largely untapped — a situation in some ways comparable to the black vote in the United States prior to the civil rights movement.

But the headline-grabbing news of the 1988 elections had to do with neither the right or the left, but rather with the massive swing of votes to the extremist fundamentalist religious parties. This development more than any other reveals the depth of Israel's social crisis.

Many of those casting votes for the ultra-religious (and non-Zionist) parties were not themselves ultra-religious. They voted out of despair and disappointment in the mainstream secular parties.

As class differentiation grows in what was once a largely egalitarian, pioneering society, and as unemployment, poverty, crime, and drug abuse, increase, more Israelis opt for extreme, all-embracing solutions.

Missed Opportunities

It is in this context that we must understand the Israeli reaction to the November 15 Palestinian National Council decisions and to Yasar Arafat's December 13 speech to the U.N. in Geneva. The PLO clearly recognized Israel, adopted a two-state solution, and took the most significant steps toward Israel since Egypt's Anwar Sadat visited Jerusalem. This was made clear by the Stockholm meeting between American Jews and Arafat under the patronage of Sweden's Social Democratic government as well.

The problem that the Israeli peace camp faces is not so much that leaders like Peres and Shamir compete with one another to find ways to say "no." The real problem is that many of the Israeli people themselves are saying "no."



Arab women on the West Bank showing support for "Peace Now."

Photo by Paul Trick/Impact Visuals



Israeli soldiers on patrol in the Gaza Strip.

Living on a left-wing kibbutz, I rarely encounter this kind of knee-jerk rejectionism. But during stints of Army reserve duty, where Israelis of all types and classes are thrown together and argue politics day and night, one's illusions about Israeli-Arab peace are rapidly shattered. Few Israeli Jews show any sympathy at all to the Palestinians. Many simply hate Arabs, and a disturbingly large number support the idea of "transfer" — throwing the Israeli Arabs out into the larger Arab world.

When Sadat offered peace to Israel eleven years ago, Israelis lined the streets of Jerusalem to welcome him. The mass movement "Peace Now" was born out of that euphoria. Had the PLO then and there joined Sadat's initiative, I have no doubt that a Palestinian state would exist today. But instead of Israeli-Palestinian peace, we've had ten long years of terrorism and counter-terrorism with the death toll rising on both sides.

In the future, Israel's rejection of the PLO declarations will be remembered as another missed opportunity. It will be just one more event preceding the outbreak of Israel's eighth war with the Arab world — a war that now seems nearly inevitable.

Hope

Israelis have learned from their mistakes in the past.

When Menachem Begin ordered the invasion of Lebanon in June 1982 — with the full support of Peres and Labor — only MAPAM of all the Zionist parties opposed the attack. Within weeks, a broad coalition organized around "Peace Now" had mobilized hundreds of

thousands of Israelis to oppose the war. Within four months of the invasion, even the Labor party could be persuaded to help organize a mass demonstration together with "Peace Now." And after a few more months (and more than 600 Israeli deaths) the vast majority of Israelis were willing to concede that the war was not a good idea after all.

The year-long Palestinian uprising in the West Bank and Gaza strip is turning into another painful learning experience for Israelis. Many (including all males through the age of fifty) are experiencing the *intifadeh* first hand through Army reserve duty.

My own recent experience in a town in the northern part of the West Bank may be enlightening. I sat with a handful of other soldiers, occupying an abandoned Arab police station. Our job was just to sit, to be an Israeli presence, to remind the population who was in charge. So we sat day and night surrounded by high fences and barbed wire, with a net over our heads to catch the rocks and bottles and chunks of metal that were thrown at us regularly. Early on in our month-long service, one of the soldiers, a notorious leftist, commented that only our side of the fence was Israeli-occupied territory. "Out there," he would say, pointing at the town all around us, "is Palestine." Some of the militantly right-wing soldiers disagreed, insisting that we find a way to retaliate, to stop the rock-throwing, to go out there and teach those Arabs a lesson. But three weeks later, we all understood, leftists and rightists alike, that "out there" was Palestine.

As Israel learns from the *intifadeh*, where is the mass peace movement? "Peace Now" is an informal organization

with a small group of dedicated activists. It moves with the ponderous slowness of the mass movement it's able to lead. Although many smaller peace groups have sprung up in the past year, and although "Peace Now" has itself organized a rally or two, the real protest against the government's self-defeating policy has yet to begin.

The protest against the war in Lebanon became a mass movement because the broad democratic left was united in opposition to the government. The war was the Likud's war, Ariel Sharon's war, and few remembered that Peres and Labor supported it at the beginning. In contrast, the struggle against the Palestinian uprising and the rejection of the PLO peace initiatives, came at a time of "national unity" — Labor and Likud governing together.

Had Labor been in opposition, as MAPAM urged in 1984, it would not share responsibility for the current policies. (That responsibility is not theoretical since Labor's Yitzhak Rabin is Defense Minister.) If Labor chooses the path of opposition today, it could play the same role it did during the Lebanon war. A mass extraparliamentary movement, backed by a fighting opposition party, could once again turn Israeli opinion around.

MAPAM has already taken the initiative in calling for a united opposition of the democratic left. Should such unity materialize, there's a chance that the democratic left will be able to mobilize masses of Israelis in a militant struggle in the streets of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. Only a powerful movement of the Israeli majority can compel the government to respond favorably to Palestinian initiatives. And if the government cannot be persuaded, it can be brought down and new elections held.

Unfortunately, Labor is reluctant to go into the opposition; Peres and Rabin are clinging to their ministerial posts. This doesn't mean that a mass opposition will not emerge. On the contrary, the birth of a genuine opposition is inevitable. The only question is whether Labor will eventually head it or whether new forces, such as MAPAM and the CRM, will emerge to lead it. In either case, serious struggles lay ahead for the Israeli left. ●

Eric Lee, a DSAer, is currently living at the Ein Dor Kibbutz in Israel.

Socialist Feminism, Reproductive Rights, And Teenage Pregnancy

by Linda Gordon

Reproductive rights and other sexual issues have presented the greatest challenge for socialist feminists. We have had to resist a marxist legacy that focused too much on workplace and other overly economic issues and trivialized or marginalized sex reproduction. We have had to join with liberal feminists in defending legal abortion on an individual-rights basis while articulating a vision of social rights to health care and reproductive control. Now we confront the most difficult task of all — stopping the huge conservative drive for the “take-backs” of tenuous reproductive rights.

Nevertheless, odd though it may seem, I believe that socialist feminists have had substantial influence in reproductive-rights politics. We have not stopped the new social and religious conservatism, but we have greatly affected feminist thinking, and when the pendulum swings back, that may be the more important gain.

Let us look at some of the changes in thought. In the mid-1970s I was part of a network of reproductive-rights feminist extremely critical of Planned Parenthood, then and now the largest reproductive rights organization in the country. Planned Parenthood declined to serve unmarried people, avoided the abortion issue, and actively supported population control programs in the Third World. Planned Parenthood treated contraception as a technological solution to a technical problem, and was cut off from the rebirth of feminism in the 1960s. After *Roe v. Wade* in 1973, many liberal birth control advocates rejoiced but continued to avoid “extraneous” issues such as sex, sexism, racism, or the impact of class on reproduction.

Furthermore, the early socialist-feminist reproductive rights groups were nearly all white. Billye Avery, today head of the National Black Women's Health Project, has spoken of the isolation she felt as the only black woman in an abortion service group in Florida in the

early 1970s. Socialist feminists learned a great deal — particularly from the leadership of “non-white” women — in campaigns against sterilization abuse in the mid-1970s. New York's CARASA (Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse) had a direct confrontation with the National Organization for Women (NOW), which at first opposed guidelines to prevent coercive sterilization, and forced NOW to change its position.

The battle of the slogans summed up the differences. The liberal abortion-rights slogan of “choice” implied that legality was sufficient to create choice, thus deemphasizing class and race constraints on reproductive rights. The socialist-feminist slogan of “reproductive rights” emphasized the gamut of conditions required to make reproductive freedom a reality.

Twelve years later, there is a convergence between the radical groups in this field, such as the Women's Health Network, and the “liberal” feminist groups like Planned Parenthood and the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL). Of course Reaganism and the New Right created a strong incentive for feminist unity, but socialist feminism and black feminism also had an important influence. Today many Planned Parenthood workers see that women cannot avail themselves of legal rights or even

accessible services unless they have decent living conditions now and reasonable aspirations for the future. Now Planned Parenthood statements often agree that birth control should not be separated from a full platform of women's liberation, that without a transformation of gender relations women will never have full reproductive rights, and that legal rights are empty without social and economic power. “Choice” is still the dominant slogan for abortion rights, but it has much more social content than it did ten years ago. And the “liberal” feminists are far to the left of non-feminist liberals, not only on women's issues, but on most topics from foreign policy to welfare.

Furthermore, there has been a substantial change in black political opinion about reproductive rights. This is largely because black feminists helped make apparent the distinction between the eugenics and population control traditions, which had stimulated understandable fears of genocide, from feminist campaigns for birth control. The National Black Women's Health Project is one of many groups pioneering an approach to reproductive rights that comes from within the culture and the needs of the women it serves. Similar groups are developing among Hispanics and Native American women.

In the last two decades of feminist activism around reproductive rights,



Pro-choice demonstrators.

Photo by Donna Binder/Impact Visuals

different issues have, at different times, dominated the public debate. Abortion has been a priority most consistently, but at various times feminists have raised to the fore such issues as the health dangers of certain contraceptives, sterilization abuse, and most recently the politics and ethics of new reproductive technology.

The national alarm about teenage pregnancy represents another such concern. Again there are distinctly liberal and socialist approaches to teenage pregnancy, but they are not contradictory; rather the socialist incorporates and transcends the liberal approach. Let me outline the problem very briefly: The United States is anomalous in the developed world in our high rate of teenage pregnancy, teenage abortions, and teenage births. This means that there are so many pregnancies that we have an unusually

Setbacks for Reproductive Rights in MI, CO, & AK

Reproductive rights were dealt a blow in three state referenda on November 8. Campaigns in Michigan, Colorado, and Arkansas sought to ban or uphold a ban on the use of state funds to pay for abortions. Thirty-seven states now either do not have programs to help pay for abortions, or prohibit the use of state funds for that purpose; federal Medicaid funds are under a similar ban.

- **Colorado:** An amendment that would have allowed state funds to be used for abortions was defeated, 60 percent to 40 percent.

- **Arkansas:** An amendment to prohibit state funds from being used to pay for abortions was narrowly passed.

- **Michigan:** Proposal A, which bans the use of state funds to pay for abortions except to save the life of the mother was passed 57 percent to 43 percent. State funding has been under attack in Michigan for more than a decade, with much of this year's debate focusing on the cost to taxpayers of state-funded abortions. TV commercials were the main arena in which the Committee to End Tax-Funded Abortions, which argued that state-funded abortions cost the taxpayers \$6 million a year, squared off against the People's Campaign for Choice.

high abortion rate and still have the highest pregnancy rate among comparable countries. But the problem is continually misrepresented in the popular press, because of efforts to make the evidence seem to support either liberal or conservative agendas. For example:

- Although black teenage pregnancy rates are much higher, they do not account for the size of the U.S. problem; even if only white teenagers were counted, we would still have unusually high rates.

- Although the rates are high, they are falling, as are all birth rates, and falling among blacks fastest.

- The unspecified subtext that really creates the alarm is not the rate of pregnancies or births to teenagers, but of those to *unmarried* teenagers. Out-of-wedlock pregnancies are increasing. (It is as if married teenagers' pregnancies were not a problem, when in fact everything known to be deleterious about teenage pregnancy is still present when the kids are married.)

- Teenage pregnancy is often discussed as if it were equally distributed across all classes, when in fact it is a problem limited mainly to the poor.

- Teenage pregnancy is often discussed in gender neutral terms, as if boys could get pregnant too. In fact the failure to use birth control is closely connected to gender politics and girls' particular low aspirations.

The conservatives prescribe "just say no." The liberals prescribe more accessible contraception, birth control clinics, sex education in high schools, and no interference with minors' abortion rights. Socialist feminists must incorporate and support these liberal proposals, which are important and useful. But it isn't adequate to a socialist-feminist vision of the world to reject a (conservative) moralistic view of sex simply to replace it with a (liberal) amoral, technical view. Our vision needs a moral dimension, not an abstract, dogmatic, moralistic one, but a caring one about sexual and reproductive responsibility. We can't stop at defending teenagers' sexual freedom or single-mother families because we are not simply libertarians and there are good reasons for social policies that discourage teenage pregnancy. We must go beyond liberal legal and service solutions to present the situations of poor teenage women in their complexity. For example, early parenthood may result

from sexual victimization of girls and also represent the reasonable choices of girls who have no particular reason to stay in school or remain childless. We need to point out that although single motherhood represents a loss of economic status for many middle-class women, it does not mean that for poor minority women for whom marriages to high-earning men are often not available anyway. While recognizing the important impact of male unemployment, especially among minorities, on teenage behavior, we must insist that women's employment opportunities may have even more influence on their reproductive decisions. Most people know why young girls headed for Vassar or for medical school rarely become teenage mothers. Why is this understanding not reflected in the policy discussion?

But the issues aren't *only* economic. In an excellent article about school sex education, "Sexuality, Schooling, and Adolescent Females: The Missing Discourse of Desire," Michelle Fine suggests that antipregnancy campaigns directed at teenagers never affirm the appropriateness of sexual desire and the poten-

Continued on page 17

DEMOCRATIC LEFT

BARBARA EHRENREICH
MICHAEL HARRINGTON

Editors

SHERRI LEVINE
Managing Editor

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Joanne Barkan
Vania Del Borgo
Neil McLaughlin

Maxine Phillips
Jan Rosenberg
Gerald Hudson

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

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

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

Crisis and Hope In Eastern Europe

by Bogdan Denitch

The Soviet Union and its East European allies are facing massive economic, political, and social crises. The reforms being implemented under the leadership of Party Secretary Gorbachev may well lead to a healing of the historical conflict between the two world movements using the name of socialist. This is an optimistic possibility, but the fact that it can even be imagined represents a long overdue break with the bloody past of Stalinism.

For the past forty years the greatest hindrance to the socialist project, in the advanced industrial countries as well in East European countries, has been the nature of real politics in these societies. The best way to describe these societies is as politocracies — that is, systems in which the political elites, ruling through the single Communist party, control the state and the economy, and through those, the society at large. Politocratic elites, having emerged out of the revolutionary socialist tradition, continue to use and manipulate the language and symbols of that tradition. Politocracies can have a wide range of possible political forms, even allowing relative autonomy for non-governmental organizations and trade unions, as well as some political and civil liberties.

Comparisons between the various Communist-ruled states have to be made with caution since the East European communist regimes have been imposed by force from the outside. There are, however, sufficient similarities in the types of regimes involved for them to offer a glimpse of the Soviet Union's possible future. Whatever else one can say about East European states, two things are clear. They are increasingly differentiating between themselves, and they are continuing to fall behind Western Europe. The regimes are becoming more national and are beginning to clearly express their own specific histories and cultures. The lesson to be drawn from the defeats of the Hungarian Revolution, the East Berlin uprising, Prague Spring, the numerous



Photo by Jill Benderly/Impact Visuals

Yugoslavian demonstrators calling for a referendum on nuclear power in what was the largest street demonstration in years.

Polish upheavals, and the standoff between Solidarity and the present military regime in Poland, is that while the legitimacy of the Yalta and Teheran Agreements are increasingly questioned, the reality of the power relations which those agreements imply is not. Or to put it more simply, no change opposed by the Soviet Union will occur within the systems of Eastern Europe.

The decline of the cold war confrontation between the two blocs in Europe reduces the need for the Soviet Union to rely on Eastern European countries as protective buffers, while the era of experimentation in the Soviet economy and society will widen the definition of what is acceptable in these societies. Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe today is a series of unloved and unlovable, increasingly nationalistic, regimes which show that they are capable of ruling but not of obtaining any consent or popular acceptance. Accompanying this has been an effective widespread depolitization and massive de-mobilization of the population over the years. There has also been the development of a conservative consumerist sub-culture that has been cynical about the desirability or possibility of social or political engagement. This sub-

culture, however, remains critical of even the egalitarian and socialist claims of the regimes, while at the same time accepting the semi-official xenophobia that is laced with anti-semitism and resistance to change. Authoritarian regimes do not encourage the development of democratic and self-confident popular cultures. The depth of popular resentment varies from regime to regime, but today, with the possible exception of Hungary, it is doubtful if one of them would survive the withdrawal of Soviet sponsorship and support.

Economic Crisis

There are two major crises of the Soviet Union and East Europe: the complete collapse of the official "marxist" ideology as a mobilizing instrument useful to the ruling elites; and the increasingly visible and obvious gap in technology, productivity, living standards, and social standards between Eastern Europe and the West European industrial states. Will Eastern Europe be doomed to be a backwater of Europe or will it slide into the Third World?

Marxism, particularly official marxism, placed an enormous emphasis on the linkage between technology of production

and political organization. Marx, and certainly most of his followers, thought of socialism as having a relationship with capitalism analogous to capitalism's relationship with feudalism. That is, capitalism, which is seen as a restraint on the creative productive forces of society, is eventually broken down and overthrown by a more advanced form of society. This society would be superior not merely in terms of moral and egalitarian norms, but also in terms of the ability to organize society more humanely, rationally, and effectively.

Although there are outstanding sectors in the fields of culture and science, the overall performance of Eastern European economies and societies is dreary and discouraging. Thus the decade of the relative normalization of personal existence in many of these states has been followed in the 1980s by a decade of stagnating living standards — with very sharp drops in living standards in the cases of Rumania and Poland — accompanied by a halt in the increases in productivity and technological innovation. This is particularly painful for regimes that had based their claims to legitimacy, or at least to toleration, on econo-

mic performance. Even the creation of crude and all but universal welfare states which raised the living standards of wide sectors of the population, particularly in the late fifties and through the sixties, no longer produces regime support.

These societies are not technologically more efficient than capitalism, and certainly not more socially equitable or efficient than the welfare states of Western Europe. Even the historical growth of the fifties and early sixties is not much of an argument for the East European states; there are a range of societies, such as Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, which are as rigid as the East European states and yet are far more productive and efficient at introducing new technologies and scientific breakthroughs than either the Soviets or East Europeans. Official Soviet and East European marxism has always been scientific. To give up the claim to inherent scientific superiority is to give up the very essence of the elite ideology.

Beginning about a decade and a half ago there was a shift in the economic relationship between the Soviet Union and its East European allies. Eastern Europe is no longer an economic asset to the Soviet

Union. If anything it is now a drain on Soviet resources. For almost two decades, the Soviets have been subsidizing their East European dependents by selling them energy — oil and natural gas, as well as some raw materials — well below the world market prices. By the beginning of the 1980s, they could no longer afford to continue these subsidies so they began to renegotiate the agreements, moving closer to the world market prices calculated in hard currency. Those societies now face economic disaster, since their economies are hooked on cheap energy and raw materials.

Even more harmful is the authoritarian, top-down, and over-centralized economic system itself. Reforms will be difficult since the Soviet economy faces the same problems. That explains the urgency and seriousness with which Gorbachev is pursuing economic reforms, as well as detente, with the U.S. Due to the bottlenecks in their own economy, the drop in the world price of oil, and their own need for large-scale imports of Western technology, the Soviets are less able to aid their allies than they have been in the past. Unfortunately, the economic reforms which are now on the agenda suffer from an excessive faith in the new philosopher's stone — the free market in labor and capital. At the very least that will mean sharper income differences among workers and more labor unrest. Democrats and socialists should demand the right of independent unions to defend working class living standards as a prerequisite for market reforms. None of the economic reformers in Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union have made such demands at this time.

World Competition

To attempt to resolve the economic inefficiency of Eastern Europe, the Soviets have encouraged the entrance of these countries into the world market. There the East European markets are measured by very different yardsticks than the ones they have been accustomed to. They are obliged to produce adequate goods of decent design and quality at reasonable cost if they are to have a chance at exportation. This is taking place at a point in time when Western Europe is increasingly protectionist, and the competition from the Pacific Rim nations and rising Third World economies, like that of Brazil, increasingly savage. The proposed solution is two-fold: to modernize the industrial plant (thereby increasing the amount of debt owed to the Western banks for the purchase of machinery); and to in-



Soviet Union is confronted with factories that are not competitive with those of Western Europe.

crease productivity, which means to speed up the workers. The additional earnings gained by the speed-up are often used to pay back the debts, and therefore lead to pay decreases not pay increases. Securing sacrifices from the workers is difficult, however, so long as they know that protection of inefficient managers continues. And yet, short of their own unions, there can be no way to assure equality of protection.

Younger workers take whatever social and economic gains exist as their right. They are cynical about any official version of a work ethic since it is clear that "official" work, for which you are paid to perform, is not the way to advance. This is made evident by seeing who does well economically in these societies: those who work the legal or not so legal boundaries of the alternate economy.

The growing integration of Eastern Europe into the world market has been paralleled by connections to the World Bank. Poland, Hungary, Rumania, and Yugoslavia all owe money to the World Bank and all are under pressure to increase their exports to meet the payments. The World Bank's notorious recipe for economies in trouble is certain to exacerbate the growing confrontation between the financially overextended regimes and the working population facing a steady pressure on its personal living standards.

Reform

The presence of a large increasingly dissatisfied industrial working class will produce continual pressure from below, encouraging liberal reform movements from above and openings towards more democracy. In partial response to this economic crisis, the Soviet leadership under Gorbachev is extraordinarily open to proposals for radical cuts in military expenditures and arsenals. Historically unprecedented opportunities thereby exist for an end of the cold war as it has existed since the late forties. This in turn creates new possibilities for change in Eastern Europe.

The aim of democrats and socialists should be both to help the chances of successful reforms in the Soviet bloc and bring about the end of the present cold war confrontation, which has been the linchpin of the post second world war social and economic order. While supporting liberalization and economic reforms from above, socialists should be particularly active in contacting and encouraging the tender shoots of democracy from below and the

possibility of developments towards genuine civil societies. To do this, extensive contacts, official and unofficial, government and opposition, should be encouraged and expanded between the socialist, peace, and labor movements in the West and those in the Soviet alliance. The Soviet leaders should be told amicably but firmly that the degree of contact and friendliness is linked to the continued opening up of these societies and the expansion of democratic and individual human rights. Extensive long range credits on very favorable terms should be offered to the Soviet leaders to help the process of modernization of their economy and society. This would of course also help the West European economies much like the Marshall Plan in the forties helped the U.S. economy.

The strategic aim of democrats and socialists should be the withdrawal of the armed forces of both superpowers from Europe. In addition, Eastern Europe could continue to give the Soviet Union whatever security guarantees are necessary, while at the same time allowing for the free political and social development of the East European states. This process should lead toward increasing unification of Europe economically, socially, culturally, and politically. ●

Bogdan Denitch, a member DSA's National Executive Committee, teaches at the City University of New York.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

(Act of August 12, 1970; Section 3685, title 39, United States Code)

- Title of Publication: DEMOCRATIC LEFT
 2. Date of Filing: September 30, 1987.
 3. Frequency of Issue: Bi-monthly.
 A. No. of issues published annually: 6.
 B. Annual Subscriptions price: \$8.
 4. Location of known office of publication: 15 Dutch St., Suite 500, New York, NY, 10038-3705.
 5. Location of the headquarters or general business office of the Publisher: 15 Dutch St., Suite 500, New York, NY, 10038-3705.
 6. Names and addresses of Publishers, Editors, and Managing Editor: Democratic Socialists of America, Inc.; Barbara Ehrenreich and Michael Harrington; Sherri Levine; all of 15 Dutch St., Suite 500, New York, NY, 10038-3705.
 7. Owner: Democratic Socialists of America, Inc., 15 Dutch St., Suite 500, New York, NY 10038-3705.
 8. Known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning of holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: None.
 9. The purpose, function and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes has changed during preceding 12 months.
 10. Extent and Nature of Circulation
- | | Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months. | Single issue published nearest to filing date. |
|--|---|--|
| A. Total no. copies printed | 8,167 | 9,300 |
| B. Paid Circulation | 730 | 705 |
| 1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales. | | |
| 2. Mail subscriptions | 5,131 | 5,281 |
| C. Total Paid Circulation | 5,861 | 5,986 |
| D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means. Samples, complimentary, and other free copies. | 555 | 1,411 |
| E. Total distribution | 6,416 | 7,397 |
| F. 1. Office Use, left-over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing. | 1,751 | 1,903 |
| Returns from news agents. | 0 | 0 |
| G. Total | 8,167 | 9,300 |

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. (Signed) Gary Lucek, Business Manager.



Change the USA! Join the DSA!



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

Join DSA.


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

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

Name _____
 Address _____
 City/State _____ Zip _____
 Phone _____ Union, School, Other Affiliation _____

\$1.00

A Socialist Perspective on
THE POLITICS OF POVERTY




by
Michael Harrington

with contributions by
Barbara Ehrenreich
William Julius Wilson
and
Mark Levinson

Published by The Democratic

**RE-MAKING
LOVE**



THE FEMINIZATION OF SEX
BARBARA EHRENREICH,
ELIZABETH HESS,
GLORIA JACOBS

**THE
NEXT
LEFT**

**THE HISTORY OF
A FUTURE**

**Michael
Harrington**
AUTHOR OF
The New American Poverty

Books

DSA Price

- Images of Labor**, with an introduction by Irving Howe and preface by Joan Mandle. Photographs and commentary on American labor. Paperback. Published at \$16.95 \$15.00
- Remaking Love: The Feminization of Sex**, by Barbara Ehrenreich, Elizabeth Hess, & Gloria Jacobs. Published at \$15.95. \$12.00
- The Long-Distance Runner**, by Michael Harrington. An autobiography that spans the past two decades. Published at \$19.95 \$17.00
- Decade of Decision: The Crisis of the American System**, by Michael Harrington. An analysis of the economic crisis of the seventies. \$11.00
- El Salvador: Central America in the New Cold War**, edited by Marvin Gettleman, Patrick Lacefield, Louis Menashe & David Mermelstein. A collection of essays on the conflicts in El Salvador. Paperback. Published at \$12.95. \$11.00
- Taking Sides: The Education of a Militant Mind**, by Michael Harrington. A collection of essays written over the past thirty years. Published at \$16.95. \$12.00
- The Crisis of Historical Materialism: Class, Politics, and Culture in Marxist Theory**, by Stanley Aronowitz. Paperback. \$10.00
- The Vast Majority: A Journey to the World's Poor**, by Michael Harrington. A journal style treatment of Third World underdevelopment and aspirations. Published at \$10.95. \$3.00
- Eurosocialism & America**, edited by Nancy Lieber. Articles by Harrington, Palme, Brandt, & Mitterand. Published at \$17.95. \$3.50

Pamphlets

DSA Price

- A Socialist Perspective on the Politics of Poverty**, by Michael Harrington with contributions by Barbara Ehrenreich, William Julius Wilson, and Mark Levinson. Special bulk rate: \$.20/copy for orders of 20 or more. \$1.00
- Toward a Socialist Theory of Racism**, by Cornel West. \$1.00
- Taking Control of Our Own Lives: DSA Transitional Economic Program.** \$.50
- First Steps Toward a New Civilization**, by Michael Harrington. \$1.00
- Democracy & Dictatorship in Latin America.** Essays by Octavio Paz, Jorge Edwards, Carlos Franqui, & others. \$3.00
- The Black Church & Marxism**, by James Cone. \$.50
- Perspectives on Lesbian and Gay Liberation and Socialism.** \$1.00
- Alternatives Pamphlet Series:*
- #1 A Call for a U.S. Family Policy**, by Ruth Sidel. \$1.50
- #2 Democracy & Productivity in the Future American Economy**, by Lou Ferleger and Jay R. Mandle. \$1.50
- #3 The Common Good: Stalemate or Reconstruction**, by Gar Alperovitz. \$1.50
- Tax Policy and The Economy**, debate between Michael Harrington and Representative Jack Kemp. \$.50

Publications

- Democratic Left.** DSA's bimonthly periodical. \$8.00/one-year subscription. Most current and back issues (including the annual Labor Day double-issue) available in quantity. \$.50
- Labor Voice.** The publication of the DSA Labor Commission. Most recent issue available. \$.50
- Religious Socialism.** The publication of the DSA Religion and Socialism Commission. One Year Subscription. \$5.00
- Socialist Forum.** DSA Discussion Bulletin. Published 4 times per year. Subscription. \$10.00
Single copies. \$3.00
- Nuestra Lucha/Our Struggle.** Newsletter of the DSA Latino, Anti-Racism, and Afro-American Commissions. \$.50
- TOTAL \$**

Free Literature

- Send stamped, self-addressed envelope.
We will bill for shipping bulk orders.
- We are the New Socialists.** Brochure describing DSA. _____
- Where We Stand.** A position statement of DSA. _____
- Which Way America.** Statement of the DSA Youth Section _____
- Twelve Myths of Poverty.** Shatters the misconceptions which support anti-poor policies. _____
- For a More Livable World.** Religion & Socialism Brochure. _____
- Bulk orders: 10% off on 5-9 copies; 20% off on 10-14; 30% on 15 or more copies.
- Postage: Orders under \$.50, add \$.39 or send stamps. Orders from \$.50 to \$2.00 add \$.50 for postage and handling. Orders from \$2.00 to \$5.00, add \$1.00. Orders from \$5.00 to \$10.00 add \$2.00. We will bill for postage on orders over \$10.00.

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

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

DSACTION

REPORTS

● Shakoor Aljuwani, who was DSA's Field Director/Anti-Racist Coordinator, has recently left staff. He is currently working at the NY Youth Action Program. He was a valued staff person and we wish him well at his new endeavor. Shakoor visited many of our locals while on staff, facilitated the work of the Anti-racism and Latino Commissions, and was our liaison with the Jackson campaign and Rainbow Coalition. He plans on continuing to play an active role in DSA as part of our voluntary leadership, and efforts will be made by staff and voluntary leadership to continue our work in these critical areas.

● The National Organization for Women is organizing a mass demonstration and national march to keep abortion and birth control safe and legal, and to demand the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. The March for Women's Equality/Women's Lives will take place on April 9, 1989 in Washington D.C. NOW is hoping to influence the Supreme Court, as well as the President and Congress, to protect and extend the rights of women. DSA is a co-sponsor of the event, and will march with delegations from a broad range of groups. For information call or write the DSA office: 15 Dutch St., Suite 500, New York, NY 10038. (212) 962-0390.

● Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn proclaimed October 28 "Michael Harrington Day" in Boston. At a dinner sponsored by Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD), Flynn told the audience of over 1,000 that Harrington had been an inspiration to him and all those fighting for a more just society. The same day, the *Boston Globe* lauded Mike in an editorial for having "changed the course of the nation" and having become "a role model for all those active in public life who feel a tremor of uncertainty when they face the bite of hostile political winds. Harrington has never backed away from his beliefs, never failed to defend them."

● The 1988 Winter Youth Conference will run from February 17-19 at Columbia University. The program will include discussions of campus organizing, reproduc-

tive rights, labor and the economy, Southern Africa, and the politics of the university. Invited speakers for the conference include co-chairs Michael Harrington and Barbara Ehrenreich, and Congressman Ronald Dellums. Inquiries about the conference program or about registration should be directed to the DSA Youth Section, 15 Dutch Street, Suite 500, New York, NY 10038. Join more than 200 activists from more than forty campuses as we chart a course for campus activism for 1989.

● The National Jobs with Peace Campaign is organizing protests nationwide the week of "Tax Day," April 12-17, 1989 to demand new priorities on the uses of our tax dollars, away from military spending and towards affordable housing and other human needs. The events will focus on the need to pass the Comprehensive Affordable Housing Act (HR 4727). For more information, and an organizing kit (\$5), contact the Jobs with Peace Campaign, 76 Summer St., Boston, MA 02110.

● The Council of the Socialist International, voted unanimously to implement a "Socialist Decade for Women" at its Paris meeting, December 6-7.

The resolution on Women and Power proposed by the Socialist International Women (SIW) noted that since the proclamation of the "Socialist Decade for Women" at the Lima Congress in 1986, affirmative action has proceeded within many of the socialist parties. During the past year, the German SPD voted that 40 percent of the leadership will be women, and the Spanish PSOE adopted a 25 per-

cent quota. The Norwegian Labor Party, led by that nation's Prime Minister, Gro Harlem Brundtland, had a 40 percent rule on participation in the leadership when it took power two years ago. Brundtland then named a cabinet that was 40 percent female.

The SIW resolution at Paris noted these gains but said, "We are far from satisfied" with the progress, and demanded "that all socialists should aim to achieve equal representation of women at all levels, national and local, both legislative and organizational, within the next ten years."

● Carlos Andres Perez, a vice president of the Socialist International, was re-elected President of Venezuela in December by 55 percent against 40 percent for his Christian Democratic opponent Eduardo Fernandez. The nation's Constitution requires that two five-year terms pass before a former President can seek re-election, but Perez did it handily.

● Canada's New Democratic Party remained in third place in that country's national election, but increased its seats in Parliament from thirty to fifty-five. The Conservatives won 169 seats and the Liberals eighty-one.

RESOURCES

● The fall 1988 issue of *Food Monitor*, which is dedicated to Michael Harrington, focuses on "Reinvesting in America: Beyond Hunger and Homelessness." It includes a lengthy interview with Har-

Continued on page 13



Michael Harrington receiving an award from Boston's Mayor Flynn.

Photo by Stephen Frank

ON THE LEFT

by HARRY FLEISCHMAN



Alaska

DSAer Niilo Koponen was re-elected to his Fairbanks seat as a state representative with 57 percent of the vote, against a Republican backed by the Alaskan oil interests.

California

DSA Vice Chair Harry Britt was elected president of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors by finishing first in a field of thirty candidates for nine positions...Mike Harrington spoke at Cypress College, Occidental, and the University of California October 8-10 in advance of the DSA National Board meeting in Santa Monica...DSA Vice Chair Ron Dellums was overwhelmingly re-elected to Congress from the 8th CD...Sacramento DSA is planning a West Coast leadership school in Los Angeles on April 29-30, and is working with a coalition to build up rainbow politics in Sacramento. Sacramento DSAers are participating in the California Democratic party convention delegate elections, including DSA's own Susanne Paradis...East Bay DSA worked hard on state and local elections, and are continuing coalition work with the Middle East Peace Network and the Rainbow Coalition. A drug forum is planned in January to discuss progressive responses to the drug crisis...San Diego DSA had a literature table at a November political fair at Poway High School, and co-sponsored the Holiday Peace Bazaar, both of which received positive responses. They also joined with New Jewish Agenda to celebrate Hannukah, and are working on putting together a dialogue between Israeli and Palestinian women...San Francisco DSA is offering classes at the San Francisco Socialist School, and is planning an inauguration party for "America's last capitalist President" — Republican attire required.

District of Columbia

The most recent membership meeting of the DC/MD local was on the election and the DSA national board meeting, with DSAer and City Councilwoman Ruth Jordan addressing the former. The topic of their regular women's brunch was abortion rights, and the membership meeting on January 17 will also address reproductive rights. The executive board will meet January 8 to discuss the local chapter and women's participation in it.

Kansas

DSAer Dorothy Phillips lost in a close race for the State Board of Education, winning 48.5 percent of the vote. She ran against a thirty-year incumbent who has never lost an election. Dotty received great support from the Teamsters, Machinists, the National Education Association, and the American Federation of Teachers.

Kentucky

Central Kentucky DSA had a post-mortem election discussion on November 19, at which the political climate and the national board meeting were also discussed. The local sponsored a meeting December 5, at which Frank Wilkinson, a former member of the Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, spoke on his current lobbying efforts in Congress to limit the F.B.I.

Maine

Rank and filers at the Jay mill of the International Paper Company were stunned by the decision of top officials of the United Paperworkers International Union to call off the strike at Jay, De Pere, Wisconsin, and Lock Haven, Pennsylvania and make an unconditional request to return to work. DSA National Executive Committee member Marjorie Phylfe, Maine AFL-CIO head Charles O'Leary, and labor organizer Mike Cavanaugh were among the 2,000 at a Jay meeting opposed to the UPIU decision...Up and coming Portland DSA met in December and heard David Vail talk on Swedish Social Democracy.

Massachusetts

Nelson Merced, backed by Boston DSAers and many others, became the first Hispanic to be elected to statewide office in Massachusetts. He was elected to the State House of Representatives with 65 percent of the vote...Boston DSA was active in the campaign of Boston Hotel Workers, who won a contract with a fund to promote affordable housing for hotel workers.

Michigan

Jeremy Karpatkin, former DSA youth organizer, ran the valiant but unsuccessful People's Campaign for Choice, which failed to defeat a ballot proposal November 8 that ends Medicaid funding for abortion services.

Missouri

The Washington University local DSA sponsored the Left Forum on December 2, at which Harold Karabell from New Jewish Agenda spoke about Israel. An upcoming Left Forum will feature prominent criminal lawyer Richard Sindel discussing "The American Penal System: What Does the Revolving Door Mean?"...DSA organizational director Patrick Lacefield talked about the election campaign and DSA's future direction at a potluck supper of Kansas City DSA in late October.

New York

Suffolk county DSAers have been working to get local voting rights for dormitory students in their area, and led a successful voter registration drive...DSA co-chair Barbara Ehrenreich spoke with Frank Barbaro, Chairman of the Assembly Committee on Labor, at the December 10 opening of the Long Island Center for Workers Rights, formed by the Long Island Progressive Coalition. DSAers David Sprintzen, Marc Silver, John Hyland, and Gary Stevenson from Nassau County DSA, and Hugh Cleland from Suffolk County DSA are behind the Center...Nassau County DSA was active in the elections, with Mark Finkel, Steve Gollo, and Charlie Russell working for local progressives. Marge Harrison, Democratic State Vice Chair and former co-chair of the Long

Island Progressive Coalition spoke on "After the election" at the November Nassau DSA meeting... On Labor Day, the Tompkins-Cortland Labor Coalition gave Ithaca DSAer Theresa Alt their "Friend of Labor" award for her work desktop-typesetting their newspaper, using skills she first practiced on the DSA newsletter... NYC Feminist Commission members held a house party for Ruth Messinger, who is considering a city-wide race in 1989. National Executive Committee member Bogdan Denitch and Joanne Landy, Director of the Campaign for Democracy East and West, spoke at NY DSA's monthly forum on "What's Happening in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union." NY DSA's Disarmament Branch discussed "Capitalism, Imperialism, and War" at the home of Robert Delson November 16. DSA's Religion and Socialism branch held a forum November 22 at the French Evangelical Church on "The Bomb as Religion."... DSAer David Dinkins, Manhattan Borough President, is seriously considering a race for Mayor of New York.

Oregon

DSA activist Beverly Stein was elected to the Oregon State Assembly from Portland with over 70 percent of the vote, despite a red-baiting campaign by her Republican opponent.

Pennsylvania

Jim Chapin spoke on world hunger to Reading DSAers on November 22-23, and on February 10 the fourth annual Maurer-Stump dinner will be held, with Bill Hinton and Frances Fox Piven as the honorees. Reading DSA co-sponsored a Keep Pennsylvania National Guard Out of Central America demonstration in November.

Texas

Houston DSAer Ben G. Levy lost his race for re-election to the Texas State Court of Appeals, winning only 46 percent of the vote. He first won the seat in 1982, and vows to try again in 1990. Levy will now focus his energies on rebuilding the local, as interest in DSA in Houston is growing. The twelfth annual Houston DSA Christmas party was held.

Resources

Continued from page 11

ington, as well as articles on strategies for the 1990s, health care, sustainable agriculture and food production, reinvesting in jobs, and alternative media. To obtain a copy, write to *World Hunger Year*, 261 West 35th Street, #1402, New York, N.Y. 10001-1906. Copies are only \$4.50.

- The Center for Religion, Ethics and Social Policy at Cornell University is selling a book called *Shopping for a Better World, a Quick and Easy Guide to Socially Responsible Supermarket Shopping*, a pocket volume which rates the manufacturers of 1500 brand-name products on such progressive issues as weapons contracts, women's issues, minority issues, South African investment, the environment, and more. Send \$5.00 plus \$0.45 postage to: CRESP, Anabel Taylor Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853.

- The latest issue of *Peace and Democracy News* contains articles by Judith Hempfling and Joanne Landy on Prague: A Tale of Two Seminars, and by Gail Pressberg and John Cartwright on the Middle East, as well as other articles on independent movements in the USSR, El Salvador, Gays in Eastern Europe, and post-INF Europe. For a subscription, send \$5 to the Campaign for Peace & Democracy/East and West, P.O. Box 1640, Cathedral Station, New York, NY 10025.

- *Who Are the Poor? A Profile of the Changing Faces of Poverty in the United States*, a booklet prepared by Michael Harrington, is now available from the DSA office for \$1.00.

IN MEMORIAM

- **Bernt Carlsson**, who had served as chief administrative officer of the United Nations Council for Namibia since 1987, was killed along with 257 other passengers when a Pan Am Boeing 747 crashed over Scotland on its way to New York, Thursday, December 21, 1988. Carlsson, who was the General Secretary of the Socialist International (SI) from 1976 to 1983 and an Ambassador at large and special emissary of Prime Minister Olof Palme to the Middle East and Africa from 1983 to 1985, had been a valued comrade for years. Carlsson's tragic loss will be felt by DSA as well as by the entire international socialist movement.

**Recent Books
By DSA Members**

Mimi Abramovitz, *Regulating the Lives of Women: Social Welfare Policy from Colonial Times to the Present*. South End Press: 1988

Stanley Aronowitz, *Science as Power: Discourse and Ideology in Modern Society*. University of Minnesota Press: 1988

David Bensman and Roberta Lynch*, *Rusted Dreams: Hard Times in a Steel Community*. University of California Press: 1988

Clark Branson, *Howard Hawks: A Jungian Study*. Capra Press: 1987

E. Bradford Burns, *At War in Nicaragua: The Reagan Doctrine on Politics of Nostalgia*. Perennial Library: 1987

Dan Cantor and Juliet Schor*, *Tunnel Vision: Labor, the World Economy, and Central America*. South End Press: 1987

Noam Chomsky, *The Culture of Terrorism*. South End Press: 1988

Richard Cloward and Frances Fox Piven, *Why Americans Don't Vote*. Pantheon Books: 1988

Fred Block, Richard Cloward, Barbara Ehrenreich, and Frances Fox Piven, *The Mean Season*. Pantheon: 1987

Mitchell Cohen, *Zion State: Nation, Class, and the Shaping of Modern Israel*. Basil Blackwell: 1987

John Cort, *Christian Socialism: An Informal History*. Orbis Books.

Dick Flacks, *Making History: Radical Tradition in American Life*. Columbia University Press: 1988

Michael Harrington, *The Long Distance Runner*. Henry Holt and Company.

Maurice Isserman, *If I Had a Hammer: The Death of the Old Left and the Birth of the New*. Basic Books.

Donald Lazere, *American Media and Mass Culture: Left Perspectives*. University of California Press.

David Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State and American Labor Activism 1865-1925*. Cambridge University Press: 1987

Cornel West, *Prophetic Fragments*. Africa World Press: 1988

William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. University of Chicago Press: 1987

* DSA member among the co-authors.

Apologies to anyone whose book we have omitted. We will be updating this list regularly, so please send us titles of books by any DSA authors you know.

Election Round-Up: DSAers Speak Out

Bush: House of Ill Repair

by John Atlas and
Peter Dreier

While November's election provided Vice-President Bush with a beautiful new home on Pennsylvania Avenue, much of the rest of the nation faces a worsening housing crisis. Low and moderate income Americans will continue to face declining homeownership rates, while rents in private rental housing will continue to out-pace incomes. Homelessness is on the rise, affecting the poor and the working and middle classes. Localities can be counted on to continue supporting such programs as housing trust funds, general revenue allocations, condo conversion protections, and rent control, but lacking the resources to satisfy constituency demands, mayors and governors will also increasingly become potential allies for greater federal housing assistance.

Local housing activists will find themselves frustrated as they realize that even when they win local battles, they are losing the overall war. For this reason, support for a national housing policy agenda is gaining among local housing activists.

Bush and the next Congress will raise expectations about solving the housing crisis, and they are likely to increase the Federal government's role in housing. The deficit and Congress' unwillingness to raise taxes, however, means that the increase will be small compared to the need.

A number of bills outlining what a visionary housing program might look like have been drafted, including a program put together by the Institute for Policy Studies Working Group on Housing. This bill, the National Housing Act (HR 4727), was introduced in Congress by Representative Ron Dellums (D-CA).

This program would drastically lower the cost of housing by bringing large segments of the housing stock into non-profit ownership and ending reliance on credit, which comprises the single largest housing cost. New and rehabilitated housing would be financed via one-time capital grants raised through the tax system. Non-profit owners and managers would have a common desire to provide housing at the lowest cost instead of the greatest profit. For example, rental housing delinquent in property tax or mortgage payments, or in violation of housing codes, could be transferred to a more responsible non-profit agency, which would retire its debt burden over

time, giving its residents secure tenure and affordable housing payments.

This bill, however, will not get serious attention by Congress because it calls for an increase in spending in the billions. As times change, however, a progressive housing program is likely to get serious attention in Congress, but only if progressive forces and housing activists develop a common agenda and organizing strategy.

Local housing activists are already beginning to unite behind a shared agenda and organizing strategy. Work is being done expanding non-profit community based housing corporations, enforcing the Fair Banking Community Reinvestment Act, and strengthening tenant rights. The National Housing Institute, publishers of *Shelterforce* magazine, is embarking on an organizing campaign to make housing a major political issue by coordinating efforts and linking them together at the national level. A national communication campaign is being launched using both grassroots action and public education, with strong populist and progressive overtones linking the interests of the poor with the working and middle classes. This campaign will address the real cause of the housing crisis — the speculative nature of the housing market and the maldistribution of income in the U.S. — as well as promote a progressive new cost-efficient housing agenda that builds on some of the innovative local and state housing policies of the past decade.

Government policy will soon reflect changes in the American social structure. National legislation guaranteeing leave for parents of newly born children or relatives of the severely ill, child care, and long term care — urgent needs of the baby boomers as well as the poor — are all on the national agenda. The skyrocketing costs of housing will soon join these as one of the basic issues confronting today's poor and middle class families.

John Atlas is the president of the National Housing Institute, and Peter Dreier is director of housing at the Boston Redevelopment Authority. Both are members of DSA.



Homeless shelter in Brooklyn, NY.

The Women's Movement: Preparing for the Battle Ahead

by Noreen Connell

On January 20, a protest delegation of National Organization for Women (NOW) members will go to Washington dressed in black and carrying black balloons to mark "Black Friday," the swearing in of George Bush as

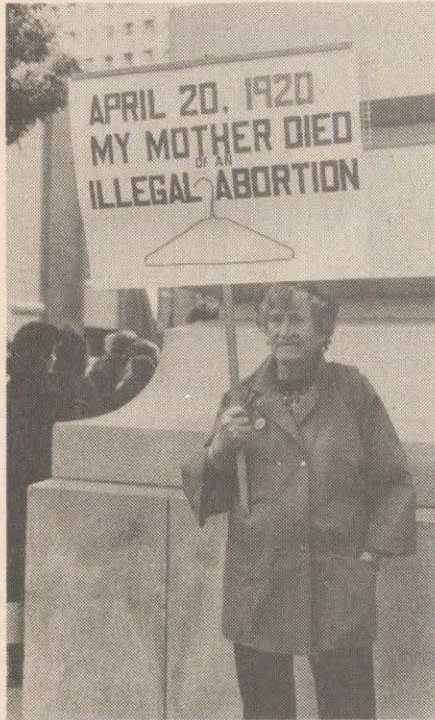


Photo by Rachel Johnson/Impact Visuals

the forty-first President. That weekend throughout the nation, coalition events will be held by National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), NOW, Planned Parenthood, and grass roots pro-choice organizations to celebrate the sixteenth anniversary of the Roe v. Wade Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. At the same time, "Operation Rescue," an anti-abortion coalition, will blockade clinics. These will be just the opening skirmishes of 1989.

The reversal of Roe v. Wade is no longer a distant possibility, but an immediate threat. Dick Thornburgh, the Attorney General who replaced Ed Meese, has asked the Supreme Court to take up a Missouri case that would allow for a review of arguments in Roe v. Wade — and a reversal or significant change. As of this date the Supreme Court has not responded to the Justice Department's request. But whether the Supreme Court takes up this case or not, the reality is

that the three Justices who were on the prevailing side in Roe v. Wade are all over eighty years old, and George Bush may have an opportunity to replace all three.

Since the summer of 1988, NOW has been preparing for a large march on Washington for April 9, 1989. Originally, the primary focus was on the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, but the imminent threat to reproductive rights is transforming the focus of the march to a broader agenda — support for legal abortion and birth control, and a demand for the production of the new abortion pill, RU486. Coalition support and campus mobilization will build this March for Women's Lives to several hundred thousand. DSA has already signed on as an endorsing organization.

This battle to keep abortion legal will re-energize the women's movement, but it will also inevitably narrow its focus to some extent. What will not fade away will be sustained local organizing around women's wages and job opportunities. Supported largely by trade unions and encouraged by the shrinking labor pool (due to a demographic drop in the number of seventeen to twenty-five year olds and the recent change in immigration laws), this employment wing of the women's movement that focuses on pink collar workers should continue to achieve largely unheralded local victories in union organizing, pay equity, and wage increases. Not even efforts to keep the minimum wage artificially low or to force welfare recipients with young children into the workforce (Senator Moynihan's so-called welfare "reform") will slow the steady progress of these organizing efforts. Women and their families cannot live on women's wages any longer.

Similarly, another wing of the women's movement, grass-roots activists working on domestic violence and the still developing issues of incest and child custody will continue to influence local and state policy makers. And despite the outcome of the presidential election, lesbian and gay rights coalitions on the local level seem to be gaining momentum in campaigns against homophobic violence.

The lack of an overall direction in the women's movement that has been apparent since the re-election of Ronald Reagan will end as the campaign heats up to keep abortion legal. Though it promises to be a heated battle, it will remain a defensive one. Few leaders in the organized women's movement have any illusions about a "moderate" George Bush.

Their problem, which they share with all progressive forces, is how to make strategic gains. The fight for legal abortion might be a catalyst for a political transformation — or it might not. The battle is just beginning.

Noreen Connell, past president of the New York State NOW, is a DSA member.

Labor's Agenda For 1989

by Roberta Lynch

In thinking about the impending Bush administration, one is tempted to simply abjure thought and rely on instinct. And going by the gut, the news isn't good. This guy is the quintessential American aristocrat, and despite all the campaign rhetoric about the mainstream, he is about as far removed from the lives and problems of working men and women as he is from the capacity for intelligible discourse.

Still, it does no good to just assume the worst. There are three critical areas a Bush presidency could take action — relatively moderate action, not outside the realm of imagination — that could signal a desire to begin to relate to the labor movement and the millions of working Americans it represents.

First, Bush could recognize that there is growing public support for a more activist government that can effectively address major social crises such as long-term care, AIDS, and homelessness. He could cease bashing the very idea of government and further slashing vital support and entitlement programs, and turn instead to positive action to raise the necessary revenues to address the nation's budgetary dilemmas.

Second, Bush could call a halt to the official support for the corporate war on organized labor. He could dramatically indicate his desire to do so in one forceful gesture: rehiring the fired PATCO strikers. Then he could go on to take the chains off the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) and allow it once again to enforce the laws that are intended to protect American workers. And it shouldn't take more than elementary decency to follow suit at OSHA, thereby insuring that the nation's workplaces will no longer be abandoned to the whims of management speed-ups and cost-cutting measures that steal workers' lives and health.

Finally, Bush could recognize that the standard of living of the average

American family has declined significantly in the past decade, and he could act to foster a minimal system of family support that would recognize the vital role women now play as breadwinners. Such a system would have at least three key elements that have been central to labor's agenda: guaranteed parental leave; expanded government support for child care; and an increase in the minimum wage. The challenge remains for unions and their allies to continue to seek to develop and fight for programs that can foster greater social decency and economic justice through positive governmental action.

Roberta Lynch, a DSAer, is the Director of public policy for American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Council 31 in Illinois.

Responding to the AIDS Crisis

by Carisa Cunningham

In 1989, we enter year eight of the AIDS epidemic and say goodbye to the President who couldn't bring himself to say the word AIDS until 1987. AIDS activists and organizations will look for the new Administration to achieve what

points. AIDS was virtually invisible during the campaign. Dukakis clearly feared being seen as a slave to "special interests," while Bush was caught between the moderate and conservative factions of his party. When asked about AIDS during one of the national debates, he mumbled about the importance of a safe blood supply. The blood supply has been quite safe for a number of years. Either he was disturbingly ignorant, or he was cannily angling for the votes of people whose only AIDS-related concern is about the blood supply.

The Republican platform supplies few clues. A compromise document, it advocates "compassion and help" for people with AIDS, and "protection...for those who do not have the disease." It does not endorse anti-discrimination legislation. However, in June, Bush did. He differed from President Reagan by saying that he was "very much persuaded" by the conclusion of the Presidential Commission on the HIV Epidemic, and that anti-discrimination legislation "is needed."

Another positive sign has been the receptiveness of the Bush transition team, which has met with AIDS organizations and responded intelligently and knowledgeably during discussions.

It seems to people with AIDS and to

Weicker (CT) is a major loss. While Moynihan (D-NY) and Kennedy (D-MA) have for the most part voted progressively, Weicker was a courageous, active, knowledgeable advocate on the Senate floor. AIDS activists will have to seek and cultivate new friends in the Senate. There is more hope in the House, where Representatives such as Henry Waxman (D-CA) and Ted Weiss (D-NY) have been active and effective, and presumably will continue in their blessed ways.

History will judge the Reagan administration very harshly on AIDS, which will take more American lives than the Vietnam War. While George Bush cannot raise the dead, he can at least start making amends.

Carisa Cunningham is a DSA member who is responsible for public relations at the Gay Men's Health Center (GMHC) in New York.

Anti-Hunger Advocate Looks Ahead

by Joni Rabinowitz

Social Services have had a hard time these past eight years, and poor people have paid tremendous costs from Reagan's tough policies.

Nevertheless, in the last two years (the only part of Reagan's term in which the Democrats controlled both the House and Senate) we have had some welcome successes that restored some of the early Reagan cuts. These included passage of the Hunger Prevention Act which will put \$1.5 billion into nutrition programs, and small increases in food stamp benefits. Sadly, many individuals will find that a few more dollars in their pockets will be wiped out by punitive regulations elsewhere.

In addition, an important homeless bill was passed in 1987, strong advocacy for WIC (Women, Infants, and Children) has prevented major cuts in that program, and Medicaid coverage has been expanded.

The outlook for the next period is very unclear. Some key supporters of food and nutrition programs, like Leon Panetta and Patrick Leahy, hold important positions in the new Congress, and bi-partisan support on major committees in both Houses of Congress will probably continue.

On the other hand, Bush seems to have major cuts in social spending on his

Photo by Rick Reinhard/Impact Visuals



Candlelight AIDS March on Washington, October 1988.

this one failed even to attempt: prominent, compassionate leadership on AIDS; meaningful, comprehensive AIDS preventive education; increased funding for AIDS research and care; and most important, Federal anti-discrimination legislation, which AIDS activists consider the foundation to an effective anti-AIDS strategy.

There are mixed signals from Bush on whether he can or will deliver on these

AIDS advocates that anything will be better than the past eight years, and to a certain extent that *must* be true. But much will depend on how Bush relates to the conservative wing of the Republican party, what kind of people Bush appoints to key positions, and the amount of pressure and visibility AIDS activists and organizations can mount. Another important factor in the equation is Congress. The defeat of Republican Senator Lowell

agenda, most likely including food stamps and school meals programs. His plan relies on questionable economic growth to increase revenues and calls for an overall cap on aggregate spending. He has promised not to raise taxes, decrease military spending, or cut Social Security. This scenario obviously can't produce a \$30-40 billion deficit reduction without deep cuts in domestic spending, a fact which may erode the fragile bi-partisan support which advocates have built in Congress.

The legacy of the last Congress — a bi-partisan deficit reduction plan which never materialized — makes these next two years crucial. Bush might propose minor increases in education, and he might be less likely to resist Congressional initiatives, but by and large his approach will mirror Reagan's: eroding federal authority while concentrating expenditures on military rather than domestic programs.

Given the national scene, many anti-poverty and hunger advocates in recent years have turned to state and local governments for help. A new crop of activist governors and legislators have entered the picture and creative state programs have surfaced. In Pennsylvania, we have spent considerable energy at the state level, resulting in funds for food and nutrition programs — especially emergency food and WIC. It has always been a struggle that required mass campaigns, and this current period — even with a Democratic Governor — is no exception. This year we continue to fight for more state WIC funds and more money for school breakfasts and emergency food. Exciting coalitions exist at the state and local level for these programs, and, although I am not thrilled with our new Governor, there is potential.

Our national agenda includes continued struggles against cutbacks in nutrition programs and in favor of an increased minimum wage, and possibly a campaign to make WIC an entitlement program. (Entitlement means that there would be no cap on spending.)

Whatever programs we undertake, however, grassroots pressure is the key to success. Until we can elect a president and Congress who call for reorienting our spending priorities, the fight must be waged relentlessly on the streets and in the halls of government everywhere. ●

Joni Rabinowitz, a DSAer, works for Just Harvest, a small anti-hunger and economic justice advocacy group.

Harrington

Continued from page 2

mitment to justice in the global South as a means to justice in the North has been talking sense. To translate these programmatic ideas into a truly political platform, capable of winning the Democratic party, of providing the Democratic majority in Congress with a serious response to crisis, and of providing the basis for a victorious campaign in 1992 is going to take a lot more than politics as usual.

In our post-mortem on the election, let us insist that if Dukakis had run a more populist campaign he would have been more likely to now be President. But it is important not to think that the evocation of Roosevelt, Truman, and Kennedy, with the implication that all we have to do is to return to the New Deal, the Fair Deal, or the New Frontier, is a politics. It is a rhetoric. An important rhetoric, but only a rhetoric. And, as the neo-liberals, including Dukakis, rightly noticed in the Seventies, there is no way to go back to those simpler days of a hegemonic American economy safe and sound behind its ocean walls.

The future of the American left — of the broad democratic left of the trade unions, minorities, feminists, and other progressives, as well as of the socialists — lies with a program which genuinely "takes the side of the people." That said, we must be very precise as to what that means, and then turn our analysis into a mass politics. That's all.

MICHAEL HARRINGTON

Socialist Feminism

Continued from page 6

tial for sexual pleasure. Perceiving that lack of honesty, teenagers receive these lessons as inauthentic to their own situations. Fine quotes a dialogue from a New York City sex education class:

Teacher: Why is it important to know what your body looks like? (apropos of looking at genitals in a mirror)

Student: You should like your own body.

Teacher: You should know what it looks like when it's healthy, so you can recognize problems like vaginal warts.

It is time to hear more class and gender-conscious discussion of the problem of teenage pregnancy. It's time to insist on rigorous explanations of *why* it is a

problem, avoiding the implications that the teenagers *are* the problem. It is time for a socialist-feminist voice on this issue. ●

Linda Gordon is the author of Woman's Body, Woman's Right: A Social History of Birth Control in America, which will be updated and reissued by Penguin in 1989. She teaches at the University of Wisconsin at Madison.

CLASSIFIED

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

SOCIAL CHANGE JOBS — COMMUNITY JOBS, a non-profit newspaper, lists progressive jobs/internships nationwide you can believe in. Current listing \$3. COMMUNITY JOBS, 1516 P Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20005

"Socialist Party — Workers of the World Unite" T-shirts, \$8. Specify size. WRL Organizer's Manual, \$10. Free Catalog. Socialist Party Favors, Box 8211-D, Des Moines, IA 50306.

Quayle Becomes President, "Uh-Oh" Says Worried Nation reads the headline of *The Washington Possible*. Purchase this newsprint poster, designed by DSA's very own Harold Meyerson, for only \$1.00 from the DSA office. Its sure to become a collectors' item!

NATIONAL HEALTH CARE CAMPAIGN — Applications sought for the position of Field Director, involving organizational, technical, and strategic support to NHCC's 35 state affiliates, and providing direction and leadership to field on policy initiatives. Involves travel. Qualifications: five years experience in issues campaigns, strategic/political skills, excellent writing and speaking skills, knowledge of health policy issues. Salary negotiable. Send resumes immediately to: National Health Care Campaign, P.O. Box 27434, Washington D.C. 20038.

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

DSA's '89 Political Priorities

(Below you will find excerpts from the political priorities resolution passed at DSA's national board meeting November 11-13.)

Economic Justice

The American left has finally learned that ideas and program do matter. But how to get our ideas out in the public arena and how to combine innovative programmatic work with effective political organizing have proven more difficult tasks. The conference planned by Next America Foundation (and co-sponsored by DSA) entitled "Families and Social Policies for a Changing America: An International Dialogue" hopefully will demonstrate that American concerns about affordable housing, education, child care, and health care can only be addressed by the expansion of a democratic, progressively financed public sector. This conference will allow the democratic left to address issues that can potentially unite middle, working, and low-income people, and to bring together constituencies fighting to address these issues. An America that does not adequately care for its children has no democratic future — and it is time for the left to mobilize around such issues.

While social and family policy issues may pose the best opportunity for building cross-class progressive coalitions, the profound restructuring of the American economy demands that the democratic left address the rapid growth of poverty, not only among children and adults outside the formal labor market, but also among the working poor. The economic, political, and social marginalization of a significant proportion of the American population makes a mockery of our democratic ideals. Addressing growing poverty and low-income work in America will demand that the democratic left develop a program to respond to the internationalization and deindustrialization of the American economy. We believe that the future of the labor movement in the United States, and the possibility of a progressive revival in electoral politics, depend crucially on the empowerment of the tens of millions of people, mainly women and minorities, who work in the expanding low wage service

National Board Meeting Inspires Activists

The November 11-13 national board meeting, held in Los Angeles, CA, marked an important step forward for DSA. Although this national gathering took place only three days after Bush's presidential victory, a collective sense of commitment and perseverance permeated the meeting.

Approximately seventy delegates, representing over twenty-two locals, and over fifty observers met throughout the weekend to discuss the current political climate and map-out a strategy for DSA. In addition to the plenary speakers, over forty delegates played a role in making the board meeting effective by acting as small group discussion leaders, workshop facilitators, and commission conveners. Friday, the first day of the board, was packed with plenaries and small group discussions. The opening plenary, entitled "Lay of the Land," provided participants with an overview of some of the key sectors within which DSA does its work: the women's movement; the labor movement; and electoral politics. An informative discussion took place during the afternoon session, with DSAers Mark Levinson, a researcher at the UAW, addressing the internationalization of the economy, and Bogdan Denitch, a professor at the City University of New York, speaking on changes in world politics and the implications of these changes for DSA's work.

Much to the board's delight, over 700 people turned out for the Friday night outreach event at which co-chairs Michael Harrington and Barbara Ehrenreich, LA City Councilwoman Ruth Gallanter, and DSA activist Harold Meyerson spoke on the election, the state of the democratic left, and an agenda for the future. Unfortunately, Dolores Heurta, United Farmworkers vice president and DSAer, was unable to attend. She is still recovering from having been brutalized by police while at a grape boycott protest.

Saturday began with a session on

strategy for the organization. Joanne Barkan called for making internal education a priority for the next year through national leadership schools, production of educational materials, and literature development. Frances Fox Piven stressed the need for the organization to make local labor struggles involving women, people of color, and those sectors previously unorganized, a key focus of our programmatic work. Jack Clark spoke of the centrality of the labor movement to social change, and he emphasized revitalizing the American Solidarity Movement (ASM) as a vehicle for DSA's involvement in this arena.

Sunday was devoted to consideration of resolutions ranging from the creation of a task force on our locals, to the political program of the organization, to support for the Farmworkers grape boycott. The political priorities resolution, which was passed at the board, appears below, and copies of the remaining resolutions can be obtained through the DSA office by sending a self-addressed envelope to 15 Dutch Street, Suite 500, New York, NY 10038.

Many of the Commissions were active and visible throughout the weekend. The Feminist Commission held a pre-board meeting on Thursday evening to discuss questions concerning the direction of DSA, and then it held several other meetings during the board to discuss Commission business. The Anti-Racism and Latino Commissions met to evaluate their work during the past year and to determine how to expand contact between activists in the Commission. And, the Labor Commission held a successful meeting, which in part addressed what the Labor Commission's role should be in reviving ASM. Workshops addressing various aspects of local development (fundraising, program and coalition work, and education) were led by key activists from a range of locals.

sectors. We therefore propose that DSA explore the possibility of a conference which would examine the potential for expanded organizing efforts among low-wage and unwaged workers, or the "new working class." The conference would pull together activists from service sector labor unions and social welfare groups, from organizations of women and people of color, as well as academics whose work bears on this problem. We propose two main foci for panels and workshops: 1) Assessments of the characteristics of the new working class, and the changes in the domestic and international economy which are producing this new working class; 2) Organizing possibilities and problems, in the workforce, the community, and electoral politics.

A major part of this focus on economic justice organizing will be an increase in labor support work. The conscious attack by corporate America against the American labor movement has threatened the economic well-being of all American working people. We reject the conservative (and all too frequently neo-liberal) notion that unions only represent the "special interest" of their members. We reassert the fundamental socialist belief that unions are the essential institution by which all working people can collectively gain a democratic voice in determining their working conditions, wages, and benefits. DSA reasserts its commitment to working within and with the labor movement to defend both existing gains and to organize the

"Labor support is integral to DSA's economic justice strategy."

unorganized. This national board recommends that the American Solidarity Movement be revitalized as a vehicle for DSA nationally and locally to engage in labor support work and popular education about the contribution of democratic unions to free societies. The national board views labor support work as integral to our broader economic justice organizing strategy and notes its particular relevance to the fight to empower the working poor. The national office will facilitate this activity by distributing materials about local, national, and international labor support struggles (e.g., the Justice for Janitors campaign, United Farmworkers grape boycott, the Shell boycott, etc.) and pro-labor education materials for use in schools, universities, and community groups. Efforts will be made by the nation-

al office and leadership to secure funding from non-DSA sources to provide a staff person to coordinate the work of the American Solidarity Movement. The National Executive Committee (NEC) and national office will coordinate work on labor support and the building of an American Solidarity Movement vehicle with the DSA labor Commission.

Coalitional Politics

While it is impossible to predict at this moment whether DSA's coalitional work will take the form of a Democratic Alternatives type coalition or newly negotiated relations with Citizen Action, the Rainbow and/or Jackson forces, and progressive labor, the DSA staff and national leadership should immediately explore the possibilities for post-election progressive coalitional activity. While it is not yet possible to determine what organizational form the Jackson primary campaign forces will take after the general election, DSA should work to strengthen its role within multi-racial 'rainbow' politics, whether its most viable organizational form may be the National Rainbow Coalition, the NRC Labor Commission, local rainbows, or independent multi-racial progressive politics. DSA commits itself to building multi-racial progressive 'rainbow' politics at the local and national level, regardless of the fate of the National Rainbow Coalition. Concrete work in local multi-racial coalition politics is the best means to advance both DSA's anti-racist work and to increase the presence of people of color in DSA.

DSA has a modest, but real role to play at both the national and local level in linking pro-Jackson forces with other progressive constituencies in and around the Democratic party. This role is all the more imperative as the struggle for the heart and soul of the Democratic party commences. We will fight the Democratic Leadership Conference's conservative interpretation that only a move towards the center can "save" the Democratic party. We will side with all those who correctly see that only a consistent, democratic populism can unite middle class, working class, and poor people behind a progressive political agenda. Uniting the Jackson forces with other progressive constituencies is the only majoritarian strategy consistent with a truly small "d" Democratic party.

Specifically, the national board recommends that DSA promptly convene a one-day "board-level" meeting of organizations working within the broad outlines of

a "party within a party" strategy. Groups would centrally include DSA, Citizen Action, New Populist Forum, and the Rainbow Coalition. Individuals would include elected leaders, key board members, and key local leaders — somewhere in the area of fifty people. The goals for the gathering would be for these people to meet each other; to assess developments in the Democratic party over the last several years; to share the major outlines of their current work; and to discuss some of the challenges in the immediate/medium-term future faced by organizations on the left doing some of their work within the Democratic party and against the legislative/administrative agenda of the Bush administration. This would not be a public outreach meeting. This would not be a meeting convened to write a public document or to agree on a definitive, comprehensive strategy for working within/changing the Democratic party. Those may come later.

This board takes note of the grave political dangers posed by the Reagan administration's appeal to the Supreme Court to overturn *Roe v. Wade* and by the victory of three state referenda banning public funding for abortion. The struggle for reproductive rights may, unfortunately, prove to be a cutting-edge issue under a Bush administration. DSA's commitment to socialist-feminism demands that we participate actively in the struggle to defend reproductive rights and to defeat all anti-choice appointments to the Supreme Court. The NEC is directed to involve DSA in national and local efforts against "Operation Rescue" and similar anti-choice actions.

International Work

This national board commends both the national office and those locals who made the Ruben Zamora tour such a great success. It both advanced the cause of solidarity with El Salvador's struggle for democracy and demonstrated publicly DSA's integral role in the international movement for democratic socialism. This board urges the national staff and leadership to explore regular tours (perhaps on an annual basis) by Socialist International leaders or political leaders involved in crucial democratic and liberation struggles. DSA would provide both national and local publicity, material aid, and access to key progressives constituencies for our guests (modeled on our work in the Zamora tour). These tours would also serve to highlight our international politics and the relevance of DSA to U.S. activists committed to a democratic, internationalist politics. ●

1989 March 31, April 1 & 2

The 7th Annual SOCIALIST SCHOLARS CONFERENCE

The Two Centuries of Revolution: 1789-1989

Boro of Manhattan Community College, CUNY, 199 Chambers St. (nr. Trade Center), NYC

- | | | | |
|--------------------|----------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| ● Jo-Ann Mort | ● Cornel West | ● Daniel Singer | ● Joanne Landy |
| ● Jean Cohen | ● Andrew Arato | ● William Greider | ● Frances Fox Piven |
| ● Joseph F. Murphy | ● Jim Chapin | ● Michael Harrington | ● Ruth Spitz |

1989 Registration Form

Make checks payable to "Socialist Scholars Conference" and mail to: **R.L. Norman, Jr. CUNY Democratic Socialists Club, Rm. 800 33 West 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10036.** Please Note that the conference schedule will be available at the door.

Pre-Registration

_____ \$22.50 _____ \$12.50 (student/low income)

Regular Registration

_____ \$30.00 _____ \$15.00 (student/low income)

Where did you hear about the conference? _____

If in a publication, which one? _____

Professional childcare for toilet trained toddlers of 3 years and older on Saturday & Sunday daytime. Unfortunately, school insurance limitations do not permit younger children in child care facilities.

I need childcare for _____ children. Ages _____, _____, _____

Name _____

Address _____

City / State / Zip _____

Academic or Organizational Affiliation _____

Israel

Continued from page 21

planted on the ground, the constraints of reality always taken into account." On the other hand, "revisionists," writes Harkabi, "elevated risk taking to the level of political strategy — 'to die or conquer the mountain,' in the words of their anthem, as if only facing the danger of death could inspire the attempt to reach the summit."

Labor Zionism chooses an action to affect a certain end and revisionist Zionism chooses the action as an end in itself, says Harkabi. This revisionist ideology has eroded Israel's sense of a national goal. Harkabi articulates how pluralism among Jews has unraveled. Begin, and now Shamir, have created a situation where no matter what the world does — or what precipitous action the Israelis take — Israel and the Jewish people are merely unwilling victims in Israel's eyes. Harkabi also accuses the Likud leaders of trivializing the Holocaust, inciting hatred among Jews toward Arabs, heightening trouble between secular and religious Jews, and presiding over the "Lebanonization" of Israel, where individual groups police themselves and the state apparatus falls apart.

Although critical of Likud, Harkabi doesn't go far enough in castigating the Labor party for its complicity in creating Israel's current situation by being too complacent before the right wing and religious fundamentalists. The Labor party has strayed far from its founders' ideals, although it still remains the most realistic hope for moving

Israel toward a peace process.

Among the most useful sections in the book is Harkabi's discussion of the true consequences of Resolution 242, which he points out "affirms...the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict," in addition to requesting of the Arab states an affirmation of Israel's right to secure and safe boundaries. Begin and Sadat both affirmed Resolution 242 in the preamble to the 1979 Camp David Accords. Harkabi reminds his readers that Yitzhak Shamir opposed the Camp David Accords. Harkabi sees little hope that Shamir — bolstered by an increasingly militant right wing — will finally negotiate peace with the Palestinians in any sort of a land for peace formula.

While Harkabi also provides useful analysis on the dodges by the Arab states and the PLO to avoid serious peace negotiations (the book is, in fact, dedicated "to the victims of their leaders — Jews and Arabs"), this book is written primarily for an audience in Israel and in the United States, for people who can begin to speak up forcefully in opposition to the Likud's policies and effect change.

"Israel faces a fateful hour," writes Harkabi. "Let us think about our situation seriously...In Israel and in the diaspora, we need debate on the issues." Harkabi's challenge must be met. ●

Jo-Ann Mort is a member of DSA's National Executive Committee, a writer, and Communications Director for the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

REVIEWS

Israel's Challenge

by Jo-Ann Mort

ISRAEL'S FATEFUL HOUR by Yehoshafat Harkabi. New York: Harper & Row, 1988. 256 pages.

Israel's recent election ended in a deadlock. Neither large party, Labor or Likud, received enough votes to negotiate a coalition government without the support of either each other or the ultra-Orthodox parties. During the weeks of endless negotiations, the looming issue of Israel and the Palestinians was superseded by the issues of the ultra-Orthodox Jews, Israeli religious law, and the status of the Jews in the diaspora, primarily American Jews. Yet, all of these questions — the fate of the occupied territories, who is a Jew, what is a Jewish state — are profoundly interrelated.

"The Jews will derive their moral stature from their travail, and out of the pain of their existence will come a pattern of noble living," predicted the socialist-Zionist Nachman Syrkin in 1898. In his masterful book, *Israel's Fateful Hour*, Yehoshafat Harkabi warns convincingly that the moment has arrived when this socialist-Zionist vision of Israel is in danger of complete defeat, and with it, the nation itself is in danger of extinction.

Harkabi is one of the most respected national figures in Israel. A former head of Israeli military intelligence, he resigned from that post in 1977, after he became convinced that then-Prime Minister Begin planned to retain the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Harkabi felt that this position was totally incompatible with a possible peace settlement. In his book, Harkabi, who calls himself a "Machiavellian dove," writes that the philosophy of Ze'v Jabotinsky, the founder of revisionist Zionism, as incarnated in Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir, poses the biggest threat to Israel's survival.

Harkabi believes what he calls Israel's "national decline" began during the 1967 Six Day War, when a growing religious fundamentalism began to surface in response to Israel having captured many of Judaism's holy sites. The momentum really gathered force when this religious fundamentalism joined with the Herut (the faction of Likud founded by Jabotinsky, then headed by Begin), and Herut "moved from the margins to the center....The threat has been made tangible by all of the ominous developments Israel has suffered since 1977 (the first Begin government), and up to the present moment of the Shamir government."

Harkabi insists that even if Labor were to regain the government without support from Likud, the "ethos" of the Jabotinsky-Begin doctrine has so permeated the Israeli national conscience, that bold, unqualified denunciations of

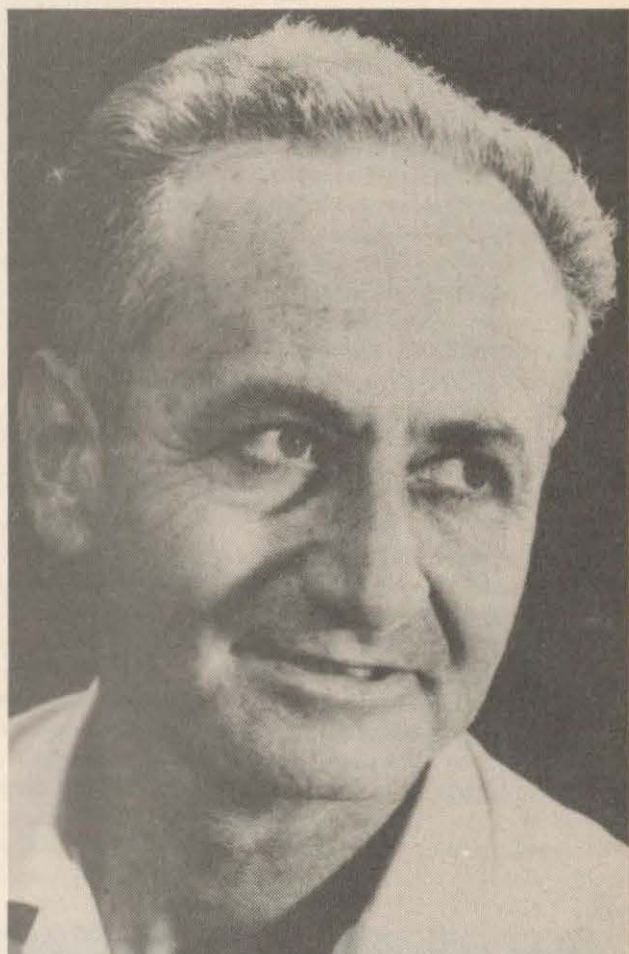


Photo by Rigarda Schwerin

General Yehoshafat Harkabi.

this right-wing Zionism must be made by all those who care about the future of the state.

For an American audience, especially a socialist audience not familiar with the history of different Zionist traditions, whether socialist — what Harkabi calls "mainstream" Zionism — or revisionist Zionism, this book is invaluable. His arguments refute claims that all Israeli governments are the same, or that Zionism is inherently oppressive toward the Palestinians. He also points out how urgent it is for socialists and socialist Zionists, Jewish or not, to disassociate themselves from revisionist Zionism and the current right-wing, fundamentalist trends in Israel by articulating a vision of Israel rooted in the original Zionists' idea of socialism and humanism.

About labor Zionism, Harkabi writes, "Without abandoning the dream of Jewish independence, it stressed the need for realism. The feet of the people must be firmly

Continued on page 20

Best Political Records of 1988

by Geoffrey Himes

There's a lot of bad music out there these days, especially at the top of the pops, from whence the likes of Tiffany, George Michael, Guns N' Roses, Steve Winwood, Def Leppard, Bon Jovi, and Whitney Houston numb the airwaves. In the long run, though, it doesn't matter how much bad music is out there; what matters is whether there's enough good music to satisfy one's cravings. And there was plenty of good music released this year, if you knew where to look for it. Maybe it wasn't on the radio very often, but it was in the stores, as many of the best artists still have a home at the major labels.

This year I listened to almost 600 albums and reviewed more than half of them. Choosing the ten best political records of 1988 is a refreshing exercise, because it imposes an intellectual rigor on one's evaluation of music. It's easy to praise every lefty record with good intentions, and many soft-headed romantics refuse to make distinctions between the good and the not-so-good, much less between the tenth and eleventh best record of the year.

In making those distinctions, I have limited myself to records with English lyrics that explicitly address political issues. Of course, every pop record is implicitly political: Michael Jackson's huckstering for Pepsi Cola is political, as are Ornette Coleman's wordless cries of freedom on his alto sax. Van Halen's heavy-metal misogyny is political, as are Rosanne Cash's country love songs about women who don't put up with double standards. As far as I'm concerned a political record is any record that addresses the struggle between the less powerful and the more powerful, whether the two groups are the poor and the rich, women and men, gays and straights, blacks and whites, workers and owners, children and parents, or Baltimore salts of the earth and New York elitists.

Because progressive politics necessitates change, the best political records are those that change people's attitudes. Preaching to the converted doesn't change anything, and the best message in the world married to boring music doesn't change anything either. A good example of a "politically correct" but boring performer is Michelle Shocked. Her newest album, *Short Sharp Shocked*, sports a photo of the singer-songwriter being dragged off by a cop at a San Francisco demonstration, and

her songs speak in favor of black graffiti artists and against Defense Department yuppies. She's all hipster pose and no craft, however, and, as one critic suggested, her album would be better titled *Shrill Shallow Shapeless*.

"Politically correct" but artistically inept records were released this year by artists as diverse as Leonard Cohen, Cindy Lee Berryhill, Bob Franke, Living Colour, Toni Childs, Clannad, Grandmaster Flash, Charlie King, Metallica, and Lillian Allen.

Less easily dismissed is Public Enemy's *It Takes a Nation of Millions to Hold Us Back*, an aurally spectacular rap album that contains some truly progressive messages. Unfortunately, it's also shot through with strains of sexism and racism symptomized by the group's support for Louis Farrakhan. It's a problem with many would-be progressive rap and heavy-metal albums that can't quite overcome their genres' adolescent-male macho posturing.

As usual, reggae yielded some uncompromisingly political records. Bob Marley's children, Ziggy Marley & the Melody Makers, released the most popular record, *Conscious Party* (Virgin), but the year's best political reggae records were Jimmy Cliff's *Hanging Fire* (Columbia) and Steel Pulse's *State of Emergency* (MCA). Cliff's co-producer, Kool & the Gang's Khalis Bayyan, lent an American funk flavor to the reggae, and Steel Pulse affirmed that they, not UB40, are Britain's best reggae band. Also worth while is Ini Kamoze's *Shocking Out* (RAS).

At one time, American leftist music consisted almost exclusively of folkish numbers sung to strummed acoustic guitars. There are still some gifted artists working in that tradition, and this year's best releases included: *Frivolous Love* (Philo) by British Laborite Pete Morton; *Singing the Spirit Back Home* (Flying Fish) by the Australian Utah Phillips, Eric Bogle; and *One More Goodnight Kiss* (Red House) by Minnesota's Greg Brown.

From the fringes of the rock'n'roll world have come such notable political records as Fishbone's heady mix of punk and funk, *Truth and Soul* (Columbia); Paul Kelly & the Messengers' Springsteenish



Photo by Janette Beckman

Tracy Chapman



Johnny Clegg and Savuka

look at Australia, *Under the Sun* (A&M); and Sonic Youth's bracing aural/lyrical assault, *Daydream Nation* (Enigma/Blast First).

All of the above are well worth getting, but the following are my choices for the ten best political records of 1988:

1. *Land of Dreams* by Randy Newman (Reprise). At a time when almost no one else is willing to write songs about the race situation in America with anything but platitudes, Newman once again pokes at this rawest of nerves. Just as Bertolt Brecht assumed the personas of thieves and cops to make his points, Newman assumes the characters of Reagan Democrats, Watts rappers, and a young kid growing up in segregated New Orleans to make his.

These witty but cutting vignettes are as brilliantly crafted as any Raymond Carver short story, and the music (produced by Mark Knopfler and Jeff Lynne) is pop seductive. The album also includes a great rock'n'roll single about America's hidden class system ("It's Money That Matters"), and an absolutely chilling song about family power plays ("I Want You to Hurt Like I Do").

2. *Workers Playtime* by Billy Bragg (Elektra). Bragg, who did a successful tour for DSA in April, has been the most acute political lyricist in Britain for several years. Unlike most pop performers, Bragg isn't at all coy about his socialist sympathies. On this new album, his music finally catches up to his lyrics, with spectacular results. Amid his sharp songs about the politics of romance are songs

about two bisexual soldiers (the aching a cappella "Tender Comrade"), British prisons (the country two-step "Rotting on Remand"), and the fate of the leftist artist (the witty, ironic "Waiting for the Great Leap Forward").

Best of all is "Valentine's Day Is Over," which includes some of the year's most poignant political lines: "Don't come around reminding me again how brittle bone is.... That brutality and economy are related now I understand.... And lately it seems that as it all gets tougher, Your ideal of justice just becomes rougher and rougher."

3. *Folkways: A Vision Shared by Various Artists* (Columbia). Woody Guthrie and Leadbelly, an Okie migrant worker and a Louisiana black prisoner, are the twin godfathers of American political songwriting, and their songs have surprising resonance even today. The proof is in this benefit album of remakes by contemporary artists. Not surprisingly, the remakes of the Guthrie songs focus on the drama of his language, while the Leadbelly remakes concentrate on his pleasurable musicality.

Highlights include Bob Dylan doing a solo acoustic version of "Pretty Boy Floyd" as if it were 1963; Bruce Springsteen's utterly unsentimental versions of "I Ain't Got No Home" and "Vigilante Man"; Taj Mahal's rough blues handling of "The Bourgeois Blues"; and the carnival-like arrangements of "Rock Island Line" and "Goodnight Irene" by Little Richard and Brian Wilson respectively. Also worth checking out: Springsteen's four-song EP titled after the anthemic remake of one of

Dylan's best political songs, "Chimes of Freedom," and Rounder Records' reissue of three classic Woody Guthrie records.

4. *Listen to the Message* by Club Nouveau (Warner Brothers). With its pointed political commentary and its expansive jazz-tinged arrangements, this album recalls the great progressive black-pop records of 1971-73, such as Marvin Gaye's *What's Going On* and Stevie Wonder's *Innervisions*. Songwriter/producer Jay King has added a thumping 80s dance beat, but his depiction of inner-city grimness and the challenging questions he issues to the American public are unflinching. Just as the lyrics' harsh indictment of Reagan's America are balanced by a Martin Luther King-like hope for the future, so are Jay King's no-nonsense vocals balanced by Valerie Watson's inspiring gospel soprano.

5. *Amnesia* by Richard Thompson (Capitol). Without much commercial success, London's Thompson has been one of the most consistent artists in rock'n'roll for twenty years now. The founder of Fairport Convention, he is as admired for his Robbie Robertson-like guitar work as for his Randy Newman-like songwriting. This album contains not only his typically ruthless dissections of modern romance, but also the four most explicit political songs of his career.

The rocking "Jerusalem on the Jukebox" takes aim at right-wing evangelists; the dirge-like "Pharoah" is sung by an ancient Egyptian slave whose view of the class system is not very different from that of a British miner; the slowly building "Can't Win" is sung by a British working-class kid who realizes his ambitions are sabotaged at every turn; and the anthemic "Yankee, Go Home" is the vengeful farewell of a Third World street kid to departing U.S. troops.

6. *Rattle and Hum* by U2 (Island). This is sort of a soundtrack album to the fine documentary film of the same name, but it contains a different selection of songs: six live songs from U2's 1987 tour and nine studio songs, enough for a new album. With its tributes to John Lennon, Bob Dylan, Martin Luther King Jr., Billie Holiday, Jimi Hendrix, B.B. King, John Coltrane, and others, the record is a conscientious effort by these young superstars to lay claim to a progressive musical tradition.

The effort is largely successful, as they offer a stinging rebuttal to Albert Goldman's biography of Lennon, a folkish condemnation of colonial violence in Australia, an explosive protest about South

JIMMY HIGGINS REPORTS

LAME DUCK BLUES. Notice how the roof fell in right after election day? First, foreclosure notices went out to 83,480 family farmers. Then the "Great Communicator" vetoed the ethics bill passed by Congress to protect his cronies' cushy access to lobbying federal agencies they used to head. Let's not forget the request that the Supreme Court reconsider *Roe vs. Wade*. Finally we've been treated to a presidential order allowing the feds to overrule local authorities in expediting the licensing of nuclear power plants. Funny how they held all this off until after November 8.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS. According to the *New York Times* of December 19, 1988, poorer nations will be paying out twice as much to First World banks in 1988 than in 1987. As recently as 1982, developing nations were receiving \$18.2 billion more than they paid out. Now they'll transfer \$31.1 billion net to bank coffers. Incidentally, the U.S. is the world's largest net debtor with a \$500 billion tab. That's twice the total of runner-up Brazil.

NO MISTER NICE GUY. Vindictiveness was the name of the game in the Reagan administration's refusal to offer assistance to hard-hit Nicaragua in the wake of hurricane Joan. After September's hurricane Gilbert, Reagan favorite Edward Seaga received \$2.8 million in aid and \$107.8 million in pledges of additional disaster relief for Jamaica. He's spreading the dough around to boost his campaign against Michael Manley in elections to be held no later than April.

Meanwhile, the U.S. gave Costa Rica only a token \$25,000 to clean up after Joan. Take that, Oscar Arias! Thatcher's Britain, by the way, sent \$200,000 in disaster relief to Nicaragua. The conservative West German government gave \$3 million.

BOMBS AWAY? What do we have to look forward to with George Bush? Remember Pennsylvania State football coach Joe Paterno's seconding speech at the convention? "George Bush shares these values. He has a vision and a quiet passion for our land, which has burned from the time he was a nineteen-year-old pilot."

GRAVE CHALLENGE TO THE CHURCH. Mostly Hispanic cemetery workers in the Los Angeles Catholic Archdiocese are still waiting to vote on accepting the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union as their union. Archbishop Roger Mahony, a progressive on Central America and farmworker causes but a little more equivocal closer to home, has gone back on a promised January 13, 1989 election date. Lend a hand! Write Archbishop Mahony at the Archdiocese, 1531 West 9 Street, Los Angeles, CA 90015 and tell him what you think.

DSA Youth Section Conference
February 17-19
Columbia University

African miners, and several horrified, fascinated meditations on America. They collaborate with B.B. King on one number and a Harlem gospel choir on another. This wide-ranging effort is uneven, but at its best, it seizes old traditions and shakes them awake again.

This reclamation of tradition was reinforced by U2's live versions of Woody Guthrie's "Jesus Christ" on *Folkways: A Vision Shared* and of Dylan's "Maggie's Farm" and Lennon's "Cold Turkey" on *Live for Ireland* (MCA), a benefit album for Ireland's unemployed that also featured Elvis Costello, Van Morrison, Paul Brady, Christy Moore, and the Pogues.

7. *Live at Carnegie Hall by Sweet Honey in the Rock (Flying Fish)*. Not only did this a cappella gospel group contribute two standout tracks to *Folkways: A Vision Shared* and release a fine CD reissue (*Breaths*) this year, but they also came up with the best album of their career, this double-disc live effort. Their lyrics are as incisive as ever, but their music is more sophisticated, rhythmically and harmoni-

cally, than before. The results include breathtaking arrangements of traditional gospel hymns; ambitious musical settings of poems by Sonia Sanchez, Paul Elouard, and Alicia Partnoy; and remarkably cogent songs about the international economy.

8. *Shadow Man by Johnny Clegg & Savuka (Capitol)* Long before Paul Simon visited South Africa, Clegg was leading interracial South African bands that combined traditional township dance music with international rock'n'roll and traditional African nature imagery with contemporary political commentary. Clegg's first group was Juluka; now Savuka offers this album, which sounds like *Graceland* but roots its lyrics in South Africa's ongoing crisis.

9. *Tracy Chapman by Tracy Chapman (Elektra)*. This unexpected hit album combines the folk-soul sound of Joan Armatrading's early work with the literary, political lyrics of Joni Mitchell's more recent work. There's a noticeable gap between the best songs and the other songs

on this 24-year-old's debut album, but the best ones reveal a most promising talent. Chapman brings an unsentimental realism and personal detail to spouse abuse, welfare, runaways, racial violence, and love. "Fast Car," which evokes the unrealistic fantasies inside a homeless shelter, is one of the year's best written songs.

10. *No. 2 Patrick Street by Patrick Street (Green Linnet)*. This Irish folk band emphasizes dazzling acoustic instrumentals, but they also take time out for some gorgeous singing by Andy Irvine. His four songs on this record include a traditional immigrant song, a traditional feminist song, Woody Guthrie's masterful condensation of John Steinbeck's "Grapes of Wrath" into the seventeen-verse "Tom Joad," and Irvine's own version of Bartolomeo Vanzetti's last thoughts before he and Nicola Sacco were executed in 1927. ●

Geoffrey Himes, a member of Baltimore DSA, reviews music for the Washington Post and writes lyrics for Billy Kemp & the Paradise Rockers.