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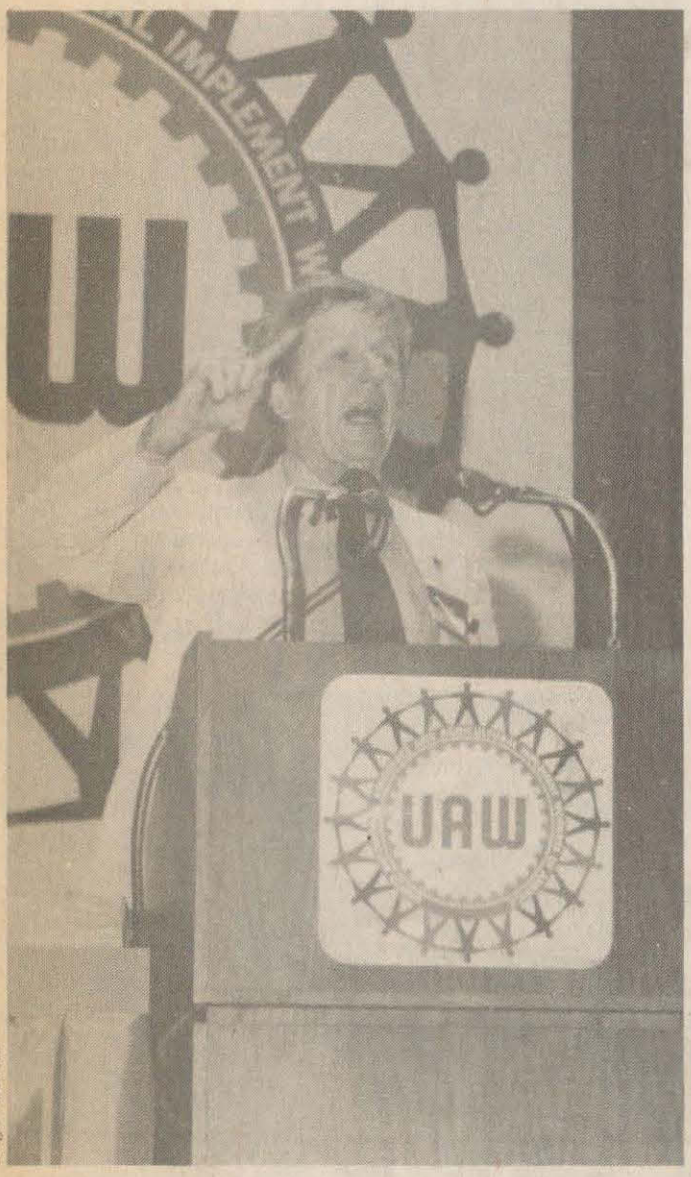
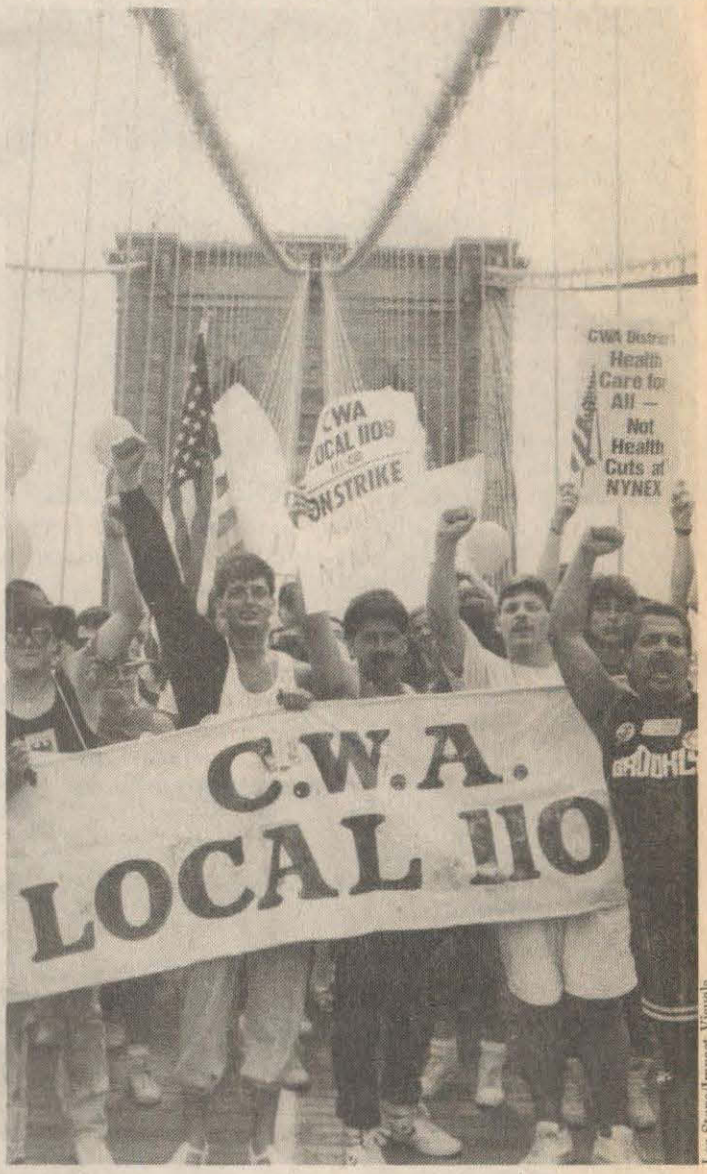


Roger Robinson



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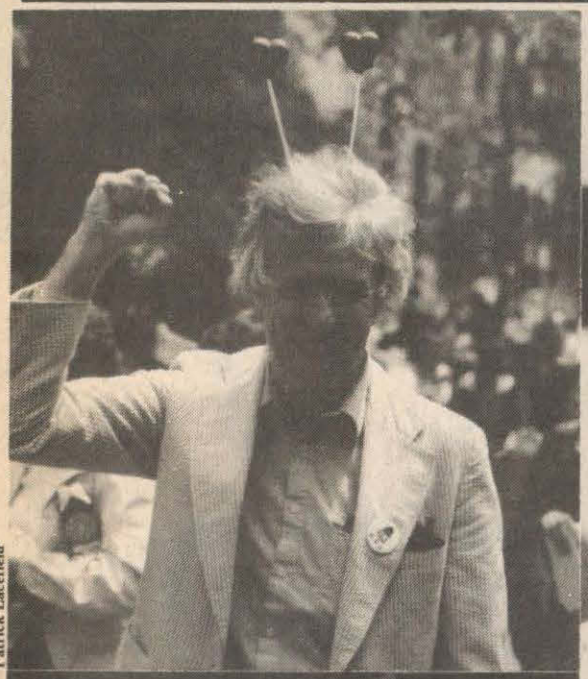
In Memory of

Michael Harrington

1928 - 1989

Democratic Socialist • Internationalist • Writer • Friend of Labor



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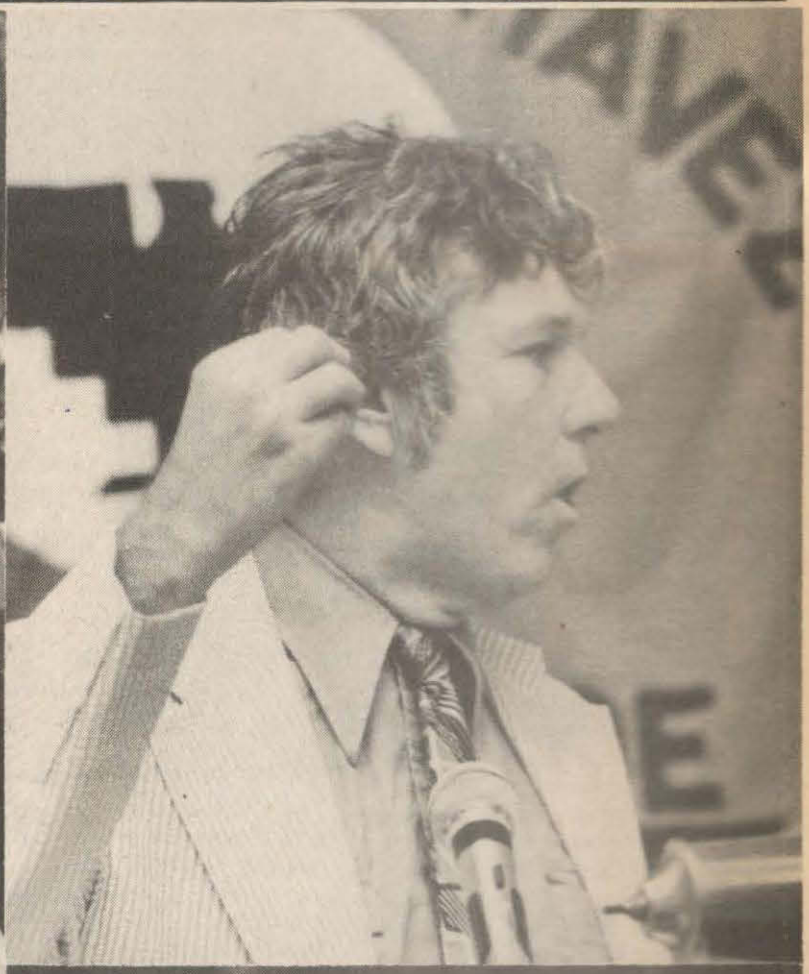

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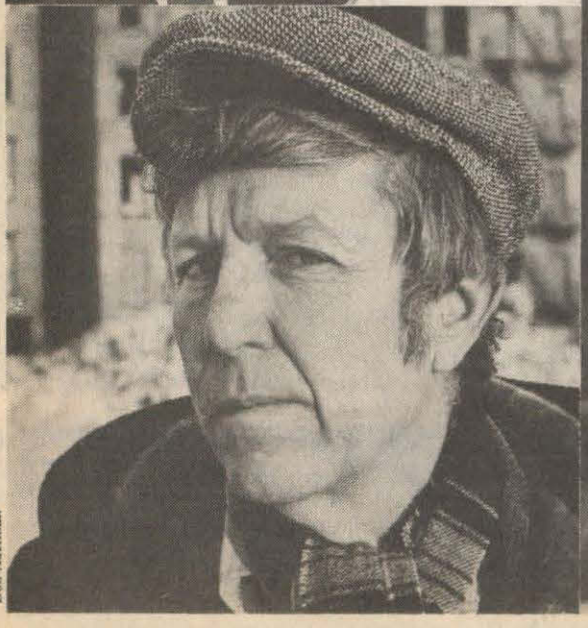


Bob Adelman

A Word of Farewell

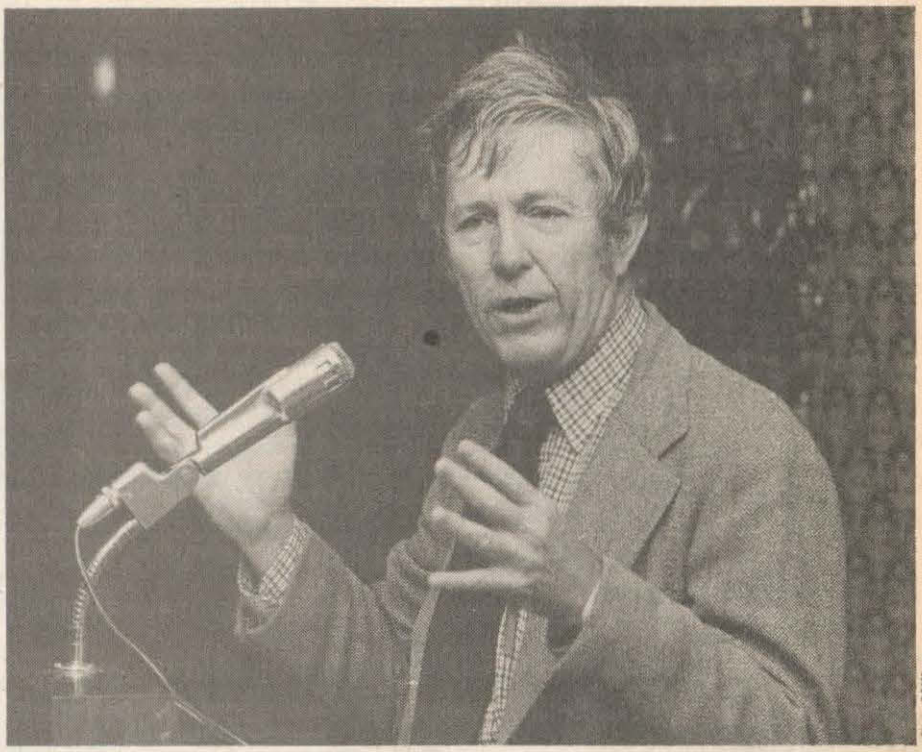
by Irving Howe

He was our voice, our hope, our pride. When Michael Harrington rose to speak, in that piercing alto of his, we all felt that the familiar language of socialism took on the complexion of youth, the freshness of truth. For a moment, it seemed as if all the shame and defeats of our century were erased, and the soaring hope of early socialism rang clear. Not that Mike didn't live, every minute of his days, with a full consciousness of how terrible this century had been; that consciousness bore down upon his every opinion and decision, it kept prodding him into revisions of thought and perspective. Still, he had the extraordinary capacity -- it seemed almost a gift of nature -- to lift the concerns of daily realism into a translucent realm, the optimism of a man who has blinked nothing yet, as a tempered democrat, lives by his margin of hope.

When Mike became the leader of what remained of the American socialist movement, now no longer pretending to be a party but frankly describing itself as an association of like minded thinkers and activists, he inherited a crisis of thought which would last beyond our lifetimes. We often talked about this, musing over the turns of fate that lift some to the crest and drop others to the ebb of history.

Mike had to carry a double burden. He had to hold together a small group of comrades and he had to work on his own intellectually, trying to reassemble some elements of the socialist tradition. What remained usable, what did not?

One of the most remarkable aspects of Mike's career was his ability to live, no doubt with remarkable tension, in accord with both needs. He could give close attention to daily organizational problems, listening to collaborators involved in political actuality, while at the same time maintaining a deep and active concern with political theory. Being the leader of a small and vulnerable movement is not an enviable role. You have to raise money, you have to provide "answers" even if you don't always have them, you have to solace comrades, you have to look for political openings. Mike became the first major socialist figure in America -- even more than Norman Thomas -- who made himself, through tireless work and intense study, an expert in social policy. The things we talked about in a general way, Mike knew in precise detail.



Dan Miller

For me, it was a pleasure to watch -- especially after our earlier years of formulas and rhetoric -- how Mike gave the socialist argument a foundation of authority and knowledge. And where did he get the time? Between all those speeches and meetings?

An even greater pleasure was to watch Mike's growth, his quiet but systematic process of self-education. When I first met Mike after the Second World War, he was a remarkably bright and articulate youngster, with a ready pen and a quick tongue. He had -- younger friends may find this hard to believe -- a streak of bohemianism: it was very charming, very winning. He liked to hang out in a bar in the West Village, drinking and talking with friends. His socialism was never ascetic or puritanical: it was good-spirited, buoyant, the belief of a man who enjoyed things in life, good food, tennis, conversation, all the things that make this earth bearable. But as he took on greater responsibilities, Mike imposed on himself a severity of self-discipline that was amazing, sometimes even a little troubling. He read the socialist classics systematically, even struggling with that impossible language, German. He knew the work of recent European leftist writers. He reached out beyond the left, to study and to learn from those who did not always agree with us -- for he knew that no one has a monopoly of truth. Unburdened by office or power, Mike was free to devote himself to thought, and his mind roamed eagerly.

Didn't he also pay a price for this remarkable self-discipline? I think so, and I know from conversations that he thought so too. Something of his youthful easy-going quality faded. In the books he wrote during his fifties, there was packed information and acute thought, but a certain slackening of style, at least by comparison to his earliest work and, it's a great pleasure to add, by comparison to his very latest work, in which he seemed, miraculously, during the days he was battling his cancer, to recover his earlier elegance of language.

Mike was at his best as a speaker. He used to make himself a rudimentary outline, with a few subheads, and then would roll those formed and pithy sentences, those structured paragraphs, those skeins of argument, those climaxes of reasoned passion. I suppose that, like many people reading those lines, I heard Mike speak hundreds of times; but I never got tired, even when I could guess what would follow: the slightly ironic turn, the mildly yet really good-natured polemical twist, the ringing call to hope. I never tired because I knew that this was a deeply serious and thoughful man, but still more, a really good man in whom humane values and fellow-feeling for

As a Tribute to Mike: We Will Mourn and Organize

Dear DSA Members and Friends,

We know that you are as stunned and saddened by the death of Michael Harrington on Monday, July 31 as we are. We don't have to tell you how important Mike has been to the democratic socialist movement in the U.S. His ability to combine political activism and organizing with a rich career as a writer and commentator was unequaled. He is irreplaceable and his death is a tragic loss to the movement for democratic, socialist change in the U.S.

Throughout his nineteen month heroic battle with cancer, Mike continued to work hard to build our movement. He spoke on campuses across the country, completed his 16th book, Socialism: Past and Future, aired weekly radio commentaries, and worked closely with the rest of our leadership. His deep commitment to a more just and equitable society inspired thousands of people across this country and throughout the world.

It is these same people -- the members and friends of DSA -- who will continue to work for the radical change in which Mike so passionately believed. It is you -- people active in the trade union movement, Democratic party, lesbian and gay organizations, the women's movement, academia, and the struggle for racial equality -- who recognize how critical it is to promote a vision of a democratic socialist America in these arenas and in your day-to-day life.

G.K. Chesterton once wrote that the trick for democrats and radicals was to hate the injustice in this land of ours and in the world enough to want to change it, but to love this nation, this world enough to think it worth the trouble. Mike Harrington was a man with lots of anger and lots of love. By carrying on our fight to promote the ideas, alternatives, and ideals of democratic socialism, we in DSA pay tribute to Mike in the best possible way.

The politics of democratic socialism that moved Mike and moves us all is more relevant worldwide today than it has been in decades -- election victories by Solidarity in Poland, recognized striking miners in the Soviet Union, protesting students singing "The Internationale" in China. Here in the U.S., there is increasing recognition of the inhumane plight of the poor -- the hungry, the homeless, the uninsured. This recognition does not mean that socialist policy responses are being generated (that is our job), but the public recognition does mean there is more political room for us to advance our systemic understanding of the problems and the solutions.

We are not about to say that the next period is going to be an easy one. Being a socialist in America is never easy. But people across the country are already doing more for DSA than they have in the past -- and what they had been doing was noteworthy. People like Irving Howe, Barbara Ehrenreich, Frances Fox Piven, Cornel West, and William Winpisinger have increased their involvement in DSA. There are a lot of ways that all of the members of DSA can get more involved. Mike recruited many new members into DSA. That means each one of us will have to take that responsibility on ourselves. Consider making a commitment to recruiting 10 new members to DSA this year. Join the DSA pledge plan. If you write or speak publicly, make sure you are identified as a member of DSA.

Remember, an unorganized socialist is a contradiction in terms. Only united together as an organized force can we keep alive democratic socialist ideals and ideas -- those that Mike articulated and fought for -- so that they can influence the shape of the world to come. We are committed to the struggle ahead. We know you are, too.

In Solidarity,

Sherri Levine Patrick Lacefield
Co-Directors

Condolences to Stephanie Gervis Harrington and sons Alexander and Teddy can be sent care of DSA, 15 Dutch Street, Suite 500, New York, NY 10038. The family has requested that, in lieu of flowers, friends may want to contribute to the Institute for Democratic Socialism, at the same address.

Words of Inspiration From Mike

Michael Harrington gave the following closing at the February, 1989 Youth Section Conference at Columbia University.

Some of you, God bless you, will pay your dues, you'll be around for a while, and then you'll leave. You will be enriched somewhat and when you get older, you'll say, "Oh, I was a socialist when I was a youth...but I got older, I got smarter, I gave up that stuff." But you'll probably remain, at least, a good liberal. You'll go to a reproductive rights march, you'll campaign against aid to the contras. You'll do fine things, and I just wish that there were more of you.

But I'm really addressing others, in a sense, because some of you, I hope, will see these ideas as affecting the way you lead your life, and not simply how you think about society, or how you act in society. But to do that, to have a social commitment that lasts with the ups and downs -- and in America, from my experience in forty years of the movement, I've got to tell you that the downs tend to predominate over the ups in the United States.

To hang in there, you have to know why you're there. That is to say, it's not simply a question of analyzing society, it is a question of understanding why you play a role. You must realize that the battle for trade union rights, and the battle for racial justice, and the battle for gender justice, and the battle for a decency in the Third World are all part of a whole, are all interconnected. What we are dealing with is not simply an economic transition, or a political transition. What we are dealing with is the emergence of a new civilization. What we are dealing with are new ways of life for all the people of the Earth, By the end of the 21st century existence will nowhere, in any way, look like it looks like now.

And if you know that and even though you know in your lifetime there will be no answer, but you understand that if there is the least possibility of freedom being the answer, it is worth a lifetime commitment. That's what holds you together.

This movement should enrich you, this movement should allow you to lead a different kind of life. This is not a burden. At its best this is a movement of joy...You will have an opportunity to make these ideas come alive. You are lucky to be part of the Democratic Socialists of America. ●

Please join the Democratic Socialists of America and Stephanie, Alex, and Teddy Harrington in paying tribute to

MICHAEL HARRINGTON

(Leading American socialist, author, internationalist, activist, husband, father, friend, and comrade.)

At a Memorial Service

Friday, September 15 7:00 - 9:00 p.m.

Riverside Church

(Riverside Dr. and Claremont, between 120th and 122nd Street, NY)

(Take the 1 train to 116th Street)

with invited guests

Irving Howe ● Senator Edward Kennedy ● Willy Brandt
Deborah Meier ● Bogdan Denitch ● Jack Clark

Memorial services will also take place in other cities. Below are the ones scheduled thus far:

Boston on October 4 -- (617) 426-9026
Washington, D.C. on September 21 -- (202) 483-3299
Los Angeles on September 8 -- (213) 662-1140
Chicago on September 23 -- (312) 384-0327

all who suffered were vibrantly alive.

Some of us would sometimes say to Mike, "Why do you accept speaking engagements that can bring little political or intellectual or even personal gain? Why don't you pace yourself a little?" He would smile, he would know that in some sense we were "right," yet he felt also that we were "wrong." For who could say which seeds would sprout? Who could say in these difficult years which speech was urgent and which was not?

At times, I think, his gentleness seemed almost a flaw. He found it hard to criticize or correct his comrades. He wasn't the kind of leader who imposed his will. He tended to do many things himself rather than inflict them on others. He lacked -- and this was one reason I loved him so much -- the "hardness" of the political leader.

Let me end with a personal word, since others will surely want to add their voices to this memorial: in the forty years that Mike and I were close political collaborators, we rarely exchanged a "personal" word. Perhaps that was the fault of our milieu, of our moment, of our gender. Yet I always felt that our relationship was intensely personal, intimate and close beyond words. When we disagreed once in a while, as we did in *Dissent* about tactical responses to the Jesse Jackson movement, we each spoke our minds and remained the earliest and closest of friends. I had the honor to read the chapters of his last book, as they kept pouring out with miraculous smoothness, during the years of his fatal illness. I felt that he was experiencing, even during his sufferings, a triumphant revival of powers, in fact, a mastery of thought and speech that he had never before reached. My only important criticism was to suggest that he was trying to pack too much into one book. Save something for the next one, I said to him. He would smile...Yes, the next one...Stephanie, his wife and staunch companion, told me that in the hospital he kept thinking about the next one.

As we remember him and pledge ourselves to continue in his path, I think it important to know that even at the very end Mike wanted desperately to live. He did not yield to death. He wanted to live because he still had work to do on this earth, because he still had words to speak and thoughts to put on paper. He wanted to live because he enjoyed life, he believed in life.

Farewell, our voice, our hope, our pride.

Irving Howe is the editor of Dissent, where this article will also appear.

ARTICLES

DEPARTMENTS

Socialist International Statement

"We have learned with great sadness of the death of Micahael Harrington...Michael Harrington...was a source of inspiration to a whole generation in his own country and to the international democratic socialist movement with his passionate commitment to freedom, social justice, and solidarity.

In his long association with the Socialist International he earned the respect of our global family of socialist, social democratic, and labour parties. An exceptional writer and politician, always concerned for a more just and humane future, he was involved to the last in advocating democratic socialist answers to today's problems.

Michael Harrington's personal presence will be sadly missed among his friends and comrades but his work will carry on within the movement to which he devoted so much energy and enthusiasm."

Books and Literature Available through the DSA Office

Books

DSA Price

Images of Labor, with an introduction by Irving Howe. Photographs and commentary on American labor. $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. $11.00___

El Salvador & Central America in the New Cold War, edited by Marvin Gettleman, Patrick Lacefield, Louis Menashe, & David Mermelstein. $11.00___

The New American Poverty, by Michael Harrington. Paperback. $7.00___

Why Americans Don't Vote by Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward. Paperback. $9.00___

The Mean Season: The Attack on the Welfare State by Fred Block, Richard Cloward, Barbara Ehrenreich, and Frances Fox Piven. Paperback. $7.00___

A Margin of Hope: An Intellectual Autobiography by Irving Howe. Paperback. $7.00___

Socialism and America by Irving Howe. Debs, the Thirties, & American execptionalism. $5.00___

The American Evasion of Philosophy: A Genealogy of Pragmatism by Cornel West. Paperback. $18.00___

The Next Left: The History of a Future by Michael Harrington. Paperback. $ 7.00___

The Crisis in Historical Materialism by Stanley Aronowitz. Hardcover. $10.00___

Pamphlets

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___

Democratic Promise: Ideas for Turning America in a Progressive Direction, with contributions by Robert Kuttner, Michael Harrington, and William Julius Wilson, among many others. $.50___

Toward A Socialist Theory of Racism by Cornel West. $1.50___

First Steps Toward a New Civilization. $1.00___

Democracy and Dictatorship in Latin America. Essays by Octavio Paz, Jorge Edwards, Carlos Franqui, & others. $3.00___

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The Question of Socialism by Michael Harrington and Alec Nove. $2.00___

Alternative Pamphlet Series:

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#3 The Common Good: Stalemate or Reconstruction by Gar Alperovitz. $1.50___

#4 Gentrification, Strategic Initiatives, and the Left by Robert Beauregard. $1.50___

Publications

Democratic Left, DSA's bimonthly periodical. $8.00/one year subscription. Most current and back issues 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___

Not Far Enough, the newsletter of the DSA Feminist Commission. One year subscription included with annual Commission dues. $10.00___

Nuestra Lucha/Our Struggle, the newsletter of the DSA Latino, Anti-Racism, and Afro-American Commissions. $.50___

The Activist, the DSA Youth Section nesletter. $.50___

DSA buttons. Two styles: plain fist-and-rose and fist-and-rose held by black and white clasped hands. $1 each. $1.00___

Debs Postcard, depicting the life and legacy of Eugene Debs. $ .50 each or 12 for $5. $ .50___

Solidarity bumpersticker $1.00___

Socialist Forum, DSA's discussion bulletin. $1.50___

TOTAL $_____

Free Literature

We are Democratic Socialists with a Vision of the Future. ___

Where We Stand, a position statement of DSA. ___

What Socialism Is...And Is Not. ___

Socialism Informs the Best of Our Politics, a inspiring pamphlet written by Michael Harrington. ___

A Better World in Birth, the statement of the DSA Youth Section. ___

Twelve Myths of Poverty, shatters the myths which support anti-poverty policies. ___

For A More Livable World, the brochure of the Religion and Socialism Commission. ___

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Youth Section Activists on Labor's Front Line

by Jo-Ann Mort

I's not a job. It's a way of life," says Service Employees International Union (SEIU) organizer and DSA Youth Section activist Kevin Brown, describing his union job. Kevin is one of many current and former Youth Section activists working today in various jobs in unions around the country.

Kevin's labor involvement began at Oberlin College where, as part of his DSA chapter work, he took part in a boycott of Campbell and Libby's products in support of an effort by the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC). Oberlin DSA succeeded in getting Oberlin's administration to boycott Libby's products.

Kevin also participated in a Coors boycott drive on campus. When USX locked out members of the United Steelworkers of America, he helped organize picket line support for the steelworkers.

One of the consequences of Kevin's union support work was a voter registration campaign for the 1984 presidential campaign in which DSA worked with the Lorain County Labor Council in Oberlin's hometown.

While Kevin found "a lot of interest, if not activism," among Oberlin students, he also felt there was a "basic ignorance" of organized labor's history and current status. He suggests that increased education about labor on college campuses, including the showing of labor films such as "Rosie the Riveter," would help acquaint today's students with trade unions.

In 1986, Kevin left college and moved to San Francisco where he worked for the Bay Area Labor Research Foundation. A project of the San Francisco Labor Council and San Francisco State University, the foundation was set up to study labor history in northern California. "This project took me into a lot of hiring halls where I met a lot of different trade unionists," Kevin recalls. Other labor experience included Kevin's membership in International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1 when he worked in his father's warehouse.

After returning to college and upon graduation, Kevin became a temporary SEIU project organizer for a Blue Cross/Blue Shield campaign in Cleveland. SEIU later brought him "temporarily" to Washington D.C.two years ago to work in their Justice for Janitors campaign.

"If I hadn't been in the DSA Youth Section, I wouldn't be doing this job today," asserts Kevin. "It's rewarding -- creating something from nothing -- but it takes a lot of discipline and a lot of patience."

Surprisingly, Kevin is enthusiastic about unions' increasing efforts to organize younger workers. "Younger members are the best union activists because they're creating new locals; they're in at the early stages."

Though Kevin's organizing activity takes up a lot of his time and energy, he has stayed active in the DSA Youth Section and in the Washington, D.C. DSA Local. "As a union organizer, you can get sucked into a small world. DSA allows me to keep my vision of the larger world intact," observes Kevin, who says he has made a "lifetime commitment" to the labor movement.

Clerical Organizing

When Elizabeth Szanto started organizing student support for a clerical organizing drive at Harvard, she never dreamed she would end up as part of one of the most significant union campaigns in recent times.

As a Harvard senior and Youth Section activist, Elizabeth was one of several chapter activists who helped gain student and faculty support for the organizing campaign among clericals at Harvard, while also raising general awareness on campus about union issues.

When she graduated, the Harvard Union of Clerical Workers, newly affiliated with the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), was hiring staff to bolster its organizing efforts. Elizabeth was brought aboard to do community outreach in the Harvard community and the Boston area, and later became an organizer. Her outreach efforts were aimed not only at faculty and students, but also at community organizations, community leaders, and local politicians.

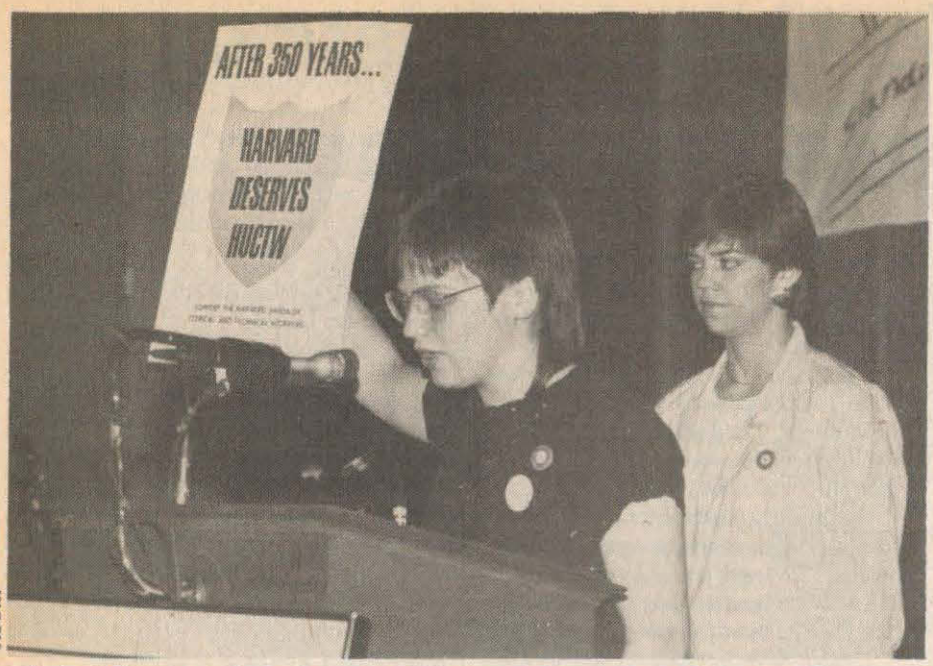
During the campaign, Elizabeth's job varied greatly, ranging from coordinating volunteers and data banks to doing community outreach and organizing workers.

"I originally started doing support work for the union because it embodied the principles that I was concerned with as a DSAer," Elizabeth recalls. "My involvement with the union has clarified and helped shape a lot of my political views. This is true despite the fact that the union's membership runs the gamut from radical left to conservative Republican."

Most of the new AFSCME local's members are young. "We succeeded with them because we understand their issues and we share their concerns. All of the organizing staff comes from the Harvard community which gives us a head start in understand-

Ramiro Salinas

Kevin Brown, center, with other activists involved in the Justice for Janitors campaign.



Ted Dior

Elizabeth Szanto at the podium at a 1986 union solidarity rally in Cambridge.

ing where the members are coming from," says Elizabeth.

Students are most interested in labor when it is in their backyard, when it can be tied to their lives or their college in a obvious way claims Elizabeth. She insists that:

> "There are stalwarts who have an interest in labor support more generally, either because of having a friend or relative in the labor movement or because of good socialist training stressing the importance of labor support as a part of a broader vision for social and economic justice. On the whole, however, you only seem to get large groups of students involved in labor support work when there is an immediate connection between their lives and the lives of the workers who you are organizing."

Elizabeth is living proof of the possibilities awaiting organized labor on today's college campuses.

Internship Programs

One way DSA Youth Section activists get involved in the labor movement is through the Youth Section's intern program, which has recently been revived. This effort places college students in labor union internships for the summer, offering them a short taste of what it's like to work for a union. Though most of the internships have been centered in New York, DSA youth leaders hope to branch out placements across the country in future summers, according to former Youth Section Organizer Elissa McBride, who is interning for July and August in the Union Label department of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU). Elissa just completed two years as the DSA youth organizer and hopes that a permanent job in the labor movement awaits her after she completes the summer internship.

"We've got interns working in all kinds of unions this summer," Elissa explains, "including a few at the American Federation of Musicians Local 802, and several people in the organizing department at AFSCME Local 1707 organizing home healthcare workers. There was a lot to do here -- immediately," Elissa says just a short while after she's begun her summer internship at ACTWU. "I feel I have a role to play, along with people who have energy and commitment to the labor movement."

Most of Elissa's work at the union is on behalf of its political action efforts to elect David Dinkins (also a DSAer) as mayor of New York. "On my first day here, I helped write a Dinkins brochure for ACTWU members. I feel like I'm in a good place where I can do something unique for the campaign and I feel good about my work since Dinkins is such a friend of labor."

While the summer intern program has taken off in the past few years, the Youth Section hopes to further expand it so that DSAers can intern in the labor movement during the year and earn college credit for their work. So far, the program has functioned primarily by word-of-mouth, matching interested students with DSA members who work on union staffs or who can offer advice or provide openings to DSA youth.

"Almost everyone who applies for these internships has done labor support on their campus," Elissa says. These internships expand our activists' ability to do labor support and to be prepared to work in a union when they graduate."

Beginning this fall as part of DSA's national American Solidarity Movement project, the Youth Section plans to sponsor several Campus-Labor Institutes, to aid in the effort to educate students about trade unions and inform them of the role students can play in assisting and building the labor movement. Two institutes are already planned for the coming year. Two goals of these institutes will be to generate mass support for all of labor's efforts on the national scene today as well as scout out future recruits for union staff positions and future union activists.

What advice does she have for DSA youth who leave the campus for the labor movement? "Allow yourself time to be familiar with your new surroundings. You need to be humble. Even if you were an experienced organizer on campus, working in the labor movement is different than Youth Section work. There's a different audience. You have a lot to offer, but there's also a lot to learn." ●

Jo-Ann Mort, a member of the DSA National Executive Committee, is director of communications for the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and has advised the Youth Section on their labor intern program.

DEMOCRATIC LEFT

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Foreign Investment:
What is at Stake for Labor?

by Candace Howes and Mark Levinson

Jim West/Impact Visuals

UAW member at a Detroit Labor Day parade.

Record U.S. trade deficits have contributed to a surplus of capital abroad. Rather than buying American goods, foreigners have invested here in U.S. Treasury securities, corporate stocks, bonds, real estate, and businesses. Total foreign ownership of American assets reached 1.8 trillion dollars in 1988, three-and-a-half times the 1980 level. (The government's statistics on foreign investment are of dubious quality. Some experts believe that foreign investment could be twice the officially reported level.) Norman Glickman and Douglas Woodward, in their book *The New Competitors*, document that foreign ownership of the U.S. capital stock in manufacturing industries has risen from about 4 percent in 1980 to 10 percent in 1987. The U.S., the world's largest creditor nation in 1982, is now the world's largest debtor nation with a foreign debt exceeding the next six debtor countries -- Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Venezuela, the Philippines, and Nigeria -- combined.

The dramatic increase in foreign investment has sparked a debate that raises a number of important questions: Is the penetration of national markets always advantageous? Does increased foreign investment always result in an increase in jobs for the American economy if managerial, engineering, design, and parts-making jobs are lost as a result of the foreign investment? How can nation-states exercise sovereignty in a world economy where multinational corporations and banks have taken over many of the prerogatives of the nation-state?

Supporters of free trade believe foreign investment has been a boon to our economy, claiming it has fueled growth, helped launch new technologies, and created thousands of jobs. Critics contend that foreign investors are buying our productive assets, pirating our technology, and undermining our national security. Foreign multinationals, warned Martin and Susan Tolchin in their book *Buying into America*, will be no less vigorous in their political defense of investments in the U.S. than were ITT in Chile and United Fruit in Guatemala. Others, like economist Lester Thurow, argue that foreign investment can be beneficial if it takes the form of new investments rather than buying existing assets:

> "Initially such investments would likely be made in the areas where foreign production was being displaced by the low value of the dollar and foreigners want to maintain their market positions. Japanese cars made in America would replace Japanese cars made in Japan. Such investments would also serve to increase internal price competition in the United States and limit future inflations. To the extent that foreigners have production technologies not existing in the U.S., such technologies would also be brought to the United States and improve America's technical knowledge."

Unfortunately, foreign investment in new facilities will not always have these salutary effects. In the absence of government control, even investment in new facilities can cause needless economic dislocation, weaken unions, increase black joblessness, and contribute to the deterioration of once vital industrial centers.

Extent of Foreign Investment

Foreign investment in new industrial capacity has already taken place in a number of U.S. consumer electronics industries, including those producing color televisions, audio equipment, and VCRs. Seven Japanese color television producers have built plants in the U.S. All the major Japanese semiconductor manufacturers now have facilities in the U.S. The industry with the largest amount of direct foreign investment in new facilities, however, has been the auto industry. It is there that the consequences of uncontrolled foreign investment can most clearly be seen.

By 1992 Japanese automakers will be able to produce over 2.5 million cars and trucks for the U.S. market -- roughly one sixth of current car and truck sales. Japanese firms have invested more than $6 billion in automotive assembly plants in the U.S. over the last nine years. There have also been more than 200 Japanese parts plants built in the last few years -- almost all of them non-union. By 1992, Japanese firms will have built nearly $22 billion worth of new production capacity into the auto industry, adding almost 10 percent to existing capacity. Even this may underestimate Japanese investment in the U.S. During a two year period in the mid-80's, when Japanese firms invested $3 billion in assembly plants, government data showed only $330 million in total direct investment, including acquisitions. There are probably similar inaccuracies in other industry estimates, perhaps masking a significant amount of foreign investment.

Foreign Investors' Advantage

When foreign manufacturers decide to produce in the U.S., dozens of states hungry for jobs offer them an array of incentives, including subsidies for training, investment in infrastructure such as roads and bridges, tax breaks, and interest-free loans. These incentives can be worth as much as $200 million or approximately $100,000 per job for a factory with 2,000 workers.

State subsidies are only part of the advantage enjoyed by "transplants" -- the term used for Japanese producers in the U.S. An additional advantage comes from using a young, often nonunion labor force. The younger workforce can result in a tremendous savings in benefit costs, especially for pension and medical insurance. At one non-union transplant with a defined contribution pension plan and no retirees, the hourly cost of pension benefits to the company is about one sixth the cost at one Big Three company (Ford, Chrysler, GM) with a defined benefit plan and a high ratio of retirees to active employees.

A young labor force also results in medical insurance savings. Even if the transplants, with a twenty-five year old workforce, have exactly the same medical benefits as a typical Big Three firm, the cost of medical benefits for transplants are roughly *half* what a Big Three firm pays, where the average age is forty-five years.

Transplants also enjoy lower purchased materials costs, which represent 65 percent of the cost of producing a vehicle. More than 60 percent of their purchased parts are imported, many from low-wage countries. The Big Three, while also starting to buy parts abroad, still purchase about 90 percent of their components at home. Also, those components that are purchased in the U.S. by the transplants come almost exclusively from new Japanese suppliers, which enjoy the same cost advantages as the new assemblers, including a non-union work force with wage rates 30 to 40 percent below the rest of the industry. These transplant cost advantages have nothing to do with greater productivity, a more skilled labor force, or advanced technology. They are a result of building state-subsidized new plants, using young and often non-union workers, and sourcing parts from low-wage countries.

Effects of Foreign Investment

In the scenario proposed by Thurow, the automobiles produced here by the transplants would substitute for imports. To some extent that has happened, but they have also substituted for sales by both the Big Three automakers and the unionized domestic suppliers. This has contributed to a significant decrease in unionization in the auto parts industry.

Foreign investment has also contributed to a shift of the auto industry from the Great Lakes region to the upper South. While the auto industry has always been a major source of jobs for blacks, this is changing as the industry shifts to the rural south. Since 1979 tens of thousands of blacks have lost auto industry jobs. The new Japanese firms, however, employ very few blacks (except where there have been transfers by agreement with the UAW), in part because of where the new plants are located.

Free market rhetoric to the contrary, in a modern society, the government inevitably plays a role in the economy. The lack of an explicit policy regulating investment (including foreign investment) confers enormous competitive advantages to new investors at the expense of established producers. The question is not should the government regulate investment (foreign and domestic); but rather, what kind of regulation, under whose control, and for whose benefit?

A Labor Program

Many nations reserve the right to reject a proposed foreign investment or make substantial demands on the investor for technology transfer, domestic content, and other performance requirements. Canada has had the authority to screen foreign investments, limit foreign ownership in certain industries, and impose requirements on foreign investors. France can exercise similar authority, and the West German government has broad discretion to restrict foreign investment.

In the U.S. a program to control foreign investment should include the following points:

* There must be better information available on the amount of foreign investment at home as well as U.S. investment abroad.
* Legislation is needed to end the process by which states compete with each other for investments by offering hefty tax incentives and other subsidies to corporations.
* We need public control over major investment decisions. This could prevent needless dislocation by requiring new investors in excess capacity industries to purchase existing facilities -- Toyota has done this at NUMMI (the General Motors/Toyota joint venture) -- and to purchase components from existing domestic suppliers.
* The U.S. needs managed trade and industrial policies as part of a program to plan and set goals for industrial development.

What is at stake in the debate on foreign investment was perhaps best captured by Bob Kuttner:

> "To challenge the wisdom of foreign penetration of our banks, corporations, real estate and financial markets...is ultimately to challenge the primacy of laissez-faire itself....Can we reclaim a measure of sovereignty vis-a-vis our trading partners without restoring some public authority over private market forces at home?"●

Candace Howes and Mark Levinson, DSA members, are economists in the research department of the International Union of United Automobile, Aerospace, & Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW).

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Book Learning...and Other Kinds of Labor Education

Joanne Barkan Interviews Gerry Hudson

July 27, 1989. Gerry Hudson, executive vice president of Local 1199 of the Drug, Hospital and Health Care Employees Union, was putting in long days, organizing rallies that brought thirty-five thousand hospital workers into the streets of Manhattan. He took off this one morning -- it was his thirty-eighth birthday -- to be interviewed for *Democratic Left*.

Before Hudson was elected executive vice president last spring, he held the positions of director of education and delegate trainer in 1199. He was field organizer in the 1986 congressional campaign of DSA member Hulbert James. Prior to that campaign, he worked for eight years as a housekeeper in a nursing home and as shop steward for his Service Employees International Union (SEIU) local.

Gerry Hudson has been a member of DSA since the organization's founding and currently serves on the National Executive Committee (NEC).

Dan Jack/Steve Miller

Gerry Hudson at an 1199 meeting.

Joanne Barkan: So what is labor education?

Gerry Hudson: My thinking is framed by a debate inside my own union -- with some people arguing that labor education is about workers in struggle and helping them to see the social contradictions in the world they live in -- especially in the workplace. They believe that people like me, people they're likely to call intellectuals, think that labor education is about pulling workers into a classroom and taking them through the rudiments of Marxism. My opinion is that this is a silly debate. It doesn't make a whole lot of sense to ask whether people learn through struggle or from books. They obviously learn from both.

I'm trying to get workers to see that they have power acting in concert. And we do this in a lot of ways -- looking at history and analyzing past union successes or analyzing some action that workers have just engaged in. Sometimes I do it as an organizer in a workplace. I'll pull a worker aside and start to talk about the contract. Or in an organizing campaign. Or in a delegate training class, it can be a reading about the health care industry. Or it can just be having a bunch of workers talk about their lives on and off the job. To me it all amounts to education.

JB: Then your goal is to show workers that they have power if they act in concert.

GH: That's the goal. But delightful things happen along the way. You think you're showing a group of workers that they can affect changes in an institution, and you learn later on that someone has started reading books that he or she never dreamed of reading before. Or they start projects that have almost nothing to do with the workplace. We have some workers who've decided to put together the 1199 chorus. Others have decided to go back to school. Now they see they can become lab technicians and not just housekeepers. So in the process of talking about the kind of power people can feel acting in concert, they sometimes discover their individual potential, too. That's the fun thing.

JB: What about specific programs -- programs you did when you were education director as well as programs going on now?

GH: When I first got to 1199, I discovered there hadn't been a lot of delegate training in the previous two or three years. So I spent a lot of time gathering materials and putting together manuals. I spent about a year doing delegate conferences and teaching a sixteen-hour delegate training course that usually ran about eight weeks.

Then I thought our union needed to train a tier of activists who weren't on staff but were between the rank-and-file delegates and the staff organizers. So we put together something called the "rank-and-file leadership program." We recruited mostly women, mostly black and Latino women. The union is predominantly women, but its leaders are not. I thought we'd create another tier so people could learn useful leadership skills. This would revitalize the leadership and fill a gap which, in my mind, still exists. Unfortunately the start of that program coincided with a crisis in the union, and it had to be discontinued. But I'm planning to get back to it.

Even in the first few sessions, we did some really wonderful things on the economics of the health care industry. We had Cornel West [member of the National Executive Committee of DSA. -- EDITOR] and a few other people come in and talk about racism and sexism both inside the labor movement and in society in general. It wasn't just how you handle a grievance -- which is what delegate training often is -- or how you organize your coworkers. But it was how do you understand the world in which you live and the kinds of structures that inhibit you? How do you challenge the circumstances of your own life? The women -- and a lot of men, too -- who participated in the program are still talking about it. It was a good start.

JB: What about classroom methodology? Exactly how do you go about labor education in the classroom?

GH: For me, it doesn't matter what the manual says. I pretty much do what I want in the classroom. Most workers say my classes are chaotic but fun -- because we'll talk about everything from reading Marx to

what a work-to-rule strike looks like. It can turn out to be as much about the history of workers' struggle in Italy as about a hospital. I talk about everything I know -- mostly to make the point that you can rule the world if you're willing to work with others.

I'd begin every class by having everyone introduce themselves. I'd have them talking about their lives within a few minutes. I take a lot of notes at that point, and from then on, I'd draw on the experiences they talked about.

JB: What about 1199's cultural program, Bread and Roses? What did 1199 do?
GH: One thing was to send actors and musicians to the institutions to perform for workers during their lunch hours. It might be a calypso singer or Ossie Davis reciting poetry. Some well-known jazz musicians have performed for us, and they're really good about it. They'll play for forty-five minutes, and nobody asks for a lot of money.

We also brought back a musical review about hospital workers called *Take Care! Take Care!* It was performed at institutions all over the city. Then we took the show to the state capital building in Albany during the black and Puerto Rican legislative caucus weekend. It was incredible to see the faces of our workers as they watched other people enjoy what they have to live through every day. People loved it! I don't think a union should be a drab place where all one talks about is grievances.

JB: What was your most frustrating experience in labor education? And what was the best?
GH: The union, during the first two years I was there, was crisis-ridden so that I could never give the kind of attention needed to develop the education department programs. That was the most frustrating experience.

It's hard to say what the best was. I had the most fun in the classroom. After almost every class, I'd walk out, thinking, "My God, I'm glad that I had something to do with making this happen!" Somebody would have an insight, or someone who had never spoken before would just start speaking. You know -- find a voice for their own frustrations on the job and, in the process, discover from other people that there might be some relief. Most people feel isolated. They feel their problems are only their problems. But if you do it right, the class always communicates that there are people here who share your problems and are more than willing to shoulder the burden -- not just because they like you but because the problems are theirs as well.

JB: Isn't the next step solidarity?
GH: More often than not it is. However that's an extremely difficult step for Americans to take. Even workers in an institution feel ashamed of needing someone else to solve a problem. There's also a feeling that others aren't all that dependable.

The job of an organizer, and to some extent my job as well, is always to strengthen bonds. And those bonds are, sadly, always tenuous. They can disappear just like that.

JB: You keep coming back to this point -- workers acting in concert, which brings up Marx's analysis of capital and a socialist perspective (what else, right?). What does being a socialist have to do with your work?
GH: That I chose to work in a union has a lot to do with my being a socialist. And yet I don't see workers as the only agent of radical social change. However they're really important, and sometimes I worry that feminists and blacks and a lot of other people organizing around gender and race forget that we spend a lot of our lives in workplaces. And so many of those places are miserable. And if one thinks about another kind of world, it's important to talk about the organization of work and how much power people have in their working lives. In that sense, I keep leaning on the socialist tradition. I believe that people ought to have more control over economic institutions.

But there are other institutions in which people can be terribly oppressed. I don't know that a change in economic institutions is necessarily going to change the structure of the family so women and children will feel less oppressed in it. I don't see how these things fit together anymore.

Sometimes I'd rather just say, let's recognize the limitations of the socialist tradition and say that it has to be supplemented. I don't care if you call it socialism, but I do care that much of what I find valuable in a set of ideas and values that I've linked to socialism be incorporated somewhere. Take it when you decide to be a feminist. Take it when you decide to engage racial oppression. On the other hand, if you think you can understand the dynamics of race by just taking that analysis that you borrowed from Marx or from some other socialist, you're sadly mistaken.

Talking to workers, I would say I have these values and I believe the union is an important institution -- and it's probably because I come out of a socialist tradition. But I also come out of a black nationalist tradition, and I come out of a Christian tradition. I come out of a lot of traditions. And I've found almost all of them to be of some use in what I do at 1199.

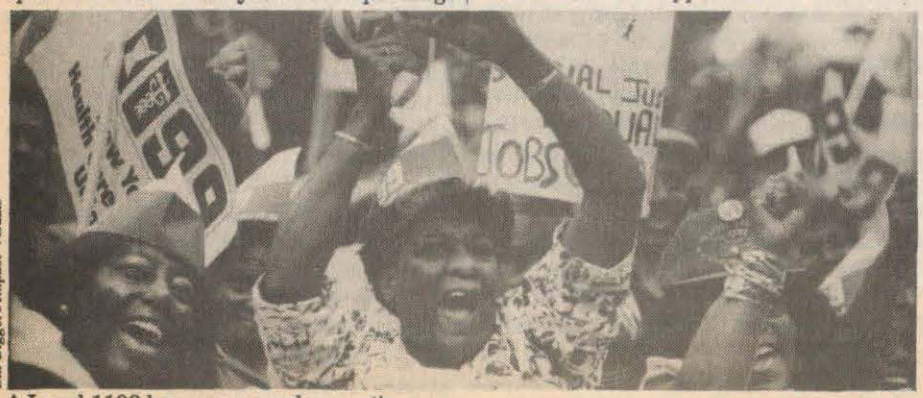
JB: You've been a member of DSA since its founding, and before that, you belonged to one of its predecessor organizations, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). Has DSA given you something that you've taken into your work?
GH: I came to DSOC when I was still a rank-and-file activist in a nursing home. What DSOC gave me was a place where there were other people who shared my values and to some extent my understanding of the world. I felt very isolated because there weren't a lot of folks floating around Hebrew Home for the Aged who thought about the world the way I did. But DSOC and then DSA gave me a community of people who shared a tradition.

And they shared it in a peculiar way because they were forever ripping it up. The fun of it was the constant re-evaluation. It was where I discovered the crisis of socialism. I didn't know it existed before. I was reading Marx and other things and was troubled by all this stuff. When I learned that other people shared my own doubts and concerns but also commitment, then it opened up a dialogue that allowed my thinking to grow. It was a way out of isolation.

JB: What you just said about your experiences in DSA and DSOC and overcoming isolation sounds like --
GH: What I think about organizing.

JB: Sounds like what you think about organizing *and* workers' education.
GH: I think that's true. ●

Joanne Barkan works as a writer in New York City. She is a member of the DSA National Executive Committee.



Bill Biggart/Impact Visuals

A Local 1199 homecare workers rally.

Mine Workers Take to the Streets

by Mark Dobbs

The strike by the United Mineworkers of America against Pittston Coal which began April 5 has had a profound effect on coal communities in southwestern Virginia and West Virginia. Although it is one of the major labor-management showdowns of the decade, it has received very little national publicity. For the mountain people directly involved, however, it is only the latest in a long running series of battles with the powerful economic interests that have colonized the area for nearly a century.

The story really begins over a century ago, in the wake of the Civil War, when the value of Appalachia's immense mineral deposits were discovered by speculators and industrialists. With the coming of the railroads, it was suddenly possible and profitable to remove this wealth to feed the demands of industry. In short order, vast tracts of land and mineral rights were acquired by means both fair and foul. In some cases, unsuspecting subsistance farmers would sign over rights to the land in exchange for a sewing machine or small amounts of cash. It was not even unheard of for courthouses to mysteriously destroy all land records. The age of coal had begun.

In its wake came coal camps and mine guards and the vicious system of industrial despotism portrayed so well in John Sayles' film "Matewan." Union membership has never been taken lightly here; U.M.W.A. members fought long and hard for their rights. The 1912-13 strikes at Paint Creek and Cabin Creek in West Virginia inspired the song "Solidarity Forever." The Matewan Massacre of 1920 has been immortalized in film. Union members and supporters led the largest worker's insurrection in American history the following year in Logan County, West Virginia, one of the sites of the current Pittston strike.

It was not until Roosevelt's New Deal that the U.M.W.A. gained a stable foothold in Appalachia. For many residents, it is not simply one union among many, but rather the one institution that brought a living wage and decent benefits to the coalfields. A columnist for the *Charleston Gazette* recently referred to the union as "the shock troops of the working class." To another Appalachian writer it symbolizes "the heart and soul of the labor movement."

Donna Binder/Impact Visuals

Coal miners and their families on strike against Pittston rally on July 4.

In recent years, the union has been under siege. Changes in coal technology have drastically reduced employment in the mines while at the same time increasing productivity. Active membership in the union has declined from 400,000 after World War II to less than 85,000. Even more serious is what appears to be a systematic attempt on the part of certain coal companies to destroy the union's influence altogether through attrition. It is a process that the United States government and the court system seem eager to help along.

In 1984-85, the union underwent and essentially lost a long and costly strike against the notorious A.T. Massey coal company. Prior to the strike, Massey withdrew from the Bituminous Coal Operators Association and refused to accept the industrywide pact with the union. In 1987, Pittston followed suit. The Connecticut-based conglomerate is the largest coal producer in Virginia and also has operations in West Virginia and Kentucky. Regardless of the outcome of the current strike, an uneasy question is "who will be next?"

When the U.M.W.A.'s pact with Pittston expired at the end of January 1988, the union broke a long standing tradition and continued working for a full fourteen months without a contract, even though the company cut off health benefits for 1,500 pensioners, widowers, and disabled miners. The company, however, was more interested in concessions than agreement.

Wages are not the issue. Union officials have repeatedly insisted that "this is a social strike." Since the 1940's, UMWA contracts have guaranteed retired miners lifelong pension and health care benefits. This is especially critical as miners have often moved from employer to employer as operations shut down. In addition, few occupations in this country are as hard on one's health as coal mining.

Pitttston maintains that this system is too expensive and wants to implement a plan of its own which involves significant cuts. U.M.W.A. President Rich Trumka was quoted in the Charleston Gazette as saying, "If Pittston succeeds, the rest of the industry in short order would demand the same thing...The effect would be devastating. The rest of the Mine Workers see the next step beyond Pittston. They see a threat to their fathers and grandfathers."

Additional issues in the strike are forced overtime and Sunday work, contracting of non-union labor at union operations, and a survivor clause for laid-off miners. Union members are also concerned over a shift of Pittston resources from union to nonunion operations.

According to an *Associated Press* report, Pittston officials told a coal industry analyst that the company is prepared to weather a two year strike to reduce labor costs. The company already earns $2.27 per ton, compared with an industry average of $2.11. If the company gets all it wants, pretax earnings would approach $4 per ton.

Continued on page 15.

Deregulation: A Backhanded Attempt at Union Busting

by Doug Henwood

In an article with the catchy title "Still Soppy on Union Power," in the July 17, 1989, issue of the *Financial Times*, Samuel Brittan confirmed what everyone had long suspected: the whole point of the laissez-faire economics so fashionable throughout the decade has been to stick it to labor. Brittan, the London-based paper's economics columnist, was commenting on the British Rail strike that had been disrupting the life of commuters into London's equivalent of Wall Street: "Recently, many guilt-ridden middle-class citizens have taken care to blame the Government or management for the discomfort and miseries of their daily travel. I am afraid my own reaction has been to make me more enthusiastic about privatisation than I have ever been -- precisely because the hidden agenda of privatisation is to reduce union power."

Of course, in the land of the free, where there is no such thing as public enterprise, we can't privatize, so we do the next best thing: deregulate, or, in the jargon of economists, "liberalize," "adjust," "increase flexibility," and "undo rigidities." This mission has occupied the attention of not only the intellectual, political, and business elite in the U.S., but the various bodies that coordinate international economic policies largely hidden from public view, like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

In a recent report, *Economies in Transition: Structural Adjustment in OECD Countries*, the Paris-based think tank for the world's rich countries celebrated the "greater flexibility in the labour market[s]" of OECD member countries. This flexibility is contrasted with the bad old 1960s and 1970s, when policy was "over-influenced by a sense of unease to which the discord in labour markets -- and in the streets -- had given rise," as the OECD puts it, quoting one of its earlier reports. Flexibility sounds nice, but what does it mean in practice?

In the U.S., as industry after industry has been deregulated over the last fifteen years, workers have paid the price. Telecommunications, trucking, railroads, airlines, broadcasting -- industries where it had been possible for blue-collar workers to earn a decent middle-class wage -- have become or are quickly becoming low-wage sectors.

AT&T has shifted much of its equipment manufacturing to Hong Kong and Singapore; its unionized long-distance operations are now subject to competition from nonunion carriers like MCI and US Sprint. Local phone companies are diversifying into futuristic high-tech and information age lines of business -- without unions to cramp their late-80s style.

The Teamsters had succeeded in getting the trucking industry to negotiate a single contract with drivers, a "Master Freight Agreement," thus assuring that workers not be forced to compete with each other to see who could work for the lowest wage. Now, nonunion firms and independent operators with a single rig compete to see who can work the cheapest and hardest; union workers have to play the game or they will quickly be out of a job.

In every deregulated industry -- with the possible exception of finance -- the story has been the same: wage cuts and speedup. This fact wasn't widely advertised at the outset of deregulation, nor has it entered into retrospective studies of the experience. But few commentators are as honest, or indiscreet, as Samuel Brittan.

Airline Industry

In many ways, airline deregulation is the most interesting story of all. It is the most widely praised in the mainstream media as the great success of deregulation. The argument runs as follows: in regulated days, airlines were monopolies with no incentive to serve the public at reasonable prices. Liberate the industry from mandated routes and fares, and you will liberate the "animal spirits" of entrepreneurs (to use Keynes' phrase). The result will be new airlines, lower fares, and improved service.

No one, even the most militant deregulator, could seriously argue that service is better now than it was before deregulation. Planes are older, dirtier, and more cramped; you need a computer and a degree in travel to understand the schedules and fare structures; flights are longer, subject to major delay, and more likely to involve a transfer. Almost all of this is a direct result of deregulation, as the chaos of the marketplace took over from the writs of bureaucrats.

Celebrants of deregulation prefer to focus on price: fares per seat mile are down over the last decade. But the government's consumer price index for air travel tells a very different story. In computing its price indexes, the Bureau of Labor Statistics tries to hold quality constant; if quality deteriorates, this is treated as a hidden price increase. By that measure, airfares have risen at twice the rate of the consumer price index since deregulation in the late 1970s. In the last couple of years, fares have zoomed as low-cost competitors like People Express met their demise. As far as the heavily-advertised benefits of deregulation go, there's less here than meets the eye.

Donna Binder/Impact Visuals

Eastern workers walk the picket line at LaGuardia Airport.

Things have cooled a bit in the airline industry over the last couple of years as the industry consolidated. Overall, big airlines have a bigger share of the market than they did in the regulated 1970s, and at a number of airports, single airlines enjoy near-monopoly status. The conventional response, even among the thinning ranks of political liberals, is to rue this return to oligopoly. Deregulation's celebrants would like to see more People Expresses in the future, viewing the early 1980s as a paradise of competition. They don't care that the early 1980s were also the time of relentless wage-cutting and turmoil in the industry -- in fact, they welcomed it. To free marketeers, with their six-figure salaries, airline workers and managements were overpaid and coddled monopolists; to them, nothing concentrates the mind like the fear of layoff or bankruptcy.

Though it's unfashionable to say this in an era when market socialism is all the rage, there are things far worse than monopoly. Here are the words of an anonymous socialist, commenting on the death of J.P. Morgan in 1913: "Many men have cursed Mr. Morgan because of his control of the money of the world, but never a socialist. We grieve that he could not live longer, to further organize the productive forces of the world, because he proved in practice what we hold in theory, that competition is not essential to trade and development."

Thus the return to oligopoly, if not literal monopoly, in the airline industry has been the best news for airline workers since the industry was deregulated in 1978. If wages aren't rising, at least they're no longer falling; if the pace of work isn't comfortable, at least it's not getting any quicker. Thanks to tighter labor markets, a more stable industry, and a less friendly political environment, Frank Lorenzo has been frustrated in his attempts to turn Eastern into a low-wage carrier.

Of course, eulogies for J.P. Morgan aside, private monopoly isn't the same thing as public control of enterprise; monopolists care little for either their customers or their workers. Short of public control, though, regulation seems like the next best thing. There is much that organized labor can learn from deregulation. The unions in the deregulated industries must develop a coherent, systematic notion of how to reregulate the economy -- of how to politicize it. Unfortunately, none of labor's supposed friends in Washington have much to offer. The silence of labor's friends in the Democratic party, however, isn't surprising to anyone familiar with the history of deregulation itself.

Democrats, even putatively "liberal" Democrats, have been major deregulators from the beginning, largely out of professed sympathy with consumers. (Pro-business Democrats, of course, are another matter; their agenda is little different from traditional Republicans.) Senator Edward M. Kennedy, whose name is virtually synonymous with liberalism, is a case in point. Kennedy was deeply involved in transportation deregulation in the 1970s; in the 1980s, alumni of his staff have gone to work for Frank Lorenzo -- most prominently, Eastern president Phil Bakes. (One irreverent economist surmised that Kennedy's deregulatory passion can be explained by the bootlegging roots of the family's fortune; merchants, of course, always want to minimize transportation costs.) Other Democratic heavyweights who've carried Lorenzo's water in D.C. include Bob Strauss and Joe Califano; party chair Ron Brown, maligned in the mainstream press as a tool of Jesse Jackson, comes out of a law firm with strong ties to the demonic Lorenzo.

Lorenzo's satanic qualities have done more to unite the labor movement than anything else in recent memory, but it's hardly the stuff of a long-term strategy. A long-term strategy would have to turn the quote from Samuel Brittan that opened this piece on its head. For more than a decade, capital has had a political strategy, one that found early expression in deregulation. Over the long term, enlarging the scope of competition means narrowing labor's scope. To counter this, labor desperately needs a political strategy, one that strategy begins with reregulation. ●

Doug Henwood is editor of Left Business Observer and a contributing editor of The Nation.

Pittston

Continued from page 13.

One thing Pittston officials did not count on was the strong and widespread support for the miners among the rest of the labor movement, religious groups, and the effected communities. They were also probably surprised by the savvy and creativity of UMWA tactics. The strike is full of inspiring incidents of solidary. Here are a few scenes:

*In southwestern Virginia, schoolchildren walked out of classrooms in support of the miners. Their "punishment" was to write an essay on the history of the UMWA.

*In West Virginia, more than 12,000 people from across the country converged on the capitol city of Charleston for a June 11 march and show of solidarity. Speakers at the rally included representatives of the National Organization for Women (NOW), AFL-CIO officials, striking Eastern machinists and pilots, Jesse Jackson Jr., and West Virginia Governor Gaston Caperton.

* Prior to the march, West Virginia miners and their supporters retraced the steps of the 1921 miner's uprising, marching over sixty miles over a week from Logan and Beckley to Charleston. An elementary school principle suspended classes so that students could meet and mingle with the miners.

* In southwestern Virginia, over 2,000 people, many of whom are not union members, have been arrested for engaging in acts of non-violent civil disobedience.

* When "security guards" for a non-union mine attempted to stay at a motel in Dunbar, West Virginia, labor supporters picketed the premises until they left.

* In both states, many cars carry yellow ribbons symbolizing solidarity with the miners. Many signs along crooked mountain roads say things like "This is not South Africa," or "UMWA all the way!"

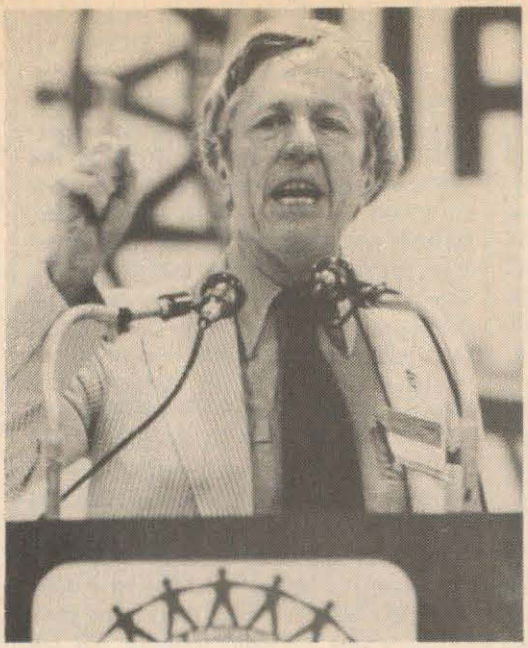
* In both states, an especially inspiring role has been played by the women in the union camp who have been active in all strike activities and in gaining public support.

Although there are many tensions in the strike, the union's approach has been one of consistent non-violence. There have been isolated incidents such as rock throwing, particularly in the wake of a wildcat coal strike that lasted from mid-June until late July and involved more than 40,000 miners in ten states. Often however, incidents have been provoked or carried out by hired mine guards from outside the area.

Despite the remarkable restraint the union has shown under pressure, terrible fines have been assessed against it by court officials, and three strike leaders in Virginia were jailed (they have since been released). In Virginia, one state court judge in Virginia levied a fine that started in the hundreds of thousands of dollars and doubled every day for acts of non-violent civil disobedience. That fine, if it stands up after appeals, is now literally in the trillions of dollars. UMWA President Rich Trumka was not exaggerating when he called it an "economic death warrant." By contrast, Pittston was only fined $47,500 when its negligence resulted in an explosion that killed seven miners in Virginia.

One of the more interesting aspects of the strike has been the vast difference in official reactions between the two states. Virginia is right-to-work; West Virginia is free. Virginia state police have made thousands of arrests and often treated "prisoners"

Continued on page 34.



Michael Harrington at the 1980 UAW convention: "I'm proud to be a socialist."

MICHAEL HARRINGTON 1928-1989

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Jo-Ann Mort
Penny Schantz
Joanne Barkan
Mark Finkel
Democratic Socialists of Howard County, Maryland
Philip Van Gelder
Suzanne and Charles Hill
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A tribute to
Michael Harrington
"May his words and deeds inspire us forever.:
Central NJ DSA

Let us continue the fight for democratic socialism and a better world to which Mike Harrington devoted his life.
Carl and Marion Shier
Chicago

Greetings from David MacBryde, DSA's man in West Berlin and the U.S. American peace network in Europe.

In Michael's memory -- That we may continue his work
Chuck Flippo

For Michael Harrington
Maurice Isserman/Marcia Williams

---

8 hours for work
8 hours for play, and 8 for what we will.
Carl and Wilda Schwartz
Redmond, WA

Keep working towards the dream, for the memory of Mike
Bob Murden

Greetings to our Sisters and Brothers
Harvard Union of Clerical and Technical Workers, AFSCME

In memory of
Bernstein - Kanter - Sexton - Harrington,
and all other good socialists
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by carrying on
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Rafael PiRoman

In memory of **Michael Harrington**
from the home of the revolution
Philadelphia DSA

In memory of **Michael Harrington**
Mike, your commitment stays with us.
We stand in solidarity on the 95th national Labor Day
Washington DC/Maryland/Northern Virginia Democratic Socialists of America

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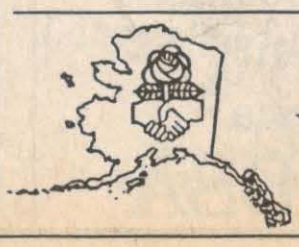

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Greetings from the Yukon New Democratic Party and Democratic Socialists of Alaska

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is proud to have shared the ideals and work of one of America's major progressive and humane social thinkers, Michael Harrington, who once served on WDL's staff.

We mourn his death and celebrate his life. In his memory, we will continue our task of defending the defenseless and striving for social justice.

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Labor Solidarity: The International Dimension

by Paul Garver

Since the mid-nineteenth century, efforts to link workers across national borders have been connected with the socialist internationals. Marx and Engels described a dynamic bourgeoisie, which, in the process of expanding capitalism around the globe, also would create a revolutionary working class that one day would supplant it. Socialists, anarchists, and syndicalists created a short-lived International Workingmen's Association to promote workers' solidarity, and radicalized workers emigrating to the Americas and British Commonwealth countries helped spread the idea of an "international working class."

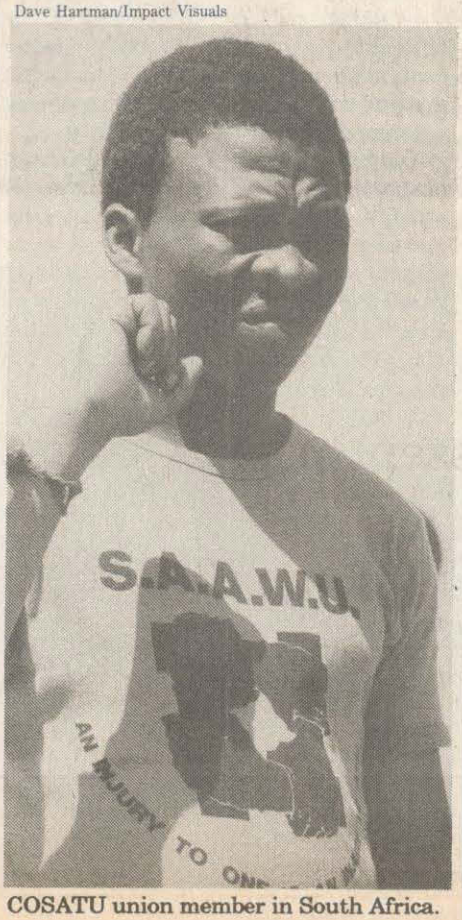
As mass social democratic parties and labor unions took root in much of Europe, a second Socialist International brought revolutionary workers and intellectuals together in periodic congresses to plan unified resistance to capitalism and imperialism. Its heyday lasted from its 1889 founding to 1914, when popular mobilization for the great European war shattered working-class internationalism.

For the last seventy-five years, organized labor has remained polarized along communist/socialist, East/West, and North/South fault lines. So fragmented, the world's workers have been unable to cope effectively with the rise of a global capitalist economy dominated by the transnational corporation (TNC). The separate and usually competing efforts at international labor solidarity originating in the Western, Eastern, or "Third World" sectors have generally been subordinated to the political and diplomatic objectives of national governments and superpower rivalries. They have been neither controlled by workers nor responsive to their interests.

I will argue here, however, that in 1989, a century after the founding of the Socialist International, the long-run prospects for reconstituting a global, worker-based solidarity movement are rapidly reviving. A series of dramatic developments in the core and peripheral capitalist countries and most recently within the communist countries is laying a new ideological and material foundation for that revival.

Within the industrialized West, the globalization of the capitalist workplace has resulted in the loss of many manufacturing jobs and the "restructuring" of the economy through austerity for much of the working class. National unions find their organizational, political, and economic power diminishing, as transnational corporations and hypermobile financial capital play off workers in one sector and country against another. While strongly organized union movements in the Nordic countries have remained powerful and a number of other national labor movements have actually increased their organizational strength (Canada, Germany) through their collaboration with social democratic political parties, other labor movements in the industrialized west are in catastrophic decline (United States, France). Paradoxically, this increases the willingness of these unions to cooperate internationally -- for example, U.S. labor, which historically has vacillated between isolationism and unilateral interventionism, must now learn how to ask for assistance from European unions in fighting union-busting tactics in the United States by Europe-based TNC's. The Belgian Foodworkers union has organized sympathy strikes in support of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) efforts to organize Belgian-owned Food Lion; the Swedish metalworkers have opposed union-avoidance tactics by the United States subsidiary of Electrolux.

Dave Hartman/Impact Visuals



COSATU union member in South Africa.

For our part, United States unionists have joined in international campaigns for worker rights in repressive societies like South Africa, Central America, and Eastern Europe. Militant labor leaders like Moses Mayekiso of the South African Metalworkers and Jose Mazariego of the Salvadoran Telecommunications Union have been freed from imprisonment because of well organized international solidarity campaigns. In this way, Western unions encourage the process by which labor movements are becoming major forces for social transformation in many "developing" countries.

Working-class developments in the industrialized periphery of the capitalist world are very positive. The success of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in South Africa in overcoming harsh repression to organize black workers for both economic and political action has inspired a new concept of "social movement unionism" which can be applied equally to the CUT in Brazil. Both seeking and, when possible, preferring international solidarity, this new unionism is strongly rooted in workplaces, while reaching out to other social movements for political alliances (community groups, church "base communities," and so on.) Similar developments are underway in Chile, Columbia, the Philippines, Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. The dynamic growth of capitalism in these areas has not ended its contradictions, the most central of which is the creation of an organizable industrial working class capable of fighting for political and economic rights.

As we have seen this year in China, Poland, Hungary, and the Soviet Union, authoritarian communist societies are not immune from this same dynamic. The existence of party-dominated "trade unions" has not prevented the outbreak of workers' struggles for more autonomous and democratic organizations.

The massive strike by Soviet miners

suggests that the triumph of Solidarity in Poland and the formation of autonomous trade unions in Hungary presage similar developments in the Soviet Union. Even in China, where the embryonic Workerss Autonomous Federation was drowned in a sea of blood, the establishment of capitalist industrial relations in the free trade zones of Southern China, together with the stagnation and corruption of the Communist elite, will surely call forth new workers' struggles and organization.

Although the immediate tasks of workers' movements are not identical, their interests are congruent. In an integrated global economy, it is increasingly obvious that "an injury to one is an injury to all workers."

Strong representative trade unions in China would reduce the tendency for transnational capital to flee from higher wage levels in Taiwan. A better paid Brazilian working class could purchase more U.S. and European imports. Well organized and financially strong Nordic unions can provide vital material assistance for struggling African unions. In fact, it is impossible to imagine progressive solutions to major common global problems like environmental degradation, the debt crisis, militarism, massive poverty, and lack of development without a quantum leap in international solidarity and cooperation among unions and workers.

At the level of intention and rhetoric, the official statements of the AFL-CIO backed International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) addresses these issues quite well. They also recognize that the "solutions" put forth by global economic and political elites come at the expense of workers and popular majorities everywhere. Less evident is the political will to develop a strategy for actually accomplishing the immense task of mobilizing world labor. A useful small step has been made within the last year with regional meetings of the ICFTU with the Socialist International in Europe, Africa, and Central America.

Material obstacles to regular cooperation are also being reduced by the globalization of communications and transportation technology. Jet planes reduce international travel time to hours, while international telephone, fax, and computer communications are virtually instantaneous and increasingly inexpensive. Although labor will never be as mobile as capital, we have the means to become less insular.

Increasingly, union activists everywhere have the technical tools for rapid horizontal communication among local unions worldwide without asking anyone's "permission." As International Foodworkers General Secretary Dan Gallin has pointed out, this may alter the role of all labor organizations, including the ICFTU and the International Trade Secretariats. Already dependent for any substantial activity on the voluntary commitments of their affiliates, all such union structures must play more of a coordinating function than one of command or control.

An international workers' movement in the century to come must be more global and more decentralized than any in the past: It must have more varied interconnections with other social movements (environmental, feminist), and less dependence on governmental or political patrons. Attempts by national labor centers to prohibit communication or cooperation with the "wrong" unions or movements will be difficult to enforce. The multicultural experiences of migrant and immigrant workers make them natural links among different national cultures of workers.

Although ideological, economic, and technological changes make the development of a truly internationalized working class movement a possibility, this will not occur without commitment and struggle. Younger people looking for meaningful political work that would demand a variety of organizational, intellectual, and linguistic skills should consider this arena. It should also be obvious that international labor solidarity will be meaningless and ineffective if unions are not solidly rooted in local workplaces and communities. But some of the strength and endurance to fight lonely local struggles has always come from the conviction that, elsewhere, there are comrades, known and unknown, fighting for the same cause.

That common cause may not be labeled "democratic socialism"-- far too many crimes have been carried out in the name of "democracy" and "socialism." However, the basic concepts of international worker solidarity ("The international working class shall be the human race" and "we can bring to birth a new world from the ashes of the old") remain as urgent and vital today as they were a century ago. Michael Harrington wrote that socialism cannot surive unless it defines a new global politics. Similarly, internationalism has become a life or death necessity for labor solidarity. ●

Paul Garver, a DSAer, works for Service Employees International Union Local 585.

Catherine Smith/Impact Visuals

United Mineworkers of America picket J.P. Morgan Guaranty Trust to get it to unload Shell stocks to pressure Shell to divest from South Africa.

PITTSTON

Continued from page 15.

inconsiderately; in West Virginia, arrests have been few and the state police superintendent publicly maintained a strict policy of honest neutrality, even stating that officers under his command would not act as private company guards and blaming hired company "security guards" for many acts of provocation. This was even more remarkable in light of the fact that the wildcat strike was at its wildest in West Virginia -- several coal operators even wanted the Governor to call out the National Guard. Governor Baliles of Virginia has been widely perceived to be pro-Pittston; Governor Caperton in West Virginia has been criticized by coal operators and conservatives for being pro-union. In both states the courts have tended to be merciless.

The prospect of economic ruin does not disturb union president Rich Trumka and it certainly has not weakened the resolve of the people he represents. He has been quoted as saying, "It's win this fight or be stampeded to death in the very near future. If justice and legal redress are totally denied here, I submit to you that from the crumbled blocks will arise a movement -- just like it did in 1890, when we had no money. Just like it did in 1910, when we had no money...It came back and it will again. But when it comes back, I think the form of union will probably be different. Its tolerance for injustice will be far less, its willingness to alibi for a system that we know doesn't work will be non-existent." ●

Mark Dobbs is a freelance writer in West Virginia.

Europe 1992 and the Labor Movement

by Andrei S. Markovits

Barely five years ago many Europeans, especially businesspeople, bemoaned their continent's poor economic performance. Pessimistic in outlook, they worried about the lasting effects of their economies' "Eurosclerosis" in comparison with the seemingly boundless dynamism of Japanese and Korean production and the innovative flexibility of the American job machine. One white paper, one report, and a few bureaucratic decisions later, this Eurosclerosis has suddenly metamorphosed into what could aptly be termed "Euroeuphoria." Baited by the prospects of the world's largest internal market, with 320 million consumers, imaginations in many a European boardroom are running wild with the possibilities for unprecedented growth, mergers, and ultimately profits.

Nobody, of course, can presently tell whether business' boundless optimism will prove justified come 1993. There can be little doubt, however, that Europe will have undergone a fundamental change, which will have rendered it a qualitatively different place. Best symbolizing this comprehensive integration will be the tunnel connecting Britain with the continent, an architectural feat of immense historical and sociological significance. While the myriad dimensions of the integration process may take decades, perhaps centuries, to arrive at their eventual fruition, a more immediate impact will be obtained in four key areas: open borders for all goods; open contracting for services; freedom of movement; and standardization of measurements, degrees, diplomas, and other specifications. Coupled with the immense changes sweeping Eastern Europe, we may be witnessing the final demise of the post-Yalta order that so dominated European politics since 1945.

In notable contrast to capital's Euroeuphoria, labor has been on the whole rather troubled and confused about these momentous developments. Labor's position on Europe '92 remains at best lukewarm, virtually inert, nearly helpless. Above all, labor continues to behave reactively, and it has yet to seize the initiative in setting the agenda, in devising a coherent cross-national strategy for collective action.

Seldom has labor's disadvantage vis-a-vis capital been demonsrated more starkly than in the case of their preparations for Europe '92. To be sure, capital's structural advantages are immense: while millions of dollars can be transferred from Manchester to Milan in a matter of seconds, similar shifts in labor may take years, even generations to develop.

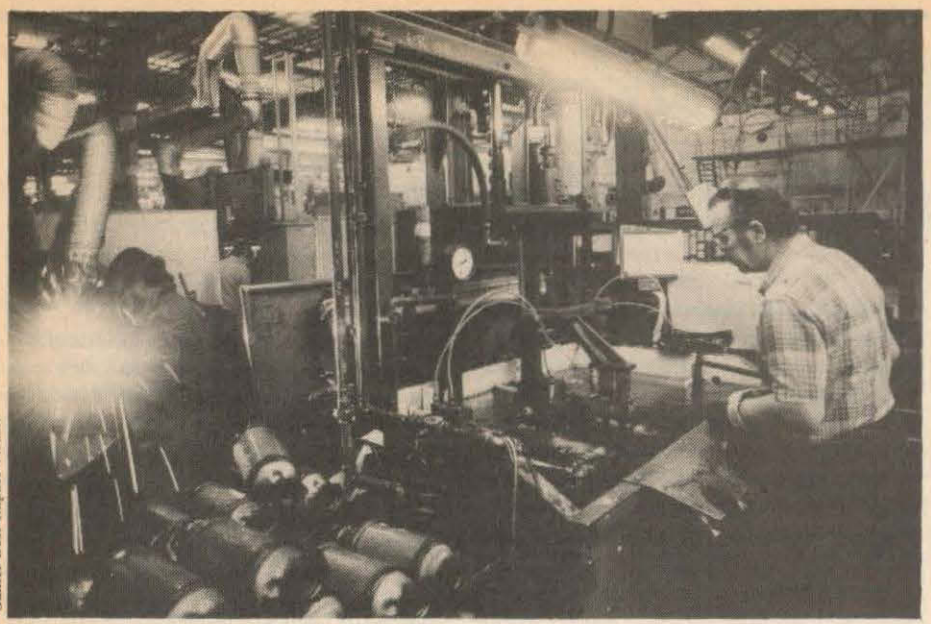
This comes as no surprise if one takes a look at the immense diversity of labor in the twelve countries that are to form this new entity come January 1, 1993. Whereas labor's history in the Latin and Mediterranean countries has been shaped predominantly by Communist unions, labor in the northern rim and in Britain witnessed the primacy of social democracy through much of this century. Whereas the labor movement has been organizationally split along confessional and/or ideological lines in countries such as Italy, France, Belgium, Holland, Spain, and Portugal, and along craft lines in Britain, it is industrial divisions that characterize West Germany's labor organization. Vast cross-national differences in wage rates, labor productivity, collective bargaining arrangements, and labor legislation make the formulation of common goals -- let alone the implementation of common policies -- a Gargantuan (if not Sisyphean) task for European labor. Add to this the substantial regional differences within countries in terms of unemployment, for example, in which the Federal Republic's booming Baden-Wuerttemberg region shows greater similarity to Denmark's "Seeland," northeastern Greece, and northern Portugal than to its own north, and the maze seems rather impenetrable.

Culturally, too, labor lags far behind in the creation of what could amount to an equivalent of capital's global village. Labor leaders, let alone union members or workers, have yet to jet around with the normalcy known to managers and have yet to develop an international *lingua franca* comparable to the business world's English. Labor continues to exhibit a degree of localism long discarded by capital. The old adage seems yet again confirmed: while labor is internationally exploited, it continues to think, feel and act nationally.

In contextualizing labor's confusion and passivity in light of the rapid movement toward Europe '92, it seems important to stress the particularly inauspicious timing of this unification from labor's perspective. The 1980s have been devastating for labor virtually everywhere. Though few European countries witnessed American-style deterioration, workers experienced dramatic setbacks in former labor bastions such as

Roy Peters/Impact Visuals

Women workers in a factory in England.



Gunter Beer/Impact Visuals

Volkswagen production plant in West Germany.

Britain and the Netherlands, where union density declined by roughly 25 percent in the course of this decade. Unionization levels in Spain and France have reached American proportions (i.e., in the teens), with no reversal in sight. Add to this a Europe-wide onslaught on social democracy and the old left both via neoconservatism and neoliberalism "from above" and the new social movements "from below," and labor's unenviable predicament becomes starker still. Only in Scandinavia, whose countries (except Denmark) are not E.C. members, and in the Federal Republic of Germany, has union membership remained steady or showed a small increase in the last decade. This reality has further enhanced the already central role of the West German unions -- particularly that of I.G. Metall (the metalworkers' union), the capitalist world's largest -- within the European labor movement and European progressive politics.

Concerned that the new openness of 1992 will be used by employees to shift operations to low-wage areas and reduce the substantial social measures currently protecting workers in the North to fit the minimal protective schemes of the South, the unions have begun to shed their ambivalent lethargy by formulating concrete demands with the help of a powerful ally, Jacques Delors, the European Commissioner. Hailing from the bank employees' union of the French socialist labor confederation C.F.D.T. and an active member of the French socialist party, Delors has been in the forefront of formulating a "Social Charter" comprising a platform of social rights for the workers of Europe. The charter is to guarantee certain minimum Europewide social rights; facilitate the right of each worker to education and training; provide standards of employment protection, workplace health and safety, unemployment benefits, pensions, and social security; and guarantee a degree of worker participation in the companies' decision making. Moreover, it is to establish a European Company Statute which would allow companies to be incorporated under European rather than the still prevailing national laws.

I.G. Metall has become Jacques Delors' most potent ally in the implementation of this social charter and the battle for a Europe with a social face. Having gained a thirty-year experience with co-determination and powerful workers councils in the Federal Republic, I.G. Metall has proposed the formation of transnational workers councils within all multinational companies operating in Europe. Although I.G. Metall and its youthful chairman, Franz Steinkuehler, have readily assumed this "vanguard" role out of a strong internationalist tradition, a much more important selfish interest has propelled I.G. Metall into activism on this front. Plainly, the union is fearful that its members and West German workers as a whole, who enjoy the highest pay and the most generous fringe benefits of all workers within the European Community, will be outmaneuvered by capital and forced to experience a severe loss in their living standards. I.G. Metall, in short, wants to introduce German conditions in Portugal, Spain and Greece, not the other way around. Whether it will prove successful, nobody can tell at this stage. Suffice it to say that success for European labor as a collective will only occur if each national movement resists the temptation to become its country's junior partner in its respective national economic and industrial policies. This, of course, not only entails a compromise on the part of each national labor movement -- the Germans, for example, will have to lose some jobs to the Portuguese just as the Portuguese will have to surrender some autonomy to the Germans -- but it also requires a complete change in horizons and outlook. Whether the national labor movements, individually and collectively, will be able to rise to this foreboding challenge remains ultimately a question of political perseverance and commitment. ●

Andrei S. Markovits, a DSA member, teaches at Harvard University's Center for European Studies.

DSACTION

RESOURCES

* New books by Michael Harrington and Barbara Ehrenreich are available through DSA. In **Socialism: Past and Future**, Michael Harrington argues convincingly that democratic socialism is the only humane alternative for the twenty-first century. It is available for $19.00 plus $2.50 postage and handling per book. Barbara Ehrenreich, in her new book **Fear of Falling: The Inner Life of the Middle Class**, examines the attitudes held by the middle class and shows the impact they have had on society, politics, and culture. Send $19.00 plus $2.50 postage and handling to DSA, 15 Dutch Street, #500, New York, NY 10038.

* **Towards a New Socialism** is a video tape of Michael Harrington giving the eighth annual Stanley Plastrik Memorial Lecture sponsored by the Foundation for the Study of Independent Social Ideas. In this video, Harrington grapples with the crisis of socialism today and outlines the steps we must take if socialism is to have relevance into the twenty-first century. $25 each. Make checks payable and send to: IDS, 15 Dutch St., #500, NY, NY 10038.

* "The Politics of the Housing Crisis" is a new Institute for Democratic Socialism (IDS) pamphlet written by Peter Dreier, director of housing at the Boston Redevelopment Authority. This new piece outlines the reasons for the current crisis and provides progressive alternatives. Use it to mobilize for the upcoming Housing Now! March, which will take place in Washington, D.C. on October 7. The pamphlets are $.25 each or 100 for $20.00. Make checks payable to IDS. Call the DSA office at (212) 962-0390 to find out where the DSA contingent will be gathering for the October 7 Housing March.

* The summer issue of *Our Struggle/Nuetra Lucha*, the newsletter of the Anti-racism, Latino, and Afro-American Commissions, is now available. Articles on such topics as El Salvador, Latino Voting Rights, and China are included. To receive the newsletter, join any of the commissions by sending $10.00 to DSA, Box 162394, Sacramento, CA 95816.

REPORTS

* DSA receptions were organized at two conferences this summer, the American Sociological Association in San Francisco and the Midwest Academy Retreat in Chicago. ASA President and DSAer William Julius Wilson, DSAer and Harvard professor Theda Skocpol, and DSA National Executive Committee member Nancy Kleniewski spoke to over 100 people at the ASA reception. In Chicago, DSAer and gay rights activist Ron Sable and International Association Machinist (IAM) President and DSA member George Kourpias addressed Midwest Academy participants. Thanks to Chicago DSAers and Nancy Kleniewski for organizing the events.

*On the weekend of August 17-20, 1989, over eighty youth section activists met in Findlay, Ohio for the 14th annual youth section summer conference. The conference, "A Better World in Birth," was attended by new and old youth section activists from campuses and communities across the country. California, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Illinois, New York, Michigan, and Ohio were among the states represented.

Youth section efforts will be focussed on three areas of work in the coming year: reproductive rights, labor support, and access to education. In these areas and many others a course of action and a strategy was charted for the year ahead. UAW activist and veteran DSA member Millie Jeffrey and the newly elected chair of the youth section Andrea Miller got the conference off to an energetic start with their remarks on a socialist perspective on reproductive rights. At the Friday evening plenary, Mark Levinson from the UAW research department, Baldemar Velasquez of the F arm Labor Organizing Committee, and AFSCME activist Valerie Childs all spoke on the U.S. and international labor movement. They provided activists with a greater understanding of the internationalization of the economy, as well as some domestic labor struggles.

Workshops on such topics as El Salvador, China, the welfare state, alternative journalism, labor and the economy, building a DSA chapter, gay and lesbian rights, and electoral politics helped to stimulate discussion and debate. Skip Roberts, founder of the Electoral Fairness Project, Dinah Leventhal, DSA's new youth organizer, and Barbara Ehrenreich, co-chair of DSA gave a compelling closing, inspiring all participants to return to their communities and begin the work that lies ahead.

*DSA's National Convention runs from 9:30 a.m. on Friday, November 10 through 12:30 p.m. on Sunday, November 12 at the Baltimore Hilton in Maryland. Speakers will include Irving Howe, Barbara Ehrenreich, Cornel West, Joanne Barkan, Jeff Faux, Bev Stein, Harold Meyerson, and Frances Fox Piven, among many others. International politics, strategies for DSA, and U.S. political terrain and implications for movement building are the key plenary topics. Workshops will address such topics as socialist education, the labor movement, religion and socialism, and reproductive rights. Registration is $75 for delegates, $30 for observers. Contact the national office for more information. Join us as we set an agenda into the 21st century!

INTERNATIONAL

*In the wake of the right-wing ARENA party's election victory last March, El Salvador's trade unions are working to achieve greater unity to confront the rising tide of repression. The International Sister Union Conference for Peace and Solidarity, held in San Salvador in late July, was an important step forward in that effort. Attending the conference were several hundred trade union activists representing virtually all of the various tendencies in the Salvadoran labor movement, as well as dozens of international participants from unions in the U.S., Canada, Western Europe, Australia and Central America. DSA was represented at the conference by Labor Commission Co-chair Timothy Sears.

After two days of discussion and debate, the conference delegates unanimously approved an action program calling for a negotiated political solution to the Salvadoran civil war, an end to foreign military aid, the creation of a broad opposition coalition, and support for the campesinos in their demands for land, credit, and deeper agrarian reforms. The conference also called upon the AFL-CIO to revise its policy regarding El Salvador, and urged a cut-off of U.S. trade preferences for Salvadoran imports in response to labor rights violations

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ON THE LEFT

by Sherri Levine

California

The second meeting of the California statewide DSA network took place the first Sunday of August. Representatitves from locals from San Francisco, East Bay, Mid-Peninsula, Sacramento, Los Angeles, and Santa Cruz met to discuss speakers tours for the coming year and other joint projects....San Diego DSA held a forum in July on "Socialism and Ecology: Red and Green Perspectives on the Environment," with Rick Nadeau of San Diego Greenpeace and Herb Shore of San Diego DSA....Sacramento DSA has been actively involved in efforts to reform the Sacramento Municipal Utility District, an example of public power generated for private profit and greed....A Los Angeles memorial service for Michael Harrington will take place on September 8. Call the LA local at (213) 662-1140 for more information

Illinois

Chicago DSA organized three houseparties this summer to raise funds for the Pro-Choice Alliance and to further educate attendees regarding the importance of defending women's right to choose. Chicago DSA participated in the 20th annual Gay and Lesbian pride parade, marching as a contingent under the DSA banner and distributing literature....Carbondale DSA is involved in organizing for the Southern Illinois Latin American Solidarity Committee "Steps for Freedom" March on October 14-16.

Iowa

The Iowa City DSA local heard State Representative David Osterburg give his annual overview of the recent Iowa legislative session.

Kentucky

Lexington DSA marched with the Pro-choice Alliance at the Independence Day Parade. *Black Orpheus* was shown at July's video night. A day-long retreat was held in July to evaluate the past projects and make plans for the upcoming year. A "Sandanista picnic" was held in July to mark the Nicaraguan revolution. Cynthia Brown, a member of Lexington Kentucky DSA and acting executive director of the Southeast Women's Employment Coalition, was recently awarded a grant to undergo a three-year study of the effects of desegregation on blacks in America and Africa.

Maryland

Priorities for the year will be set and Convention delegates will be elected at Baltimore DSA's fall membership meeting

Massachusetts

A day-long retreat was held by Boston DSA to discuss restructuring of their board, evaluate their recent projects, and map out plans for the fall. Boston DSA helped to mobilize folks to turnout for a rally in support of striking Eastern workers. A DSA literature table will be organized at the Labor Day Bread and Roses festival. October 4 is the date of Boston DSA's memorial service for Michael Harrington. Call the Boston DSA office at (617) 426-9026 for more information.

Montana

Several members of Montana DSA recently met with Co-Chair Barbara Ehrenriech. A statewide DSA local is being organized, with their Labor Day meeting to focus on socialist solidarity.

New York

NY DSA met in August to discuss the upcoming DSA national Convention. The NY Religion and Socialism branch gathered to hear Reverend Ron Winley, chairperson of the New York chapter of the National Black Evangelical Association present a profile of the African-American religious socialist Reverend George Washington. The Feminist branch met to discuss how to get involved in reproductive rights activities in NY....Suffolk County DSA held a forum in July on the Chinese democracy movement. They also supported a SUNY student rally for China in July....Ithaca DSA's housing project has taken on a life of its own as Affordable Housing Agenda. Ithaca will continue to make housing issues a priority. Ithaca's annual yard sale was held August 26..

Ohio

Cleveland DSA plans to organize pro-choice houseparties throughout the city as part of their contribution to the Cleveland Pro-Choice Coalition. Sherri Levine, DSA's Education/Publications Director met with the Cleveland executive committee on August 16 to discuss their reproductive rights efforts. A labor dinner honoring UAW Region 2 is being planned for October 21.

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia DSA organized a successful forum, "El Salvador under ARENA Rule: Tasks for the Anti-Intervention Movement," with Patrick Lacefield, DSA organizational director and Alan Dawley, professor of History at Trenton State University. August 5 was the Local's annual retreat, at which last year's work was evaluated and plans for the upcoming year were mappedout.

Washington DC/MD/NoVA

Washington, DC DSAers Timothy Sears and Dorothy Healey were on Washington, DC's National Public Radio (NPR) to discuss the recent Socialist International Congress and changes in world politics. The Fall membership meeting will be on violence against women. A DSA contingent will participate in the NAACP August 26 March on Washington organized to protest the recent Supreme Court decisions. September 21 is the date for the Washington, DC memorial service for Michael Harrington. Call (202) 483-3299 for details.

We mourn the death of Natalie Fleischman -- longtime socialist activist and wife of "On the Left" columnist Harry Fleishman -- who died of a stroke August 16, 1989.

International

Continued from page 37.

by the armed forces.

A full report on the conference is available for a contribution of $5.00 or more to the DSA Labor El Salvador Fund, PO Box 28408, Washington, D.C., 20038.

*Under the slogan "Towards a New Century," leaders of democratic socialist movements around the globe gathered in Stockholm June 20-22 for the triennial Congress of the Socialist International (SI), marking the anniversary of the SI's founding meeting in Paris one hundred years ago. Following the Left's victories in the European Community elections and Solidarity's landslide in Poland, the Congress reflected a renewed sense of optimism, a confidence that democratic socialist values remain relevant and vital in a world undergoing dramatic change.

A major portion of the agenda of the Congress was devoted to adoption of a new Declaration of Principles for the SI, reaffirming democratic socialist values of democracy, justice, equality, peace, and solidarity. The new Declaration was developed by an SI committee chaired by Michael Harrington, who wrote the earlier drafts of the declaration. Although his deteriorating health prevented him from attending this Congress or working on the final version, Harrington's contribution to the new declaration -- and to the international socialist movement -- was acknowledged by speaker after speaker. Harrington was elected an honorary president of the SI (the first U.S. citizen to ever hold such a position). Skip Roberts, the leader of the DSA delegation, presented SI President Willy Brandt with one of the first copies of Harrington's latest book, *Socialism: Past and Future*, which is dedicated to Brandt and the SI.

The Congress also considered major reports on human rights, North-South relations, disarmament, and the environment. In light of the growing concern with the environment throughout the world, reflected in the rise of the Green parties in Western Europe, the environmental report was particularly significant. Against the "vicious circle" of increasing global inequality, the arms race, and environmental degradation, the SI proposed "another circle, based on solidarity," in which national development must be guided by principles of social justice and sustainable development; the resources now wasted on arms must be redirected to peaceful purposes; and resources and technologies must be made available to the poor nations of the globe. ●

William Winpisinger, Socialist Labor Leader, Retires as President of the IAM

by Marjorie Phyfe

William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, vice chair of DSA, and the most visible spokesperson for the labor left retired in July from the IAM. I first encountered this "seat-of-the-pants socialist" in 1976 when I was on staff for the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), organizing our Democratic party outreach work, Democratic Agenda. As Michael Harrington recounts in *The Long Distance Runner*, I horrified Mike by bluntly and naively asking Wimpy to join DSOC the first time we met. To Mike's shock and delight, Wimpy immediately agreed. He has maintained his active public socialist identification to this day.

In fact, Winpisinger took DSOC and our socialist perspective seriously enough that he hired me away from the organization in 1979 to join the political staff of the union. While I brought a background in the civil rights movement and numerous political campaigns, Wimpy's major motivation in hiring me was my successful work as a socialist organizer with a radical coalition perspective. He wanted the union to incorporate exactly what DSOC was doing in the late seventies. His view was that the entire labor movement should share that perspective.

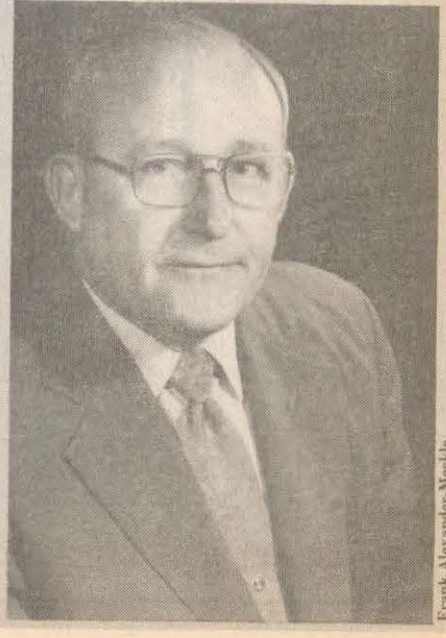
Of course, Wimpy's radical ideas were not always popular with his own members. Representing more defense workers than any other union leader, Wimpy publicly and proudly advocated economic conversion. He put the resources behind this strong belief. He financed studies by experts like Marian Anderson of how conversion would work to the benefit of all members as well was the entire country. He made sure the results of those studies reached his members. But most important of all, he was always available to discuss his controversial ideas within the union at local and district lodge meetings, at union-wide conferences, and always over a beer in a local bar or union hall.

Winpisinger always got a lot of press and was often the featured labor leader on television talk shows. Many commentators noted that Wimpy struck a responsive cord with IAM members and other blue collar workers because he was feisty and outspoken. Like the late George Meany, Wimpy spoke from a genuine working class perspective and with a working class accent. (He liked to remind the participants at academic conferences he was often invited to address that he was a "high-school drop-out auto mechanic.") That is one reason why so many workers respected him. But they also sensed accurately that Wimpy had tremendous respect for the members of IAM. At the dinner honoring his retirement, tributes flowed in from such notables as Ed Asner, Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, and AFL-CIO Secretary Treasurer Tom Donahue. Wimpy responded by insisting that all the praise was earned by the "IAM members who get up every morning, go to the job, and work their butts off to pay their IAM dues."

The most basic tenet of any socialist faith is that ordinary people have the capacity to transform the world. William Winpisinger understands that concept in his gut, believes it passionately, and has acted on it throughout his life work in the labor movement. ●

(DSA welcomes George Kourpias, also a DSAer, as the new president of the IAM. We look forward to a relationship of solidarity and support in our mutual struggles for social and economic justice.)

Marjorie Phyfe, a member of DSA's national Executive Committee, is the director of Community Leadership Initiatives of Maine



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