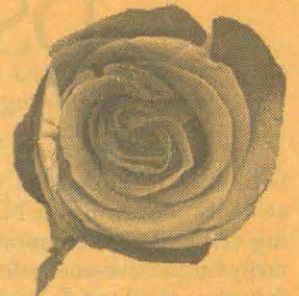
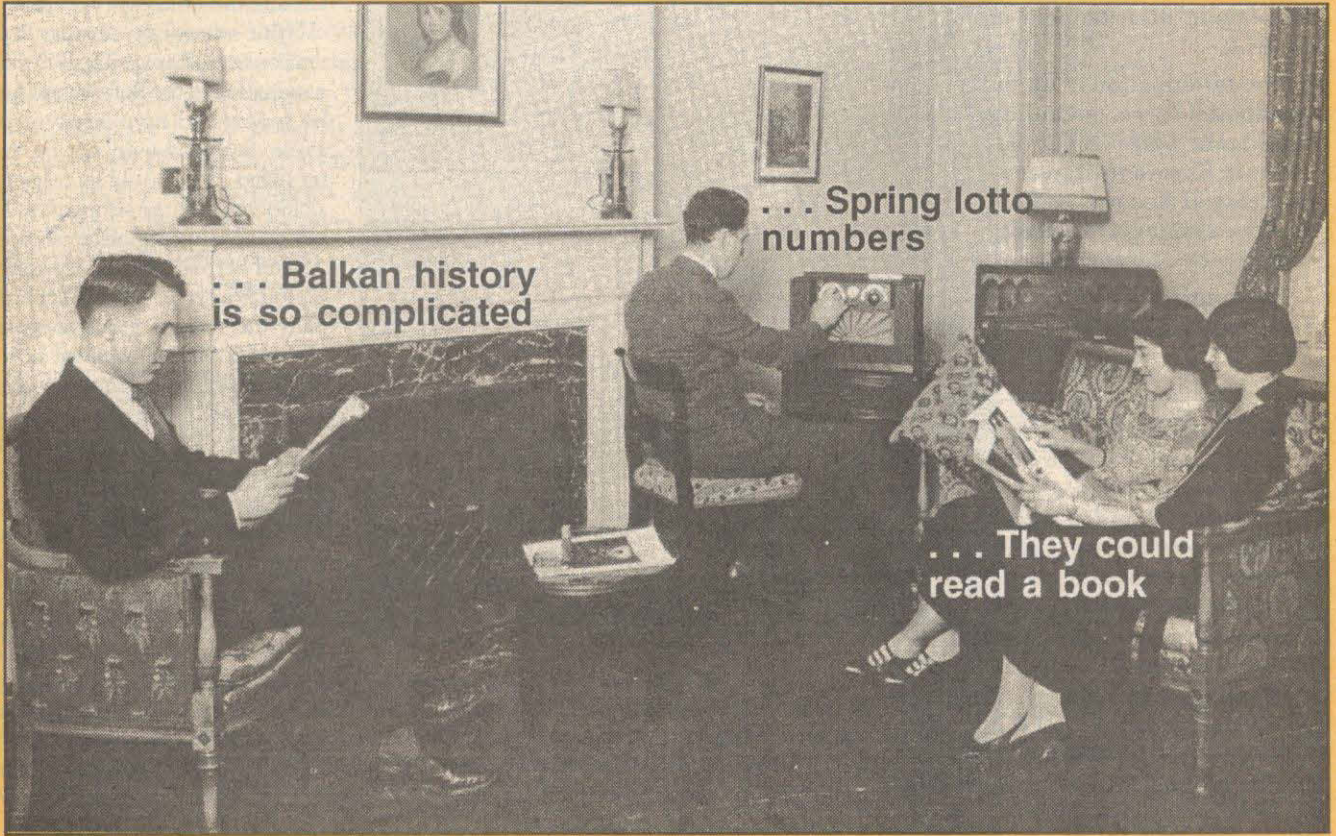




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PUBLISHED BY THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS OF AMERICA



"First Place"
Project Censored Award



... Balkan history
is so complicated

... Spring lotto
numbers

... They could
read a book

Bombs Books Buds

DSA Statement on Kosovo

Meeting on May 15, 1999, the National Political Committee reaffirmed the April statement of the Steering Committee, and adopted the following joint statement with its Youth Section.

Democratic Socialists of America strongly condemns the NATO bombing campaign. Such bombing is militarily ineffective and risks the lives of innocent civilians. It does not aid the restoration of human rights in Kosovo, and the return of Kosovar refugees to their original homes.

DSA and our youth section, Young Democratic Socialists (YDS), remain committed to a just solution in Kosovo which must guarantee:

1. The withdrawal of all Serbian military and paramilitary forces from Kosovo and subsequent disarmament of the KLA.
2. The introduction of an international force, including significant non-NATO elements in Kosovo to protect all residents of Kosovo, and ensure the autonomy of a democratically-elected government.
3. The return of all refugees to Kosovo.

(May 15, 1999)

We are witnessing the third war in the Balkans in less than a decade. There can be little doubt that Serbian nationalism and a series of orchestrated "crises" by the Milosevic government are primarily responsible for the present tragedy. DSA members, like many on the left, are divided on the best way to stop the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. We are opposed to the NATO bombing of Belgrade and other urban centers and are deeply troubled by the possibility that the initial campaign may have accelerated Milosevic's ethnic cleansing campaign in Kosovo.

The situation in Kosovo demonstrates the need for a truly international peacekeeping force, under United Nations auspices, to separate and disarm combatants, protect the Kosovars from Serbian military and paramilitary forces, and protect the Serbian minority. Such a force could have acted against genocides around the globe, such as the conflict in Rwanda, which the new isolationists dominating the Re-

publican Party have used to justify standing on the sidelines. We have never believed that NATO had the moral authority to carry out such missions.

We call on the War Crimes Tribunal at the Hague to continue its work and vigorously prosecute all war criminals—including those responsible for directing ethnic cleansing campaigns; and we call on the

disrupted by this conflict.

Balkan nationalism has been manipulated by all sides and all sides share in the blame for the present catastrophe. The U.S. government and the governments of most European nations have acted in the past to strengthen Milosevic, and failed to support alternative democratic political movements because they were seen as politically suspect and less accommodating to Western economic and geopolitical interests. The West too easily abandoned the idea of a multi-ethnic democratic Yugoslavia during the rise of the chauvinistic and authoritarian Tudjman regime in Croatia and Milosevic in Serbia.

If the twentieth century has demonstrated anything, it is that nationalism in the Balkans can not be suppressed by military force alone. Serbia should not be demonized, nor should its responsibility as by far the strongest military power in the region be excused. To end Serbian ethnic cleansing, diplomatic carrots must accompany the stick of peace keepers. Upon Serbian withdrawal of its military and paramilitary forces from Kosovo and the return of all refugees to their homes, the West should lift economic sanctions and consider admission to the UN and other appropriate international organizations for the Yugoslav state.

DSA calls on the world community to take the steps to create a permanent police force directed by the United Nations with the express mission of protecting the basic human rights guaranteed by the United Nations Charter.

(April 21, 1999)



world community to provide humanitarian aid to rebuild the economic infrastructures in Kosovo, Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Albania that have been

Beyond these points of agreement, the elected National Political Committee of DSA recognizes the need for further discussion on this issue, and for tolerance of disagreement among DSA members. We invite organization-wide discussion of such issues as the role of the United Nations in international peacekeeping; the nature of NATO and whether or not it should be dismantled; the function of U.S. military contracting and Pentagon budgets; the feasibility and desirability of a European union defense force and the failure of the European system in ex-Yugoslavia; and, the underlying economic and political motivations behind U.S. military action abroad.

(See Socialist Forum announcement, p. 8)

LETTERS

More on Crap Shoot Pensions or Social Security

As a recipient of Social Security, I don't object to stock market investments if it is done by the Fund as a whole, *not by individual accounts*. This has three benefits: It preserves the minimum individual income guarantees, and avoids the enormous administrative expenses required to maintain millions of small individual accounts, while at the same time enabling the public to reap some of the benefits (should there be any) of stock market capital appreciation.

—Eugene Prosnitz, *The Bronx, NY*

Democratic Socialists should consider the following program for dealing with the fraudulent campaign to "Save Social Security": 1. if bond holders get two COLAS a year, retirees are entitled to the same privilege. 2. an end to the geometric progression method of calculating increases in the cost-of-living index. 3. no speculation

in the stock market with money put into the S.S. Trust Fund, either through individual accounts or by the trustees or the Federal Reserve. 4. invest the surplus in improving the U.S. physical and human infrastructure. Such investments are bound to create jobs and an actuarial report rejected by Rubin, Shalala and Herman forecasting "only" 7,560,000 unemployed in 2034, and annual CPI increases of 2.3 percent after 2007 predicted a \$10.86 trillion Trust Fund excess in 2034.

—George N. Spitz, *New York, NY*

Don't wreck Social Security! Don't let the hucksters con a gullible public into believing that personal investing is a good idea. I remember the post World War II recession, and the 1929 depression, and hope that [private] investment plans are not made a part of our security. Raise social security taxes, if necessary, but don't, *don't*, mess with Social Security!!

—R.S. Melville

San Juan Capistrano, CA

'99



DEMOCRATIC

Editorial Committee:

Jeremy Borenstein, Suzanne Crowell, Bill Dixon, David Glenn, Jeffrey Gold, Steve Max, Bill Mosley, Maxine Phillips, Chris Riddiough, Jason Schulman, Paul Washington, Robert Woodruff

Founding Editor:

Michael Harrington (1928-1989)

Democratic Socialists of America share a vision of a humane international social order based on equitable distribution of resources, meaningful work, a healthy environment, sustainable growth, gender and racial equality, and non-oppressive relationships. Equality, solidarity, and democracy can only be achieved through international political and social cooperation aimed at ensuring that economic institutions benefit all people. We are dedicated to building truly international social movements—of unionists, environmentalists, feminists, and people of color—which together can elevate global justice over brutalizing global competition.

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On The Coming Recession

I enjoyed and fully agree with the article by Steve Max, which clearly describes over-capacity or over-production as a harbinger of a coming economic collapse. The true cure would be to raise wages and stimulate the capacity to consume.

I am old enough to recall when they were spilling milk on the ground, burying pigs, and burning corn for fuel—while a great many people were going hungry or even starving.

—Cornelius J. Loeser, *Prescott, AZ*

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Medicare Update

The so-called National Bi-partisan Commission on the Future of Medicare was unable to agree to proposals that in effect would have gutted the social insurance aspects of Medicare. Thanks to all the DSAers across the country who cajoled, wrote, picketed (*see below*) and testified before the regional hearings of this commission. Giving seniors "vouchers" for health care will be as effective as throwing vouchers at little children to attend \$20,000 private

schools "of their choice." Undermining Medicare will also set back whatever hopes we have of extending health coverage to every American.

President Clinton is planning to unveil his own version of Medicare reform in response to the Breaux/Thomas Medicare voucher proposal that we oppose. One hundred and three members of Congress have signed a letter to the President raising concerns and making positive suggestions for future policy. The letter op-



Long-time DSA member Victor Sidel, M.D., a nationally known advocate of health care justice, briefs a reporter from WNBC-TV.



DSAers joined coalition partners to sway a member of the Federal Bi-partisan Commission on Medicare at his NYC executive office. Our message: "Don't Privatize Medicare—Keep as Social Insurance!"

poses vouchers, increasing the age of eligibility for retirees from 65 to 67, and Home Health Care co-payments. The letter supports committing 15% of surplus to the Medicare Trust Fund, adding a comprehensive prescription drug benefit and expanding existing programs that assist low-income seniors

Mischievous Senator John Breaux (D-LA) continually claims that his "premium support" proposals for Medicare aren't really vouchers. Tell him he's wrong. Capital Switchboard (202)225-3121.

WANTED: A NEW YOUTH ORGANIZER FOR DSA

Responsibilities include:

- Conducting regular campus visits to assist existing chapters and establish new chapters.
- Maintaining database and mailing list.
- Organizing events and preparing educational and training materials for activists with the guidance of the YDS coordinating committee and the National Director.
- Serving as YDS representative and liaison to other progressive organizations.

The ideal candidate will:

- Have significant experience in student, political, labor, or community organizing.
- Have excellent speaking and writing skills.
- Have excellent interpersonal skills.

- Have a strong understanding of socialist politics.
- Be self-motivated and able to work independently.
- Be able to manage time effectively.

Applicants should submit a resume and cover letter by June 20th to Jessica Shearer to DSA, 180 Varick St., 12th floor, New York, NY 10014. For more information, call Jessica at 212-727-8610 x24.

Salary in the low-twenties. Benefits include full health coverage and three weeks paid vacation in the first year.

* DSA is an equal opportunity, affirmative action employer. Women, people of color, gays and lesbians, and people with disabilities are especially encouraged to apply.

The Lottery Scam

BY BILL MOSLEY

Last July, when the Powerball jackpot reached \$250 million, one store manager was at wit's end. "Lottery sales have taken over the business," said the manager of a northeastern retail shop. "It's like a fever took over. You had people lined up for three hours, and it took some of them two hours to get here."

Lotteries have become a way of life in much of the country, so pervasive that it's hard to believe that the oldest existing U.S. lottery, New Hampshire, dates back only to 1964. As recently as 30 years ago only two states had lotteries. Today, 37 states and the District of Columbia sponsor them.

State officials characterize lotteries as both a harmless pastime and a vital source of revenue for state programs—education, environmental protection, parks and senior programs—that can enjoy a dedicated funding stream. Best of all, it makes tax increases to support these programs unnecessary.

Look closer and a different picture emerges. The way lotteries are promoted and played in this country exposes them as a regressive tax on the working class and poor. A tax that helps the more affluent avoid paying their fair share to support state pro-

grams.

States heavily pitch lotteries to lower-income communities, selling them as a ticket out of hard times and onto Easy Street. As reported in the *Washington Monthly*, a billboard in a poor Chicago neighborhood touted the lottery as "your ticket out of here." Other states run ads featuring narratives of people with dead-end jobs — and lives to match — suddenly vaulted into Rockefeller society.

Lottery marketing is a high-powered \$350 million dollar industry employing many of the nation's top advertising agencies. And this trade in desperation is paying off. *Newsday* examined lottery spending in New York by zip code and census data and found a strikingly inverse correlation between income and lottery spending. Households with incomes under \$20,000 spent an average of \$234 on the lottery each year, while those earning over \$100,000 spent only \$30.

"Lotteries recognize this and they put a lot of sales agents into the poorest parts of the state, because that is where they sell tickets," said Bernie Horn, spokesperson for the Washington-based National Coalition Against Legalized Gambling (NCALG).

The Boston Globe recently compared the socioeconomic status of neighborhoods in the Boston area with the number of lottery sales outlets. Low-income cities such as Chelsea and New Bedford had one outlet for every 737 residents, while wealthier Wellesley had an outlet for every 3,036,

and south shore Milton one for every 3,657. Clearly, lotteries milk the poor for funds that they can't afford to part with.

Odds

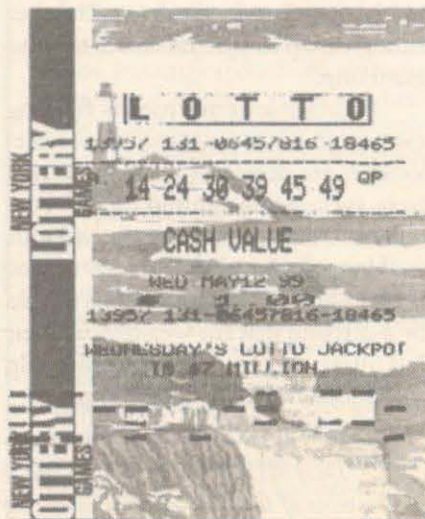
For all their "investments" what do lottery players get? Not much. Lotteries pay out a smaller percentage of their revenue in winnings than almost every other form of gambling—about 54 percent, according to the trade magazine *International Gambling and Wagering Business*. In contrast, the Minneapolis newspaper *City Pages* reported that casino blackjack and slots often payout *more*, depending on the house. And most of the lottery "winners"



are recipients of the \$1-to-\$20 scratch games. For those who dream of the real prize—the Powerball jackpot—its 55 million-to-one odds are much more remote than, says the Associated Press, being struck by the proverbial lightning (30,000 to one), or being killed in a terrorist attack abroad (650,000 to one). "If anybody but a state ran a scam like the Powerball," commented that harried store manager, "they'd be in jail so long they'd be waiting for Chuck Manson to get out and write letters back to them."

Growing Like a Problem Gambler's Debt

Gambling is of course as old as civilization, and lotteries are an outgrowth of the old, usually illegal numbers games run by many a backroom bookie over the years. The gambling industry, or "gaming," in the polite trade parlance, is growing like a prob-



lem gambler's debt. As recently as 1989, Nevada and New Jersey were the only U.S. states with casinos; today, they can be found in 27 states, including those on native American reservations.

Unlike private casinos, proliferating gambling riverboats or the old numbers rackets, lotteries are run by state governments, and therefore give official sanction to wagering. According to *City Pages*, when the Minnesota lottery was adopted in 1985, "private gambling gained more acceptance and credibility," leading to a tenfold increase in all forms of gambling—public and private—over the next six years.

The lottery has done its share to spur addictive problem gambling. According to *Money* magazine, 43 percent of callers to the Trenton, NJ-based Council on Compulsive Gambling's national hotline say they're addicted to lotteries, up from 16 percent ten years ago. Addictive gambling is encouraged by newer games like video terminals and the casino-like Keno. The Delaware lottery has installed Vegas-style slot machines at three racetracks, while South Dakota has video lottery machines in convenience stores and truck stops. "Pro-

Money found that states that have lotteries spend *less* per capita on education than those that don't have them. Horn points to the Georgia lottery, which operates as an education Robin Hood in reverse: It takes money from working-class players to give to mostly middle and upper income students as college scholarships. Those who receive need-based assistance such as Pell grants are disqualified.

Lotteries don't even necessarily keep a lid on taxes. Average per capita taxes in lottery states have increased 27.1 percent since 1990, *three times* as much as the 7.2 percent increase in non-lottery states. So if lotteries drain the income of those who can least afford it, and fail to improve state services or cut taxes, what to do?

One first step would be a strong recommendation by the National Gambling Impact Study Commission that lotteries are counterproductive and should be phased out. The commission, created in 1996 by federal legislation sponsored by Michigan Rep. John Conyers, and then-Senator Paul Simon of Illinois, plans to issue its

25 28 30 34 47 POWERBALL

enues from gambling. They don't think it's practical to cut it." In addition, they fear their residents will simply drive to neighboring states to play, exporting potential revenue elsewhere. If true, the federal government should provide generous assistance—fiscal methadone, if you will, to states for dropping lotteries or promising not to adopt them. This carrot could be combined with a stick, such as reductions in federal assistance for states that persist in running lotteries.

At a minimum, Horn wants states to "stop aggressive advertising. It's one thing to make lotteries available to prevent illegal numbers games from returning, it's another to push an addictive product." The commission also should target Keno and other fast-paced, highly addictive games for elimination, he urges.

While federal action would be constructive, grassroots activism would be more powerful. The time seems ripe for a broad-based movement in opposition to lotteries in particular, and state-backed gambling in general. So far, churches have been most visible on the issue. However, as Horn notes, NCALG has been mobilizing a wider anti-lottery con-

stituency, "from Ralph Reed to Ralph Nader. We've got people who wouldn't ordinarily speak to each other sitting down to discuss issues around gambling."

Fighting lotteries means fighting for progressive taxation. States feel lotteries are necessary because the rich have successfully shifted the tax burden to others. It's time to end this soaking of the poor. At the top of the anti-lottery coalition agenda should be a demand that the wealthy pay their fair share of taxes. That would help make lotteries a thing of the past.

Bill Mosley is an activist with DC/MD/NOVA DSA, and a member of the DL editorial committee



professionals in gambling addiction," observes Bernie Horn, "say that the worst thing you can do is make such an addictive form of gambling so easily available." Robert Goodman, professor of public policy at Hampshire College in Amherst, Mass., has estimated the social costs of lottery addiction at nearly \$11 billion a year, taking into account bad checks, theft, broken families and suicide. Coincidentally, \$11 billion is also the total annual combined profit from lotteries. All pain, no gain.

It's no wonder that lotteries haven't proven the salvation for state budgets that their advocates claimed. While many lotteries were first sold as funding sources for education,

report next month. The report will cover all forms of gambling, from lotteries to casinos to riverboats, and even in-flight video betting. If the commission looks hard and honestly at lotteries, it can only declare them a form of regressive taxation with harmful social effects and of dubious benefit to state budgets. While states' rights would prevent the federal government from eliminating lotteries by fiat, the commission should recommend that states wean themselves away from lotteries.

Fiscal Methadone

Bernie Horn notes that "many states are essentially addicted to rev-

Look Out Katie Couric!

DSA's own Frank Llewellyn took our message to a national audience recently as the sole guest for one hour on C-SPAN's *Morning Journal* program from Washington D.C.

Llewellyn is a member of the National Political Committee.

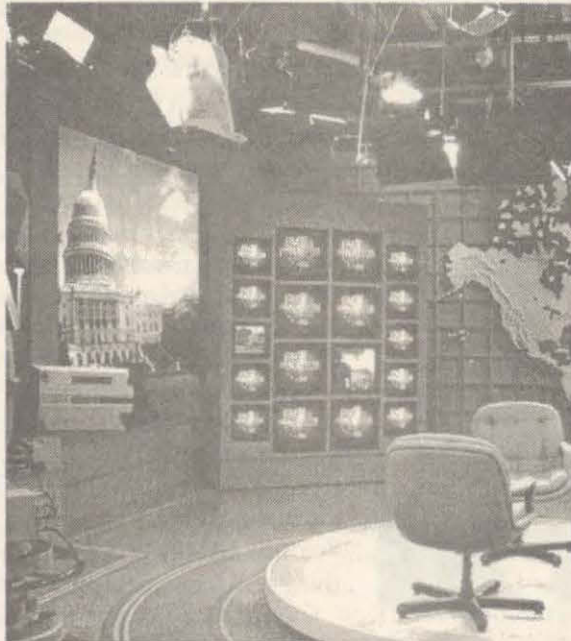
Frank's phlegmatic personality and droll, understated wit was a perfect coffee-time match for the sort of intelligent and always Valium-calm host/interlocutor that C-SPAN seems to hire. Frank was also more than a match for the rightist wingnuts that phoned-in on the "conservative line," more than one of these callers spewing the suspiciously-scripted line that DSA "controls the Progressive Caucus in congress that is the cutting edge of socialist revolution in the U.S." We should be so lucky. Does the fact that this and similar fantasies directed at our nice, feisty but modest-sized organization mean that the tired project of the right, split between social conservatives and corporate

internationalists, interventionists and isolationists, may be played out? Let's

hope so.

Llewellyn fielded many more calls from listeners just interested in finding out about democratic socialism, our organization, and our positions on everything from health care to taxation to social security and foreign policy. DSA's fine-looking web site was featured, along with our contact numbers, and, as the saying goes, operators were standing by in the national office as people called in for information and membership blanks.

As with most C-SPAN programs, Frank's appearance was re-run several times, beamed around the nation via satellite with our compelling message of social and economic justice.



Ben for the Defense

BEN MARGOLIS: 1910 – 1999

Ben Margolis was a long time DSA member, via the NAM stream. He was also one of those fortunate individuals with the right mix of skills and values who happens to find him or herself in precisely the right place at the right moment in history.

Ben was a highly respected and famous civil rights attorney in Los Angeles, who defended the blacklisted Hollywood Ten, including screenwriters Paul Jarrico, Dalton Trumbo, John Howard Lawson and Alvah Bessie, Oscar-winner Ring Lardner, Jr. and director Edward Dmytryk. Ben also defended the 22 mostly Mexican-American young "zoot suiters" in the sensational Sleepy Lagoon murder case of

1944, and 13 Southern California Communist Party leaders prosecuted under the 1940 Smith Act, including Ben Dobbs and Dorothy Healy—also long time DSA members. In the Sleepy Lagoon case Margolis won a reversal of the convictions on the grounds that the defendants were denied their right to consult with their lawyers. That case established the right of defendants to free access to counsel during trial.

Ben represented many labor unions and defended Harry Bridges, the famous leader of the West Coast-based International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union against U.S. government charges that he was a Communist. Ben always took a militant stance in these situations, saying after he was subpoenaed to face HUAC in 1952, "I'll fry in hell be-

fore they get any information out of me about my clients."

Ben was the son of Jewish socialist parents who fled Czarist persecution. His family moved from New York to Santa Barbara when he was a teenager. He was first exposed to the law through a high school class, and went on from there to make history.

I remember Ben Margolis as one of my early mentors in DSA. Like so many veteran activists of his generation he had a very dignified and quietly imposing presence. He was a masterful speaker who spoke with great eloquence, and made the choice of an active, committed political life as intellectually and personally attractive as he was.

Steve Tarzynski, Los Angeles DSA

Nadler Updates DSA on Social Security

BY STEVE OLIVER

Recently, Congressional Representative Jerrold Nadler briefed DSA activists from around the country on the state of the Social Security situation. According to Nadler, the Social Security "crisis" isn't financial, it's political. Analyses of the Social Security Trust Fund that point to the looming insolvency of the fund in 2032 (or 2034) are based on an unrealistically low growth rate in the economy of 1.5%. A more realistic assumption of 2.4% means the Trust Fund is flush for the statutory requirement of 75 years.

The publicity generated around these analyses, pumped by right wing politicians and think tanks, has caused the public to think that Social Security is in trouble (see *DL*, Winter 1999). Congressman Nadler, a New York City Democrat and a member of the House Progressive Caucus, attacked conservative assumptions, and called the "assault on social insurance a danger to the health and well-being of the citizens of the U.S."

The good news is that the Republicans are somewhat divided about their next political thrust. Some have backed away from the more danger-

ous "carve out" proposals that would have some percentage of the S.S. tax reduced for individuals who set up their own private investment accounts. Others prefer one of over thirty variations floating around their caucus. Nadler believes that this right wing division of opinion, coupled with delay until after the 2000 national elections "would be the best thing to happen."

Congressman Nadler pointed out, however, that it's "hard to stop something with nothing: "People on our side of the aisles have to have a positive plan." To this end Nadler has pro-

posed a bill, HR1043, that addresses some of the perceived problems with Social Security. Even assuming a low 1.5% growth rate of the economy, the S.S. Trust Fund could be strengthened by raising the income level subject to S.S. taxes and by investing some portion of the fund in the stock market. Restoring the cutoff to its historical levels of 90% of wages from its current level of 84.5%, or raising the cutoff from its current \$72,000 to \$112,000, would go a long way towards shoring up the fund. Investing in share markets by the fund *as a whole* might generate additional revenue while avoiding the many pitfalls of individuals trying to time the market for their own retirement.

For his part, Nadler would like to see discussion and agitation around reasonable alternatives from the left and labor—to take the initiative away from the Republican proposals that dominate the public dialogue. Nadler asked activists to continue to challenge the right as it concocts new strategies to divide and scare Americans in pursuing its goal of gutting Social Security as a social insurance program.

Steve Oliver, chair NY DSA

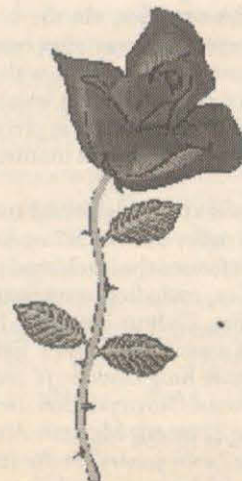


SOCIALIST FORUM

After a long delay as a consequence of severe budget problems, *Socialist Forum* will resume publication this June. *SF* is a vehicle for DSA members to freely discuss and debate the political approach and positions of the organization. We expect to publish three 32 page issues in 1999. Subscribers should expect to receive their issue at the beginning of July.

The deadline for submissions for the next issue is June 20th. Submissions must be electronic and may be e-mailed to DSA, or submitted on disc. Themes for this issue will be Kosovo and the NATO intervention, and investment of Social Security trust funds in the stock market.

An NPC editorial committee consisting of Rachel Dewey, Joseph Schwartz and Eric Vega will select articles for publication that are representative of the range of views in the organization.



DSA Statement of Principles on Social Security Reform

Democratic Socialists of America is greatly concerned about the acceleration of recent efforts to dismantle and privatize the U.S. Social Security system.

At a time when progressive economists are questioning if there are significant problems with the system's solvency, we find it alarmist, to say the least, that political commentators and opinion-makers across much of the political spectrum feel the need to back major changes in the nation's most popular and successful public program. Furthermore, we find it extremely disingenuous to say that these changes need to be made by Congress within the next year.

The only reason we can see for such an outpouring of propaganda for privatization is heavy funding from the interests that would benefit most from such action: banks, brokerage houses, and insurance companies. These forces that would gut the public good for the benefit of a few.

Corporations like American Express, Fidelity Investments, Aetna, and State Street Bank are pouring millions of dollars into the coffers of front groups like the Cato Institute, Americans Discuss Social Security and the Concord Coalition. These groups simply instill fear in the hearts of the American public that Social Security is in imminent jeopardy and needs drastic and immediate change. Corporate-funded experts and right-wing ideologues are proposing privatization plans that would have been politically unthinkable even five years ago as the *solution* to Social Security's *problem*.

Progressive opposition to this onslaught has been slow to develop. But as we approach the most crucial phase of the debate, popular resistance is indeed crystallizing, and organized labor and groups like the Gray Panthers and the National Council of Senior Citizens strive to take action to defend a *social* Social Security.

The Democratic Socialists of America joins the growing chorus of progressive organizations that are fighting to insure that Social Security emerges from this debate not only intact, but stronger than it was before. It is absolutely critical to the future well-being of the vast majority of working Americans that reasoned, reasonable, and visionary alternatives be put forth and made the law of the land. Failing that task will mean that one more nail has been driven into the coffin of economic, and perhaps political, democracy in America. If workers lose Social Security, then, we will be losing an important platform from which to build a better, more democratic, and more socialist society.

So, we intend to fight hard to defend Social Security. To that end we adopt these Ten Principles for Action:

● **Social Security is a right.** DSA opposes any call to dismantle the Social Security system as anti-democratic and anti-worker.

● **Social Security is social insurance, not an individual investment program.** DSA supports the principle of all workers pooling funds collectively to provide for everyone's basic economic needs in retirement—and ultimately from cradle-to-grave.

● **Social Security needs to be expanded, not restricted, to protect workers of all ages from the vagaries of a market economy.** DSA therefore opposes any potential change in Social Security that calls for raising the retirement age—which automatically means more workers will die before ever receiving any benefits from the program.

● **Social Security benefits need to be increased, not decreased.** DSA opposes any potential change in Social Security that calls for lowering real benefits to retirees—which automatically means that more retired workers will live in poverty, than already do.

● **Social Security is not in crisis.** contrary to what most mainstream pundits insist. DSA supports slowing down the debate on Social Security and taking no major legislative action on the program until all views have been carefully aired.

● **Social Security taxes on workers must not be increased.** DSA opposes all regressive taxation plans currently being proposed to "reform" Social Security.

● **The Social Security program should always raise additional funds in progressive ways and not through increases in the regressive payroll tax.** DSA believes that one significant way to insure future solvency is to eliminate or raise significantly the current wage cap on income subject to the current rate of payroll tax..

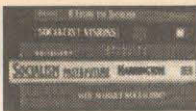
● **Social Security must not be changed from a defined benefit program to a defined contribution program.**

● **Social Security must not be changed in any way that would force workers to bear any individual market risk against their future economic security.**

● **Social Security may benefit the public good through collective public investment of a moderate portion of the Social Security Trust Fund.** DSA could support such investment, but only if it is done by democratically-elected officials with full public oversight. We also believe that investments should be socially productive — specifically in socially necessary sectors such as affordable housing and community development. The fund should only be invested in corporations in which workers and public representatives have a strong voice.

Democratic Socialists of America
180 Varick Street 12 Fl. New York, N.Y. 10014
(212) 727-8610

(Adopted January 1999)



Illusions of Prosperity

America's Working Families in an Age of Economic Insecurity.

By Joel Blau, Oxford University Press, May 1999.

If DSA had commissioned an overview of the state of the labor force in a globalized economy, the U.S. social wage and celebrations of the market as panacea, we might have produced *Illusions of Prosperity*. Fortunately, we didn't have to. Joel Blau, a professor of social welfare at the State University of New York, wrote this fine book on his own initiative, and it should definitely find its way into your personal library.

Blau has tackled, without academic jargon, the social effects of T.I.N.A.—There Is No Alternative—allowing markets to deliver almost *all* the goods—public services included. Blau observes that “Americans have long associated markets with democracy . . . an equation that the downfall of communism . . . [has] further bound together in the public's mind.” Yet, he notes that “political freedom has always required the existence of political institutions to protect the relatively powerless from the relatively powerful.” Blau argues that our veneration of markets has lowered the living standards of most Americans, and made us more vulnerable to the next economic crisis. He suggests expansion of democratic accountability to prevent further downward mobility for American workers and their families.

In an age of an 11,000 Dow index, and wide celebration of general prosperity, Blau exposes the truly bifurcated nature of the U.S. economy at the millennium: The richest one percent of Americans now have 39 percent of net national wealth. Blau re-

minds us that this level is exceeded only by the period immediately prior to the Great Depression. “For the average worker, wages remain low, real income gains are scarce, and two jobs are often necessary to make ends meet.” Official unemployment figures continue to disregard many discouraged and involuntarily part-time workers. To add insult, the 1996 welfare law destroyed the safety net. Blau



worries that in any recession occurring after 2002, all those who have exhausted their five-year lifetime limit on public assistance will be left to drown. Even boomers with shares may be vulnerable, if there is the same sort of stock market decline that occurred between 1966 and 1982 (44%). Many are in hock to credit cards, and fac-

ing the prospect of expensive future college tuition for their children.

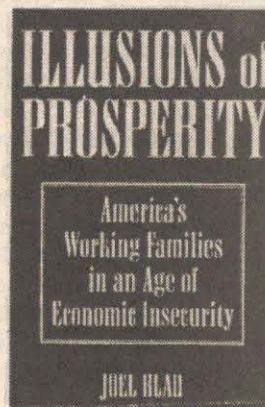
A shrinking supply of *living-wage* jobs has had particularly dire consequences for African-American men. In 1996, 4.7 percent of white men were unemployed; the rate for black working age men in contrast was 9.4 percent. Blau lists the factors that have particularly disadvantaged black men in current job markets, tracking rapid job growth rates in the southwest, where African-Americans are not the dominant minority. Interestingly, the west as a whole has replaced Dixie as the region with the highest overall poverty rates.

The U.S. economy, Blau reports, “did gain 45 million new jobs between 1973 and 1997.” But by 1996, median income remained 2.7 percent below its 1989 level. This is in part because of the new mobility of U.S.

corporations, the assault by government and private industry on labor's right to organize, and a general reallocation of public budgets. Footloose corporations, to Blau, “have even less reason to contribute to . . . local infrastructure.” He cites California, which in 1960 had a state infrastructure—roads, schools, sanitation and utilities relative to population, that was ranked third in the country. By 1990, after Proposition 13, California ranked thirty-sixth. Blau is an advocate of greater public infrastructure spending, to boost general productivity.

The changing economic role of the nation-state is a problem, since “finance capital can curb government's ability to tax, spend, borrow, or depreciate debt through inflation.” Blau scarily quotes a global capitalist from New Jersey, who asks if “you have to be elected to influence policy? The market is saying to policy makers, ‘We're your watchdog.’” Challenging well-known MIT economist Paul Krugman, a major proponent of free trade, Blau finds scant appreciation of the role of power and conflict in Krugman's “narrowly econometric” data. As an example, a corporation in labor negotiations can threaten a union with outsourced production, so gaining leverage for a goal of lower pay. Blau says this is often done as a threat, even if no goods have actually passed customs. Individual U.S. states often exacerbate this corporate blackmail with their own interstate rivalry for plants and facilities that might produce some local jobs.

Blau reviews the data on NAFTA and job loss in the U.S., capital investment in Asia and the historical economic role of post-war Japan in ex-



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Howe Little Understood

Irving Howe: Socialist, Critic, Jew

By Edward Alexander,
Indiana University Press, 1998.

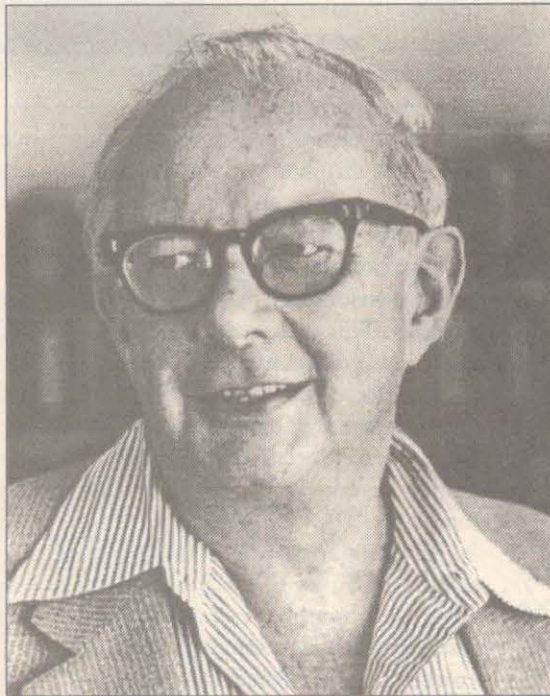
BY JASON SCHULMAN

Few figures among the New York Intellectuals were as well known as the late Irving Howe, a major literary critic and teacher, democratic socialist, and, of course, co-founder of *Dissent*. Only now has a book-length literary and intellectual biography of him been published. Edward Alexander, professor of English at the University of Washington and a partisan of the Israeli Right, would be expected to deliver a neo-conservative hatchet job. While this book isn't exactly a love-fest, some readers may be surprised that Alexander has a few nice things to say about this "avatar of secular Jewishness." Perhaps this is because Howe called Alexander his "favorite reactionary."

Alexander dubs Howe "not only the last estimable public intellectual, but the greatest one." In particular, Alexander praises Howe's refusal to "let his socialist commitments force him to embrace a sociological approach" to art and literature, insisting that "the critic's obligation is not to do polemical battle with an author's ideas but to evaluate his book as a work of art." Such was Howe's dedication to the word that he forced himself to acknowledge the literary achievements of T.S. Eliot and Ezra Pound, even as their anti-Semitism (and in Pound's case, open fascism) made it morally and politically heartwrenching to do so. As a Lit Crit, starting at *Partisan Review*, Howe was, to Alexander, bucking the "class-reductionist" heart of Marxism towards literature. Of course, Howe had been a Trotskyist

in his youth, and, as Alexander admits, Trotsky himself spoke in defense of the relative autonomy of art

It is the young Howe who receives most of Alexander's wrath, the Trotskyist with a "religious" attachment to Marxism and its "avalanche of dogmatic language." Alexander applauds Howe for having had no illusions about Stalinism — unlike many radicals and intellectuals of the 1930s. Alexander derides the former Irving Horenstein's supposed youthful faith that the working class was incapable of anti-Semitism. In this and other



historic reconstructions, Alexander's complete lack of understanding of Marxist and socialist thought mars his entire book. In fact Howe's early Marxism is called into question by Alexander, not only because of ideology, but because of Marx's "unrelenting anti-Semitism."

The biographer simply cannot put himself back in the 1930s, to understand the outlook of Irving from the east Bronx during his years in the Workers Party, later the Independent Socialist League, and Howe's youth-

ful views about imperialism amongst the capitalist powers during World War II. Alexander also questions whether Howe's early internationalism was a form of betrayal of the Jews trapped in Nazi death camps. Of course Howe was a militant anti-fascist, and spent the war guarding an Aleutian island, where, he once reminded DSA audiences, he had "plenty of time to read."

Edward Alexander castigates Howe for being more interested in the progress of socialism than in the Jewish predicament of the 30s and 40s, and for his insufficient attention to the specifically Jewish victimization of the Holocaust. Alexander dismisses the "chimera of socialist universalism," the idea that perhaps Jewish workers had more common cause with Gentile workers than with Jewish capitalists. Such an idea, in his eyes, founders upon German workers having been, to quote Daniel Goldhagen, Hitler's willing executioners. Alexander fails to note that after Hitler seized power, the first thing he did was to destroy the workers' organizations, correctly understanding that once these were destroyed, atomized workers would be less capable of resisting the totalitarian state.

Alexander does praise Howe's "Yiddishist" commitments, in particular the six anthologies in which he collaborated with the American Yiddish journalist Eliezer Greenberg, though Alexander would have liked more about the details of religious life of Lower East Side immigrants in *World of Our Fathers*, a literary and commercial success.

Though he does not belittle Howe for his secularism, Alexander does take Howe to task for what he sees as his insufficient support of Israel. This may seem odd to those who

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The Part-Time Paradox

Time Norms, Professional Life, Family and Gender.

By Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, Carroll Seron, Bonnie Oglensky, and Robert Saute. Routledge, 1999

At first glance, this book attracts then causes one to pause. It attracts because of the title: addressing the issue of part-time work in a country where everybody knows you need a full-time salary—or salaries, to survive, is a central problem of the nation, particularly for females. The reader then realizes that the group upon which most of the book is focused are lawyers. *Lawyers*. Those overcompensated jackals of a litigious corporate system. Read further. Five pages into this very useful book you'll realize that your stereotype of attorneys is somewhat off the mark; most make modest incomes, some struggle. More important it turns out that lawyers are a good control group for study because they are numerous, located in a highly stratified profession that is increasingly being feminized, and show up in all the strategic sectors of the economy—private and public.

The authors, all sociologists at the City University of New York, managed to take a dry subject with a potentially unsympathetic group of characters and make me teary eyed. As I read about the personal struggles of female attorneys to balance family and childcare in a profession that defines 'part-time' work as fifty hours per

week, I relived all the emotional struggles of friends and relatives whose childcare/employment balancing act is always precarious. Now that over 40 percent of law school classes are women, and many of the largest firms have women as a majority of their new hires, these home and work conflicts are sharpening.

While economists debate whether Americans are actually working longer hours, we know that many at the bottom of the economic ladder are struggling to survive. At the credentialed end of the labor market this book documents the longer working hours of lawyers, along with the professional/managerial class in general. This is exacerbated by the dual nature of technology, which allows white collars to theoretically work anywhere, anytime, but also erodes boundaries between family and office, and in fact *compels* work in many cases.

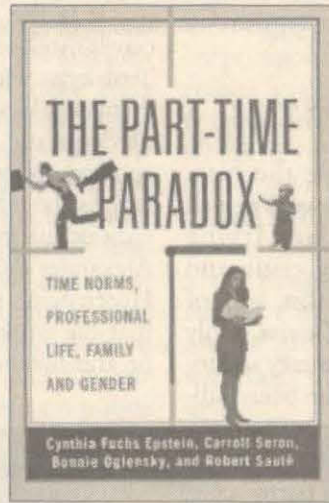
In comparing public and private sector lawyering, the writers observe that government has had a disproportionately high number of female attorneys on staff for a longer period of time than private firms. They conclude that government has been generally more family-friendly than the corporate partnerships, with better-defined rules and a more humane culture of respect for part-time work. The often contingent nature of part-time work in the private sector causes great insecurity, sharpened by assumptions of many male supervisors, such as the supervising partner quoted by a fe-

male attorney: "you are an associate or you are a partner . . . there are no part-time partners." Who takes care of his kids?

Many dual-income families still make "rational" economic decisions about which of the partners will work full-time, which part-time. This is based on historic data about male earning capacity in a sexist society. As gender roles change through struggle, mostly for the better, this book reminds us that we

need to re-evaluate and balance our very notions of compensated and uncompensated labor with other values—in the professions, and all through the labor force. Even occupational butts of jokes shouldn't have to make the sort of wrenching personal choices that this society seems to require at the millennium.

—J.G.



A POEM

Woman
In workplace
Where more insult
Is practiced against her than anywhere
They do the same or better than men
Must
Be Rewarded.

—Marcia Slutsky (NY DSA)

THANK YOU!

. . . to all you kind and energetic DSA authors who have sent their books into the national office for review. We were so deluged by good titles that we are going to run *more* book reviews in the future so that we can do justice to your labors. Many of you will be receiving thank you letters, often with editorial queries, so that our reviewers can get some background on your work. Authors who submitted very good but somewhat specialized titles for a popular political publication, have had some of them forwarded to appropriately-placed editors that might be receptive.

Keep writing!!

International Book Review

L'illusion économique: essai sur la stagnation des sociétés développées
by Emanuel Todd,
Editions Gallimard, 1998 (in French)

BY JOHN G. MASON

Nearly a quarter of a century after the 1976 publication of his *La Chute Finale (The Final Fall)*, a work which predicted the Soviet Union's break-up in the late 1980s, Emanuel Todd of the National Institute of Demographic Studies in Paris is back with a new book. *L'illusion économique* takes a critical look at the politics of demographic decline and economic deflation that prevail in the developed world. More particularly, it examines the crisis of the American model reflected in the "social regression" that he believes has been masked by the Clinton boom.

Todd's book is part of a larger critical literature in France, such as the *Raisons pour Agir* pamphlet series written and edited by Pierre Bourdieu. This contests the hegemony in Europe of a neo-liberal consensus that allows both erosion of the nation state, and the inevitability of economic and cultural globalization promoted by big business groups like the World Economic Forum. In France this has meant "modernizing socialism" by embracing a model of European integration that is wedded to "ultra-liberal" policies of social austerity, expanded free trade and 'cashing-out' the public sector through privatization of state companies.

For Todd, the endorsement by the Parisian intellectual left of the project of European integration

amounts to a new "treason of the elites," which betrays both the French people and a republic where popular legitimacy is rooted in egalitarian policies that promote social solidarity. This led Todd back to the political enthusiasms of his youth, including support for the reformed Communist Party of Robert Hue as the only political force combating the Euro Central Bank and attacks on the post-war social contract.

Todd lays out a striking and idiosyncratic critique of the U.S. model of capitalism, which he believes requires dramatic social inequality to grow. In his view American political culture has its roots in an "absolute nuclear family" structure that allows for unequal inheritances between siblings, and which therefore can more easily tolerate dramatic levels of inequality. In contrast, heightened inequality is culturally incompatible with the 'anthropological' foundations of Germanic and French societies rooted in more egalitarian family structures. Pursuing a U.S. model of market-led growth, to Todd, would be political dynamite for European states.

The author's curious anthropological determinism rests on the slim notion that contemporary political conflicts are driven by "deep structures" rooted in pre-modern family and community life. In fact this brand of political anthropology somewhat resembles the regional and ethnic political demography which has been used to better effect by U.S. authors, such as David Hackett Fischer in *Albion's Seed*, a discussion of British folkways influencing America's regional divisions, and this spring, Kevin Phillips eccentric *The Cousins'*

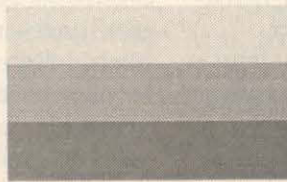
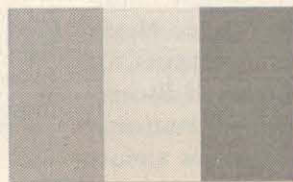
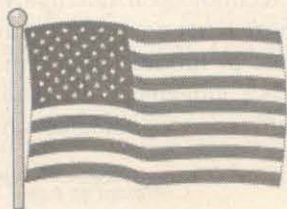
Todd identifies the real "social deficits" prevailing in the U.S., particularly in education.

Wars, about Anglo-American geopolitics.

More plausibly, and more relevant to DSAers, Emanuel Todd argues that the ultimate unworkability of the U.S. model is based on America's precarious role as consumer of last resort for the Asian Rim economies, with U.S. consumption five percent more per annum than its real output of production goods. This argument parallels the case against globalization made by William Greider in *One World, Ready or Not*, which foresees the spread of Asian crises of overcapacity and under-consumption.

Todd identifies the real "social deficits" prevailing in the U.S., particularly in education. He points to evidence of unacceptably high rates of adult illiteracy, and "aliteracy," to bolster his case that America has suffered from a cultural regression in comparison to other industrial societies since the 60s. As an educator, the comparative growth of domestic prison budgets makes Todd's social deficit arguments hard to refute. This book deserves to find an American publisher.

John G. Mason serves on DSA's International Committee, and teaches at William Paterson University in NJ.



Fiction

One Day of Life, by Manlio Argueta
(translated by Bill Brow),
Vintage, 1991

BY ASAD ISMI

Manlio Argueta's tale of incredible suffering and enormous determination is riveting. It is told by the women of the Guardado family who live in the small rural El Salvador town of Chalate. The novel carries us into the heart of that country's civil war, where the state and army with all their repressive power cannot break the will of one poor family.

Using simple, clear and direct prose, Argueta introduces readers to the vivid Guardado women, especially Grandmother Lupe, the main narrator. We experience her fears and hopes and feel the fragile nature of existence. Her family is horrendously exploited and almost destitute. Yet, with minimal resources, they fight back against overwhelming odds. The Guardados are no mere victims but try to remain the agents of their destiny. Starved, massacred, tortured, but still resistant. As Grandmother Lupe says, "they will have to kill all of us."

As Grandfather Jose puts it, "the problem lies in our awareness. The awareness we will have. Then life will

become as clear as spring water . . . The problems can't be solved by a single person but only by all of us working together, the humble. The clearheaded ones." Binding this rather clearheaded family is a level of mutual affection that captures the essence of an engaged life. This affection extends to the community, even out to the soldiers who make war on the family.

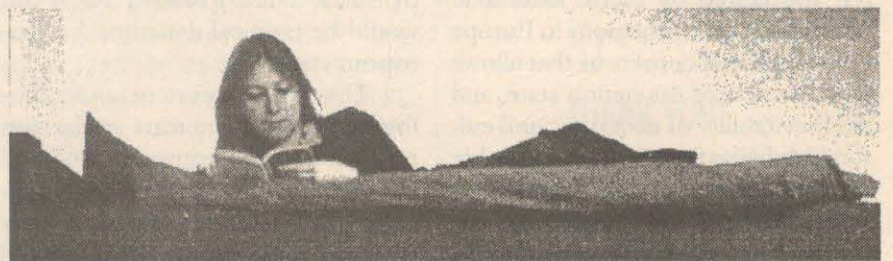
Poor towns like Chalate supply the soldiers of a ruthless U.S.-trained and financed army that can massacre at will. Argueta explores the inner life of an officer being trained by the U.S. Special Forces. Also from a rural background, he comes to hate himself and his people. In exchange for the privileges of his position, he is ready to "defend the country against its enemies even at the expense of our own brothers. And even at the expense of our mother."

Women are central to both sides of the conflict. They hold the Guardados together in the face of

ferocious violence. To an army officer the women are "whores" responsible for the "misery in this country . . . because . . . they don't waste any time in having children." From self-hatred and misogyny come murder and repression.

Argueta explains the officer's attitude by taking us through a labyrinth of mental justifications so that we understand the mind of a killer. Similarly, we learn about the Guardados' thought processes through naturalistic internal dialogues. It is his closeness to all his characters that makes Manlio Argueta's writing powerful. His intimate knowledge of them makes you forget that they are characters. In this way, *One Day of Life* transcends the novel form and becomes an incomparable literary document of horror and courage.

Asad Ismi writes for DL from Toronto. He is co-author of Informed Dissent: Three Generals and the Vietnam War (1992).



Illusions of Prosperity/continued from page 10

plaining the domestic situation here. By linking these global trends with effects on average Americans, he gives DSAers ammunition against simplistic arguments about "generous" public benefits as the source of poverty and unemployment, and sorts out the micro-complications of a very heterogeneous domestic labor force.

Illusions of Prosperity contains a comparative assessment of the effects of globalization on the European welfare states. There the average per-

centage of GDP spent on social protection in the European OECD countries is fifty percent higher than in the U.S. Some of the self-congratulatory notions of the business press and allies in celebrating the famous 'flexibility' of American labor markets are challenged, against the overly "stringent" ones across the Atlantic. Here's where selective use of statistics for counting unemployment and discouraged workers, and high U.S. incarceration rates, are employed for a more

balanced view. Blau's argument is strengthened with statistics from the longer working days that have come with new technologies and shifting power relations in the marketplace.

Both European and U.S. workers are faced with threats posed by trends in automation: "The fear of permanent technological unemployment has more basis now than at any previous time in modern economic history. Such a judgement does not imply that growing technological un-

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Howe Little Understood/continued from page 11

think of Howe as a voice of Labor Zionism, or who remember his 1971 essay *The Campus Left and Israel*, where he argued that some of the New Left criticism of Israel stemmed from anti-Semitic and authoritarian proclivities. But Howe was a supporter of Peace Now, and he became increasingly critical of Israel as the Likud steered it further and further from his dream of a "democratic socialist" lifeboat state. In Alexander's eyes, for a Jew to fail to see only the PLO as having been terrorist in the Arab-Israeli conflict means that one is engaging in "anti-Israel Jewish politics."

Predictably, Alexander praises Howe's disparagement of the New Left. Seeing a comrade in the fight against multicultural "barbarism," Howe is applauded for exposing the positions of a part of the New Left

— which did in fact have illusions in Third World Stalinism and was somewhat dismissive of "bourgeois" civil liberties. Howe's opposition to the Vietnam War doesn't thrill Alexander, but his denunciation of Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics* and "middle-class" New Left feminism in general finds approval. He further praises Howe's "democratic and egalitarian conservatism" on educational matters, in particular his opposition to post-structuralist literary theory, and his defense of the value of the European literary canon. Howe's *Leon Trotsky* (1978), a rather fair-minded book, also gets points.

Howe's son and literary executor, Nicholas, had no interest in assisting Alexander's project. Hence, we learn little about Howe's four marriages and the turmoil they caused, much less

about the personal costs of a lifetime devoted to battling Stalinists, New Leftists, and, ultimately, the Jewish neoconservatives who currently convene around *Commentary* magazine. Whatever the book's insights, it is fatally flawed by the author's utter incomprehension of socialism as anything other than state-ownership of industry. Such a complex and useful figure as Irving Howe demands a more knowledgeable intellectual biography. His lapidary and energetic editorial presence, and rigorous, sometimes intimidating intellectuality, are missed by many in and around DSA. He was the original 'steady worker', who tried to meld the best in the liberal tradition with the best of the democratic socialist legacy.

Jason Schulman, Socialist Scholars Conf. Committee, is a graduate student at the City University of New York

Illusions of Prosperity/continued from page 18

employment is an absolute certainty; it only suggests that circumstances are sufficiently different this time to temper the reassurances that history might otherwise provide."

Socialists should welcome Blau's notion that we must *connect* firm efficiency to that of the whole economy. A firm's efficiency may increase with automation, "but the efficiency of the macro economy does not unless the unemployed proportion of the labor force gets alternative employment."

Despite all the Democratic, Republican and even Blairite blather about education and a high-skill economy, Blau identifies specific sites of low-wage, low-skill strategies that have kept wages down. He also reviews the social consequences of poor schools and school performance if higher education is the *only* route to economic success. This often overburdens schools with all sorts of patchwork substitutes for real structural remedies in the rest of the economy and increased social wages for par-

ents. The author rips into the market assumptions behind misguided school voucher schemes pushed by for-profit education corporations and their ideological allies. These kinds of proposals have had the neat effect of splintering natural constituencies for good public schools.

The absence of an effective national job training policy is a continuing handicap to U.S. workers. Vertical integration of a national training model would yield more success. After reviewing key political and operational flaws of past federal training programs, Blau reminds us that "business has consistently opposed expansion of the federal government into this policy arena, fearing it would usurp the private sector's right to manage the workforce." A comprehensive labor market policy, to Blau, might naturally incline to comprehensive employment that might make labor scarce and drive up wages. Statistics are cited about the greater control of wage scales by firms that train

their own low-skill workers.

Extending democracy to the workplace has long been a goal of socialists. Appended to his broad strategies, the author lays out micro-economic options and risks before us, from Employee Stock Ownership Plans, to gain-sharing to replace individualistic profit-sharing plans, to more democratic governance of firms. None of those will be possible, however, unless we can manage to redefine our relationship to government, "from Client to Customer to Citizen." Here the statement is made that Americans may not 'hate' government all that much. After all, we have more of it at more levels than any other country. New Jersey alone has 567 municipalities, and thousands of other elected and appointed regional bodies. Blau X-rays public budgets, and shows linkages between fiscal policies and social outcomes. He also examines the rush to privatize, and the consequences of an enfeebled government.

Continued on page 18

The Fire in Kosovo This Time:

Is There Always a Technological Fix?

BY BOGDAN DENITCH

DSA Honorary Chair Bogdan Denitch, professor emeritus at the City University of New York and Chair of DSA's International Committee, has represented our organization at the Socialist International. He has worked for years to build a space for a real multi-ethnic, multi-national democracy in the land of his birth, the former united Yugoslavia. Commuting between the now war-torn region, the U.S., and European capitals, Bogdan directs the Institute for Transition to Democracy (ToD), a non-profit non-governmental organization. ToD seeks to bring people together from the post-Tito states to build civic structures promoting democratic pluralism, ethnic tolerance, peace and freedom. It works to address the causes and consequences of ethnic conflicts and wars.

At press time the situation in Kosovo, Serbia and surrounding Balkan region is grim—and fast changing. Bogdan Denitch in fact predicted this course of events years ago at several DSA national conventions. He publicly warned the U.S. foreign policy establishment and the European foreign ministries that such a violent disintegration was quite possible, if they pursued their existing policies towards opportunistic and craven ethnic nationalists, and that the situation would spin out of control. Here now his own thoughts.

Sometimes stereotypes are right. Kosovo is a tragedy. In addition to being a tragedy many times over it is the site of horrible ethnic “cleansing” whereby huge numbers of the majority Albanian population of Kosovo is being driven into exile into Albania, Macedonia and Montenegro.

This scenario is already familiar from the Yugoslav Wars of Succession from 1991 to 1995, in which the ethnic maps of Bosnia and Croatia were re-drawn with great brutality. This process was initiated by the Serbs under the leadership of Milosevic, in attacks on Croatia and Bosnia, using both the Yugoslav army and the murderous volunteer militias. Milosevic was soon lustily joined by the Croatian strongman Franjo Tudjman, who carried out large forced movements of undesired populations when his turn came. The Bosniak Moslems being the weakest committed the least number of these crimes.

By the time the 1995 Dayton peace agreement was rammed through, following massive air strikes against Serb forces in Bosnia, there were a quarter million dead and three and a half million refugees. An im-

portant principle was established: *ethnic cleansing was not a side effect of the Yugoslav wars, it was their primary purpose.* Despite provisions of the Dayton agreement providing for their return most refugees have not been able to return and probably never will. Ethnic cleansing creates “new facts on the ground.”

Ethnic Cleansing in Kosovo

Ethnic cleansing has been massively applied in Kosovo, carried out by brutal and organized actions of the Serbian army, police and death squads such as the “Tigers,” a volunteer militia already notorious for its war crimes in Bosnia and Croatia. Men have been separated from their families and shot or sent off to camps, houses have been systematically looted and villages burned. At the border, refugees leaving Kosovo are robbed once more and their passports, identification papers and automobile license plates are taken from them. This is to make any possible return more difficult. The Serb authorities have learned this from the Croats who make it impossible for Serbian refugees from Croatia to even begin the torturous process of returning without proper papers.

In the meantime a massive man-hunt against Kosovo Albanian civic leaders, journalists, lawyers, doctors, human rights workers and politicians has provided a grisly daily list of victims. To date these include one of the major Albanian peace negotiators, and the head of a local clinic. Those who could have gone underground. The dead include my personal friends.

Bombing: Too Little and Too Late

This carnage is going on while Yugoslavia (this present rump state composed of Serbia and Montenegro) was subjected to massive air assaults in the second armed action undertaken by NATO since its formation. The first was in Bosnia in 1995. The largest component of the NATO air armada is provided by the United States. In fact the sharply increased assault on the Kosovo Albanians immediately followed the air attacks on Yugoslavia. This dramatically raises at least two issues: What are the limits of air power? If the purpose of air attacks was to prevent massive killing and exile of Albanians, what do NATO and the U.S. do now? Clearly the gamble that Milosevic would back down after the first air strikes has failed.

Instead he has solidified his support among the Serbs, already badly infected with a national chauvinism which thrives on arcane plot theories which explain how the whole world, but especially the Vatican, Soros Foundation, Trilateral Commission, Free Masons and Islamic Fundamentalism, all plot against plucky little Serbia, one of the world's few bastions against U.S.-dominated Globalization. The allies, in this fantasy world, are North Korea, Iraq, Libya, Belo-Russia and of course Russia itself (if somewhat lukewarm). Why does the cruel world hate little Serbia? Because the Milosevic

regime has not only destroyed Yugoslavia but has started three wars in the region within the last decade, without counting the present war in Kosovo. It did not help that the Serbian democratic opposition was badly divided and some were not so innocent of nationalism.

U.S. and West Built Up Milosevic

The U.S. and West have given scandalously little help to the democratic opposition in the region, on the whole preferring to deal with Milosevic who, blood stained hands aside, was seen as a sensible chap who would be a factor of "stability" in the region. An endless parade of high Western European and U.S. officials filed through Belgrade, cajoling and pleading with good old Sloba to be sensible over many a glass of good whiskey. Thus, the U.S. and West Europeans built Milosevic up, convincing this petty Balkan tin-pot tyrant that he was a central factor for peace and stability in the region.

It was this constant subservience to Milosevic by the West, that demoralized an already vulnerable opposi-

tion. Even with repeated calls to stop the bombing and resume diplomacy, during the talks, Serbian repression in Kosovo increased, the universities were stripped of their autonomy, and the independent press was all but eliminated with savage fines. Under such circumstances Milosevic can negotiate forever. It was the complete stalemate of negotiations, even under these circumstances, that saw the West essentially remain silent about repression in Serbia—hoping to get a face-saving agreement on Kosovo. Negotiations were finally ended and bombing began. Air strikes had been threatened so many times they became a joke. Would there be anything at all that could make Milosevic stop the repression in Kosovo short of a real show of force?

False Stability

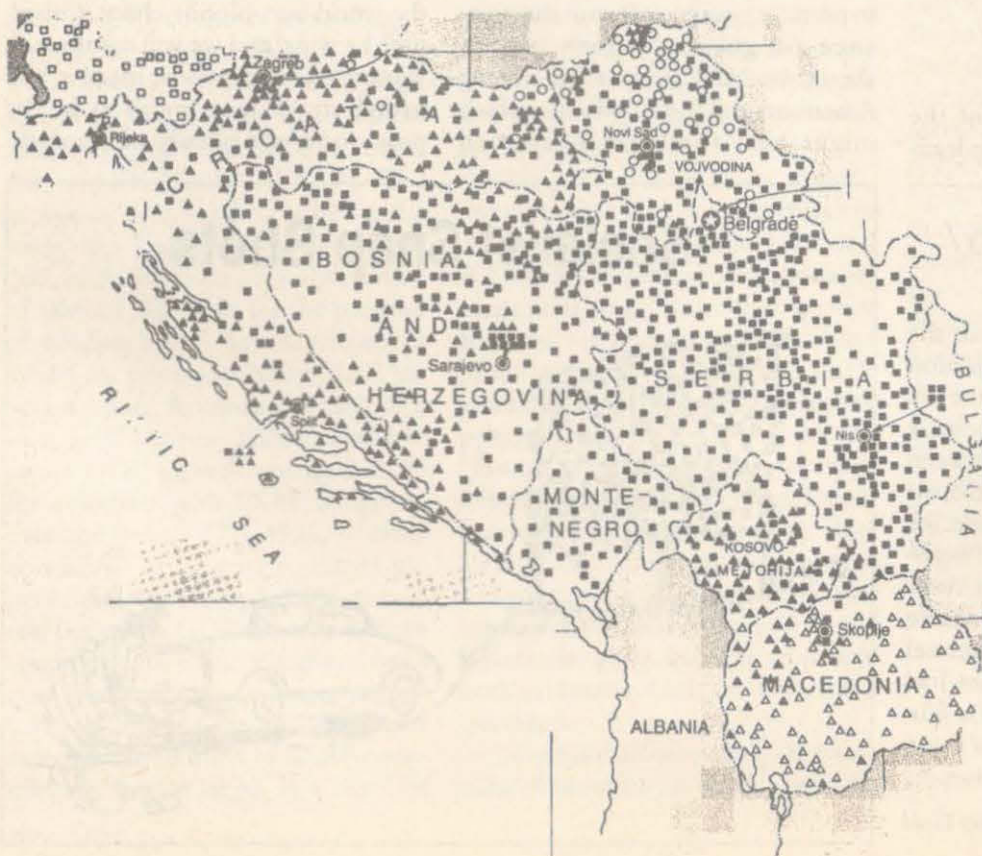
No substantial carrot accompanied the threat of the stick. Partly because U.S. diplomacy involves much public moralizing, and does not back up its verbiage with substantial material offers. Or, until the very last moment, a convincing use of force. The aim of

the democratic forces in the West and the U.S., official and non-governmental, should have been to massively aid the democratic opposition and to work to help remove Milosevic and his opposite number in Croatia, Tudjman. That alone could provide a chance for decent, stable and democratic settlement in the area. But the U.S. has always preferred stability to democracy, even if it is, as in Milosevic's case, false stability. They chose to gamble on Milosevic and when that failed gambled further that he was bluffing and would back down after a few air strikes.

What now? Does the Clinton administration back down, acknowledging defeat by another petty nationalist strongman, with all the consequent costs to both NATO's credibility and U.S. prestige. Or does the U.S. and NATO get into a ground war as the way to provide a measure of protection for the Albanian civilians in Kosovo? If the U.S. and NATO pursue a ground strategy against the Yugoslav Army and its auxiliaries, no doubt a costly and domestically unpopular ground war, how do they avoid becoming de-facto allies of the KLA (the Kosovo Army of Liberation), which is composed of nationalist hard men. The KLA's stated aim is at least the complete independence of Kosovo, which the West Europeans and the U.S. and even more the neighboring countries see as destabilizing the entire Balkan region.

Regional Nightmares

An independent Kosovo is a nightmare for neighboring Macedonia with its own Albanian minority of between 30% and 35%, bordering on Kosovo. Then there is a smaller 10% Albanian minority in Montenegro, and of course Albania itself. Albania might be a failed state in



shambles, with lower living standards than Albanians in Kosovo and Macedonia, but it holds more than half of the entire Albanian population of some six million. That alone makes it attractive to romantic ethnic nationalists. Ethnic nationalism never had strong affinities with political realism. Thus Albanian unity or the dream of a Greater Albania is not only a nightmare of the neighbors, but also for those who worry about stability in the whole region.

Washington has been historically reluctant to accept that Milosevic's ham fisted regime is and has been the greatest de-stabilizing factor in the region. He has the major responsibility for the break up of multi-ethnic Yugoslavia, which, warts and all, was both stable and clearly a lesser evil than the regimes which followed in both Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia—which formed the bulk of old Yugoslavia. The Albanian majority in Kosovo numbers nearly 90% of the population, and has been systematically subjugated for a whole decade, ever since Milosevic abolished the autonomy providing self-rule which that province enjoyed under the Yugoslav Titoist constitution.

Blood Feuds

Through a historical accident the Kosovo Albanians accepted the lead-

ership of Ibrahim Rugova, after their autonomy was abolished by Belgrade. Rugova was a unique phenomenon in the Balkans. He led a massive, disciplined non-violent resistance to Serbian rule for almost a decade! This in a region where every house had fire-arms and where blood feuds had bedeviled the communities for centuries. Rugova did not move the Serbian regime nor get real support from the West or the U.S.. Lip service yes, effective support, no. He was not even invited to the Dayton Peace negotiations. The lesson was learned by the younger Albanians, if you want any attention take up arms. Independence and even autonomy is bought with blood and not through non-violence or negotiations, at least in this Yugoslavia run by Milosevic. Unfortunately the armed struggle people, the KLA, have no visible democratic credentials and I would not gamble on their tolerance towards the Serbian minority if they win. Alas, they will want to settle some outstanding accounts.

That is why no peace settlement in Kosovo, pending any dramatic political breakthroughs as this we go to press, is possible without the presence of ground troops, which should be NATO forces, including Americans and Russian troops, which might heal the breach between

NATO and Russia.

No real negotiations are possible however without a complete cease-fire by the Serb armed forces in Kosovo and their withdrawal from the province. The refugees must be allowed immediate return. If Serb leaders have any sense at all they will realize that only NATO troops can now, after all this carnage, provide protection for the Serbian minority and disarm the KLA. The KLA needs to be substantially disarmed to permit some kind of normal political life for the Kosovo Albanians, who are not necessarily members of the KLA. Otherwise men with guns will rule.

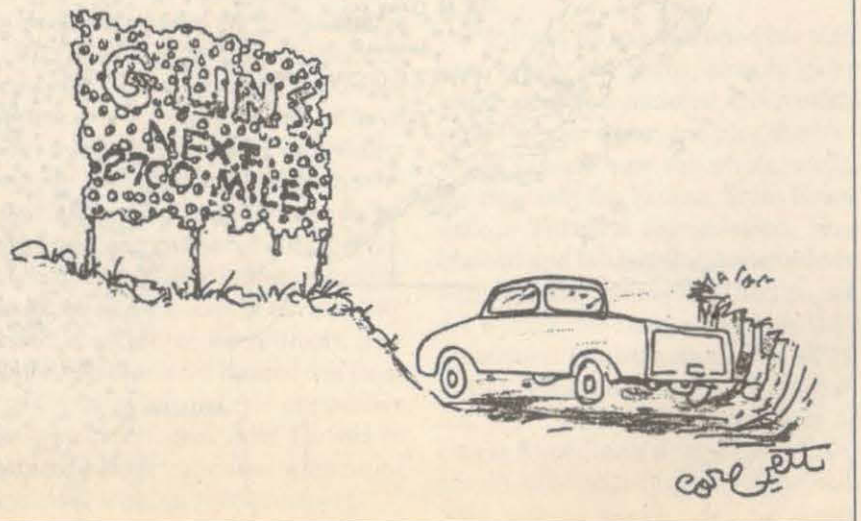
Should democrats and those who want to see a just peace in former Yugoslavia call for an immediate stop to NATO air attacks? My answer, doubly hard since I have friends, relatives and comrades with whom I have worked for decades living there, is that the bombing can only stop with a cease fire in Kosovo which will stop the massive killing and exile of its majority population. The bombing can be stopped by one phone call from Milosevic, the man who has done so much to plunge that part of the world into bloody chaos. Otherwise he wins, and we will continue to witness one of the most massive and brutal ethnic mass-murders in the post-world war history of Europe.

Illusions of Prosperity/ continued from page 15

The consequences are clear: the bottom four-fifths of the population has continued to decline, while the top fifth gained 97 percent of the increase in total household income between 1970 and 1994. Leaving all reforms to the market can't compensate for market deficiencies. *Illusions of Prosperity* reminds one of the sort of comprehensive, but eminently readable social policy analyses Michael Harrington wrote in past decades. Joel Blau, as in his previous book, *The Visible Poor: Homelessness in the United States*, is clearly carrying on the tradition.

—Jeffrey Gold

Socialist Snap Shots



MAI Fight Only the Beginning

By CHRIS RIDDIOUGH

Last year DSA was one of hundreds of organizations that joined together worldwide to oppose the Multilateral Agreement on Investment. NGOs were able to stop the negotiations on the MAI and prevent the institution of its far-reaching provisions, provisions that would have given a blank check to global capital. While the MAI has been stopped, global capital has not. Efforts to incorporate MAI-like provisions into the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund and other international agreements and institutions are moving forward. DSA and other NGOs remain militant in our opposition to these proposals. This fall, just after the DSA National Convention, finance ministers and parliamentary leaders will meet in Seattle to discuss future directions for the WTO. Many activists will be there to greet them and to voice their opposition to the kind of 'constitution for the global economy' that WTO wants to write.

Other battles also loom. In addition to work on MAI/WTO issues, activists are concerned about the role played by the International Monetary Fund in propping up bad loans by bankers, undercutting social spending in developing countries and failing to support labor rights. DSA is joining with other groups in a campaign against funding for the International Monetary Fund's Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility [ESAF]. The groups oppose funding either in the form of a Congressional appropriation, or in the form of authorization of sales of IMF gold for the purpose of funding ESAF. As a development model for poor countries, ESAF has been a failure. According to the IMF's own staff review, annual real per capita GDP growth averaged 0.0% for countries with ESAF programs over the period 1991-1995, whereas non-ESAF developing countries experienced, on average, 1.0% annual real per capita GDP growth. African countries with ESAF programs fared even worse, with an average annual 0.3% decline. At the same time the external debt burden of ESAF countries has grown larger as a share of

their economies. Poor countries urgently need debt cancellation, not more failed IMF programs. In 1997, the United Nations Development Program estimated that, relieved of their debt payments, severely indebted countries in Africa alone could have saved the lives of 21 million hungry people and provided 90 million girls and women with access to basic education by the year 2000.

Many of the fights are oppositional, but last month representatives of those excluded from IMF and WTO deliberations — labor, environment, religious, and other groups from the U.S. and abroad — unveiled proposals for a more just and stable global financial system. Among the progressive proposals will be the "Global Sustainable Development Resolution" proposed by Rep. Bernie Sanders (I-VT). As noted by Rep. Sanders, the U.S. government has promoted a model of free-market global capitalism that it claimed would benefit the great majority of people both at home and abroad. This model has failed.

The Global Sustainable Development Resolution lays out a path for

"This resolution bangs on the wall and forces the corporate cockroaches and their friends in government to come running out and declare themselves against worker rights . . ."

reconstructing the global economy based on labor and human rights, protection of the environment, and new initiatives to encourage socially and environmentally sound national and local development.

The Campaign for Labor Rights (one of the key groups in the Han Young strike) wrote that, if passed, "This resolution would be a starting point for taking power away from corporations and putting it back into the hands of the people. Skeptics will rush to tell us that this resolution cannot possibly pass a Congress whose members have ridden to power on corporate money — and they will be right. Its importance lies not in its immediate legislative chances. This resolution bangs on the wall and forces the corporate cockroaches and their friends in government to come running out and declare themselves AGAINST worker rights, AGAINST environmental protection, AGAINST democratic process, AGAINST accountability. And it puts us in the affirmative on those values." More information on the resolution is available from Rep. Sanders' office at (202) 225-4115.

Riddiough, based in Washington, was director of DSA, and serves on the National Political Committee.

LOCALS IN ACTION

SACRAMENTO

The local co-sponsored a two day conference on labor, in a town where the bulk of the unionized labor force is in the public sector. This conference, with assistance from the AFL-CIO's Organizing Institute, was designed to build a deeper understanding of the union movement and its history among faculty and students. There were workshops on racism and labor, women and work, immigrants, and a video that explained how Chiapas is connected to the global economy. Students had a chance to learn about careers in labor organizing. 130 people attended this event.

Also in California's capital, DSA has kicked off the local effort to Stop Saipan Sweatshops. A woman from the U.S. territory of Saipan spoke. She had been dismissed for challenging "U.S.-made labels" affixed to products actually made locally by an exploitive Chinese company, with Filipino and other workers shipped in as virtual slaves, and kept in barracks. The local then demonstrated at a local branch of Nordstrom's department store, with Sweatshop Watch.

Sacramento DSA was also very involved with the events surrounding contract negotiations for the whole California State University system.

DETROIT

Detroit DSA played host to Academy Award-winning film maker Judy Montell. She is working with the local to produce a film about the life of longtime DSA member Saul Wellman, now in his 80s. Saul was a famous commander in the Abraham Lincoln brigades during the Spanish Civil War, and from there went on to become an organizer and mentor to many younger members of our organization. This feature documentary is about the rewards and sacrifices of

a politically committed life. Detroit DSA, and the Center for Democratic Values, are raising the money for this exciting project.

Another film project, *Michael Harrington and Today's Other America*, was screened in Motown to a student audience at Wayne State University. NPC member Ron Aronson, who introduced the film for the students and put Harrington's work into context, observed that the students were "transfixed by the documentary."

CHICAGO

Chicago DSA has sponsored three showings of *Michael Harrington and Today's Other America*. They have been using the film as an organizing tool, and helping to place it in both the local art house cinema, and Chicago's public television station.

The local's successful annual

Lee sweatshop nemesis Charles Kernaghan of the National Labor Committee.

New Ground, the local's fine newsletter, ran an informative article about the legislative and political alternatives to neo-liberal trade pacts that are being imposed on sub-Saharan Africa.

PHILADELPHIA

The local has mobilized to support the spring election of a progressive city council member. Local activists also greeted the throngs who converged on the city of Brotherly Love to demand a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal, now under threat of the evil death penalty.

Greater Philadelphia Democratic Left, the local's informative newspaper, continues to be an excellent and credible source of progressive news and information in the city.

NEW YORK

New York DSA mobilized its members to successfully put the new labor-backed Working Families Party on the state ballot. NY State allows cross-endorsement of parties, where the tally of each candidate's votes can be combined so that votes, as in many first-past-the-post elections, aren't "wasted." This system allows New York's five statewide parties, four of which are on the hard right, to influence selected races—in the last few years putting pressure from the wrong end on a Democratic party that requires pressure from the left in many regions.

New York DSA also held a lively debate about military and humanitarian intervention in the Balkans.



Debs-Thomas-Harrington dinner honored Jackie Kendall of the Midwest Academy, and UNITE International V.P. James K. Tribble. The theme was "Globalization From Below," with a keynote speech by Kathie

Legacies of Socialism: Hilda Mason

Hilda Mason, whom many Washingtonians call “Grandmother of the World,” moved to the nation’s capital in the early 1950s before the nascent civil rights movement had taken hold in the city. She had moved from her native Campbell County, Virginia, where segregation was a fact of life. Though Washington D.C. has a vibrant African-American community and culture, blacks were shut out of political power in a municipality controlled not by locally elected officials but by federally appointed commissioners. Schools and housing were still strictly segregated.

Mason became a school teacher, later moving up to assistant principal. She and her husband Charlie Mason threw themselves into the local struggle to liberate the city from its colonial status which, because of the racial composition of the District, was inseparable from the growing movement for civil rights. She drew inspiration from Martin Luther King, Jr., Fannie Lou Hamer and other lions of the movement for racial equality.

Years of struggle, along with the devastating 1968 riots that followed Dr. King’s assassination, finally convinced the federal government that treating citizens of its own capital as subjects was, if nothing else, bad public relations—particularly at a time when Vietnam was being bombed for “the sake of democracy.” During the early 1970s it granted the District a limited form of home rule, with an elected mayor, city council and school board, whose decisions could be reversed by Congress. Washington was also granted a non-voting member of the House of Representatives.

In 1977, Mason took her place on the new council, where her priorities were “to make sure people had decent clothes, housing and health care,” as well as “jobs, and the training to do a job well.” She championed the cause of statehood for DC, providing leadership that led to a 1980 referendum in which the citizens of the District voted 3-to-2 in favor of

becoming a state. It is a vote that Congress has yet to recognize.



Mason continued to work on issues critical to the city’s working people, focusing on education, labor rights, and mass transit. As a member, and for a time, chair, of the board of Metro, the transit authority, she was instrumental in the expansion of the region’s rapid rail system while she fought to keep bus and rail fares affordable for those of modest means. She also was the driving force behind the founding of the city’s public law school, which became an important incubator for public-interest attorneys. And she fought to keep the University of the District of Columbia, the city’s only public institution of

Those that go to Washington D.C. to fight for democracy can expect to see the “Grandmother of the World” right at their side.

higher learning, alive.

During all this, Hilda Mason lent her name and prestige to DSA, serving as she still does, as national vice-chair. The D.C./Maryland/Northern Virginia local was active in the successful campaigns that kept her on the council for two decades—until last year when she experienced her one and only electoral defeat. The local just held a lovely reception to honor her service to the city and to DSA.

For Hilda Mason, however, life after elected office is hardly the same as retirement. She plans to continue to “fight for statehood for this city, and get good people elected to office.” In fact, she still acts as a mentor to younger activists, urging them to follow her example in pursuing the struggle for justice.

Those that go to Washington D.C. to fight for democracy can expect to see the “Grandmother of the World” right at their side.

—Bill Mosley. Mosley was recently elected as a Advisory Neighborhood Commissioner in Washington, D.C.

COMING SOON

**Not Your Father’s
Union Movement:
Inside The AFL-CIO**

Interview With Film Maker Bill Donovan

Michael Harrington and *Today's Other America: Corporate Power and Inequality* is about to make the rounds of your local art house cinema, university venue or DSA local. Many people have asked about the man behind this feature documentary. He spoke to Jeff Gold, DSA's production consultant.

JG: Bill Donovan, where did you come from?

"I grew up in Westchester as a 'townie.' My dad had three jobs; my mom also worked multiple jobs. Both my folks had to struggle to make ends meet, support me, my siblings, and pay the rent on our coldwater flat above a supermarket."

So you come by The Other America by way of life experience?

"You might say that. During and after college I was rather working class myself, working as a waiter on the S.S. United States. After thirty days serving countless meals, I received a grand five dollar tip! Once as a merchant seaman I was stranded, broke, on a ship in Saudi Arabia. I also bartended. After all that, I wanted to do something creative."

So you made documentaries about socialists?

"First I studied film editing and worked as an apprentice editor while studying acting at night. I then worked for dancer Jean Erdman in *Moon Mysteries*, performed in a number of showcases, and ended up in small parts in films like *Serpico*, *Taxi Driver* and *Phantom of Paradise*. I decided to go behind the camera and worked for a while as a producer. I co-produced the U.S. Bicentennial series for WQED-TV. It was at that time that I decided I wanted to put my own stamp on my film work."

What sort of films?

"*Inheritance* was one of the major projects. This eighty-minute documentary centered on the life of a rich guy, Michael Herndstadt. This scion of inherited wealth—his father was a rich Wall Street oil mogul, his mother was

a former Ziegfeld girl who won the 1929 Irish Sweepstakes—offered me a chance to paint a cinematic portrait of American society through one individual. Herndstadt was a victim of child abuse and abandonment—a sort of mansion wild-child raised by servants, who first became well known in 1961 after he was turned away at the door of the Scarsdale Country Club Holly Ball for being half Jew-



ish. It became a national news story. He later went on to elective politics in Colorado, where he won the endorsement of the *Aspen Times* for state senator, but later withdrew from the race after slugging a woman. He ended up dead in questionable circumstances."

Did you win an Oscar for this?

"No, but *Inheritance* was shown all over the world. Australia, the Berlin Film Festival, New York, won the Suffolk

Award and First Place in the social issues category at the American Film Festival. It was also favorably reviewed by the *San Francisco Chronicle*, among others."

From a self-destructive rich capitalist to a tribune of the oppressed?

"Actually, Herndstadt was in his crazy way, an example of capitalism amok. I wanted to focus next on a figure with a more positive social message."

Why Michael Harrington?

"I had read *The Other America* of course, and found it most moving. I had heard that Harrington was quite ill, and decided to see if anyone had made a documentary about him or his work. To my surprise, nobody had. So I started following him around with a camera, first to the NPR studios where he taped his regular radio commentary. He was a somewhat difficult subject. I think he wasn't sure what to make of me—he had probably been burned more than once by the mass media and was a bit guarded. That, and of course the effects of what quickly became a fatal illness. I lost my subject in short order, which was a loss for his family, the world and the film."

Were you left with other resources, such as oodles of archival film?

"Not at all. To my surprise I found out there was little footage extant of Michael. He had been on television several times—William F. Buckley, Jr. was in fact among the kindest in lending old tapes of *Firing Line*. Phil Donohue was pleasant, but others were not cooperative, or had destroyed film and video tape in the interest of warehouse space."

Did you set out to make a biography? The film is subtitled *Corporate Power and Inequality*.

"No, I was always interested in his ideas. I know that you wanted a biopic about

his St. Louis upbringing, bohemian days with Dylan Thomas in the Village, Dorothy Day at the Catholic Worker and on to his succession to the mantle of Debs and Thomas at DSA.”

Don't forget his six conversations with me.

“Now *that* would have a waste of film stock. I truly believed that if I could just put a handful of his basic ideas up on the screen, retracing his steps in what after all made him most famous, *The Other America*, contrasting the observations of major figures on the Left and Right as against the lives of real people, viewers would be persuaded.”

How did you find those incredible Other Americans, some right out of a Dorothea Lange photo?

“I just traveled around the U.S., asked locals high and low, and got these incredibly articulate citizens—many in great economic distress. They often said the same things, in different language, as John Kenneth Galbraith at Harvard. The depressing thing was that very little had gotten better, in real terms, since Harrington wrote his survey. In fact some things were manifestly worse.”

Did anybody talk about socialism?

“To my surprise, many of my interviewees were receptive to notions of socialism. A coal miner in West Virginia mentioned it in connection with safety on the job. In rural Maine it was seen as synonymous with a humane guarantee of universal health coverage. One former military officer mentioned the word in connection with his comparative experiences as a soldier in the Third World, and ‘sometimes worse’ degrading poverty in his home county in delta Mississippi. Almost all the self-sacrificing advocates in the field were obviously sympathetic.”

Was there a running thread in your field interviews?

“The theme that emerged from the raw footage was the effects of corporate power. Everywhere I went I saw the impact of downsizing, wage reductions, de-unionization and a de-

cline in manufacturing and mining—even where people were working two to three jobs, and they were.”

How about the academic and media stars in the film. Dish?

“Well, I have to say that, with honorable exceptions at DSA, Jim Chapin, Bogdan Denitch, Joanne Barkan, Shakoor Aljuani, Steve Max, Fran Piven, Alan Charney and others in and around DSA and the broad left and liberalism, the Right was somewhat more responsive.”

Why?

“You tell me. Rightists seemed to be kinder, polite, generous with their thoughts—they seem to know how to use the media. Many lefties, and again I want to emphasize that there were a lot of honorable exceptions—Jeff Faux, Bob Kuttner, Congressman Sanders, Gloria Steinem, Studs Terkel, William Julius Wilson, Maurice Isserman—who were nice and helpful—but many progressives seemed more concerned that I wasn’t Bill Moyers or Morley Safer.”

I'm glad you're not Morley Safer.

“He wears nice suits. Anyway, your theory is that the Right is well-financed, cited and confident of its ideas, whereas you kept telling me that I was making my film at a difficult time of great ideological ferment, if not fecundity—you actually did use that word, on the Left.”

Are you happy with the result?

“*Michael Harrington and Today's Other America* is the hardest (and personally most expensive) thing I’ve ever done in my life. It is very difficult to put ideas on film. Film is mostly a condensing medium of feelings. Most PBS documentaries you see are set in history. I was dealing with moving targets in current social policy, active partisan politics and ideological wars. Some of our national and global problems are seen by some as “natural,” or insoluble. By others as products of a profoundly skewed and off-kilter political and eco-

nomie system.”

Where can we see this masterpiece?

“First I want to thank the many DSA members in locals and chapters across the country who are helping to place this film in theaters and other venues, where it can be seen by large audiences. I really want people who aren’t already political to see this film, and I’ve been most gratified by the reactions from so-called average people. Also, official thanks to the late Michael Harrington and his family. I only wish that he were alive today, and that he could see the results on screen himself. Of course, in the film Charles Murray gets more or less what he wants from the U.S. political system, and Michael Harrington didn’t, in the collective sense, get enough.”

Isn't that what DSA is for. To help make that happen?

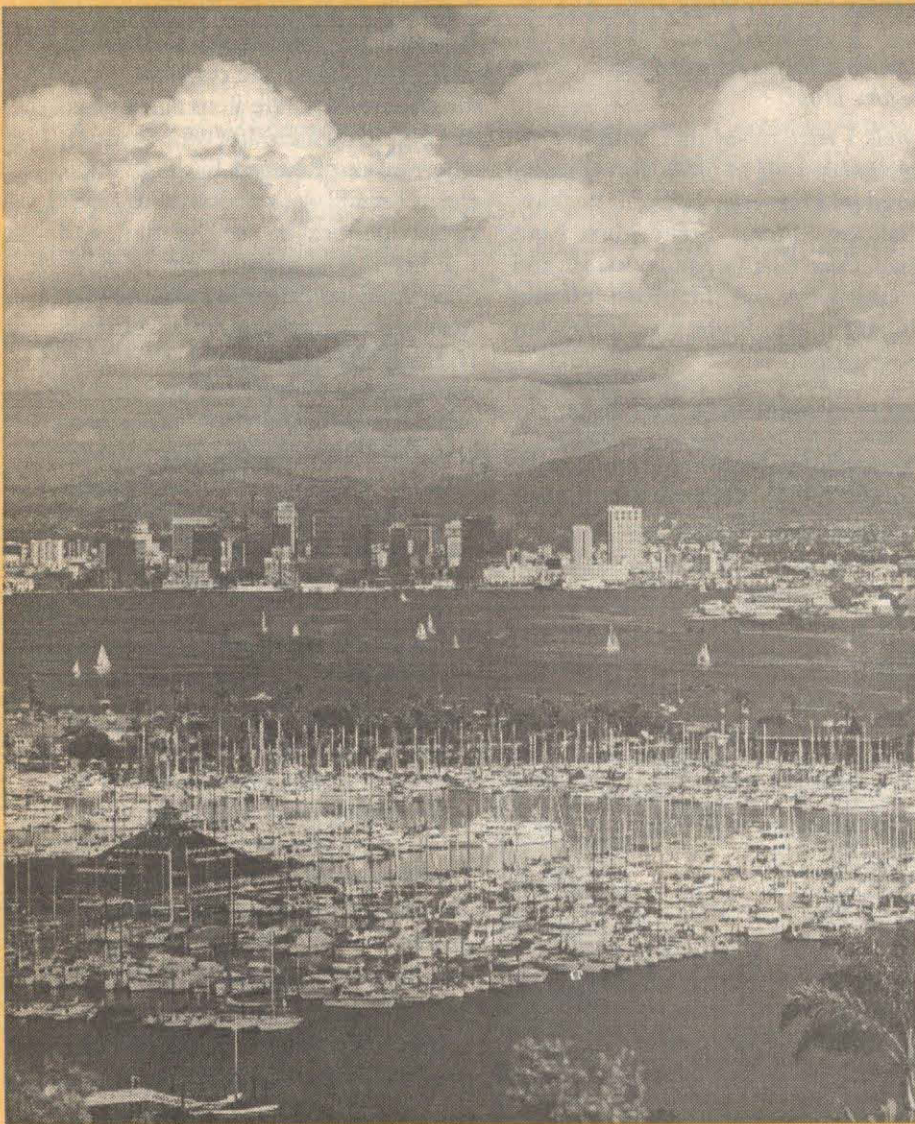
“Bless you all. I’ve been very impressed by all the work DSA members are doing across the country, in a surprising variety of ways.”

Does that mean I can tap you for a big dues contribution, and a film about my fascinating life?

“The first I’ll consider. I’m putting two kids through college, my wife is a fine artist and anybody making documentaries for love not money probably should support a big socialist movement. The second request would result in a sleep aid.”

Errata

The previous issue of *Democratic Left* mis-identified the volume number as XXV. It was volume XXVI, numbers 5 and 6. We very much regret the error.



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November 12-14, 1999
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Please send me more information about DSA and Democratic socialism.

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