

# DEMOCRATIC LEFT

THE MAGAZINE OF THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS OF AMERICA  
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**“SOLIDARITY  
IS A FORCE  
STRONGER  
THAN GRAVITY.”**

**SARAN NELSON**  
**INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT**  
THE ASSOCIATION OF FLIGHT ATTENDANTS-CWA, AFL-CIO  
SPEAKS AT THE 2019 DSA NATIONAL CONVENTION

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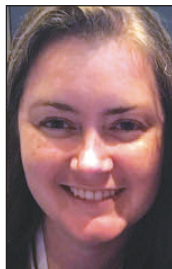


## From the National Director

# Convention momentum

BY MARIA SVART

We are at a turning point. Poor and working-class people have always known that the deck is stacked against us, but in recent years many of us have become even more cynical about the formal political system.



On the one hand, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Rashida Tlaib have been joined by a cohort of openly socialist local and state elected officials from across the country. On the other, Republican voter suppression efforts only exacerbate the fact that many, many people have given up. Voters aren't interested in Democrats who vote like Republicans and capitulate while Donald Trump calls open season on our communities.

Yet between the teacher strikes and the Puerto Rican general strike that helped oust the island's corrupt governor, it's clear that the working class is realizing that we still hold immense power, should we choose to exercise it. Socialists will play an indispensable

role in building the solidarity across differences and collective fearlessness it will take to win not just in the political realm, but outside of it as well, in the streets and in our workplaces.

I write this a week after our convention. Being with comrades from all corners of the country, sharing organizing lessons and love was extraordinarily energizing and strengthened the bonds we will need in the coming period. Upon hearing about the union-busting Mississippi ICE raids on the day Donald Trump visited El Paso and Dayton, our national Immigrant Rights Working Group immediately organized with the national office and southern members to make solidarity plans. Yet how we react to what I call Trump's shock and awe is but one piece of our strategy.

The proactive piece of our strategy is how we fight for our vision for an alternative to barbarism, and how we organize, not just mobilize, to win. Watching the floor debates and hearing the conversations during the convention, I see that using the intense democratic process spanning months to come to collective decisions helped build collective ownership of our plans.

We also debuted an update to our core national training modules. Mobilizing is something DSAers do well, but it will take deeper organizing to ensure that a higher percentage of members are active in our chapters and that more chapters are running strategic campaigns to take power from the capitalist class. Puya Gerami's interview with Jane McAlevey in this issue elaborates on this concept, and our training updates draw from our series of mass organizing calls with McAlevey this summer. In addition to revamping our trainings, we're also co-organizing a

Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung global webinar series with McAlevey starting in October.

I want to close by lifting up the paid and unpaid labor of folks working together to make the convention a success. In no particular order:

**DSA staff** There's the largely unseen labor of our operations and financial teams, internal and external communications, and the constant travel and chapter support of our organizing team.

**UNITE HERE Local 23** workers at the hotel who supported DSA staff in numerous ways.

**Convention chairs** Beth Huang, Natalie Midiri, and Chris Riddiough for confidently chairing our gathering of over 1,000 delegates.

**Atlanta DSA** for its "pub crawl social" Friday night, "Welcome to Atlanta" guide, and for recruiting so many volunteers and solidarity housing hosts.

**Convention Committees** at the national level: Credentials, Election, Program, and especially Resolutions.

**The outgoing and incoming National Political Committee members** who give so much of themselves to what is often thankless but critical work.

**Knoxville DSAers** who filled the beautiful swag bags for Allie Cohn to drive to the convention.

**Volunteers from Atlanta and elsewhere** who did everything from schlepping supplies and tote bags around to staffing tables to providing

**CONTINUED ON PAGE 16**

## A New Look for Democratic Left

If you're a member of DSA, this is the print version of your nationwide publication, written and produced by volunteers. With this issue we debut what we hope is a more effective and engaging design. Let us know what you think at [dlmagazine@dsausa.org](mailto:dlmagazine@dsausa.org).

## DEMOCRATIC LEFT

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Democratic Socialists of America promotes 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 people. We are dedicated to building truly international social movements—of unions, environmentalists, feminists, and people of color—which together can elevate global justice over brutalizing global competition.

# Today, Chicago. Tomorrow, Your City.

Six DSA members recently won city council seats in Chicago. Their wins show how socialists all over the country can fight and win.

BY MICAH UETRICH

Until recently in U.S. politics, “socialists” and “winning” weren’t words you would utter in the same breath. That’s why, even months later, it’s impossible for me to write the following without a sense of incredulity: six members of the Chicago Democratic Socialists of America were elected to the Chicago city council in April. DSA members now make up 12% of the 50-member council.

These are stunning victories, propelled by the candidates’ willingness to fight the wealthy and their political lackeys pushing gentrification and austerity, the strength of the city’s broader working-class movement, and the audacity of Chicago DSA to put the chapter’s resources behind a large number of candidates. Chicago’s unexpected victories should inspire socialists around the country to think big in their own cities—not just about candidates who can run for office and win, but also about the kinds of working-class struggles that can create the conditions for those candidates to win.

The six races spanned much of Chicago and a wide range of neighborhood-specific issues, but all of Chicago DSA’s endorsed candidates—Carlos Ramirez-Rosa, Rossana Rodriguez-Sanchez, Jeanette Taylor, Andre Vasquez, and Byron Sigcho Lopez (a sixth candidate, Daniel La Spata, is a DSA member whom the chapter did not endorse, though DSA members worked on his campaign)—signed onto a broad, left platform: housing for all, sanctuary for all, education for all, and taxing the rich. These demands reflect political issues and movement demands in Chicago, but are also burning issues throughout the country.

And they were united in a political approach that wasn’t afraid to name the class enemy in the city, especially the real-estate developers that are rapidly



DSA members elected to the Chicago city council (from left) Byron Sigcho-Lopez, Andre Vasquez, Jeanette Taylor, Rossana Rodriguez-Sanchez, and Carlos Ramirez-Rosa celebrate Rodriguez-Sanchez’s election. Her race in the 33rd Ward was the last one to be called, making six DSA member wins official. Photo by Nick Burt.

gentrifying working-class neighborhoods and forcing working people out of Chicago.

Ramirez-Rosa, for example, an incumbent in the 35th ward, made his race a referendum on affordable housing and gentrification, painting real-estate developers as the enemy and demanding rent control. Likewise, those real-estate developers painted him as the enemy. His ward’s largest landlord, Mark Fishman, spent at least \$100,000 on Ramirez-Rosa’s opponent in an effort to unseat him.

But Ramirez-Rosa’s campaign didn’t shy away from attacking the ward’s most powerful capitalist. That class-struggle approach paid off: Ramirez-Rosa won reelection by nearly 20% over his real estate-friendly opponent.

The victories didn’t come in a vacuum. All six of the candidates are DSA members, but they’re also aligned with unions, community groups, political organizations, and other groups. Those groups both paved the way for these victories and played key roles during the campaign. And DSA showed them that socialists are key allies in these fights.

All of the candidates were endorsed by United Working Families (UWF), the political organization formed by the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU)

and SEIU Health Care Illinois Indiana, which a number of progressive unions and community groups have joined in recent years. They devoted significant resources to many of the campaigns. Most unions and progressive groups avoid the “socialist” label. United Working Families didn’t.

Rossana Rodriguez-Sanchez had the backing of a neighborhood group, 33rd Ward Working Families, that ran teacher and socialist Tim Meegan for the office in 2015. The group has organized around affordable housing and immigrants’ rights in a working-class immigrant neighborhood, Albany Park, since then—so effectively that the losing incumbent, Deb Mell, complained that 33rd Ward Working Families “[n]ever stopped running over the last four years.” Mell, whose father literally gave her the city council seat in 2013 after holding it himself for nearly four decades, apparently thinks candidates who organize in their communities are cheating.

And Chicago wouldn’t be willing to elect leftist candidates if the city hadn’t been such a hotbed of working-class militancy in recent years.

The Chicago Teachers Union’s 2012 strike brought a sea change to city politics, popularizing opposition to austerity

**CONTINUED ON PAGE 12**



# Using power builds power

A report from the DSA convention

BY MEAGAN DAY

On the first weekend of August, 1,056 delegates from around the country attended DSA's biennial national convention in Atlanta. It was the largest decision-making gathering of socialists in the United States since the 1940s.

Delegates debated and voted on resolutions for three days, and at the end elected a new National Political Committee. The proceedings closed with the sound of a thousand socialists singing "Solidarity Forever," something that hasn't happened in the United States for decades.

As one outside observer — Nathan J. Robinson of *Current Affairs* — put it, "My God, I thought, *they are actually going to win.*"

The convention began with the pas-

sage of a resolution to support a campaign for a Green New Deal. Delegates then reaffirmed the organization's commitment to fighting for Medicare for All and voted to continue the work of the National Electoral Committee and the Democratic Socialist Labor Commission (DSLCL).

The convention then passed a package of items that had been assigned to the consent agenda — a category of proposals considered uncontroversial by the delegates — including resolutions to fight for abortion access, build the DSA international committee, defend immigrant and refugee rights, demand the decriminalization of sex work, affirm support for open borders, and "turn the Rust Belt green."

On electoral politics, it was decided after vigorous debate that DSA would endorse no other Democratic Party candidate for president besides Bernie Sanders, and that we would petition Sanders for a more robust foreign policy and issue recommendations on his hous-

ing program. The delegates voted to narrow the criteria for national endorsements to those who openly identify as socialists, oppose oppression, and demonstrate that they view their chief political role as organizers of the working class. Local chapters will establish their own criteria for endorsements.

On labor, the convention passed three resolutions that featured overlapping elements. The first provides for hiring a full-time staffer for the DSLCL and commits the body to developing programming for regional workplace organizing schools. The second affirms that our orientation will be toward building power within the rank and file, not labor bureaucracies, and stipulates that the DSLCL will coordinate to assist DSA members in getting rank-and-file union jobs in strategic sectors. The third commits DSA to develop a strategy to organize workers outside of existing unions.

The convention passed a package of three resolutions pertaining to interna-

## Be it resolved ...

Delegates approved dozens of resolutions setting DSA priorities and policies. Here are a few highlights:

**NATIONAL PRIORITIES** Delegates established the following as DSA's priorities for the next two years: Ecosocialist Green New Deal, Medicare For All, National Electoral Strategy, Labor, Childcare, Housing, Decarceration, Political Education, Grassroots Fundraising, and National Growth and Development

**BERNIE** DSA will urge Bernie Sanders to support expanded public housing and renters' rights, and will create an online petition urging him to commit to a multi-point People's Foreign Policy Platform. If Sanders doesn't get the Democratic nomination, DSA won't endorse another

Democratic Party presidential candidate.

**OPEN BORDERS** DSA supports the uninhibited transnational free movement of people, demilitarization of the U.S.-Mexico border, abolition of the agencies of Immigration and Customs Enforcement and Customs and Border Protection, decriminalization of immigration, and a pathway to citizenship for all non-citizen residents.

**SEX WORK** DSA supports the full decriminalization of sex work.

**CLASS-STRUGGLE ELECTIONS** National DSA will only endorse candidates who identify as socialists and use their public profile to popularize a class-struggle perspective.

**HOUSING JUSTICE** A Housing Justice Commission comprising repre-

sentatives from each local chapter that has a housing justice working group or campaign will coordinate campaigns for tenants' rights.

**ANTI-FASCISM** A National Anti-fascist Working Group will provide information to help DSA members disrupt fascist organizing and resources and training to help DSA chapters ensure security at meetings and events.

**NEW WORKING GROUPS** National working groups will be formed to work on BDS (Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions), ending cash bail, police and prison abolition, and decolonization (self-determination for indigenous nations and overseas territories).

Find convention resolutions at [dsausa.org/national-convention/](https://dsausa.org/national-convention/).

tional matters. The first recommits us to solidarity with Palestine and support for the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement. The second commits us to the full decolonization of United States territories. The third specifically expresses our solidarity with socialists in Cuba.

Two resolutions focused on the U.S. carceral state also passed, the first creating a national Police & Prison Abolition Working Group and the second creating a national committee to promote the abolition of cash bail. After a passionate discussion, the convention also voted to create a national Anti-Fascist and Direct Action Working Group.

The convention then passed a package of three resolutions on housing. The first encourages chapters to adopt eight strategies for housing organizing, including launching campaigns for just-cause eviction and universal rent control and incorporating housing demands into our Green New Deal work. The second creates a Housing Justice Commission that will develop a toolkit for chapters to start tenant organizing work. And the third affirms that DSA believes that fair, safe, stable, accessible, and affordable housing is a human right.

Delegates deliberated over a number of resolutions pertaining to internal matters, a subject that drew heated debate. In the end they voted to invest in a national political education program, develop a plan to intensify grassroots fundraising efforts for small chapters, expand childcare in DSA, improve our national grievance procedure, and develop a two-tiered socialist-organizer training program for all members and for chapter leaders.

One of the highlights of the convention was a speech given by Sara Nelson, the International President of the Association of Flight Attendants-CWA, AFL-CIO. It was Nelson's union that stopped Donald Trump's government shutdown by threatening to go on strike.

"People think power is a limited resource, but using power builds power," Nelson told DSA. "Once workers get a taste of our power, we will not settle for a bad deal. And we won't stand by while someone else gets screwed, either."

Using power builds power. In that spirit, we are ready to begin another two years of socialist organizing in DSA. We are witnessing now a rare window of opportunity for class politics in the United States. It's clear that DSA is devoted to seizing that opportunity and transforming this moment into a movement. ■

Meagan Day is a member of East Bay DSA and a staff writer at *Jacobin* Magazine.



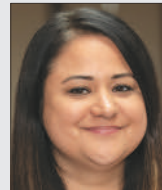
## DSA'S NEW LEADERSHIP

### National Political Committee (NPC)

Every two years, DSA National Convention delegates elect 16 DSA members to serve on the National Political Committee (NPC), which functions as DSA's highest decision-making body between conventions. The DSA Constitution requires that eight NPC slots be reserved for women and at least five for people of color. At its first meeting in September, the new NPC will elect a five-member Steering Committee (SC), which must include at least two women and at least one person of color. The SC is responsible for decision-making between meetings of the NPC and for planning NPC meetings.



**Hannah Allison**  
Lawrence, KS



**Jennifer Bolen**  
San Francisco, CA



**Marianela D'Aprile**  
Chicago, IL



**Sean Estelle**  
Chicago, IL



**Blanca Estevez**  
NW Arkansas



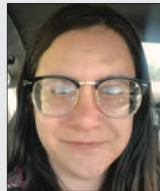
**Austin Gonzalez**  
Richmond, VA



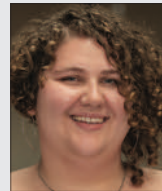
**Kristian Hernandez**  
North Texas



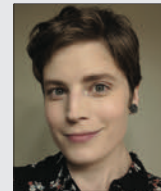
**Maikiko James**  
Los Angeles, CA



**Jen McKinney**  
Eugene, OR



**Natalie Midiri**  
Philadelphia, PA



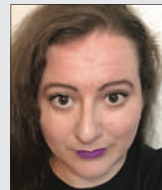
**Erika Paschold**  
Lincoln, NE



**Dave Pinkham**  
Austin, TX



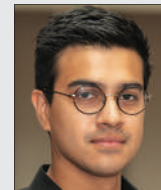
**Megan Svoboda**  
East Bay, CA



**Sauce**  
North Bay, CA



**Tawny Tidwell**  
New York, NY



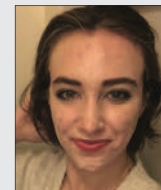
**Abdullah Younus**  
New York, NY

### YDSA co-chairs

DSA's constitution reserves a 17th NPC seat for a representative of DSA's youth division, YDSA. YDSA held its convention immediately prior to the DSA convention and elected two co-chairs who will share the YDSA vote on the NPC.



**Kristen Cervero**  
New York University



**Amelia Blair Smith**  
Carleton College

# No shortcuts to organizing



Alice Attie

We have to punch way beyond the fraction of people who already agree with us on most issues if we're going to contend for real power.

**Jane McAleve's *No Shortcuts* has been read by hundreds of DSAers and discussed in online book discussion groups this summer. She recently spoke with Puya Gerami to answer frequently raised questions. The interview has been slightly edited for space.**

**Union membership, strike frequency, and working-class living standards have plummeted over the last four decades. How do you explain the existential crisis facing the labor movement today?**

First, there is the very real pressure of sophisticated union-busting in the U.S. The union-avoidance industry here is unique and gets away with campaigns of intimidation and terror that don't exist elsewhere, outside of countries with dictatorships or seriously authoritarian regimes.

Union-busting drove globalization. There was simply no reason for the global trade regime, which emerged in the 1970s and then took off in the 1980s and 1990s, except to bust unions by shifting jobs to countries where workers lack basic rights, let alone freedom in the workplace. This was a clear strategy to get rid of unions by getting rid of the unionized segment of the private sector. That way capitalists wouldn't have to share the larger portion of the wealth that unionized workers forced them to starting in the 1930s.

As the corporate elite doubled down on union-busting through globaliza-

tion, the trade union movement, as well as the broader progressive movement, failed to understand that the proper choice was not to retreat from organizing, but to build an even more robust organizing effort, similar to that of the 1930s. We went backward in our understanding of power. Unions shifted to a mobilizing approach: taking shortcuts from the hard work of building supermajority participation, relying instead on lawyers, research, and communications to wage tactical warfare that only succeeds when it complements the more fundamental work of deep organizing inside and outside of the workplace.

**You distinguish between three approaches to social change: advocacy, mobilizing, and organizing. Why is it so crucial that leftists embrace organizing?**

To understand the differences, we must begin with a key question: what is your theory of power?

Both advocacy and mobilizing subscribe to an elite theory of power. Because they seek merely to tinker on the margins rather than make structural change, these approaches rely on

a handful of people, like lawyers and media specialists. For those of us who want to seriously challenge the status quo, an elite theory of power isn't going to work.

It's important that we understand the difference between the limits of advocacy and the limits of mobilizing.

In the advocacy approach, there's really no pretense that people need to be involved at all. Members can write a check to an organization, which hires staff and take care of business. That's not going to work if we want to change society in fundamental ways.

How about the mobilizing approach? Some movement people invite folks to open meetings or direct actions and call that organizing. But it's not. It's self-selecting work, because it involves mobilizing people who already agree with us. We don't have enough power in this country to rely just on those who show up at our events.

The difference between mobilizing and organizing becomes clear during workplace organizing—say, planning a strike—because we're trying to build to 100% participation, which means total unity. To achieve 95-100% participation requires us to talk to every single person. We spend most of our time talking with workers who absolutely do not want to talk with us—that's the hard and important work of organizing, engaging people who don't want to be engaged. The organizing approach means we simply can't be sloppy about focusing on those who agree with us, because the whole point is to expand the base so we can build greater absolute power. In every campaign, a third of the workers might be easy to mobilize because they're pissed off at the boss and want to do something about it—but the objective in organizing is to build a supermajority.

I think that's a metaphor for how we need to organize a mass movement. Organizing relies on the one strategic advantage we have on the Left: large numbers. Converting the rhetoric of "We are the 99%" into a mass movement takes skill, discipline, and intentional strategy. We have to punch way beyond the fraction of people who already agree with us on most issues if

we're going to contend for real power.

**The key to this vision of deep organizing is a very particular definition of leadership identification—one that many on the Left don't seem to share. What are leaders?**

Leaders are those who have the capacity to bring large numbers of people with them into the process of social change. Many don't have formal titles or positions. The fundamental definition of their leadership is that other people follow them.

The word *follow* makes some toes curl, but we have to grapple with it. If our issues are urgent, and we're serious about building a supermajority, we don't have time to prioritize every person equally. Deep organizing implies that there are always people who have the natural capacity to bring along much larger numbers of people through fearful situations—that isn't everybody.

If we want to build power, we have to understand the difference between leadership identification and leadership development. When most people talk about leadership development, they're talking about measuring someone's commitment to the work. But true leadership identification means identifying ordinary people with a high capacity to lead others. Leadership development is most effective when we practice accurate identification, because then we're prioritizing the organic leaders who already have a high capacity to move the people around them into action.

The usual approach is to identify people who have attended multiple events and encourage them to take on increasing leadership responsibilities in the organization. But that's very different from identifying people in the ranks who already demonstrate high capacity for leadership, but who may not be the least bit interested in getting involved at first. We need to have hard conversations with these people to help them come to understand that mass collective action is the only solution to any number of crises in their lives. We must identify them and then test or assess whether they are indeed organic leaders. These organic or natural leaders are a more diverse group, from a race/ethnicity and traditional gender view, which is another reason we have to prioritize real leadership identification.

**Right now, DSA is a self-selecting formation that primarily practices**

**mobilizing. But we aspire to develop a mass movement that practices structure-based organizing. How do we apply the effective organizing methodology you describe to our goal of building DSA?**

I believe there are endless opportunities for DSA chapters as initially self-selecting formations to play a serious role in building power in their communities.

Chapters are structured on a geographic basis. Their first task is to understand who's around them by completing a power-structure analysis of their area. This requires a collective

The objective  
in organizing  
is to build a  
supermajority.

research project to chart the universe of existing organizations—the infrastructure of a *potentially* left movement with a structure-based, measurable, supermajority reach. Who are the unions, the community organizations, the houses of faith?

DSA chapters must figure out how to create bounded constituencies where they don't seem obvious at first glance. For example, let's say there's a big, active union local or community organization or synagogue in your community. Chapters have to identify the universe of total members in each institution and then practice leadership identification. Who are the informal leaders in each institution? How can we recruit them and the people they lead to join our campaigns and participate in DSA? Who from DSA already has a connection to these groups and institutions, either directly or indirectly? We don't know

**Get involved in the  
Democratic Socialist  
Labor Commission**

[labor.dsausa.org/subcommittees/](http://labor.dsausa.org/subcommittees/)

until we actually ask every single DSA member—it is always surprising how many connections ordinary people have to existing groups.

Finally, chapters must prioritize a limited number of campaigns, match up with existing organizations in the community, and make a strategic plan. Campaigns offer the opportunity to run structure tests—mini-campaigns in which we move an issue within a bounded constituency in order to identify and confirm organic leaders, facilitate unity through political education, and ultimately advance our vision by building from minority support to supermajority support. All groups serious about change have to use lots of campaigns with a clear yes/no, win/lose outcome, otherwise, we have no idea if the work we are doing matters. ■

Jane McAlevey is a Senior Policy Fellow at the University of California at Berkeley's Labor Center, part of the Institute for Labor & Employment Relations. A longtime organizer in the environmental and labor movements, she is the author of *No Shortcuts: Organizing for Power in the New Gilded Age*.

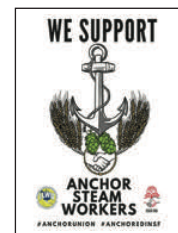
Puya Gerami is the education director at District 1199 New England, a doctoral candidate at Yale, and a member of Central Connecticut DSA.



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Democratic Left  
online**

[dsausa.org/democratic-left](http://dsausa.org/democratic-left)

**Anchor  
Steamed:  
How DSA  
helped  
workers  
unionize an  
iconic craft  
brewery in  
San Francisco**



# Carrying the torch for labor renewal

Founded by socialists, Labor Notes is at the heart of rank-and-file resurgence

BY DON MCINTOSH

There's the spark that spreads. There's also the kindling that was laid for it. Probably no organization has worked more patiently to kindle a rebirth of the power of organized workers than Labor Notes, which turned 40 this year. Based out of offices in Detroit and Brooklyn, at Labor Notes a staff of nine works to "put the movement back in the labor movement" by publishing books, a 6,000-circulation independent monthly magazine, and a website with half a million yearly visitors. They also organize dozens of local and national rank-and-file-oriented events each year. Labor Notes has worked closely behind the scenes with the teacher-union activists who've built strike movements around the country and helped set up and staff United Caucuses of Rank and File Educators.

Labor activists in DSA look to Labor Notes for training and inspiration, and they share tactics and swap notes at Labor Notes events. Many Labor Notes staff are also DSA members, including writer/organizer Bianca Cunningham, co-chair of NYC DSA.

Jane Slaughter, Kim Moody, and Labor Notes' other socialist founders picked a tough time to spark union revitalization, and yet in the last few years the organization has mushroomed. The biennial Labor Notes Conference has grown steadily since 2000; with 3,100 attendees, the 2018 conference was the biggest ever. Meanwhile, *Secrets of a Successful Organizer*—a how-to guide for rank-and-file worker power—has been a runaway hit; it's now in its sixth printing and is closing in on 25,000 copies sold. This year Labor Notes is on track to hold over a dozen local and regional "troublemaker schools," each training 50-400 rank-and-file union member activists.



**Jane Slaughter, today a member of Detroit DSA, co-founded Labor Notes in 1979. Via WhatsApp, *Democratic Left* asked her what impact it's had, and what DSA's role could be in building a powerful, class-conscious labor movement.**

**Why has the U.S. labor movement been so weak for so long?**

A main reason is, of course, the implacable opposition of the employing class to any form of worker organization that threatens their profits and control. Since the 1970s, employers have become more united and aggressive in their drive to prevent, smash, or hogtie unions. Another reason is union leaders' acceptance of the permanence of capitalism. For decades, most leaders' outlook has been to accede to the idea that management has a right to be in charge and will always be in charge. For a long time, most union leaders have not been interested in organizing members to resist the boss's pressure in the workplace, but have tried to mobilize them only as voters. And then, of course, who do they get to vote for? Generally candidates who are "friends of labor" only in that they are less bad than the other guy.

**"Putting the movement back in the labor movement" is the mission of Labor Notes. Why is it important that it be a top priority for DSA as well?**

DSA makes clear that there's no socialist movement without a strong labor movement. Weak as they are today, unions are still the largest and best organized institutions of the working

class—and they are located where it matters most, in the workplace, with the potential power to disrupt business as usual. If American workers and DSAers aren't successful in rebuilding and revitalizing the labor movement, we lose out not just in the sense of losing an "ally." The unions are where leaders of a socialist movement are best born and trained. Socialists need to be working alongside our fellow union members and organizing more workers into unions, so that we can recruit natural leaders to socialism. The fight to make our unions worthy of the name is the best training ground I can think of for learning class struggle.

**What can the vast majority of DSA members who aren't in unions do to help revitalize the labor movement?**

There's work to be done from outside: strike support, for example, like the East Bay DSA chapter did for the Oakland teachers' strike in 2019. But strikes are unfortunately rare. I'd suggest doing some self-education, perhaps in a chapter study group, reading books like *Secrets of a Successful Organizer* and *No Shortcuts and Red State Revolt* about the teachers' strikes. We can approach unions with our priority campaigns, asking to speak to members about Medicare for All, a Green New



Deal, and Bernie Sanders. We can work alongside unions in various local coalitions, such as Jobs with Justice.

But I would urge members to consider getting a union job themselves, so that they can participate from the inside. It can be the most important and rewarding work socialists can do. It's a long-haul perspective, at its best—but frankly, even a short-term immersion in a workplace where you hone your organizing skills can change your perceptions and your life. Some chapters are promoting this plan: In New York, members voted on a half dozen strategically smart workplaces where members could look for work. They are mentoring new union members and coordinating their work. It's best to take such jobs in groups instead of going it alone.

### **What can DSA do to help organize more workers into unions?**

Unfortunately, DSA is generally not in a position to undertake organizing drives itself. In most chapters we don't have the resources to address a workplace of any size, and on a national level we certainly couldn't undertake the massive campaigns, taking on big employers like Amazon and FedEx, that are badly needed. Although it will take time, a more fruitful strategy for organizing the unorganized is to change our existing unions so they will be able to do that work. That means being inside and working for a plan that uses existing rank-and-filers as the ambassadors of unionism. Some unions already do this well.

That said, DSA members should consider organizing their workplaces right where they are now. I got my first taste of unionism by trying to organize a union in a 43-worker shop, and what I learned helped me when I went on to get a union job later.

It should be noted that just because you have a union, that doesn't mean you are "organized." There is plenty of work to be done "organizing the organized"—and it tends to be a bit easier.

### **Labor Notes, the organization you co-founded, turned 40 this year. What impact do you think it's had?**

Labor Notes has kept alive the labor politics that most of the established labor leadership turned sharply away from beginning in the '80s. Most went along with employers' demands for concessions and fell into the trap of labor-management cooperation programs. Because Labor Notes was grounded in

## **2020 Labor Notes Conference**

**APRIL 17-19, 2020  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
[labornotes.org/2020](http://labornotes.org/2020)**

the idea that, as our Wobbly siblings would put it, the working class and the employing class have nothing in common, we were able to educate thousands of union members in why those "strategies" would not save jobs, as was touted, and give them practical ideas for how to resist. Our goal as stated in Issue #1 was to help develop "a network of activists in various unions ... who consciously think of themselves as part of the same movement." In other words, we wanted to help grow a current in the unions whose activists thought bigger than just their own local and could turn the unions around. With our conferences now surpassing 3,000 people, we've come a lot closer to that goal.

### **Has your thinking about labor changed since you started in 1979?**

We've had to adapt to a much more aggressive employer class and figure out how unions survive when employers no longer think they have a right to exist. We were initially focused on the blue-collar unions where rank-and-file movements were active then, and now we find that it's K-12 teachers who are leading the charge. We've seen most of the national reform movements that gave us so much hope in 1979 disappear and have had to reorient to local ones. Labor Notes is less of a pariah in many corners of the labor movement now, as more leaders look around desperately for answers.

### **Labor Notes was founded by socialist labor activists, but Labor Notes itself has never been explicitly socialist. Why?**

We were always focused on building a movement much bigger than ourselves. To have founded a socialist labor magazine would have been to capture a very tiny group. We ignored those to our left and constantly reached out to workers who were still learning their labor politics (and of course we learned hugely from them; it wasn't a one-way street by any means). We strove to create a space where you wouldn't feel out of place if you weren't a lefty—with the idea that people could be brought along. You should remember that red-baiting

was much more of a thing then, and often effective. Our idea was to focus on the labor politics that we had in common with militant workers, rather than those we didn't. At the same time, it was 100% our goal to foment class struggle, because that is the best arena to cultivate new socialists—if there is a socialist organization there that can help with that. Now we finally have such an organization, DSA, if it can orient itself toward workers who are organizing in their workplaces.

### **For DSA members who get active in labor, what's the right attitude to take toward existing union leadership, and the existing rank-and-file membership for that matter?**

If leaders are good, back them up and make sure their good ideas are being carried out in the workplace, not just at the union hall or the ballot box. Sometimes outsiders become enamored of a union leader who is progressive on issues outside the union—while that same leader is doing nothing to help the rank and file gain power, or is even pushing concessions. When you're on the inside you will know the difference. If your leaders are bad, you'll have to slowly organize to get rid of them and replace them with leaders who lead. That means more workplace organizing—not just forming a slate with good ideas.

As a rank-and-file member you can organize to make your workplace a stronghold where bosses fear to tread. That will make you and your team credible candidates. Also, remember that it's often quite possible to lead from below—rank and filers have run their own contract campaigns, turned down bad contracts, fought school closings, all before they took over their locals. As to attitude toward your fellow members, be prepared for most not to have DSA's politics. There are many reasons why workers of all races adopt bad attitudes toward immigrants, for example, or whose first question about Medicare for All is, "Will this mean more money out of my pocket?" As a newcomer to the workplace, you have a great deal to learn from your co-workers despite some unwoke attitudes. You will be served by humility. ■

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Don McIntosh is a labor journalist, OPEIU Local 11 officer, and a member of Portland DSA.

# Ten lessons from the teacher strikes

BY ERIC BLANC

Hundreds of thousands of educators from across the country walked out in 2018 and again in 2019—the first U.S. strike wave in generations. Socialists should celebrate this long-overdue return of the strike. But we also need to learn from these recent walkouts. What are the main lessons of this experience for DSA’s labor strategy? Here are 10 key takeaways:

## 1) Strikes work

Though electoral politics and community organizing are crucial avenues to build working-class power, the strike remains our greatest weapon as workers. By leaning on the structural leverage of workplace organizing, these walkouts won more in the span of a few weeks than was won through years of lobbying and rallying.

## 2) Fight for the common good

These strikes—led predominantly by female workers—succeeded because they proactively reached out to and won over parents, students, and the public at large. It was essential that educators fought not only for better pay and working conditions, but also for broader issues like more school funding, lower class sizes, more nurses and counselors, as well as anti-racist demands like an end to racial profiling in their schools.

## 3) Be prepared to break the law

Public-sector strikes are only legal in 13 states. From West Virginia to Arizona, educators kept on organizing despite the threats coming from politicians that they could be fined or lose their jobs. At moments of mass struggle, legality comes down to a relationship of forces.

## 4) The Democratic Party is not our friend

The mainstream media initially attempted to portray the educator upsurge as limited to “red states” run by Republicans. But the spread of the strikes to “blue states” like California has made it clear that Democratic politicians are no less responsible for policies of austerity, privatization, and corporate education “reform.” Only socialist insurgents like Bernie Sanders and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez have consistently sided with



Striking teacher in Arizona, April 2018. Photo by Eric Blanc

strikers and their demands.

## 5) Deep organizing is key

The most successful strikes—particularly the January 2019 walkout in Los Angeles—confirm the “deep organizing” methods promoted by strategists like Jane McAlevey. Systematically identifying and developing organic leaders from the rank and file and building up to walkouts through a series of “structure tests” gave unions and their workplace shutdowns an unparalleled strength.

## 6) Unions should organize the unorganized

These strikes show that the best way to reverse the decline in union density is by transforming our existing unions. In the process of these successful walkouts, thousands of educators joined the unions, and tens of thousands more got actively involved for the first time. To organize the rest of our class, we need a transformed union movement.

## 7) Socialists and labor must reconnect

After decades of divorce from the labor movement, socialists played a key leadership role in many of these 2018-19 walkouts. DSA members and rank-and-file socialist teachers inspired by Bernie’s 2015-16 campaign were the key initiators of the strikes in West Virginia and Arizona. To deepen and expand this

movement nationally, we need to re-root socialists in the working class and its organizations.

## 8) Be strategic

Good strategy is about setting priorities. Though tactical flexibility is essential, recent experience clearly shows that radical labor activists can generally make their maximum impact by working with existing unions in strategic industries like education and healthcare. As the “red state revolt” demonstrates, this is even true in Republican-dominated states with low union density and no collective bargaining for public sector workers.

## 9) It’s time to transform our unions

In “red states” like West Virginia and Arizona, rank-and-file educators successfully organized from below to push their unions to take strike action. But building lasting power will require doing what educators did in Chicago and Los Angeles: organizing rank-and-file caucuses to win the leadership of the union and transform it into a fighting body of and for an empowered rank and file. By participating in caucuses and networks like Labor Notes, DSAers can play a big role in rebuilding a powerful labor movement.

## 10) Make the rich pay

Corporate politicians always tell us there’s not enough to go around. These strikes directly challenged this scarcity narrative by showing that if we can force the government to start making the rich and corporations pay their fair share in taxes, there is more than enough funding to provide great public schools for every child in our districts and states. Working people deserve so much more—and we can turn the world upside down if we get organized. ■

Eric Blanc writes on labor movements past and present. Formerly a high school teacher in the Bay Area, he is the author of *Red State Revolt: The Teachers’ Strike Wave and Working-Class Politics*.



# East Bay DSA shows up for Oakland teachers

BY NICK FRENCH

When thousands of Oakland teachers voted in February 2019 to strike after nearly two years without a contract, they faced down a school board that refused to grant pay raises big enough to even keep up with the city's skyrocketing cost of living. The school board — dominated by billionaire-funded supporters of charters and school privatization — also planned to cut already overburdened support staff, increase class sizes, and close schools, with the aim of shifting more students to charter schools.

But the Oakland Education Association (OEA), the teachers' union, was ready to fight back. This was its first strike in more than 20 years, and 95% of the teachers went out for two weeks, as did 97% of the students. Although they did not win all of their demands, the teachers forced the district to make major concessions: an 11% percent raise, a slight reduction in class sizes, increased support staffing, and a five-month moratorium on school closures. And teachers built confidence, organization, and militancy for future battles.

The East Bay Democratic Socialists of America played a critical role in the strike's success. OEA teachers in East Bay DSA began meeting as a group in August 2019, inspired by the historic West Virginia teachers' strike and by conversations with teachers in New York City DSA's Labor Branch. At the chapter's October General Membership Meeting, the DSA teachers presented a resolution to support the Oakland teachers if and when they went on strike, and the chapter voted overwhelmingly in favor of the resolution.

Afterward, veteran Oakland teacher and East Bay DSA member Tim Marshall, a respected OEA militant with decades of experience as a socialist organizer, connected DSA teachers with the OEA executive board, and the two groups started collaborating to prepare

Oakland for the strike. Several DSA teachers, in close communication with one another, planned and helped execute the strike through the union's organizing committee, while two of the DSA teachers served as school site representatives and picket captains.

One of the chapter's first strike support activities was sign-canvassing. In October, East Bay DSA members paired up with OEA teachers to canvass Oakland businesses, asking them to put "We Stand with Oakland Teachers" signs in their storefronts. This effort raised

teacher morale and helped build a feeling of community support. In January and early February, DSA members helped to further build community support by organizing house parties with teachers and neighbors throughout the city. At these parties, teachers spoke about why they were striking and what they were up against, and neighbors signed up to volunteer during the strike.

Another critical contribution was Bread for Ed, a coalition effort to feed out-of-school children and teachers during the strike.

In the Oakland Unified School District, more than 70% of students rely on free or reduced-price school lunches. Making sure children were fed during the strike was therefore crucial to maintaining community support for teachers. At the union's request, East Bay DSA led Bread for Ed, raising over \$170,000 and coordinating the purchase, preparation, and delivery of meals.

East Bay DSA also launched Majority, an online strike paper. One goal of Majority was to keep up the morale of striking teachers. Another goal was to spread the message that teachers were fighting for fully funded public education against rapacious billionaires and their lackeys who wanted to privatize it.

Starting at the beginning of 2019, Majority ran a variety of stories: political analysis of the situation in OUSD; interviews with teachers, parents, and students about why they supported a strike; and coverage of grassroots teach-

er and student militancy. Majority ran stories almost every day of the strike, while East Bay DSA also pumped out uplifting videos and photos from the picket lines through its social media accounts.

Through Majority and other interventions, East Bay DSA helped shape teacher consciousness and union messaging. A critical turning point was a DSA- and OEA-sponsored discussion panel held days before the strike featuring Marshall, OEA president Keith Brown, and Arlene Inouye of the United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA). Inouye made clear that LA's teachers had been fighting against billionaire school privatizers. Hearing Inouye convinced the OEA leadership to adopt similar class-struggle messaging.

DSA members also turned out to picket lines on every day of the strike. Inspired by the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strike, East Bay DSA organized "flying squadrons," groups of mobile picketers that would go to school sites where picket lines were thin or where a significant number of students were crossing the picket line. Members of the chapter's Racial Solidarity Committee translated information about the strike for parents who didn't speak English. Some DSA members also volunteered at "solidarity schools," spaces where parents who wanted to respect the picket lines could leave their children for supervision.

East Bay DSA's support of the Oakland teachers' strike illustrates the importance of merging the socialist and labor movements. When connected with rank-and-file workers and union leadership, socialists can bring political clarity, organizational capacity, and militant enthusiasm to workplace struggles. In doing so, socialists can contribute to the success of those struggles, learn from them, and connect these fights with broader struggles against capital. ■



James Thacher

Nick French is a member of the East Bay chapter of the Democratic Socialists of America.



# Labor for Bernie

BY JONAH FURMAN

In 2016, seven national unions and more than 100 local affiliates broke with the rest of the labor movement and endorsed Bernie Sanders for president. Key to that break was a grassroots network called Labor for Bernie, an independent group of union members calling for working-class politics. Earlier this year, the network kicked back into action, regrouping for 2020.

With the assistance of many DSA members, Labor for Bernie 2020 has launched chapters across the country, signed up hundreds on its pledge card, and is just getting started. It has active networks in the AFT, NEA and Machinists, and is building in the Teamsters, IATSE, and more. It is fighting to show the Democratic Party and the labor movement officialdom that there is an army of unionists and organized working-class activists ready for Bernie's brand of political revolution.

Whether they believe in realigning



the Democratic Party or in independent political action, these activists believe that unions must act politically in the interests of the broader class rather than transactionally in the interest of maintaining a minimum of pro-worker sentiment in the anti-worker halls of power.

Labor for Bernie wants to bring the political revolution to our workplaces and unions, not just to win a Bernie nomination and then the presidency, but to hold a Sanders administration accountable and to be the mass movement with the power to beat back Wall Street and win demands such as Medicare for All and a Green New Deal.

Like Democratic Socialists of America, Labor for Bernie is an Independent Expenditure effort and doesn't coordinate with the Bernie Sanders 2020 campaign.

It is a grassroots network organizing support for a Bernie Sanders run from the outside. You can learn more at [www.laborforbernie2020.org](http://www.laborforbernie2020.org) and get in touch at [contact@laborforbernie2020.org](mailto:contact@laborforbernie2020.org).

Jonah Furman is a union member and labor activist who just moved from New York City to Washington, DC. Get in touch at [jonahfurman@gmail.com](mailto:jonahfurman@gmail.com).



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## Chicago six

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

and making the CTU the city's most important force fighting it. The union's willingness to strike, in public schools and charters, has reshaped the city's politics (and helped make all kinds of workers, from the Chicago Symphony Orchestra to graduate teaching assistants, more willing to withhold their labor from the boss).

That militancy is also seen in CTU-adjacent community groups such as the Kenwood Oakland Community Organization, of which Jeanette Taylor has been an active member for many years. KOCO has long fought alongside the teachers union against education austerity on the city's South Side, and the group led a month-long hunger strike in 2015 demanding the reopening of a neighborhood high school. Taylor was one of the hunger strikers.

In other words, Chicago DSA didn't win these victories on its own. We were members of a broad working-class

movement that tied electoral campaigns to grassroots labor and community organizing and militancy. Without the wider ferment in the city, it's doubtful our six members would have won their seats.

The lesson from Chicago for socialists elsewhere, then, is not just that you can run socialist candidates who take on the ruling class and actually win. It's also that socialists must join (or start) fights at their workplaces and in their communities that can create the conditions for electoral victories like the ones we've seen in Chicago.

After their wins, our socialist city councilors have hit the streets. Rodriguez-Sanchez has used her megaphone to support tenants organizing against an abusive landlord in the neighborhood; several have used their office to organize against Donald Trump's threatened Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raids in Chicago; they even joined in blocking traffic outside City Hall to protest massive giveaways to real-estate developers shortly after the elections. In all of these cases and more, Chicago's elected officials are using their office to stoke more grassroots organizing, more bottom-up opposition to austerity, more

class struggle.

The political conditions in Chicago are unique, of course. So are every city's. But there's no reason other cities can't wage bold local electoral campaigns that name our enemy, the capitalist class, and are tied to militant working-class organizing.

Chicago's socialist city council wins surprised many. But maybe they shouldn't. Socialism is on the rise, in elected office and in the streets, in Chicago and around the country. We have a lot more to win. Chicago shows that we can do it. ■

Micah Uetrict is a member of Chicago DSA, host of the podcast *The Vast Majority*, author of *Strike for America: Chicago Teachers Against Austerity*, and coauthor (with Meagan Day) of a forthcoming book on the "political revolution" beyond the Bernie Sanders campaign.



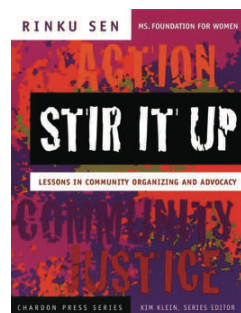
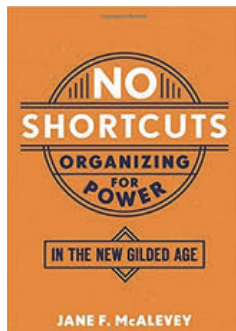
# For your organizing bookshelf

Choosing strategies

BY MIE INOUE

DSA is now the largest socialist organization in the United States, but size doesn't necessarily translate into power. Much of our growth in recent years has been self-selecting. The result is a membership that does not represent the multiracial working-class base we need in order to build a successful socialist movement. It's clear that we need to go beyond mobilizing self-described socialists; we need to organize. But what does good organizing look like in a mass, multi-tendency organization that transcends the boundaries of a neighborhood or workplace? To work out our answer, we can draw insights from the labor, community, and social movement organizing traditions, all of which are represented in the best recent writing on organizing.

Jane McAlevy's *No Shortcuts* is, by now, essential reading for DSA organizers. This is because it offers a systematic, strategic approach to growing our organization, modeled on the practices of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, before it merged with the American Federation of Labor [see interview on p. 6]. This method is "structure-based"; it focuses on building capacity within clearly demarcated communities, such as workplaces and churches. In a recent series of calls with DSA members, McAlevy argued that we can adapt the CIO method to DSA by



finding and creating structures where we might not immediately see them.

One of DSA's distinctive features is that we are a social-movement organiza-

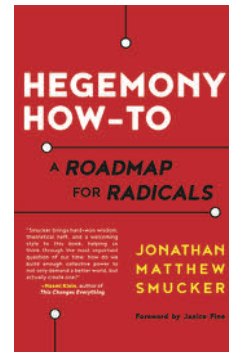
tion made up of local chapters. In *Stir It Up*, Rinku Sen argues that community organizing needs to move away from an exclusive focus on local issues and decision-makers toward building local organizations that can support social movements when the time is right. This approach to community organizing can orient our chapter-level work toward building a mass socialist movement. Sen, who comes out of the Center for Third World Organizing, also helpfully distills critiques of the community organizing approach developed by Saul Alinsky and offers concrete suggestions for developing antiracist, anticapitalist, feminist organizing methods.

To build power over the long term, there's no question that we need robust, enduring local organizations. But winning Medicare for All or a Green New Deal may require generating disruptive action on a mass scale. Brothers Mark



and Paul Engler's *This is an Uprising* offers an illuminating take on the longstanding polemic over structure vs. spontaneity within leftist social movements. The Englers argue compellingly that this binary is false. Successful social movements, from the U.S. civil rights movement to the Serbian Otpor, have blended long-term organization with mass mobilizations that respond to specific historical moments. Although the book's argument is rather diffuse, the method, which the recent Sunrise Movement used to call national attention to the Green New Deal, is worth taking seriously.

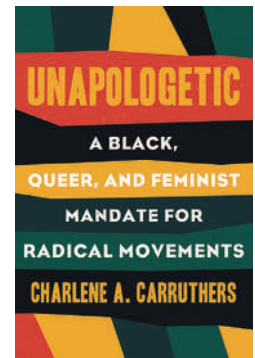
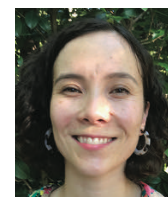
Finally, as we continue to grow, we need to attend to the internal dynamics of our organization without allowing them to displace our focus on external campaigns. Two recent books — Jonathan Smucker's *Hegemony How-To: A Roadmap for Radicals* and Charlene A. Carruthers's *Unapologetic: a black, queer, and feminist mandate for radical movements* — open up an important



conversation about movement culture. Drawing on his experiences in Occupy Wall Street, Smucker urges organizers to avoid becoming overly focused on "values" and to instead prioritize "politics"; that is, winning concrete changes to society. By contrast, Carruthers, co-founder of the Black Youth Project 100, argues that internal culture and social transformation are inextricable. She shows how organizing through a black, queer, feminist lens can effect both personal and social transformation. Read together, these books raise important and difficult questions about the relationship between our internal practices and our political efficacy.

Obviously, none of these books offers a complete blueprint for DSA organizing. Rather, these authors, all of whom blend multiple strands of the organizing tradition, suggest that good organizing is both systematic and flexible, focused and eclectic. Their insights give us a set of questions for developing and evaluating our own approaches to organizing — the most urgent and necessary task before us. ■

Mie Inouye is a member of the Central Connecticut DSA Steering Committee and a PhD candidate at Yale University. She is writing her dissertation on theories of organizing in 20th-century U.S. social movements.



## Labor Day Greetings to Democratic Left

Thank you to all the supporters of *Democratic Left* and of DSA who either sent greetings this year or gave money to the Solidarity Fund for the DSA Convention. You'll notice that we don't have as many ad pages as in the past. This is because of the concurrent drive for the Solidarity Fund and the enormous support members gave to the largest convention ever for DSA.

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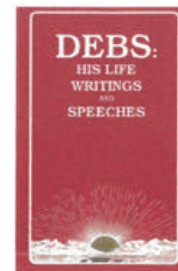
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## SOLIDARITY GREETINGS




From Milt Tambor, author of  
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Through the workers' blood shall run,  
There can be no power greater  
Anywhere beneath the sun.*

**UNION, YES!**

**Solidarity**

**David Green,  
David Ivers,  
David Elsila**

*Members, Detroit DSA*

"We need, in every community, a group of angelic troublemakers."



—BAYARD RUSTIN

**LEO CASEY**

In Memory of True Comrades


**Selma Lenihan  
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**Chapters as of August 1**  
**150**

**YDSA chapters**  
**80**

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# From the national director

## CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

tech or comms support.

**Volunteer marshals** whose vigilance kept us safe all weekend and whose de-escalation skills helped us keep things comradely.

**Texas and Ohio delegations** who spoke out and produced political statements through their grief after the mass murders in their states.

**Keynote and plenary speakers** Sara Nelson, Cecily Myart-Cruz, Linda Sarsour, khalid kamau, Erika Alvarez and Thea Riofrancos, who electrified us with their words and reminded us of our duty to win.

**Members who prepared plenary remarks** but were cut from the program so that delegates could continue

debate: Kim Varela-Broxson, Dustin Guastella, Renee Paradis, Bianca Cunningham, Brandon Rey Ramirez, and Kate Sheets Hodge.

**International guests** who brought us perspectives from Sudan, the Philippines, Palestine, Germany, Venezuela, Brussels, Peru, Quebec, and Japan and will return home with reports of the rise of DSA so we can build concrete international working class solidarity, and guests from U.S. organizations.

**Workshop, panel and self-organized time leaders** who facilitated the exchange of ideas and transfer of skills that make DSA strong.

**DSAers in office** who attended our first ever gathering to discuss how to keep flexing our electoral muscles.

**Comrades who provided childcare**

for delegates.

**Chapters** that did tremendous work during the pre-convention period and delegation chairs who coordinated with DSA staff.

**Delegates** organizing in good faith for their chosen resolutions.

**Members** across the country who contributed amounts large and small to our Solidarity Fund.

All of this is what makes me hopeful that we can take full advantage of the opportunities before us.

As new NPC member Maikiko James said during the short, inaugural meeting of the newly elected NPC immediately after the close of the convention, "We have a world to win — and save."

Let's do it! ■

## Become part of America's largest socialist organization!

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- Enclosed is an extra contribution to help DSA in its work

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Year of birth \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_ Email \_\_\_\_\_

Union affiliation \_\_\_\_\_ School \_\_\_\_\_

Check enclosed  Bill my credit card (below)

Circle one Visa Mastercard Card # \_\_\_\_\_ Expiration \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Security code \_\_\_\_\_

Return to: DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS OF AMERICA PO Box 1038, New York, NY 10272