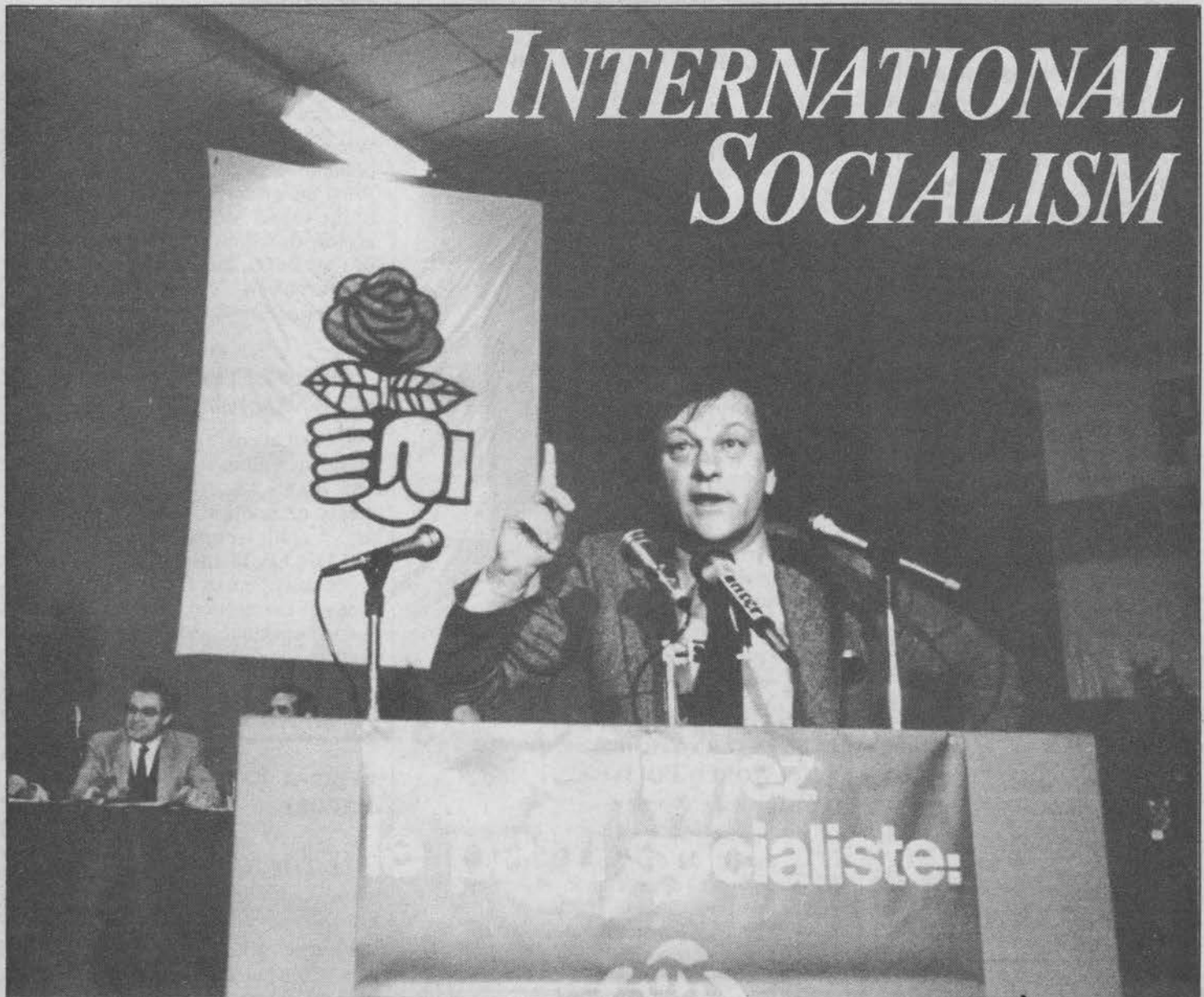


Moving On

MAGAZINE OF THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT



Lionel Delevingne

Unions vs. Nuclear Power

Equal Pay for Comparable Value

New Views on Eurocommunism

Moving On

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Towards a socialist America

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by Paul Garver

THE SAFE ENERGY MOVEMENT within United States labor unions boldly announced its growing strength by holding the first National Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment in Pittsburgh October 10-12. Of the 956 registered conference participants, 828 were members of some 57 trade unions. Hundreds more from the general Pittsburgh community attended a Friday kick-off rally.

Holding the conference in Pittsburgh was a courageous act. The city is the core of the nuclear industry, headquarters to major corporations with nuclear interests such as Westinghouse (nuclear reactors and engineering), Gulf Oil (organizer of the world uranium cartel), and Duquesne Light (first commercial nuclear plant in the United States).

Major credit for the success of the conference must go to Environmentalists for Full Employment (EFFE), a Washington, D.C. based group which, at a time when labor appeared to be rigidly pro-nuclear, began tirelessly explaining the real links between safe energy and full employment to the unions. Only a year ago, it took EFFE several weeks to gather a grand total of twenty signatures from national unionists opposed to nuclear power.

Slow Progress

But EFFE's perseverance has finally paid off. Early this year, the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment was formed. Nine international unions soon endorsed the

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UNIONS SPEAK OUT AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER



Shut it
Down
P.R.C.

October conference—the United Auto Workers, the Mine Workers, the Graphic Arts International, the United Furniture Workers, the Machinists, the Service Employees, the Woodworkers, the International Chemical Workers, and the Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union.

Miners made up the largest rank-and-file contingent, reflecting their substantial self-interest in the utilization of coal for electricity generation. Several of the other sponsoring unions were represented largely by national and local officials. In contrast, Steelworkers' national leadership was conspicuous by its absence, while Steelworkers opposition groups such as Local 1010 from Gary and Local 1397 from Homestead were evident.

Credit must also go to the several Pittsburgh local trade unions, anti-nuclear and community organizations that organized the kick-off rally and mobilized area unionists to attend the conference. These include the Pittsburgh Metro Area Postal Workers, District #5 of the Mine Workers, SEIU Local 585, the Pennsylvania Alliance for Jobs and Energy, and the local Mobilization for Survival.

The Friday rally was spiced by an incursion by members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local #5, most of whom work in constructing the Beaver Valley II nuclear plant and in maintaining Beaver Valley I near Pittsburgh. Waving pro-nuke signs and marching down the aisles, they briefly disrupted the rally, but failed to dampen the spirit of the rally participants. In contrast, other workers in IBEW locals representing electric utility workers (strikers from the Northern Indiana Public Service Company—NIPSCO—and the Duquesne Light Company workers) participated in the conference and its workshops.

Workers' Rights

The chief concern expressed by the utility workers was the possible reduc-

tion of their collective bargaining rights under public ownership of the utility, a measure recommended in a conference resolution. Public sector unionists, however, joined with the utility workers in amending the public power resolution to safeguard the utility workers under the National Labor Relations Act, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, and other labor legislation which currently exempts public employees. Bob Baugh from Portland NAM and the Woodworkers, convenor of the workshop on public power, demonstrated how the Oregon Public Power Referendum of 1980 protected the rights of utility workers in the transition to publically-owned systems.

Support activities for striking workers have proven crucial in building alliances between safe energy activists and energy workers. A large collection was taken, and a resolution of support for the striking NIPSCO workers, members of Steelworkers Local 12775, passed overwhelmingly. The NIPSCO workers have already received crucial support from USWA Local 1010 and anti-nuclear activists in the Bailey Alliance. In Erie, PA, IBEW strikers against Pennsylvania Electric (a General Public Utilities subsidiary and part-owner of Three Mile Island) recently joined the Central Labor Council in calling for a public takeover of the utility company. And in Pittsburgh, a striking SEIU gasworkers local cooperated with the Pennsylvania Alliance for Jobs and Energy in filing legal actions against the Peoples Gas Company and in urging a bill-withholding action by its consumers.

Other differences among conference participants were dealt with in a spirit of mutual respect and compromise. Mineworker speakers heavily emphasized the use of coal but stressed the necessity to mine it safely and burn it cleanly, thus attempting to meet environmental concerns. Workers in nuclear plants disagreed with some

Lone! Delavigne



Harrisburg.

**Jobs are vital,
but if we
contaminate our
genetic pool
none of us
will survive.**

assertions of nuclear activists, but admitted the potential for accidents, as well as the prohibitively high costs of safe disposal of nuclear wastes. And everyone, unionists and other activists, agreed that the movement for safe energy and full employment would have to be built as a broad coalition of popular forces in opposition to the policies and practices of the energy monopolies and the government bureaucracies.

NAM Support

New American Movement had endorsed this conference at its summer national convention, and many NAM members from Pittsburgh and around the country participated. NAM has long recognized the need to relate jobs and energy issues, especially in the anti-nuclear movement, and has worked with EFFE since its inception. Richard Grossman, Executive Director of

EFFE, was a featured speaker at the NAM convention several years ago.

We in NAM were delighted by the progress the conference made in joining the labor and safe energy movement. It should never again be possible to take for granted a pro-nuclear position by labor unions, since the debate now clearly runs right through the trade union movement.

But the Labor Conference represented no more than the end of the beginning for the safe energy movement within labor. The struggle will have to be waged over and over again, at all levels of the trade union movement. Not only do several influential building trade unions have a substantial reliance on nuclear plant construction for jobs, but the nuclear industry is stepping up its pro-nuclear propaganda targeted to labor.

Although narrowly defined self-interest divides unions on energy issues, the powerful (if often submerged) current of labor solidarity and broad social concerns is beginning to flow against nuclear power. The conference witnessed a tug of that current in one of the regional caucuses. The discussion was bogging down in details of public and private sector workers, the environment, concerns about coal, and other such problems, when an elderly woman asked to be recognized.

"I own a farm right near Three Mile Island," she said, and the audience hushed. "I've seen my calves and kittens come stillborn and I know it's the radiation. Do you know what it's like? Jobs are vital," she concluded after a gripping description of her experiences, "but if we contaminate our genetic pool, none of us will survive. Nuclear power workers are the most endangered. So let's pull together. The unions are responsible for making our country great. Without them, the robber barons would have kept us in the 19th century. They still want us back there, so now the unions must get together with the rest of us and change the country." □

AN ISSUE OF COMPARABLE WORTH

Manual on Pay Equity: Raising Wages for Women's Work

Edited by Joy Ann Grune.

Washington D.C.: Conference on
Alternative State and Local Policies,
1980.

By Kathleen Ferraro

FOR SOCIALIST FEMINISTS, economic equality between women and men represents a necessary though not sufficient condition for women's liberation. In their growing concern for pay equity, trade unionists and feminist activists have replaced the narrow demand of equal pay for equal work with a call for equal pay for work of comparable value. In so doing they are attempting to overcome the effects of a grossly sex-segregated labor market.

Despite the Equal Pay Act of 1963, the average income for women working full-time outside the home is 59 percent of that of their male counterparts. Economists and other social scientists agree that a major reason for the difference in average pay is the fact that most women are concentrated in a few low-paying job categories. Data on the labor force shows that the range of occupations over which women are distributed is much smaller than the range over which men are distributed. Fifty percent of all employed women are in what the Department of Labor defines as "segregated jobs."

If the segregation of women in a few occupations is the major cause of women's low wages, then obviously the way to close the gap between women's and men's wages is to desegregate the labor market, primarily by encouraging women to enter non-traditional

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jobs. However, efforts in this area have not had a significant effect on wage and occupational structures, since, as Ellen Goodman, columnist for the *Washington Post* observes, "For every woman construction worker there are thousands of secretaries." According to Ruth Blumrosen, consultant for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), "Today the extent of occupational segregation is so great that for men and women to be doing the same work, about two-thirds to three-fourths of the working women would have to change jobs."

Equal Pay for Comparable Value

Currently, many people, including Eleanor Holmes Norton, Chair of the EEOC, argue that the way to end occupational segregation and close the wage gap is by expanding the principle of 'equal pay for equal work' to 'equal pay for work of comparable value.'

*"Pregnant with
the possibility
of disrupting
the entire
economic system
of the U.S."*

Norton has identified a two-edged agenda for agency—"to move women into a wider range of jobs" and "to improve the prestige of the jobs they already hold." Norton states that the "way you improve the prestige of women's jobs is to require that they be paid comparable to men's salaries."

The Equal Pay Act of 1963 prohibits wage discrimination on the basis of sex "for *equal* work on the jobs the performance of which requires *equal* skill, effort, and responsibility, and which are performed under similar working conditions . . ." Because the Equal Pay Act has been interpreted to apply only to equal work, it has not been an effective tool for eliminating wage discrimination in a labor market in which men and women do not do equal work. Comparable worth (or pay equity), in contrast to equal work, calls for equal pay for jobs the performance of which requires *comparable* skill, effort, and responsibility. In other words, men and women whose jobs require comparable, though not necessarily identical, skill, effort, and responsibility should be paid the same.

A major contribution toward the task of clarifying and promoting the issue of comparable worth is the recently published *Manual on Pay Equity: Raising Wages for Women's Work* edited by Joy Ann Grune, NAM member and the Coordinator of the Women in the Economy Project of the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies. The Manual is an outgrowth of the first national "Conference on Pay Equity" held in Washington, D.C. on October 24,

1979. (The conference also witnessed the founding of the National Committee on Pay Equity, a coalition of women's labor, and civil rights organizations dedicated to raising wages for women's work.)

The Manual succeeds in clearly defining the issue and providing valuable information and analysis of current activity around pay equity. According to Grune in her introduction, "the Manual on Pay Equity is an overview of the activities around the issue known as 'equal pay for work of comparable value.' It is the first resource publication on this initiative to raise women's wages. The Manual is not an exhaustive survey, but an important first step in organizing and distributing the growing pool of information and experience on pay equity." Grune has provided the reader with a carefully assembled collection of articles and testimony on the issues surrounding pay equity, brought into focus with clear introductory remarks pertaining to each section of the Manual. Contributions from

governmental officials, labor organizers, and women's groups are skillfully combined to present the broad range of activity currently taking place. Aside from the many articles contained in the Manual, Grune has included an exhaustive listing of organizations and resource people involved with pay equity. Finding so much valuable and well organized information in one place is both an organizer's and a researcher's dream.

Courts and Employers Resist

The battle for pay equity will not, however, be an easy one. On the legal front, Eleanor Holmes Norton describes the Court's reaction to comparable worth as "almost uniformly hostile." Given the Equal Pay Act's limited applicability in a segregated labor market, the legislation that is relevant to pay equity is Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VII prohibits employers from discriminating with respect to "compensation, terms, conditions or privileges of employment" and from limiting, segregating,

or classifying employees or applicants for employment "in any way which will deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities on the basis of race or sex."

Women in traditional jobs have interpreted Title VII to apply to comparable worth situations. Under Title VII, nurses in Denver, for example, have challenged a "wage system that paid them less than tree trimmers, sign painters, and tire servicemen," and secretaries at the University of Northern Iowa challenged the university's policy of paying them less than physical plant workers. However, the judge who ruled against the Denver nurses described the case as "pregnant with the possibility of disrupting the entire economic system of the United States of America." The judge in the University of Northern Iowa case agreed that the university pay policy was a reflection of the "prevailing wage rate" based upon the laws of supply and demand with which Congress had not intended to interfere. That wages are set by the forces of a "free" market can be refuted. Grune writes that "community wage rates, on which employers frequently base their pay schedules, are a product in part of discriminatory practices of other employers."

Pay Equity in an Unequal Society

Comparable worth advocates argue that there are many factors which influence the "free" market forces of supply and demand, not the least of which is women's low status in society. As Grune notes, "the undervaluation of women's work is rooted in history, culture, economics, and psychology." Among several reasons listed in the Manual for women's low wages, Grune includes the "inappropriate classification of duties performed by women into lower paying grades." Most employer systems used for determining wage rates involve two parts: (1) a ranking of jobs in an organization in relation to each other; and, (2) a comparison of wages for jobs in the organization with wages paid for

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Joy Ann Grune

similar work in the labor market.

Job evaluation systems, which are used for comparing jobs within an organization, assign values to jobs in the three major categories of effort, skill, and responsibility. Here, as in any information processing situation, the values of the individual or individuals responsible for processing information play a role in determining what information is collected, how it is collected, and how it is interpreted. A job analyst who has a conscious or unconscious bias against women or blacks may perceive jobs performed by white males as more difficult than they are and perceive the jobs performed by women or blacks as less difficult than they are. The Manual explores issues such as this one with a great deal of detail and information. For example, in the section "Job Evaluation Systems," Grune has included selections from *Job Evaluation: An Analytic Review* by the National Academy of Science.

Reports and Aids in Organizing

Several state governments have begun to investigate the issue of comparable worth, and some have undertaken studies of job evaluation systems for state employees. Grune provides information about these developments and about the "critical role" labor unions have played in pressuring governments to develop these studies and in struggling for comparable worth

contract language.

Chapter 7, "Organizing and Bargaining," relates information from AFSCME, CWA, Working Women, IUE, UE, CLUW, and other organizations active around comparable worth organizing. From this section, it is clear that advances are beginning to be made. For example, delegates at the AFL-CIO convention in November 1979 passed a resolution in support of comparable worth and agreed to increase the number of women on the executive board. The resolution, reprinted in the Manual, encourages efforts to promote improved job evaluation systems and calls for affiliates to "adopt the concept of equal pay for work of comparable value in organizing and in negotiating collective bargaining agreements." For several unions, the issue of comparable worth is not new. "The United Auto Workers (UAW), for example, has been promoting this issue for decades. . . ." The American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees has also been active for some time on the issue in the states of Washington, California, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan. Organizations of clerical workers, nurses and librarians are also now active in the battle against low wages in female-dominated occupations.

In the final section of the Manual, Grune provides information on how to "unionize; structure a comprehensive approach to sex discrimination; collect wage and job information from employers; identify sex discrimination; and finally, design collective bargaining contract language pertaining to equal pay for work of comparable value."

Aside from the resistance of employers to pay equity and the hostility at present among the courts, Grune warns of further dangers in the implementation of comparable worth. In the overview section she notes that "the Equal Pay Act . . . has a provision which prohibits the reduction of wages as a means of dealing with unequal pay situations. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, under which most

comparable worth litigation has been brought, has no such provision. It is important to guard against any attempt by employers to resolve pay inequities by wage reduction." No one wishes to see the male-female wage gap narrowed by reducing men's wages. Grune mentions that "it is helpful to think of comparable worth, for example, in the context of the Wage Solidarity policy of the Swedish trade unions which attempt to reduce the differential between high-wage and low-wage workers." Obviously, efforts aimed at implementation of comparable worth will require cooperation between men and women in traditional fields of work, and, between organized and unorganized sectors of the workforce.

Significance for Socialists

Grune's Manual is a highly significant beginning in defining the issue and sharing information between the labor movement, the women's movement, and governmental officials. Liz Adams, a labor organizer, commented recently on the significance of the Manual and the issue of pay equity: "The Manual goes a long way toward making information on pay equity accessible to labor organizers. The issue begins to open opportunities for us as socialists to talk about the capitalist class control of the laborforce and the mechanisms used to maintain that control. Although pay equity does not directly challenge the right of the ruling class to divide up the economic pie, it allows us to pose some of the questions that will eventually lead up to that challenge. It calls into question the utilization of different sectors of the laborforce in ways that aid the accumulation of capital." Few issues present such exciting possibilities. □

For more information on the National Committee on Pay Equity, contact the M. Rawalt Resource Center, B.P.W., 2012 Massachusetts Ave NW, Washington, DC 20036. The Manual is available for \$9.95 from the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies, 2000 Florida NW, Washington, DC 20009.



Mischief-making Willy Brandt.

by John Beverley

MANY ACTIVISTS, INCLUDING myself, made the transition from "Ban the Bomb" marches and civil rights demonstrations of the early 1960s to guerilla fantasies nourished in the academy and the counter culture of the late '60s and early '70s. It was, of course, the overwhelming reality of Vietnam—and the success of the Viet-

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namese—that underlay this shift in our political imagery. In the process our concern with the centers of world power faded. We came to believe that the U.S./Soviet conflict was based in the wars of national liberation of the Third World, that the dynamics of U.S./Soviet confrontation were largely or completely the result of imperialist expansion meeting anti-imperialist resistance.

Whatever tactical realism and flexibility the New Left was able to muster around domestic issues, the actual consciousness of working people, and the nature of their organizations faded as well. The international arena functioned as a sort of utopia of revolutionary expressionism, all the more so as revolutionary dreams died at home. We were alternately voyeur, cheer-

leader, armchair theoretician, and, in the case of the Weather Underground and similar groups, self-proclaimed cadre of Third World liberation.

In part this frame of mind depended on a tacit consensus on all sides that nuclear war between the U.S., China and the Soviet Union had indeed become "unthinkable." By 1969, "pacifism"—usually yoked with "petty bourgeois"—had become a term of derision on the Left. This is no longer a tenable consensus, however. Deng Xiaoping now talks about the inevitability of a Third World War in the '80s (among other places in his interview in the *Washington Post* with Oriana Falacci). I have heard or heard of similar predictions by Soviet citizens, all the more alarming because of the matter-of-fact tone in which



**ECONOMIC DECLINE,
REMILITARIZATION AND
REINDUSTRIALIZATION**

Why has the expectation of war come to pass for some kind of ultimate pragmatism in the '80s? The main pressure towards war, I believe, stems from the relative decline of U.S. imperialism. From World War II to the present, the U.S. has operated under an economic, military and political system of multilateral alliances in which Western Europe and Japan functioned as junior partners and most Third World countries as dominated neo-colonial satellites. But in the '70s the strength of the U.S. relative to Western Europe, Japan, the Soviet Union, and the Third World changed in a number of crucial respects. The name of Henry Kissinger and the policy of detente he developed are generally taken as indexes of this change. Kissinger writes in the preface to his *White House Years* that the "period of exuberance" of U.S. power in the years after World War II

... was bound to wane, if only because we inevitably encountered the consequences of our success. The recovery of Japan and Europe required adjustments in our alliance relations; the developing world of new nations whose independence we had promoted was certain to claim a greater share of global prosperity. And nothing we could have done would have prevented the Soviet Union from recovering from the war and asserting its new power . . . We never fully understood that while our absolute power was growing, our *relative* position was bound to decline as the USSR recovered from World War II. (pp. 62-64)

The defeat of U.S. policy in Indochina and the increased range and power of the Soviet bloc are certainly major factors in the decline of U.S. power. But they have to be linked to what Kissinger calls the "consequences of our success" also—the resurgence of Western Europe and Japan and the stagnation of the U.S. economy during the crisis of the '70s. The *Business*

The
**SOCIALIST
INTER-
NATIONAL
and
WORLD
POLITICS**

*Socialism,
Social Democracy,
and Imperialism
in the '80s*

they are made. The main thesis of Richard Nixon's new book, *The Real War*, is that for all practical purposes World War III has long since begun. On a recent PBS show Edward Teller—the "father of the H-Bomb"—played a Bach fugue, "thought" quite a lot and quite concretely about the "unthinkable"—who will survive a nuclear war—and indicated that for him the question wasn't how to avoid nuclear war but how to win it. According to New York Times/CBS polls, while Carter and Reagan split the female vote roughly fifty-fifty, male voters went for Reagan's brand of Macho Man jingoism, with its promise of vastly increased military spending and a tougher stance towards the Soviet Union and the Third World, by a ratio of almost 3 to 2.

Week special issue on reindustrialization (June, 1980) illustrates that while there was a *general* capitalist crisis in the '70s, it had differential effects in the U.S., Western Europe and Japan. Thus, for example, the U.S. share of the world market declined 23% in the '70s, with the loss accruing mainly to the benefit of Western Europe and Japan. U.S. firms lost over 15% of the *domestic* machine tool market to foreign competition in the '70s. U.S. firms controlled 95% of the *domestic* consumer electronics market in 1960, less than 50% today. In the U.S. the productivity index in manufacturing (the ratio of goods produced to units of labor time expended) increased at an average annual rate of only 1.6% between 1973 and 1979, whereas it increased at an average annual rate of almost 5% in Japan and Western Europe during the same period. While the U.S. is still the most productive capitalist economy, Japanese workers today are two thirds as productive as U.S. workers (in 1950 they were only one eighth as productive), and German workers are almost as productive (in 1950 they were less than half as productive). *Business Week* comments pessimistically that "At a deeper level, the U.S. economy is showing signs of the kind of fatigue that caused industrial powers such as 19th century Britain to go into an irreversible slide."

The awareness of the declining competitiveness of U.S. capitalism has been accompanied in ruling class circles by jeremiads about U.S. decline in other, particularly military and diplomatic, areas of imperialist clout. This has resulted in a "linkage" of the current corporate buzz words "reindustrialization" and "remilitarization." Remilitarization designates a spectrum of initiatives, including economic warfare, designed to maintain and intensify U.S. control of world raw materials (particularly energy sources), captive markets and cheap labor supplies in order to offset the declining profitability of U.S. domestic capitalism. Despite their differences, both Carter and Reagan shared certain key aspects of remilitarization policy in their electoral campaigns. For example, both argued for: 1) the need for increased military spending, at the expense of "social welfare" concerns and continued inflation; 2) redeployment of the CIA and other covert forces in the Third World; 3) the development of special rapid

intervention forces, particularly in relation to the Caribbean and the Persian Gulf; 4) the MX missile system (at an estimated cost of 100 million dollars; Reagan would also like to bring back the B-1 bomber program); 5) increased economic warfare against the Soviet Union and its allies; 6) continuation of the *de facto* alliance with the Peoples Republic of China directed against the Soviet Union and in recent years against regimes supported by the Soviet Union.

Reindustrialization, on the other hand, designates initiatives to improve the productivity of the U.S. domestic economy involving a shift of public revenues from "quality of life" concerns to direct subsidization of corporate capital: tax cuts and other incentives to investment, subsidies/loans to ailing industries like Chrysler ("welfare for the rich"), rollback of ecological and anti-pollution legislation, cut backs in welfare benefits and unemployment insurance, maintenance of wages below inflation, etc. All of this means, as Irving Kristol noted rather frankly in a *Wall Street Journal* article, that "we have to put the working class through the wringer." (Kristol added equally frankly and ominously that the only available model for reindustrialization was the economic policy pursued by the Pinochet junta in Chile—surely a case of "chickens coming home to roost," since this policy was designed by Milton Friedman and the "Chicago School" economists who will now be advising a Reagan Administration.)

It is important to note that reindustrialization and remilitarization are seen as *complementary* rather than *alternative* strategies by the U.S. ruling class. The dominant consensus is that both are necessary to offset the effects of the '70s crisis on the U.S. economy and to reassert U.S. power or at least prevent its further deterioration. Hence the utter collapse of the Brown campaign, which pushed reindustrialization at the expense of remilitarization, the difficulties experienced by Kennedy (and in a different way by Anderson) in trying to revive a '60s style Johnsonian liberalism, and Carter's inability to project an image of "believable" leadership. The attacks on the ideological front—against ERA and abortion (with its connotation of sex for pleasure), against homosexuals, against bilingualism, against (to the point of racism) OPEC

countries and foreign auto producers, against "hedonism" and for the values of the Moral Majority, etc.—are related to this consensus around economic and military posture. They are ways of preparing the population psychologically for the experience of being "put through the wringer" economically. The success of the Reagan campaign and of the right-wing offensive in the Senate show that a linkage between "moral" and "global" issues has been partially established. The slogan of the early '80s will be "Guns and Generics" rather than "Guns and Butter."



DETENTE, THE LEFT, AND THE BALANCE OF WORLD POWER

Since a Reagan Presidency and a Republican-dominated Senate will mean a decisive collapse of the structure of detente seriously weakened by the Carter Administration, it might be worthwhile to ask exactly what was achieved by the world Left during the period of detente? In the first place, there were successful revolutions in Vietnam, Laos, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, Zimbabwe and Grenada, all of which—despite their differences and their problems of consolidation—show signs of developing in a recognizably socialist direction. There were also important, although deeply problematic for the Left, revolutions in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Libya and Iran. There were failed revolutions or revolutionary initiatives in, among other places, Jamaica, Portugal, Chile, Uruguay, Argentina, and East Timor. Strong progressive movements emerged in Northern Ireland, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Namibia, Palestine, parts of the Indian sub-continent (Bengal), and the Philippines (a likely area of U.S. intervention in the '80s). A number of key links in the imperialist chain of post-World War II Pax Americana—the Gulf and the Middle East, South Africa, South Korea, the Caribbean and Central America—have begun to show dramatic signs of instability. The enthusiasm about revolutionary or Left parliamentary possibilities in Latin Europe—Portugal, Spain, France and

Italy—has subsided, but there remain the long-term prospects suggested by the renovation of the European Communist and Socialist movements after May '68 and the concrete destruction of two fascist dictatorships. Finally, there were important developments—sometimes contradictory in character—associated with OPEC, the Non-Aligned Countries Movement (now headed by Fidel Castro), Third World domination of the UN, the so-called “North/South” debate and the call for a New International Economic Order, etc.

This list suggests a number of conclusions. First, that detente was a relatively *good* framework for the development of anti-imperialist struggle. While it is true that all of the successful revolutions of the '70s have their roots in the '60s, if not earlier, detente provided a climate in which they could come to power. The Sandinistas for example were, like most Latin American guerrilla movements, all but wiped out by the end of the '60s but were able to regroup and expand after 1975.

Second, all of these new revolutionary regimes, even leaving out disaster cases like Afghanistan and Kampuchea, are experiencing staggering political and economic troubles. The dependent and unevenly developed economies that countries like Nicaragua or Zimbabwe have inherited oblige them to try to remain on at least good business terms with imperialism and with sectors of their domestic bourgeoisie. Like a lot of the new regimes that emerged in the '70s under socialist revolutionary leadership in the Third World, they are likely in spite of ideology to pursue a “mixed-economy” stage for a long time.

Third, with some exceptions, these revolutions or revolutionary developments could not have come to power and cannot maintain themselves in power without significant support from the Soviet bloc. This means that whatever criticisms and reservations one might have about what Rudolf Bahro calls the countries of “actually-existing socialism”—and the Soviet Union in particular—they are still the main force in the world supporting anti-imperialist struggle. Despite their Third Worldist rhetoric (particularly during the Cultural Revolution), the Chinese have been unwilling or unable to provide substantial support for liberation movements and have in

some cases (Angola) played an obstructionist role in their development.

Fourth, there are, however, serious limitations to Soviet support, both in the amount and kind of aid supplied and in the kind of revolutionary consolidation produced, as the recent problems of Cuban and Polish socialism illustrate. The Soviet Union and Soviet Europe—afflicted with serious economic difficulties, growing dissidence and discontent, and consequent struggles for “trade-offs” between investment, military spending, foreign aid and domestic consumption—are in effect underwriting Cuban socialism—afflicted with all sorts of economic difficulties etc.—, which in turn provides military and economic aid to new revolutionary regimes like Angola or Nicaragua—afflicted with etc. Clearly the amount of support the Soviet bloc can provide for new revolutions or revolutionary possibilities is approaching a structural upper limit in the '80s. Nevertheless, in the modern world there can be no such thing as a “home-made” revolution. Twenty years after its revolution, Cuba is still crucially dependent on Soviet support. The further development of Third World struggles, whatever form they take, will require massive amounts of military, economic and technical aid from *somewhere*. But where? There is always the danger of being forced back into an alliance with imperialism, like China, in order to overcome economic backwardness and vulnerability.

Fifth, in addition to the constraints noted above, there has been the development in the Third World of what the Polish economist Michael Kalecki called “intermediate regimes” combining features of monopoly capitalism and state socialist economies. These regimes involve the seizure of the state apparatus and the development of large state economic sector by a fraction of the national bourgeoisie in alliance with imperialist interests. They have become the main motor of capitalist, neo-colonialist development in the Third World. They are essentially of two types:

1) Technocratic military dictatorships created to produce and maintain the conditions for pumping surplus value out of a defeated or docilized working class and breaking down the interests of archaic strata of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. The classic examples

are Brazil and Indonesia in the '60s, Chile, Uruguay and Argentina in the '70s, and most recently the new junta in Bolivia. These regimes are essentially *counter revolutionary*.

2) “Progressive,” sometimes even quasi-democratic, populist-nationalist regimes of the sort represented by Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Venezuela, Mexico, Panama, India and possibly the regime that will emerge in Iran, for example. These usually result from national liberation struggles that have stagnated short of a transition to socialism at a point where the interests of the national bourgeoisie and the working classes begin to lose their complementarity.

Despite the staggering extremes of uneven development and repression which characterize such regimes, the really depressing thing about them has been their relative durability, based on their ability to crush, marginalize, and/or co-opt the Left. In none of them does there appear to be any immediate prospect for a socialist transformation. Indeed, many of them have begun to take on a sub-imperialist role, like Indonesia or Brazil. The only positive signs on this front have been the collapse of Francoism in Spain and the Shah's dictatorship in Iran—both model intermediate regimes of the first type.

To conclude: despite the tremendous gains of the '70s, the proposition that the socialist world is growing stronger while the imperialist world is declining irreversibly is true perhaps only as an article of faith or what Gramsci called “optimism of the will.”

There is a new factor in the world, however: the shift away from the structures and assumptions of Pax Americana in the global strategies of Western Europe and Japan, a shift related to the changing balance of economic power between them and the U.S. As the recent decision to agree to placement of U.S. tactical nuclear missiles in Europe shows, this is far from representing a clear and decisive break with the past. But events like the decline of the dollar against European currencies and the yen, or European and Japanese reluctance to follow the U.S. line on the Middle East, Iran and Afghanistan, or the victory of Schmidt's pro-detente policies in the West German elections, allow one to

speaking about a *developing tendency* on the part of these "junior partners" to peek out from under the nuclear umbrella of Pax Americana and Soviet/U.S. bipolarism. Eurocommunism and Eurosocialism have been important factors in developing this tendency, dovetailing with the new confidence and increased nationalism of European capitalism (which depends to a much greater extent than the U.S. on nationalized enterprises and welfare statism) and its efforts at economic integration and trade with the socialist countries and the Third World. In this context, the Socialist International—the umbrella organization of Western European social democracy and related movements in the Third World—has begun to assume a new posture and a new role in world affairs which will be of crucial importance in the '80s.



THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL TODAY

Willy Brandt took over as president of the Socialist International at its Geneva Conference in 1976. His mandate was, in Michael Harrington's words, "to break the International out of the white, European ghetto in which it found itself, demonstrating a relevance to the Third World." This meant, in turn, entering into comradely relations with revolutionary movements in the Third World and beginning to challenge some of the International's previous dogmas, such as unqualified support for Israel's denial of Palestinian autonomy. At the International's 1979 Estoril meeting where the issue of Israel and the PLO was debated, a majority of the member parties represented were non-European and there were invited delegations representing such groups as the Sandinistas, Namibia's SWAPO, the African National Congress, and Mozambique's FRELIMO.

Today we have a situation in the Caribbean—a key area of U.S. domination—where both Fidel Castro and the Socialist International's Latin American spokesperson—ex-President Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela—coincide in supporting the now defeated Manley government in

Jamaica, the revolutionary Sandinista regime in Nicaragua, the New Jewel movement in Grenada, and the demand for a New Economic Order articulated by Castro in his UN speech last year. Both also condemn the U.S.-supported "moderate" junta in El Salvador as a creature of imperialism; Salvadorean social democrats who initially (along with the Salvadorean CP) formed part of the junta, have now left it to join the political front created by the revolutionary guerrilla and mass organizations. The "International Declaration" of one of Guatemala's principal revolutionary organizations, the Ejercito Guerrillero de los Pobres (Guerrilla Army of the Poor) states that "as long as there are grounds for objective convergence on issues (such as the struggle against Yankee imperialism and its local lackey gang, the liberation and the socioeconomic development of the productive forces, and resistance to penetration and domination from large transnational monopolies), a confrontation between the revolutionary forces and social democracy does not need to be of an antagonistic or irreconcilable nature. *International social democratic solidarity plus the action of internal forces inspired by it can perform a helpful role at this stage of the global revolutionary process*" (italics mine).

The resolutions of the First Regional Conference of the Socialist International for Latin America and the Caribbean, held this year in Santo Domingo, state among other things that "in the Southern Cone, imperialism has adopted a new system of domination... which depends on maintaining these nations in a state of general backwardness... under a system of dependent socio-economic fascism," call on "all governments of the world to put an end to the current Cold War climate and seek a way of establishing peaceful coexistence among the great powers;" pledge support for Puerto Rican nationalism; "reiterate our confidence, our respect and our support of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and the Nicaraguan Junta of National Reconciliation in their struggle for the dignity and wellbeing of the Nicaraguan people;" recommend that undocumented immigrant workers be granted periods of grace or amnesty to permit legalization of their status; etc. Other recent declarations of the Inter-

national note its long support for "the struggle for the true independence of Zimbabwe;" note that the ZANU victory there "heralds a new era for all liberation struggles in Southern Africa;" and condemn the International Monetary Fund and in particular its role in destabilizing the Jamaican economy. Two governments in the hands of member parties of the Socialist International (Austria and Senegal) have granted full diplomatic recognition to the PLO. Chancellor Bruno Kreisky of Austria became the first European head of state to receive officially PLO leader Yassar Arafat, together with Brandt acting in his capacity as President of the International. Though a formal resolution on the question was not passed, a majority of the delegates at the Estoril Conference supported a "two-state" solution in the Middle East similar to the position advocated by NAM. Brandt's efforts to break the Socialist International out of its ghetto have been so successful that *Business Week* has called him "mischief making" and urged State Department pressure against his activities.



"SOMETHING IS HAPPENING HERE"

What's going on? Wasn't the Socialist International—essentially a creature of European social democracy and affluence—supposed to be one of the main props of the post-World War II Pax Americana? Wasn't the original sin of its predecessor, the Second International, its tendency to play footsie with imperialism, its "social chauvinism"? Hadn't Lenin resolved this question once and for all in 1916? Didn't the Socialist International at its founding convention in 1951 vote to exclude the Italian Socialist Party of Pietro Nenni because of its united electoral front with the Italian Communists (though now the Socialists are back in)? More to the point today, wasn't this fellow Carlos Andres Perez who now echoes Fidel Castro and was warmly embraced by a Sandinista *comandante* in Managua the same Carlos Andres Perez who, as Minister of the Interior in the '60s for Venezuela's then ruling Accion

Democratic Party (a member of the International), supervised the defeat of the Venezuelan guerrilla movement. Didn't he use in the process the repertoire of torture, illegal detention, concentration camps, state of seige and "disappearances" presently being used against revolutionaries and social democrats alike in places like Chile, Guatemala or Salvador? The very same fellow.

One of the articles of faith of militant '60s Leftism was a belief in the more or less absolute bankruptcy of Social Democracy in general, particularly in the international arena. This was no more than a basically correct perception of the fact that most of the parties associated with the Socialist International in those years took the position that in the struggle between the U.S. and Communism, the U.S. was the lesser evil, if only because "democratic socialism" at least had a chance in societies dominated by U.S. imperialism whereas it had no chance at all in what they thought of as totalitarian Communist dictatorships. This was a favorite thesis, for example, of the guru of modern American Social Democracy, Max Schachtman, and of proteges of his like Michael Harrington, the current head of DSOC. As a reluctant (because I supported the Cuban Revolution) member of the U.S. Socialist Party from 1962 to 1964, I can testify that its official position then was 1) to dismiss the Cuban Revolution as "Stalinist," and 2) to give critical support to U.S. policy in Indochina, even to the extent of trying to suppress moves by organizations it influenced like the Student Peace Union and parts of the civil rights movement to begin organizing an anti-Vietnam war movement. This policy led to the disintegration of the SP's youth wing, the Young Peoples Socialist League, and to the rupture after the 1962 Port Huron Conference of the SP from its best-known offspring, Students for a Democratic Society. (Michael Harrington provides a self-criticism of his role in these events in his memoir *Fragments of the Century*.) The present stance of the Socialist International, including its American member DSOC, suggests however that our '60s articles of faith may need some revision, that as Dylan put it "something is happening here."

I think there are essentially two ways of looking at these new developments in the Socialist International, both of

which flow from some of the points we have made previously about the present crisis of imperialism:

1) The present crisis—in particular because it has intensified pressure against wages and full employment, and economic rivalry between the capitalist powers—has forced the Socialist International parties both in Europe and the Third World to the Left and/or given more power to the left wings in them. This radicalization has been facilitated by, among other things, closer relations of European Communist and Socialist parties, closer ties of Western Europe and Japan to the Soviet bloc, the post-Vietnam and especially post-Chile disillusion with '50s dogma that "democratic socialism" was going to thrive under the patronage of the U.S. State Department, the energy crisis and the Middle Eastern realignment it has produced, the absorption of significant sectors of the European New Left of the '60s into Social Democratic parties, the effects of anti-nuke, ecological and women's movements, and the increased power and militancy of European trade unions.

In arguing radicalization as the essential trend in the International, one would point to the role of figures like Andre Gorz, Regis Debray or the late Nicos Poulantzas in the higher realms of European socialist theory; to the International's support for the Sandinistas and other armed liberation struggles in the Third World, including its recent approaches to the PLO; to the growing power of the left caucus CERES in the French SP, of the radical JUSOs in the German party, of Tony Benn and the Labor Left in Britain. More domestically and more modestly, we have seen the evolution of DSOC since 1972: its renunciation of the dogmas of "Cold War Socialism"; its advocacy—though tilted towards Israel—of a two-state solution in the Middle East involving the PLO; the position of critical support for the Cuban Revolution indicated by Ron Dellums and other DSOC personalities; its new openness to socialist feminism; its initiative in organizing the anti-draft registration protest in Washington this year; and its current interest in exploring merger with NAM, an organization that comes out of SDS and militant '60s anti-imperialist Leftism.

2) On the other hand, it can be argued that the Socialist International

continues the Second International's role, condemned by Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg, of being essentially a "political vanguard" of Western European imperialism, nourished and controlled by Social Democratic parties which have assumed or share the job of running capitalism in many European countries. (If, as Lenin argued, the essence of imperialism is export of capital then a country like Sweden is fully as imperialist as the U.S.) By this reading, the role of the International in support of national liberation struggles in Africa or Latin America should be seen as part of a far-sighted global strategy of a resurgent European economy, partly state capitalist in nature, to compete simultaneously with the Soviet Union and with the U.S.—now seen in decline. The object of this strategy would be to create or influence intermediate regimes of the second, national-populist type, by fostering Third World variants of something like a Swedish welfare capitalism model. This necessarily involves a certain initial openness to revolutionary upsurges, but *not* to seeing those upsurges reach the stage of transition to Communist-style revolutionary dictatorships allied with the Soviet bloc.

Which of these two characterizations is correct? Both are correct. Both represent real forces at work today within the Socialist International. The present line of national and international class struggle runs *through* the Socialist International and not, as we thought in the '60s, unequivocally to the left of it. To get a more concrete idea of what this means, we can turn back to the question of American social democracy. If we saw in the '70s the development of a radicalized social democracy (DSOC and groups like DARE, CED, Institute for Policy Studies, Citizens Party, ITT, etc.), it's also worth remembering that there continues to exist an older, right-wing "Cold War Socialism" current in U.S. politics—strong in influence if not in numbers, particularly in the upper echelons of the labor and civil rights movements and in some sectors of the Democratic Party. This tendency has: 1) maintained a posture of virulent anti-Communism; 2) in consequence, consistently supported U.S. foreign policy aims, even to the extent of collaborating directly with interventionist schemes of the American Institute for

Continued on page 23.

The Politics of Eurocommunism: Socialism in Transition.

Edited by Carl Boggs
and David Plotke.

Boston: South End Press, 1980.

**By Jeff McCourt
and Holly Graff**

BY THE MIDDLE OF THE 1970's the changes in the political vision and strategic directions of Western Europe's three major communist parties were apparent to all. These changes in the Italian, French, and Spanish Communist Parties—despite many national differences and despite similar approaches by the communist parties of Mexico, Japan, and Australia—were tagged with the label "Eurocommunism." These changes were variously regarded with enthusiasm, misgivings, or hostility by different sectors of the world's left and have given rise to vigorous debate. *The Politics of Eurocommunism*, a new anthology edited by Carl Boggs and David Plotke, captures much of this debate and also addresses the question of whether Eurocommunist strategy is relevant to the situation facing U.S. socialists today.

What is Eurocommunism?

It is not easy to provide a definition of Eurocommunism. However, it is usually acknowledged that Eurocommunism's

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ism's most fundamental tenet is its emphasis on the need for different national paths to socialism—different paths that reflect different national realities. For example, the strength of Catholicism in Italy, as well as the powerful presence of the Vatican, presents the Italian Communist Party with an entirely different situation than that which exists in largely secularized France. The emphasis on different national roads to socialism involves, of course, an explicit rejection of the Russian Revolution and the present day Soviet Union as any type of model and a rejection of Soviet interference in strategic discussions of other Communist parties.

A second important aspect of Eurocommunism is its attempt to come to terms with the complexities of advanced capitalist society and what they mean for socialist strategy. One such complexity is the historically changing and increasingly elaborate class structure of advanced capitalist society. For Eurocommunists this class structure means that socialism can only come into being through the effort of a movement that extends beyond the

industrial working class and includes significant numbers of middle strata individuals.

Another complexity of advanced capitalist society recognized by Eurocommunists is the growth of the state and its changing functions. Eurocommunists believe that there is no longer a monolithic state which simply and directly serves the interests of the capitalist class. Rather, the state itself is an arena within which class struggle takes place. Public employee unionism constitutes one very direct example of the possibility of such struggle within the state. One consequence of this view of the state is the emphasis that Eurocommunist strategies tend to place on electoral politics and parliamentary struggle.

A third aspect of Eurocommunism is a commitment to democracy and the preservation of individual rights. Needless to say, the bureaucratic and authoritarian societies of Eastern Europe and China could not provide a very attractive alternative for Western Europeans who had struggled to preserve democracy against fascism. Thus, Eurocommunists call for the maintenance of traditional representative institutions and attempt to associate socialism with increased democratization of all aspects of life.

In attempting to describe Eurocommunism, it is difficult to go beyond these three generalizations because the situations of Italy, France, and Spain are so different. Thus, the majority of the essays in *The Politics of Eurocommunism* consider the concrete circumstances and specific policies of the different Eurocom-

NEW VIEWS ON

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munist parties. These essays therefore provide not only different perspectives on the meaning of Eurocommunism but also provide a wealth of concrete information not available before in any one book in English. Although there are some omissions such as a full treatment of cultural politics and the politics of sexuality, this collection of essays is remarkably comprehensive in its range of concerns.

Debates

In trying to determine whether Eurocommunism represents a creative new direction or a slide into status quo politics, the writers of this anthology evaluate the different Eurocommunist parties with regard to the viability of their strategies, their capacity to carry out their strategies given internal deficiencies, and the impact of the international context on their political possibilities. The contributors seem to represent a variety of democratic socialist perspectives and their evaluations of the potentials of the Eurocommunist parties are very diverse.

Evaluating Eurocommunism's strategic orientation, Carl Boggs sees a conflict between the attempts of these communist parties to identify themselves both with the rationalization of the outmoded structures of Mediterranean capitalism and with the democratization of political life. Boggs

argues that the failure of Eurocommunist parties to struggle against a hierarchial social division of labor, as well as a neglect of building grass-roots institutions of popular control, will very likely prevent an authentic transition to socialism. Another fairly pessimistic picture is presented by Joanne Barkan. Interpreting the post-war history of the Italian Communist Party, she criticizes its strategy for a failure to develop a unified anti-capitalist struggle out of the widespread social movements that developed in Italy in the sixties and seventies. She attributes this failure to the unwillingness of the Italian Communist Party to jeopardize its efforts to form a long-term "historic compromise" with the conservative Christian Democrats.

In contrast Andrew Feenberg, in his article on the meaning of the 1968 mass strikes in France, argues that, whatever their limitation and intentions, both the French Communist Party and the French Socialist Party play a positive role in articulating important struggles in a national context. Feenberg stresses that socialist strategies should be based on what alliances the working class can and should make and not the reverse. In this light, he praises Eurocommunist efforts to appeal to the middle strata—a crucial part of any struggle to transform state institutions from

within as well as without. This essay raises particularly important questions about the relationship of political parties and class and about the imperatives of coalition building.

Closely connected with the question of whether the Eurocommunist parties have viable strategies is the question of their practical capacities to carry out the strategies they have articulated. Despite their professed commitment to democracy and despite their movement away from their previously rigidly bureaucratic structures, the continuing lack of internal political debate and sufficient political education still present serious problems outside and inside these parties. Thus, a number of this anthology's articles criticize continued efforts of these parties to control the different mass movements instead of sustaining their autonomy. The rigidity of party structure and the weight of party tradition make these parties resistant or insensitive to new political issues and political styles according to several authors. The article on feminism by Annarita Buttafuoco and the article on ecology by Louise Beaulieu and Jonathan Cloud both stress this point.

Anthology contributions by Fred Block, Louis Menashe, Paul Joseph, and Diana Johnstone focus on the crucial problems of international politics which—as the major Eurocommunist parties are acutely aware—profoundly shape their ability to maneuver. Diana Johnstone's article, "Integrating Europe to Disintegrate the Left" clearly demonstrates the realities of international constraints. Her article focuses on the problems

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that Eurocommunist parties face in attempting to develop an attitude towards European supranationalism. Put most simply, the question facing the Eurocommunist parties is whether they lose opportunities as the economies of their countries are increasingly tied to the economies of other countries (primarily West Germany) with less militant working class activism. This discussion also requires some understanding of the role the European socialist parties which tend to support moves towards supranationalism.

Johnstone's article gives an excellent account of the complexities of the European situation and points to several dilemmas faced by the Eurocommunist parties. It is not clear how socialist transformation can occur in Italy alone, France alone, or Spain alone because of the extent to which capital is multi-national. Yet it is not clear whether developments such as a more powerful European Parliament do not place decision making so far

from the grass-roots that democratization becomes almost impossible. Johnstone notes that as an integrated Europe approaches, the left is strikingly short of ideas. She might also have added the irony that the Eurocommunist insistence on separate national paths to socialism may not be adequate to the very complexities of advanced capitalist society that Eurocommunism wants to recognize.

Implications

This book should be a valuable source of reflection for U.S. socialists, but, as David Plotke points out, the direct strategic application of Eurocommunist ideas to American reality is not very likely given the radically different course of American history. This history is characterized by intense racial and ethnic divisions within the working class and by overwhelming and often unchallenged bourgeois hegemony. According to Plotke, while the general ideas of Eurocommunism

are relevant to any advanced capitalist society, the peculiarities of American history suggest immediate strategic paths very different from those of the Eurocommunist parties. He especially cites the need for the left to develop an alliance with neo-populist forces and to build a social-democratic trend not oriented to centralized "government solutions" as a necessary stage on the path to an authentic American socialism.

Many NAM members have devoted much attention to the development of Eurosocialism. This is evidenced by the fact that four of the contributors to *The Politics of Eurosocialism* are NAM members. The reasons that NAM members have manifested this interest in Eurocommunism are two-fold. First, from its founding, NAM has emphasized the importance of a U.S. road to socialism not modeled on the experience of any existing socialist country, NAM has attempted to appreciate the complexities of advanced capitalist class structures and the increased significance of the middle strata, and NAM has put forth a democratic vision of socialism. But the interest of NAM members has resulted not just from these extremely abstract political agreements. Rather, much of our interest has resulted from the fact that Eurocommunist parties are grappling with the problems of state power—the problems of transitions in advancing capitalist society. Unfortunately, these are problems that do not yet face us.

In attempting to overcome the marginalization of the U.S. left, we must learn to think of the problems of transition and not our current problem of building a socialist movement. In the end we can learn as much from the failures as from the successes of the Eurocommunist parties because they are actively contending for power in advanced capitalist societies and have the experience of being responsible to a complex base. The extent to which we lack these experiences undermines our political understanding. Thus, studying the situation of Western Europe and the strategies of the Eurocommunist parties can help us learn to think strategically, and *The Politics of Eurocommunism* is organized in such a way that it should enable U.S. socialists to increase their sophistication with regard to our present and future strategic choices. □

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By the NAM
Political Committee

THE 1980 ELECTIONS



Claims that the election registers a significant realignment such as occurred with Roosevelt are doubtful.

THE 1980 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS ARE OVER. However, the battle for the interpretation of the elections has only begun. Although supported by only 52% of the actual voters (and .9% fewer of the eligible voters than Jimmy Carter in 1976), the election is widely labeled a "Reagan landslide." Jerry Falwell, leader of the Moral Majority, is claiming credit for "millions" of voters who otherwise would have stayed home. Yet perhaps the most striking fact about this election is the failure of either the dominant parties or left (Citizens Party), right (Libertarians), and centrist (Anderson) challengers to turn out the vote. The proportion of eligible voters who went to the polls reached a 32-year low, barely surpassing the Truman-Dewey race of 1948. Despite stagflation, unemployment, hostages, and the rejection of even a verbal commitment to women's rights by the Republican Party, neither the candidates nor the issues of the campaign excited very many people very much. Thus claims that the election registers a significant realignment such as occurred with Roosevelt in the 1930s are extremely doubtful.

Nonetheless, important changes did happen and important questions now face the U.S. left. In some ways Reagan's presidential victory is less telling than the Republican takeover of the senate, a takeover built upon the defeat of key liberal Democrats. McGovern, Bayh, Magnuson, Culver, and Church were all targets of both the mass organizations of the new right and the increasingly wealthy corporate PACs (Political Action Committees). All five were defeated. This is the first election in which the corporate PACs targeted senators on an ideological basis and the clearest case on the national level of an alliance between the PACs and the



Despite dissatisfaction with Carter, the difference on feminist issues almost gave him a second term.

right wing mass organizations. In addition to the senate, the Republican Party probably has an ideological majority in the house.

These changes in the senate and the house are not a realignment, a reshuffling of the political deck into new constituencies and new political coalitions. However, the Republicans now have access to state power on a scale unknown for a quarter of a century. Questions of occupational health and safety, of federal job programs, of gains for women and minorities, of aid for the poor and working class in the deteriorating cities of the snowbelt will now be fought on a different and more difficult terrain. Further, the right is now in a position to bring a new set of issues to the parameters of American politics: should there be a dual minimum wage; how can the Fed best control the money supply to squeeze living standards, putting the working population through the wringer in an effort to control inflation; what levels of defense spending can assure the U.S. military superiority over the Soviet Union; how can future Nicaraguas be prevented; what can be done to reverse the decline of the traditional patterns of authority by age, sex, and race; how have government efforts to control pollution hampered industrial growth and productivity, etc.

Why did Carter and the Democratic Party lose so badly? Carter's share of key Democratic constituencies declined sharply compared to 1976: 48% of the union vote vs 63% against Ford; 83% of the black vote vs 93%; Reagan edged Carter among Catholics and beat him in the South while cutting into the Jewish vote. In addition, of course, many potential Democratic voters simply went fishing, unable to continue support for Carter but unable to believe that Reagan had really changed his spots. The majority of the voters who did support Reagan did not agree with and/or did not know his stands on issues ranging from the ERA to right to work legislation to tax breaks for the rich. However, Carter's complete failure to control inflation with its economic and psychological erosion of American living standards and feelings of personal and family security propelled voters to choose what seemed the lesser or at least the untried evil. As in Germany of the 1920s and

Italy after World War II, inflation pushed people to the right in the absence of any coherent and convincing left alternative. Carter's efforts to give a little bit to everybody in the eroding Democratic coalition while ineffectively combatting the inflationary spiral left none satisfied.

Despite dissatisfaction with Carter, however, the difference on feminist issues (and perhaps the perceived difference on questions of war and peace) almost gave him a second term. Among female voters Reagan defeated Carter by only 46% to 45%; in contrast, Reagan took the male vote by almost 3 to 2. This difference in presidential vote by sex is unprecedented and reflects the impact of the women's movement in both its organizational and more extensive socio-cultural forms over the last decade.

Of course the American people were not presented with a progressive candidate by either the major parties or the Anderson campaign. NAM endorsed the Citizens Party ticket of Barry Commoner and LaDonna Harris. While the Citizens Party vote was low, it is also clear that more people agreed with the positions and the program of the party than voted for Commoner/Harris. Chapters and individual members who participated in the Citizens Party will contribute both to the Party's internal assessment of its role and future and to our organization-wide evaluation of the Party.

What does the future offer the socialist left and the popular movements? It is clear that the coalition—organized labor, blacks, much of the urban middle strata, and portions of corporate capital—that has been the base of the Democratic Party since the 1930s is in severe difficulties. These difficulties are, of course, dangerous from the perspective of both world peace and the well being of the U.S. working population. However, these difficulties may also be opportunities for the left. Thatcher's England demonstrates some of both the domestic dangers and potentials. Reagan's plans for remilitarization and reindustrialization will duplicate Thatcher's results: unemployment and a lowering of the standard of living for all of us. More hopefully, McGovern's call for a new progressive coalition to counter the new right may foreshadow American developments similar to the growth of the left inside and outside the British Labor Party. The continuing politicization of the women's movement will be a crucial part of any such coalition.

A first essential task of a revitalized U.S. Left is the articulation of political ideas and programs that go beyond the corporate parameters of U.S. politics but that are also perceived as winnable and possible. These ideas and programs must connect our work at the grassroots level with the national political dialogue. Left presence in defining the terms of political debate at the national level is absolutely essential for combatting the efforts of the new right not just to consolidate an electoral victory but to shape the politics and social "common sense" of a generation. For those of us rooted in mass movements and popular institutions this means working for the politicization of our unions, our association of women and minorities, and our community organizations. It is these institutions and movements that provide the best hope for socialist politics in the '80s. □

SPECIAL ELECTION REPORT!



A Breakdown of Local Chapter Activity

The recent elections in November saw a greater number of NAM chapters participating than ever before. In the coming months NAM will analyze the meaning and significance of the 1980 election, and the relationship of the left to that process. This section is designed to give a brief sketch of the variety of NAM electoral activity across the country.

Portland NAM was involved in one of the most interesting and exciting campaigns. Their efforts began several years ago when they helped form the Ratepayers Union, a grassroots organization working for greater accountability and control over the private utilities. Their success led to the formation of a county-wide coalition of neighborhood, labor and environmental groups who set out on an ambitious plan to gain public control of the privately controlled utilities. An earlier progressive era had left some helpful legislation on the books allowing for public takeover, but tremendous political clout was required to overcome the alliance of private utilities which spent at least 1.3 million dollars in a massive media campaign opposing the plan to establish Public Utility Districts.

In Portland's Multnomah County, NAM member Beverly Stein ran for the PUD Board of Directors, winning the largest number of votes. But the actual measure calling for creation of the PUD lost by a 45-55% margin, which eliminated Stein's chance to

serve. The other eleven counties in Oregon also lost a bid at creating the PUDs by a similar margin. Yet Portland NAM members are still enthused, ready to try again.

A careful evaluation of the campaign is underway to draw some lessons for the next round. This was the first experience with electoral politics for most NAM members there. They were outspent 40-1 by the opposition but mobilized their own offensive that won equal time over television and radio stations and produced 500,000 pieces of literature.

Corvallis NAM, Portland's sister chapter, also played an important role in the PUD campaign. They participated in the statewide group called "Oregon Campaign for Public Power." The focus was on the two counties adjoining Corvallis: Linn and Benton. A technical problem will delay the PUD election there until February. Members in both chapters will be working hard on this upcoming election to chalk up their first victory at the polls.

Los Angeles NAM was most active in the Citizens Party effort. Most NAM members there helped to win the fight for ballot access by gathering signatures. The bay cities group working in west LA took an especially active role. They sponsored a fundraiser, handled some outreach and publicity, and walked the precincts.

NAM member Michele Prichard

served on the National Executive Board of the Citizens Party and was a main organizer in the LA region. An office was staffed with the help of NAM members, and plans are being made to keep it open to coordinate future work. NAM and Citizens Party activists are holding meetings to assess the campaign and make plans. The LA County Board of Supervisors took a conservative turn with this election, with liberal and progressive contests lost to hard-line conservatives. The Westside Branch will be exploring the possibility of becoming seriously involved in the next round of Santa Monica City Council elections.

San Francisco NAM and other progressives had just settled down to enjoy the fruits of a hard won campaign last year for district election of Supervisors, when big business and real estate interests took it away from them in a sneak attack. San Francisco NAM immediately went on the counter-offensive and played a role in the fight to restore district elections. Gathering a huge number of signatures in record time put them off to a fast start. They waged a hard fought campaign, but when the votes were counted it didn't pass. It appears that voters have been asked too many times in the past several years to go one way or another.

Two progressive measures did pass despite the other loss. Propositions K and M call on the Board of Supervisors to develop badly needed housing units and explore revenue sources in the corporate-financial institutions which now dominate local politics. The chapter continues to operate the Socialist School and is now in the process of building a coalition to develop programs on housing, taxation, and budget policy. A joint effort of local

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progressives, SEIU #400 and NAM, will be looking into alternative fiscal policy that would attempt to shift the burden of public services away from low and moderate income residents and to the financial corporations.

East Bay NAM worked on a rent control effort undertaken by a large coalition in Oakland. The measure lost by a 6 point difference, but the prospect of a permanent group emerging from the coalition adds some hope. The two local progressives, Assemblyman Tom Bates and Congressman Ron Dellums, won their bids for reelection despite a serious challenge from right-wingers.

Santa Cruz NAM had been working hard to put local progressive Joe Cucchiara on the Board of Supervisors. Not only did he win the election against the incumbent who was backed by land developers, but he joined environmentalist Robley Levey who also won her seat on the Board. They will join the outspoken progressive and NAM supporter Gary Patton to restore a progressive Board majority.

NAM members worked hard to deliver the vote in 14 city precincts. They helped organize precinct analysis, voter registration, canvassing, and "get out the vote" in an operation that involved up to 100 different people. Santa Cruz NAM members have begun filling sandbags to protect their victory against the conservative tide.

Alaska NAM member Niilo Koponen had everyone on the edge of their seats as he came within 50 votes of winning a seat as state representative. A crowded field which included the Moral Majority, Libertarians, and Republicans made for an exciting campaign. Niilo ran as a Democrat on a program that called for alternative economic organization, coops for consumers, more rights for organized labor. He put together a grassroots campaign built on informal socialist ties, union

endorsements, help from teachers and the N.E.A., and a small group of Teamsters.

He faced a hard fight from the right-wing organizations like the John Birch Society, active since the mid-sixties, and the Libertarian Party more recently. "I lived this campaign since May" said Niilo who was ahead by a small lead after the election until some absentee ballots snatched away his victory.

New York NAM was intensively involved in the Citizens Party campaign. The chapter decided to make this work a priority early on in the race, with most active chapter members working on the campaign. Leadership roles in the Citizens Party effort were held by a large number of NAM members including the position of Statewide Staff, chair and executive positions on the state board, and many who were representatives in the congressional district structure.

The final push for the Presidential race came two days before the election at a rally attended by over 650 people. There was some hope that the constituencies at the rally, which included some Blacks and Puerto Ricans and the head of New York State N.O.W., would indicate some gains among minority and women's groups which had not been active in the Citizens Party effort. When the national votes were counted, the total of .26% voting for Barry Commoner and LaDonna Harris indicated several things to the NAM members working on the campaign. Most, of course, were disappointed at the relatively small showing. But others were prepared for the results that came in. They pointed out the difficulty of running a national campaign, beginning with the struggle for ballot access. The Citizens Party was plagued with some internal problems and differences among staff and leaders about strategy and priorities.

Dayton NAM had one of their own chapter members decide to run for Congress as an independent. The Rev. Dick Righter won only a small percentage of the vote in an election where he wasn't expected to win. A major statewide campaign known as "State Issue #2" had some active support from Dayton NAM. This was a package of tax reforms designed to shift some taxes to banks and corporations and reduce property taxes for homeowners, renter, and farmers. In addition, the measure would have raised \$900,000,000 in new revenue in a state facing major fiscal crisis. The "Fair Tax Initiative" went down in flames, losing by 58 points. Progressive forces that included citizen action and labor groups were outspent 5 to 1, banks and corporations raising more than 3 million dollars to spend on a distorted media campaign.

Cleveland NAM had several of their members working on OPIC's Fair Tax Initiative. They concentrated on the nuts and bolts of walking precincts, distributing literature, and going door-to-door on the issue. Their hard work, along with a very impressive broad-based coalition, just wasn't enough to counter a powerful opposition that ignored the grassroots and relied on scare tactics in the media.

Lucy Parsons Chicago NAM members were active in a successful effort to place Miriam Balinoff in the Illinois State Legislature. Balinoff is a progressive with strong ties to the labor movement in the heavily industrial east Chicago district. A successful primary campaign had the help of Chicago Northside member Roberta Lynch who served on the staff. Balinoff's victory in November was not without problems, including the prospect of a hard fight to retain her seat when a "reform" measure just passed will reduce the number of seats in the legislature by 50%.

All the News

NAM NEWS AND UPDATE

NAM's Motel "100"

For a limited time only, between Dec. 6 and March 15 you can stay in one of Chicago's finest apartments at a bargain rate. Located on the Northside, close to the Elevated Train and just blocks from the NAM office. Furnished room in spacious 3 bedroom apartment to share with two fun-loving ex-Californians. What's the catch? A little volunteer work at the National Office will save you a lot of money. Asking price is \$100, but negotiable. Call NAM Office for details (312) 871-7700 or 871-8732 evenings.

Job For Health Activist/Planner

Assistance from Santa Cruz NAM members to the Westside Neighbors helped win a grant for a feasibility study aimed at developing a community-controlled family health center. Up to \$10,000 is available for a study to be completed over a period of three months. If you're a skilled and experienced health activist, drop a line to Mike Rotkin, 123 Liberty St. Santa Cruz, Ca. 95060 (408) 423-4209. Act now, proposals will be evaluated soon.

Volunteers Needed At N.O.

The National Office needs your help to keep from getting buried this winter. The workload piles up faster than a Second City blizzard. Free accommodations and famous N.O. hospitality await you. If you're planning on being in Chicago, write us ahead and volunteer some time.

New NAM T-Shirts Available

Milwaukee NAM has just printed a limited number of T-shirts. The graphic, designed by Wendy Cooper, is silkscreened on a bright gold background. Sure to be a collector's item, order yours today: T-shirts—\$5, Sweatshirts—\$12.50. Specify small, med, large, x-large, or childrens. Must enclose payment with order, to: NAM,

P.O. Box 1315, Milwaukee, Wi. 53201.

Music By Kristin Lems

Singer, songwriter, and NAM member Kristin Lems has just released her second album entitled: "In The Out Door". Kristin has been kept busy, including a recent gig at the famous Orphan's club in Chicago. Kristin's albums are available for \$6 through: Carolsdatter Productions, 1104 W. Springfield #3, Urbana, Ill. 61801 (217) 384-3015.

Organizing Tools

The Dayton NAM chapter has developed a special media project that has economics and safety: faulty design "Atomic America" examines these issues and the economically viable alternative already within reach: solar power. 20 minutes. Rental—\$34, Purchase—\$124.

be used as organizing tools; they are informative, clever, and hard-hitting. Cost to rent or buy does not include a special discount to NAM chapters and members. For more information contact: Community Media Relations, 325 Grafton Ave. #2, Dayton, Ohio 45406 (513) 223-8229.

Why Aren't You Smiling?

"Why Aren't You Smiling" looks at the history of office workers and issues which concern women office workers: lack of respect, low pay, lack of advancement, racism, technology, etc. It also examines what women are doing about it through working women's organizations and unions. 20 minutes. Rental—\$34, Purchase—\$124.

Atomic America: The Price of Power

Nuclear power has failed to live up to its promise of "power so cheap we won't have to meter it". The issues facing us today are questions of economics and safety; faulty design and construction, poor regulation, waste, decommissioning of plants, dwindling uranium fuel supply, and

the coming of the Breeder Reactor. Atomic America examines these issues and the economically viable alternative already within reach: solar power. 20 minutes. Rental—\$34, Purchase—\$124.

We Will Not Be Moved

Historic districts, downtown redevelopment, chic renovations—these forces are transforming the face of urban America. "We Will Not Be Moved" looks at the new urban revitalization from the point of view of the current residents of the city. Using an integrated working class neighborhood in Cincinnati as a case study, it illustrates the conflicting interests which are at work, the sense of community which is threatened, and the determination of many inner-city residents to stay and fight for their neighborhoods. 25 minutes. Rental—\$40, Purchase—\$145.

CHAPTER REPORTS

Cleveland NAM has organized monthly political education sessions in addition to their regular monthly meetings. The sessions use the "Basic Marxism" course available from the National Office. Some Cleveland NAM members are working with the North East COSH group to get toxic substances properly labeled to protect people in the workplace and consumers affected by toxic chemicals. Discussions are now underway to plan a chapter newsletter which is expected to begin in January.

Rosa Parks NAM in Mobile, Alabama, is working on a regional conference on racism scheduled for Nov. 21-22. The event is a joint effort of People's Hall (a local Black organization in Mobile), NAM, and other activists. A day of cultural activities will be scheduled to bring attention and pressure for Historic Recognition Status for the city of Plateau. Plateau was founded by slaves who rebelled onboard ship and landed to establish a fortified community that

lasted until 1850-1860. Rosa Parks members also report news of persons in nearby Mississippi interested in forming a NAM chapter there.

Austin NAM held a very successful benefit concert with the Austin Gay and Lesbian Cultural Center. The concert featured popular comic Robin Tyler. Each organization was able to clear \$350, with over 500 persons attending.

San Francisco NAM is experimenting with a new category of membership designed to increase their periphery and impact in that city. The plan involves revision of the duties and obligations expected of chapter members, allowing a greater number of and Blazing Star chapters and contact-participate in decision making.

Chicago Northside NAM will soon be developing plans to expand its Second

City Socialist School by seeking greater cooperation from the Lucy Parsons and Blazing Star chapters and contacting others for help in running the school. Northside member Nick Rabkin was a serious candidate for the 44th Ward City Council seat, but was forced out by circumstances beyond his control by the powerful Democratic Party machine who set an early election making it doubtful that anyone could win as an independent. The new LakeView project is exploring plans to work the Ward Assembly organization, possibly seeking to help the group develop a more activist grassroots character.

Blazing Star NAM is sponsoring a study/action group that meets every week. The group is partly a discussion format to examine the role of women as portrayed in the media, but promises to follow through with concrete steps to organize around the issue.

Pittsburgh NAM members were active in planning and participating with a wide variety of labor organizations who sponsored the tremendously successful Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment. Nearly 1,000 persons attended the event representing 55 unions. Other NAM members from around the country also participated.

Buffalo NAM continues to publish their acclaimed newsletter. Any chapter thinking of starting one should check Buffalo's first for ideas. NAM members active in the Peoples Power Coalition continue to play a leading role in local energy issues there. The PPC recently won back money for a feasibility study impounded by the local mayor. The study would examine how to create a public owned local utility. PPC has prepared an excellent document called: "Blueprint for Community Control of Energy" which outlines a charter for the proposed public utility. The document is available for \$1 from the P.P.C., P.O. BOX 404, Buffalo, New York 14205.

PLANT CLOSINGS

Organizing around the issue of plant closings has become an important focus for both NAM members and progressive activists in general. The NAM initiated Citizens Labor Committee on Plant Closings has just published a new pamphlet, "Plant Closings: Fight-back." This pamphlet is designed to provide answers to such common questions as:

Why do plants close?

Where do plants close?

How do plant closings threaten communities and workers?

How can corporations planning to close and relocate be made responsible to employees and communities?

How can employees and communities fight back?

Read about programs on legislation, job creation, worker/community buyouts of closed plants.

Union members and community activists can use this pamphlet to organize and fight back.

Price: \$1.50 each on orders of 1-10; \$1.00 each on orders of 10 or more. Plus postage. Length: 25-30 pages.

Order from NAM National Office: 3244 N. Clark, Chicago IL 60657 or from Citizens Labor Committee on Plant Closings, 3600 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles CA 90010—Suite 2200.

Socialism

Continued from page 13.

Free Labor Development (AIFLD) and the Agency for International Development—both operations with strong CIA ties—in the Third World; 3) supported higher levels of military spending and hawkishness (in 1972 it continued to support the Vietnam War and endorsed Senator Jackson's primary fight); 4) refused to make even the most minimal criticism of Israel's stance towards the Palestinians and consistently blasted the PLO (as well as other national liberation movements) as "terrorist"; etc. Its organizational form is Social Democrats-USA, the right wing of the three-way split of the Socialist Party in 1972 that produced on the left Harrington's DSOC and the smaller Socialist Party USA which rejected DSOC's Democratic Party strategy. Key representatives of this tendency are people like Albert Shanker of the AFT and Bayard Rustin, an influential personality in the civil rights movement. Lane Kirkland—the present head of the AFL-CIO—is close to it, as are some of his top advisers.

Though both wings of U.S. social democracy continue to see the

Democratic Party and the labor movement as their main sites of intervention, their perspectives are often at odds, with DSOC seeking a left "realignment" of these forces and Social Democrats-USA seeking to protect the status quo against a challenge from below. Reindustrialization policy is going to involve some form or other of a "social contract" between labor and capital. As the Democrats seek to come back with a Kennedy candidacy in 1984, they are likely to look a bit to their left for a new program to replace their bankrupt Johnsonian liberalism. One of the crucial political questions of the '80s is whether the socialist fakers of right-wing social democracy in the U.S. are going to continue to dominate the elaboration of a strategy for labor, or whether they can be challenged by an anti-war, anti-imperialist, "radical" social democratic current such as DSOC represents.

The success of this challenge will depend in part on the outcome—hopefully the start of a genuine multi-tendency mass socialist formation in this country—of the current merger negotiations between NAM and DSOC.

With the Reagan Presidency, however, what faces us most immediately in America is the prospect of the pulverization of what is left of the Left in a revival of Cold War hysteria and repression, and the increased danger of a Third World War in the '80s. No one

except the extremist fringe of the American Left believes there is a real possibility of armed revolution in this country in the immediate future. On the other hand, there are real possibilities of laying the base for an eventual revolutionary transformation of our society by creating a broad, democratic socialist movement and raising consciousness about socialist ideas and socialist programs in the U.S. working class. As Dorothy Healey pointed out earlier ("Lessons from the '40s," *MO IV*, #3, 1980), the Popular Front experience of the '30s is relevant to our present tasks. There, in the context of mobilizing against the spread of fascism in a non-sectarian way, the Left achieved levels of unity, support and influence it has never surpassed and opened a path for the development of national liberation struggles in the post-World War II period. What is really "unthinkable" in our present conjuncture is that the road to a humane form of socialism in both the Third World periphery and the imperialist center, and the ability of the existing socialist countries to reach higher and more democratic stages of development, can pass through a Third World War. It is the danger of war which reinforces authoritarian rigidities in both blocs. We have to find a way to break through them, knowing as Marx argued over a century ago that the alternatives are socialism or barbarism. □

The New American Movement...

The New American Movement combines a Marxist analysis with careful attention to the current realities of American politics. It combines a deep commitment to its socialist principles with a tactical flexibility in its political approach. It combines a focus on the development of theory appropriate to our times with activist orientation that stresses involvement in the crucial issues of the day. And it combines a vision of a socialist future based on democracy and human freedom with efforts to project in our work elements of that future.

NAM has over 35 chapters involved in organizing for labor union democracy, against nuclear power, for abortion rights, against violence against women, for affirmative action, against apartheid in South Africa, and much more. Chapters also organize cultural and educational events that attempt to present a new and challenging socialist perspective on our world.

All of this work is informed and united by certain basic political ideas:

- NAM is committed to working toward a socialist society in which material resources and the decision-making process are democratically controlled by all people.

- We are committed to a socialism that has equality and respect for all people at its core — one that carefully balances the need for collective planning, ownership, and decision-making with a high regard for individual rights and freedom.

- The development of a movement for socialism in America will require

the growth of socialist consciousness within the working class—all those who have to sell their labor power (even if they are not directly paid) in order to survive. For it is only a broad-based movement representative of the diversity of the American people that can fundamentally challenge the power of capital.

- American capitalism is a powerful and entrenched system. Yet it is also rife with contradictions. Organization is key to changing power relationships and exposing these contradictions. We are committed to the development of a socialist party that can carry out these tasks, as well as to the growth of the most strong and progressive possible popular organizations.

- Democracy is central to the process of building a movement for socialism. Only as working people become active, organized and begin to take control over their own lives can a new society take shape.

- NAM sees the struggle for the liberation of women as integral to a socialist movement. We value the contributions of the women's movement in showing how revolutionary change must deal with all aspects of people's lives. And we defend now, and in the socialism we project, the liberation of gay women and men.

- Racism cripples national life—it denies the humanity of minorities and thwarts the potential of the working class as a whole. NAM is committed to fighting against racism and national oppression in all forms.

- The fate of socialism in the United States is tied to the rest of the world. We support struggles for national liberation and human freedom wherever they occur.

- NAM supports the positive achievements of the existing socialist countries. However, we are also critical of various aspects of their policies, and see no one of them as a model for our own efforts.

NAM chapters

Austin NAM, P.O. Box 7881, UT Station, Austin, TX 78712
Baltimore NAM, P.O. Box 7213, Baltimore, MD 21218
Bellingham NAM, 1001 Key St., Bellingham WA 98225
Blazing Star NAM, 3244 N. Clark St., Chicago, IL 60657
Boston Area NAM, P.O. Box 443, Somerville, MA 02144
Boulder NAM, c/o Left Hand Books, 1908 Pearl St., Boulder, CO 80302
Buffalo NAM, P.O. Box 404, Buffalo, NY 14205
Champaign-Urbana NAM, Rm. 284 Illini Union, 1301 W. Green St., Urbana, IL 61801
Cleveland NAM, c/o Miller, 2061 E. 115th St., Cleveland, OH 44106
Chicago Northside NAM, c/o NAM National Office, 3244 N. Clark, Chicago, IL 60657
Colorado Springs NAM, c/o Monroy-Friedrichs, 129 Cave Ave.,
Manitou Springs, CO 80829
Corvallis NAM, P.O. Box 278, Corvallis, OR 97330
Danville NAM, c/o Mitchell, 1002 Glenwood, Danville, IL 61832
Dayton NAM, c/o Mericle, 215 Superior Ave., Dayton, OH 45405
Denver-Bread & Roses NAM, c/o Roseman, 50 S. Steele St.,
#580, Denver CO 80209
Detroit NAM, P.O. Box 32376, Detroit, MI 48232
East Bay NAM, 6025 Shattuck Ave., Oakland, CA 94609
Eugene-Springfield NAM, c/o Harrison, 400 E. 32nd St., Eugene, OR 97405
Fargo-Moorehead NAM, c/o Lubke, 1706 11th Ave., N. Fargo, ND 58102
Irvine NAM, c/o Doris England, 4114 Verano Pl, Irvine, CA 92715
Lexington-Blue Grass NAM, c/o Parsons, 135 1/2 Constitution St., Lexington, KY 40508
Long Island NAM, c/o Stevenson, 74 Sherman Ave., Williston Pk., NY 11596
LA NAM, 2936 W. 8th St., Los Angeles, CA 90005
Lucy Parsons NAM, c/o Barclay/Strobel, 150 N. Lombard,
Oak Park IL 60302
Madison NAM, Box 401, 800 Langdon St., Madison, WI 53706
Marin County NAM, c/o Baylin, 180 Marguerite Ave., Mill Valley, CA 94941
Milwaukee NAM, P.O. Box 1315, Milwaukee, WI 53201
Missoula NAM, c/o Wheeler, 1661 S. 8th West, Missoula, MT 59801
Mobile-Rosa Parks NAM, c/o Trant, 139 Oklahoma St., Mobile, AL 36608
New Haven NAM, c/o Apfelbaum, 880 Elm St., #3, New Haven, CT 06511
New York NAM, P.O. Box 325 Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013
Oakland-Berkeley NAM, c/o 2906 Telegraph Ave. #4, Berkeley CA 94705
Pittsburgh NAM, 5420 Penn. Ave., Pittsburgh, PA 15206
Portland NAM, P.O. Box 57, Portland, OR 97207
St. Louis NAM, c/o Howes, 721 Interdrive, University City, MO 63130
San Diego NAM, Box 15635, San Diego, CA 92115
San Francisco NAM, c/o Shoch, 2566 Bryant St., San Francisco, CA 94110
Santa Cruz NAM, c/o Rotkin, 123 Liberty Ave., Santa Cruz, CA 95060
Seattle-Rainier NAM, c/o Thornton, 949 NW 63rd St., Seattle, WA 98107
Somerville NAM, c/o Healey, 156 School St., Somerville, MA 02143
Washington, D.C.-c/o Grune, 1830 R Street, N.W., #4, Washington, D.C. 20009
Wyoming NAM, P.O. Box 238, Laramie, WY 82070

NAM pre-chapters

Arkansas-c/o Sandler, Rt. 2 Box 120, Conway, AR 72032
Cape Cod-c/o Pearl, Box 478, Truro, MA 02666
Indiana-Johnstown-c/o Peterson, 1121 Boyd Ave., Johnstown PA 15905
Morgantown-c/o Kovnat, 455 Dallas, Morgantown, WV 26505
Olympia-c/o Hartman, 5135 Sunrise Beach Rd., N.W. Olympia, WA 98502
Richmond-c/o Knox, P.O. Box 5701, Richmond, VA 23220

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Scott Van Osdol, 455-5162

