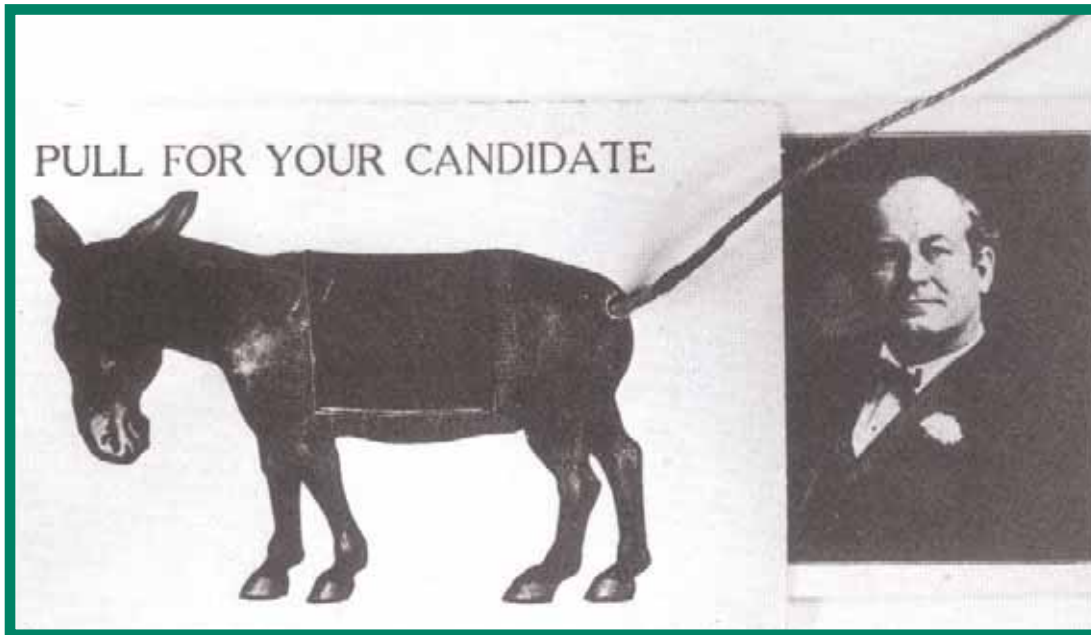


Special Pull-out Center Section
The Politics of
RACE



FEATURES

- Barbara Ehrenreich on Abu Ghraib and Gender Equality Page 4
Interview with Ian Williams on his new book, *Deserter* Page 5

OPINION

- A Glimmer of Light in Wal-Mart campaign Page 3
A Letter to Kerry and Edwards on Deficits and Trade Policy Page 3

DSA NEWS

- DSAPAC statement on the 2004 Elections Page 2
DSA at the March for Women's Lives Page 10
DSA Local Reports Page 11

DSAPAC Statement on the 2004 Elections

The Republican monopoly over all three branches of government has enabled an unprecedented rightist attack and rollback of the economic, legislative and policy gains won by the social movements of the twentieth century.

The Bush administration has steadily gutted the democratic regulatory state begun by the New Deal and Great Society. This dogmatic commitment to rapacious corporate domination, combined with the administration's hostility to civil rights, has led to outright attacks on environmental protection, labor rights, public education, and the living standards of low-wage workers. In addition, the right's cultural war in favor of the misnamed "traditional family values" threatens to turn back the crucial gains of the movements for women's and gay and lesbian equality. The Bush administration's continued hold on power for another four years would be a devastating blow to the economic security and cultural freedoms of most Americans, as well as to the prospects for peace and stability in much of the world.

At home, Bush's tax giveaway to the rich has created a massive budget deficit, one conservatives will use to justify siphoning public funds away from desperately needed health care, housing, and education. While both major parties have a sorry history of catering to the needs of corporate America, the present Republican Party leadership is directing and facilitating a brutal assault on a wide number of fronts.

Internationally, the administration's neo-conservative ideologues are implementing a unilateral, militaristic, and imperial foreign policy that has not only sparked the war in Iraq, but also endangers both civil liberties and domestic security. While the Bush administration's threat to the United States' domestic well-being is enough to justify militant political and social resistance at home, its foreign policy has also created a mass democratic opposition internationally – one that we proudly join.

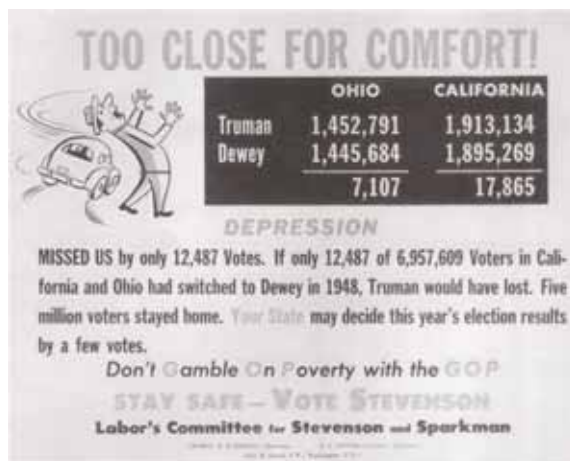
In reaction to the administration's record of war at home and war abroad, massive voter education and mobilization efforts by the feminist, trade union, environmental, peace, and civil rights movements are building for the 2004 elections. Their goal is our goal: to kick the Bush regime out of office. Given that only the Democratic presidential candidate can defeat the Bush administration, these movements – and the Democratic Socialists of

America Political Action Committee – will work to elect John F. Kerry the next president of the United States. DSA members are encouraged to join with other progressive forces in get-out-the-vote and voter education projects.

DSA activists strongly disagree with Kerry on many issues, including his past support of pro-corporate "free trade" policies, as well as with his failure to make universal health care a central issue of his presidential candidacy. But DSA and other movement activists also recognize that if a Kerry administration and a Democratic Congress were to be elected, they would face pressure from below by the very social movements whose activism put them into office. Thus, on a host of issues of crucial import for ordinary Americans, the terrain of struggle will be more favorable after the defeat of a hard-right Republican administration. With such issues

as raising the minimum wage, appointing pro-choice and pro-civil rights Supreme Court justices, restoring basic environmental protections, and appointing National Labor Relations Board members who support the right to organize at stake, almost all significant mass community, trade union, and Black and Latino organizations are mobilizing to defeat the Bush regime.

continued on page 8



DEMOCRATIC LEFT

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

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A Glimmer of Hope

Everything about Wal-Mart is big, so it was no surprise last month when it became the defendant in the largest civil rights class action suit in history. A federal judge in San Francisco certified a suit brought by women working at Wal-Mart alleging systematic discrimination in pay and promotion as a class action suit. Since two-thirds of Wal-Mart's employees are women and the company has very high employee turnover, the size of the class could ultimately be in the millions and a settlement could cost Wal-Mart billions of dollars.

Wal-Mart denies the allegations and is planning to appeal the certification. Delay is a tried and true tactic of defendants



who know they are guilty. At a conference on Wal-Mart in February, I got a firsthand briefing on the evidentiary exhibits in this case. It is devastating. There is no doubt the corporation will lose on the merits, which is why Wal-Mart is so focused on procedural defenses. The company argues that women simply haven't applied for promotion and higher paying positions, so the result – that in a company with a work force that is two-thirds women (who, according to Wal-Mart's own evaluations, score better than their male counterparts) two thirds of the management positions are filled by men – is simply the result of millions of individual decisions. While it is possible that a jury in Bentonville, Arkansas, might buy that, no San Francisco jury will.

Wal-Mart has been losing class-action suits related to its payment policies for several years. Those suits, brought mostly in state courts, have resulted in many damage awards resulting from Wal-Mart's practice of trying not to pay employees for all the hours they worked. But those suits have hardly made a dent in Wal-Mart's bottom line. More importantly, they don't offer the possibility of the kind of far-reaching remedies that can be part of a settlement agreement. The odds are that eventually this case will be settled; most class actions are because the companies are afraid to let a jury determine damages.

This suit is important not simply because it will bring a measure of justice to women who worked at Wal-Mart and were denied a level playing field. It is important because it offers an opportunity to deliver a real blow to the corporate culture and system of intimidation Wal-Mart uses to prevent its employees from organizing and challenging the low-wages that are such an important part of its competitive advantage.

Wal-Mart combines the culture of small southern town with a degree of centralization that would make a Stalinist

commissar envious. This case should result in changes in that corporate culture and provide Wal-Mart's employees with a sense that they can have some power in their own right, which in turn should make organizing Wal-Mart a little bit easier.

Frank Llewellyn, DSA's National Director

Stop the Free Trade Shipwreck

An Open Letter to John Kerry and John Edwards

I'm writing you as an American democratic socialist, and one who will do everything I can to see that the Bush administration is turned out of office in November. So, today, I'm not going to try to persuade you that real political democracy is impossible without economic democracy. Here, I want to focus on an immediate problem: the ongoing mismanagement of the economy that threatens the livelihoods and prospects of all humans – including capitalists. That threat, which will be the paramount challenge to your administration, comes from the grossly out-of-balance world trade system, with the U.S. economy at its core.

The failures of the fundamentalist faith in the market that guides most of the international trade policies of the current administration have now reached crisis level. We can no longer pretend that the "free trade" in goods and capital can run on autopilot. Though a minority have reaped massive rewards, on the whole, these policies are undermining the U.S. economy and threatening to drive the global economy over a cliff as well.

For over two decades, the U.S. has had a large and growing trade deficit – the value of the goods and services imported into the U.S. has exceeded the value of goods and services exported to other countries. This has meant a net outflow of money from the U.S. economy, money that otherwise might have added directly to demand for American goods and services, and to demand for American labor. We have seen the results in the loss of jobs, particularly in manufacturing. But the job situation might be worse if the money lost through the trade deficit were not offset by injections of money from other sources, notably private credit purchases and, more importantly, deficit spending by government. This deficit spending has helped to counteract the worst effects of the trade deficit on the U.S. job market. So the U.S. economy has actually become dependent on the government deficits you say you will eliminate.

At the same time, other countries have become dependent upon the U.S. as a kind of consumer of last resort, supplying injections of money into their own economies. Without the U.S. playing this role, many countries risk serious economic difficulties, if not outright depression. And international economic problems can lead to even more seri-

continued on page 8

Beyond Gender Equality

By Barbara Ehrenreich

Author and DSA Honorary Chair Barbara Ehrenreich gave the following address at Barnard College's commencement in June.

...I had another speech prepared for today – all about the cost of college and how the doors to higher education are closing to all but the wealthy. It was a good speech – lots of laugh lines – but two weeks ago something came along that wiped the smile right off my face. You know, you saw them, too – the photographs of American soldiers sadistically humiliating and abusing detainees in Iraq.

These photos turned my stomach – yours, too, I'm sure. But they did something else to me: they broke my heart. I had no illusions about the United States mission in Iraq, but it turns out that I did have some illusions about women.

There was the photo of Specialist Sabrina Harman smiling an impish little smile and giving the thumbs sign from behind a pile of naked Iraqi men – as if to say, "Hi, mom; here I am in Abu Ghraib!"

We've gone from the banality of evil... to the cuteness of evil.

There was the photo of Private First Class Lynndie England dragging a naked Iraqi man on a leash. She's cute, too, in those cool cammy pants and high boots. He's grimacing in pain. If you were doing PR for al Qaeda, you couldn't have staged a better picture to galvanize misogynist Islamic fundamentalists around the world.

And never underestimate the misogyny of the real enemy, which was never the Iraqis; it was and should be the al Qaeda-type fundamentalist extremists: Two weeks ago in eastern Afghanistan, suspected Taliban members (I thought we had defeated them, but never mind) poisoned three little girls for the crime of going to school. That seems to be the attitude in that camp: In the case of women: better dead than well-read.

But here in these photos from Abu Ghraib, you have every Islamic fundamentalist stereotype of Western culture all nicely arranged in one hideous image – imperial arrogance, sexual

depravity ... and gender equality.

Now we don't know whether women were encouraged to participate. All we know is they didn't say no. Of the seven US soldiers now charged with the abuse of prisoners in Abu Ghraib, three are women: Harman, England and Megan Ambuhl.

Maybe I shouldn't have been so shocked.

Certainly not about the existence of abuse. Reports of this and similar abuse have been leaking out of Guantanamo and immigrant detention centers in New York City for over a year. We know, if we've been paying attention, that similar kinds of abuse, including sexual humiliation, are not unusual in our own vast U.S. prison system.

We know, too, that good people can do terrible things under the right circumstances. This is what psychologist Stanley Milgram found in his famous experiments in the 1960s. Sabrina and Lynndie are not congenitally evil people. They are working class women who wanted to go to college and knew the military as the quickest way in that direction. Once they got in, they wanted to fit in.

And I shouldn't be surprised either because I never believed that women are innately less aggressive than men. I have argued this repeatedly – once with the famously macho anthropologist Napoleon Chagnon. When he kept insisting that women are just too nice and incapable of combat, I answered him the best way I could: I asked him if he wanted to step outside...

I have supported full opportunity for women within the military, in part because – with rising tuition – it's one of the few options around for low-income young people.

I opposed the first Gulf War in 1991, but at the same time I was proud of our servicewomen and delighted that their presence irked their Saudi hosts.

Secretly, I hoped that the presence of women would eventually change the military, making it more respectful



of other people and their cultures, more capable of genuine peace keeping. That's what I thought, but I don't think that any more.

A lot of things died with those photos. The last moral justification for the war with Iraq died with those photos. First the justification was the supposed weapons of mass destruction. Then it was the supposed links between Saddam and Osama bin Laden – those links were never found either. So the final justification was that we had removed an evil dictator who tortured his own people. As recently as April 30, George Bush exulted that the torture chambers of Iraq were no longer operating.

Well, it turns out they were just operating under different management. We didn't displace Saddam Hussein; we replaced him.

And when you throw in the similar abuses in Afghanistan and Guantanamo, in immigrant detention centers and US prisons, you see that we have created a spreading regime of torture – an empire of pain.

But there's another thing that died for me in the last couple of weeks – a certain kind of feminism or, perhaps I should say, a certain kind of feminist naiveté.

It was a kind of feminism that saw men as the perpetual perpetrators, women as the perpetual victims, and male sexual violence against women as

continued on page 7

DL Interview: Chickenhawk Plucked

Author, columnist and CNN commentator Ian Williams talks to DL's Jeff Gold about his new book, *Deserter: Bush's War on Military Families, Veterans and His Past*, published this month by Nation Books.

J.G. What made you want to delve into George W's first "fatigue fetish" period?

I.W. Nation Books wanted me to write about U.S. foreign policy, which from a logical perspective sometimes has to be examined through the lens of Lewis Carroll to be understood. Since George W. Bush was a chickenhawk from the get-go, I thought his experiences in the National Guard – or lack thereof – would be instructive. This is a president who, after all, invokes sacrifice but never actually made one himself. W's life also illustrates important facets of the U.S. class system, which, coming originally from Britain, I sometimes see with a clarity that escapes many Americans.

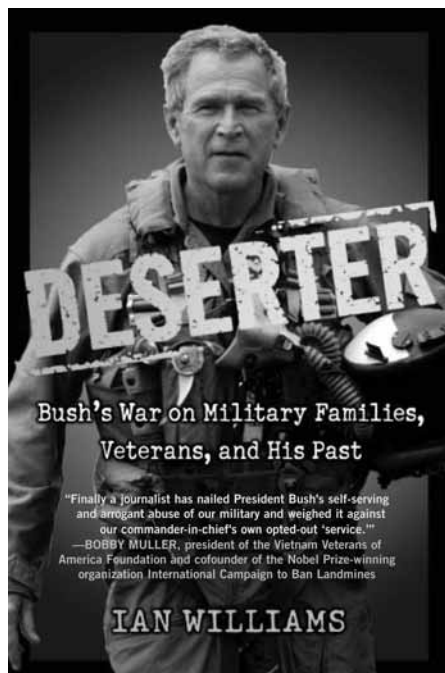
J.G. Did the Iraq occupation bring W's past into relief?

I.W. Yes. In the last two years, President Bush has delivered one third of his speeches at military bases or to veterans groups, sometimes appearing in actual or quasi-military garb. No other national leader besides Castro and Saddam Hussein seem to have such an affinity for olive drab.

Certainly Clinton never referred to himself the way Bush often does as "Commander-in-Chief."

J.G. Please don't tell me that we're at war because Bush likes to dress up.

I.W. Not quite. But there is a psychological aspect of George W. that shows how much he wanted to emulate or even compete with his father, a genuine war hero. George H.W. actually left prep school at 18 and used his political influence to become the youngest flier in the Navy and put himself in harm's way during World War II. H.W. was thus in that stream of the Northeastern elite that actually joined up early, a kind of martial *noblesse oblige*, as opposed to the Draft Riot stream that ran the other way. Teddy Roosevelt and his offspring come to mind here, despite their imperial associations, as do those rich Americans who joined the Lafayette Escadrille or



This is a president who invokes sacrifice but never actually made one himself.

the Royal Canadian forces even before the U.S. declared war.

J.G. But George W has tried to claim Texas as his true home, not the Northeast.

I.W. Actually, W combines the toxic effects of both, with the dynastic East Coast sense of entitlement, joined with the Texas notion that you're rich and prosperous because God Loves You – a Cowboy Capitalist cocktail that seems to dull *noblesse oblige*.

J.G. So what did George W. Bush do or not do in the war, and when did he not do it?

I.W. 1968 comes around and George W. was due to graduate from Yale, as a legacy admission jock of limited intellect, and the draft was looming. "The war of his generation," in the words of

Senator Byrd, was at its height, and within a week of opting for the National Guard, the Tet Offensive took place, and W proactively decided *not* to get involved. This did not stop him from spending part of the next few years campaigning for candidates who wanted to continue the war.

J.G. Bush did sign up for something, unlike Clinton, Dan Quayle and most of W's cabinet.

I.W. Yes. Incredibly, other than Rumsfeld, who was in the military, most of Bush's cabinet didn't serve. Dick Cheney said he "had better things to do." Clinton's not my poster child, but he did *oppose* the war, and his letter to the draft board colonel in Arkansas was actually pretty well reasoned and expresses the dilemmas of young men at that time. Quayle actually went the Bush route, via nepotistic entry into the National Guard and consequent avoidance of overseas service.

J.G. So, where did W actually go?

I.W. He was admitted to what incestuous Texas power cliques of the time considered the 'champagne unit' of the Texas National Guard, over 500 applicants for a handful of positions – after ticking a box that indicated one didn't want to serve overseas. This unit was also called "Air Canada" because it offered all the benefits of a flight north without the bad weather. There were cameras on hand to film a staged repeat of his induction.

Bush actually did serve as a pilot after two years of expensive training in Texas – presumably protecting the U.S. from a reincarnation of Zapata, or a Cuban attack on Galveston. He then transferred to the Alabama National Guard so he could work on the Alabama campaign of a right-winger named Blount. In Ol' Alabam', fellow pilots and officers were waiting to meeting to meet this hotshot son of a rich congressman. No show. He was

continued on next page

DL Interview

continued from page

ordered to take a flight medical. No show. This was the equivalent of letting a shotgun off next to his ear to avoid the draft. He was below the Air National Guard's radar for a year.

W Bush not only wasn't punished for being AWOL, but seems to have escaped without fuss to the Harvard Business School. People at Harvard actually saw him wearing a Texas National Guard windbreaker – shades of days to come.

J.G. *Is this like the late Ronald Reagan at "Fort Roach"? He "fought" most of WW2 at Hal Roach Studios in Culver City, but many voters thought he was in real combat.*

I.W. Well, Bush consistently says "I served," trying to imply that anybody who says he didn't serve is thereby dissing the National Guard and the people who are serving – it's very perverse, but it seems to work with some people. Many of W's contemporaries were punished for not showing up. National Guardspeople now are being sentenced for refusing to return to Iraq, where they make up half the garrison.

J.G. *The White House has blocked access to records every way it could. How did you get access?*

I.W. Here I stand on the shoulders of other, good researchers who have been cutting back the brush. But they tended to look at isolated aspects of this story, while I am trying to look at the big picture. The White House knew what they were hiding – in many other industrial countries this would be a huge, headline story at the center of national press coverage. In the U.S. the White House has benefited from the short attention span of most of the press, which sometimes kills stories for lack of follow-up. *The New York Times* was an example, though the *Boston Globe* and *Washington Post* and some Southern papers filed some good stories.

J.G. *What was the cover-up strategy?*

I.W. The White House first denied that incriminating documents existed, then

sent the press chasing after red herrings, then flooded the press with loads of documents hoping that volume would overwhelm any inkling that information was missing.

J.G. *Is this an illustration of I.F. Stone's policy of reading boring public records nobody really pays attention to and finding dynamite?*

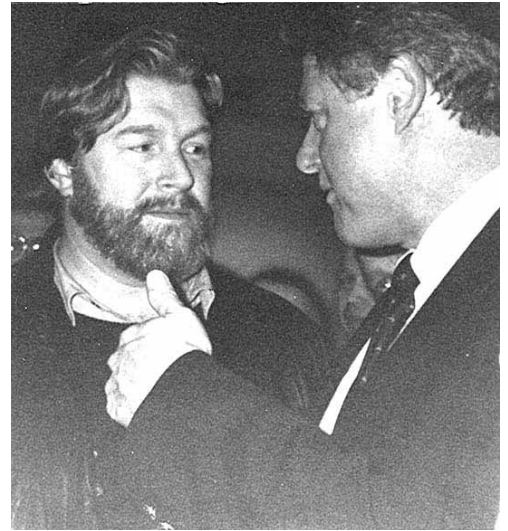
I.W. Only in part. The American media is by and large very deferential to authority, with Watergate being one of the exceptions, partly fueled by right wingers angry at Nixon's China Policy. There are, of course, dogged reporters: In my appendix there are a dozen pages of Helen Thomas's questions to White House Press Secretary Scott McClelland about whether W had to serve mandatory community service in Alabama for avoiding service, and fifteen pages of McClelland's refusals to answer. Of course, Granddad Prescott Bush's wartime Nazi connections haven't exactly been under the microscope in the mass media, and survived scrutiny through the campaigns of three generations.

J.G. *How does all this relate to the real war now in Iraq?*

W should be held to account. He seems to have a distain for the actual soldiery, many *economic draftees* of a sort, who do the actual fighting. He has tried to restrict military pay, health care and veteran's benefits. When federal money is appropriated, it's usually for the big contractors like Boeing, Halliburton and Raytheon. General Wesley Clark said "Republicans like weapons systems, Democrats like soldiers."

J.G. *U.S. attitudes to the military must inform your book?*

I.W. Americans have very variable attitudes to the military. You have the citizen militia ethos on one side, although Wellington thought they were pretty useless – summer soldiers – which begat the National Guard and its odd modern role as combo emergency service operation and repressor of urban immigrants or unions, and the almost Wellingtonian distain for rank and file



W's predecessor explains his military service to Ian Williams.

soldiers as the lowest of the low.

J.G. *Does the U.S. Left have any more sympathy for rank and file soldiers?*

I.W. I'm one of those who were storming U.S. consulates and embassies in Europe in protest over the Vietnam War. One of the holdovers of that period is an unfortunate condescension among my contemporaries toward people who do sincerely believe they are serving their nation in uniform, however misdirected by leaders, or functionally forced to don khaki to finance higher education since they can't tap Bush family trust funds. Here I'm reminded that we all used to focus on Lt. Calley rather than Lt. Hugh Thomas, who landed his helicopter in My Lai and said he would shoot any U.S. soldier who shot at civilians – he is a real hero. I'm glad President Clinton made sure that Thompson and the others on that copter got a medal.

J.G. *I hope Deserter puts paid to the lie that George W. Bush has military credentials. I saw you debate Iraq with a former Reagan advisor on Fox News Network's O'Reilly Factor. Do you think he'll read it?*

I.W. Reagan, no. O'Reilly, perhaps. As microphones were being attached prior to air time, Bill told me not to "lean right" as I was blocking his cue cards. I told him I only lean left.

Jeff Gold, 4F, is a member of NY DSA. Ian Williams can be reached at

The Politics of Race

By Joseph M. Schwartz

As economic growth stagnated in the 1970s, most western welfare states witnessed “populist” revolts of middle income taxpayers against public provision, with their wrath focused on increasingly marginalized poor populations, frequently composed of ethnic or racial minorities. But why did the social welfare systems of most countries weather the conservative attack better than the United States? While the universal programs of Social Security and Medicare went largely unscathed, the Reagan presidency witnessed 20 percent real cuts in AFDC benefit levels, 11 percent in food stamps, 90 percent in public housing assistance, and a serious erosion of the purchasing power of the working poor. Except for modest restoration of public housing expenditures, none of these cuts were restored under the Clinton administration, and its “welfare reform” contributed to a 50 percent drop in poor women receiving child support payments (TANF).

The political vulnerability of the American welfare state is largely due to two unique features of American social policy: its lack of universal principles for organizing public social provision and the sharp disjuncture between social and economic policy. This peculiarly American structure arose largely because of the role of racism and racial politics in the construction of the American welfare state. Since the New Deal, American social policy has effectively been divided into two tiers: a top tier of social insurance (old age and disability insurance) for those regularly employed and a bottom level of less generous means-tested public assistance programs (AFDC [now TANF], food stamps, Medicaid) available for those with more sporadic participation in the labor force. Public policies have been supplemented by employer provision of private benefits, such as medical insurance, for those with “good” jobs. This pattern of public and private policy has promoted a sharp division between those segments of society it favors and those it disadvantages. This division has fallen along lines of race and gender, for the attachment to the labor force that qualifies citizens for upper tier programs has traditionally been the prerogative of white males with an uninterrupted formal job history. Not surprisingly, it was the top-tier universal programs (such as Social Security and Medicare) that proved relatively invulnerable to Reagan’s attack.

The allegedly universal social policies of the New Deal (such as Social Security and the National Labor Relations Act) originally excluded agricultural laborers

and domestic workers, the majority of the African-American and Latino workforce of the 1930s. And from 1946 to 1968, the discriminatory lending practices of not only private banks, but also the Federal Home Mortgage Association, created exclusively white middle-class and upper working-class suburbs. Even the GI Bill provided greater opportunities for the white working class, as compared to African-Americans, given lower Black levels of college preparatory education and the segregated armed forces’ exclusion of African-American combatants from

skilled jobs and officer training. Such white suburban enclaves, in combination with the remaining more economically-vulnerable white ethnic urban neighborhoods, formed the backbone of the northern electoral “backlash” to the Great Society pro-

grams of the 1960s that attempted – somewhat – to redress the economic and racial inequalities that the New Deal perpetuated.

Even though the barriers that kept racial minorities and women in inferior labor market positions have relaxed in the past three decades, both groups remain at a disadvantage in the resultant two-tiered welfare state. Mass structural unemployment still excludes over 50 percent of inner city African-American men between the ages of 18 and 65 from participation in the formal labor market (versus 20 percent of whites). And while women now earn close to 75 percent of male wages, a recent study demonstrates that over the course of their adult lives women still earn less than 40 percent of average male wage earners, as women disproportionately disrupt their careers for child and elder care responsibilities.

Beginning with Nixon and Reagan, the Right has engaged in a “social construction” of a “white” identity, which contends that redistributive public policies discriminate against hard-working “whites” in favor of people of color or immigrants who do not play by the rules of the game – the “work ethic” (narrowly defined as full-time participation in the formal labor market). The racially constructed perception of many white Americans of inner cities as a homogenous drug-infested “underclass,” combined with the means-tested nature of public health care and child care, has severely weakened popular support for democratic public provision.

Somebody ran this country deep into debt

I called up Congress, but nobody’s called back yet

Sometimes I get so mad I can’t think straight

We’re looking for relief and it feels so great to hate

All those teenage immigrant welfare mothers on drugs.

—Austin Lounge Lizards

Although they account for less than 25 percent of total federal and state expenditure on social welfare (over two-thirds go to Social Security and Medicare alone), means-tested programs have been lightning rods for right-wing populist agitation, and their visibility has helped to exacerbate the divisions between the poor and the rest of society. Participants in the formal labor market are usually ineligible for child-support payments and publicly-financed health care. Thus, those members of the working class who earn above the poverty line often resent “welfare” recipients (even though recipients are often single parents who need time away from their prior full-time participation in the formal labor market to care for their infant children). The consequences of this divided world of social policy has been particularly devastating for an increasingly isolated inner-city Black and Latino poor.

In addition, corporate hostility to job-training and public works programs that would compete with the private sector prevented the American welfare state from linking employment policy to social-welfare policy, setting them up instead as separate and competing arenas. Thus, social policy can only be expanded when it can be “afforded.” In the prosperous 1960s, such reasoning facilitated a limited “war on poverty”; from the late 1970s onwards, however, social policy was seen as an unaffordable luxury.

This historic failure to link social policy to broader economic policy contributed to the uniquely American view of unemployment and poverty as predominantly a problem of individual character and culture rather than of economic structure and policy. For example, the anti-poverty programs of the 1960s were largely conceived of as separate, remedial programs, targeted on the poor (particularly Black poor). Most job training programs did not teach marketable skills for jobs with career-track potential, but rather taught “good work habits” for low-wage, dead-end jobs.

The failure to integrate these programs (AFDC liberalization, Medicaid, Food Stamps, job training) with a collective rationale (based on universal entitlement to a decent job and economic minimum) rendered them vulnerable to the racial backlash of the economically stagnant 1970s. A conscious corporate-funded ideological offensive helped increase popular hostility towards “big government” and “taxation.” But the public’s openness to such appeals arose partly from misplaced white middle- and working-class hostility to means-tested welfare.

The primary goals of the anti-poverty and welfare rights movements of the 1960s were not liberalization of AFDC rolls or affirmative action but full employment, meaningful job training, and universal health and childcare. However, center-left political elites designed means-tested income support and health care as palliative measures responding to urban unrest, while opposing the real demands. And the Democratic Party’s abandonment of

“welfare as we know it” has only garnered for former welfare recipients a patchwork of make-work job programs and low-wage, benefit-less employment vulnerable to recessionary downturns.

While some progressives see the universal social programs of the New Deal (plus Fair Deal and Medicare) as models for multi-racial, cross-class solidarity, these programs were, in reality, racially exclusionary. Just as white immigrant political incorporation in the early-to-mid-twentieth century co-existed with the political exclusion of non-whites, so did the achievement of social rights for the white working class in the 1930s coexist with the denial of these social rights to communities of color. The inclusion of people of color as full citizens only occurred during a brief window of opportunity (and militancy) in the mid-1960s.

The primary goals of the anti-poverty and welfare rights movements of the 1960s were not liberalization of AFDC rolls or affirmative action.

The consequent white working- and middle-class abandonment of the New Deal legacy has contributed to almost forty years of conservative ideological dominance: even when Democrats control the presidency, the Party is hypersensitive to the political instincts of white

suburban middle- and working-class strata – resulting in a neo-liberal Democratic policy-agenda on social welfare and criminal justice policy well to the right of 1960s liberalism.

The decline in economic and social security of the white working class and middle strata has created a peculiar, white version of DuBois’s “dual consciousness,” in which many whites exhibit a split consciousness between their rhetorical commitment to a diverse citizenry and their “white” identity. This ideology of “whiteness” owes much to the late 1960s-onward politics of racial backlash and the “Southernization” of national politics, in which working-class whites outside the South increasingly drifted, at least at in terms of the presidency, into the Republican Party. The ideology of “whiteness” depicted people of color as a homogenous, indolent, and dependent social stratum who sponged off welfare programs paid for by the taxes of the industrious white working and middle class. This “white” identity developed further after the post-1973 recession increased two social anxieties: fear of downward mobility and fear that insurgent communities of color threatened the unspoken privileges of the white working class. Thus, “whiteness” became a conscious identity among previously semi-subordinate white ethnic groups precisely when their legal advantages over persons of color came under threat.

The end of the post-World War II economic boom and the entry of African-Americans into urban political power in the 1970s framed white working-class anxieties that non-whites were emerging as competitors for the construction, uniform service, and public sector jobs that had aided white ethnic upward mobility after World War I. Anxious upper-middle class whites worrying about their children’s ability to maintain their class status focused their fear on Black and Latino students who gain at most 12 percent of

scarce admissions to exclusive colleges, universities, and professional schools, rather than on the other whites who get close to 90 percent of those seats.

White “backlash” also derived from the beleaguered sensibilities of urban, white working class enclaves that fought against busing and housing integration. The 1968 Fair Housing Act offered no enforcement mechanisms, and the Nixon administration’s 1971 abandonment of suburban “open housing” efforts prevented residential integration. The 1973 Supreme Court decision in *Ford vs. Miliken* forbid court-mandated school busing across metropolitan school district lines. Once busing only could transport students of color to almost equally underfunded and underserved urban, white working class schools, busing’s viability as a tool to promote equal access to educational resources ended.

The controversy over affirmative action reflects the lack of historical memory in American politics. Most non-Anglo-Saxon “white” immigrant groups had long used urban electoral power to leverage new economic opportunities. Irish urban political power enabled the post-World War I movement of the Irish from male day laborers to members of the construction trades and uniform services and from female domestic servants to public school teachers. Urban political action also facilitated Jewish entry into the lettered civil service and public school teaching one generation later. And Italian-Americans used political power to leverage jobs within construction trades heavily dependent on public contracts, not to mention gaining city contracts for Italian-American small business and contractors. Such strategies would today be termed “affirmative action” – the use of state action to redress structural class, ethnic, or racial disadvantage.

While these earlier forms of “affirmative action” enabled white ethnic middle and upper-working classes to move to the suburbs and develop a new “post-ethnic” identity, those white ethnics still living among the urban working class in the late 1960s and beyond increasingly found themselves defending their urban turf, not from new European immigrant groups, but from post-World War II Latino immigrants and Blacks migrating from the South. In addition, the American racial map grew more complex in the years following the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965. Responding to the 1960s’ booming economy’s need for both low-wage service sector labor and skilled technical professionals, the federal government abandoned its long-standing policy of “whites-only immigration.” This opened the doors to an influx of Latino and Asian immigrants, which increased “nativist” white American fears of “life on a colored planet.”

The new Right also utilized the racial code phrases “law and order” and “welfare cheats” to mobilize working class and lower-middle class resentment against the social and economic gains of minorities and women of the 1960s. The new Right successfully associated these gains with the weakening of the “normal” two-parent, male bread-winner family. In the new Right’s analysis, the traditional nuclear family had been undermined by a paternalis-

tic welfare state that supplanted the role of the bread-winning father among those on public assistance.

In the absence of a political majority for the full inclusion of people of color, it was the federal courts, non-majoritarian institutions, that briefly attempted to fulfill the democratic promise of equal rights. Though the federal courts instituted, at best, legal – rather than social – equality, their decisions facilitated conservative ideological claims that court-instituted affirmative action, busing, and reproductive freedoms were the actions of a liberal, elite-controlled state that governed on behalf of “special interests” (i.e., people of color and feminists).

Furthering the divide, the tax-bracket creep used to “covertly” fund the Vietnam war made taxation much more regressive by radically decreasing income tax progressivity and by instituting a high burden of flat-rate payroll taxes upon lower-middle and working-class families. This combined with expanded means-tested social programs exacerbated the individualist American ethos that taxes are paid by the deserving to finance the indolence of the undeserving. The Right successfully portrayed the federal government as disproportionately spending on “them,” even though means-tested social welfare programs constituted at most eight percent of the total federal budget. And half of that eight percent went to the relatively more tolerated Medicaid program.

In addition, because of the structure of American federalism, the most visible public goods, such as uniformed services, public education, and recreational facilities, are provided by local municipalities rather than by the state or federal government. The disproportionate reliance on regressive property taxes for funding critical public goods accentuates the unequal access to education, infrastructure, and public amenities that occurs along lines of geography, race, and class. This structural inequality makes a shift from regressive property-tax financing to income-tax financing of public goods more difficult to achieve. Suburban voters often associate state and national income tax with a politics of redistribution, while they view their (often high) property-taxes as financing “in-their-backyard” local public provision.

The most explosive element of this “chain reaction” of race, rights, and taxes is undoubtedly affirmative action. While affirmative action obviously has not benefited those marginal to the world of paid labor, its main beneficiaries have not been the Black professional-managerial class, as many critics assert, but the Black working class, who broke into previously racially-exclusive craft unions and patronage-controlled civil and uniform service jobs. Many of these jobs are distributed through patronage and other networks and not solely by allegedly neutral, meritocratic principles. In addition, the vast majority of the African-American middle and upper-working class has been created by political action and not by the workings of the “free market.” A disproportionate share of the Black middle class are employed not in the private corporate sector, but as public administrators, educators, members of the uniform services, and (a declining number of) industrial, unionized workers.

As America cannot maturely discuss how class and racial inequality interact and structurally reproduce themselves, there is little mention in debates about affirmative action of any jobs or university places other than those whose access is allegedly distributed by “meritocratic” tests. In reality, any competitive job or university admission selection process chooses among a surplus of “qualified” candidates, with consideration of the particular needs of the institution, needs that change over time. Leaders in the professions need to be honest that these professions demand much more than high pre-professional school test scores, such as an understanding of and commitment to one’s patients and clients. The defense of affirmative action also needs to reiterate a true, first order principle – that traditional biases overlook candidates of equal potential ability or past accomplishment.

Fear of higher taxes (and a loss of popular faith that taxes can be structured progressively) and declining faith in the administrative capacity of government remain integral parts of the political consciousness of “swing” white voters. But this ideology cannot be eliminated by neo-liberal or social democratic appeals to a race-blind, universal politics of rights and responsibilities. The democratic Left must explicitly combat the right-wing ideological debase-ment of the public sector’s ability to provide those public goods necessary for citizens to live independent lives in civil society. That is, there is no way to deracialize American politics solely through a universal politics of citizenship when the very concept of citizenship is contested on the terrain of racial discourse and perceptions. On the other hand, contrary to the implicit strategy of some advocates of a pure “politics of difference,” social justice cannot be achieved in a democratic polity solely by mobilizing oppressed constituencies. A political majority in favor of the use of progressive taxation to fund the high-quality, universal public goods necessary for social equality remains to be built.

There are three lessons that the democratic Left might learn for a future political strategy that could transcend the racial divide and build majority support for progressive tax reforms and increased levels of high-quality public provision.

First, new social welfare programs should be based on universal, inclusionary principles, even if fiscal reality may preclude a uniform level of benefits. More people support programs that provide some benefits to all than will back strictly means-tested programs. For example, while a new children’s allowance policy might ensure an adequate minimum benefit level for single women who remain at home with infant children, such a program should also provide some benefits to middle-income families.

Second, racist myths and hostility to the welfare state must be directly confronted and cannot be end-run simply by a correct emphasis on universal provision. The plurality of TANF, Medicaid, and Food Stamp beneficiaries are white (over 40 percent) and the vast majority of adult recipients only take a temporary respite from formal labor market participation. Of course, the structural interaction between race and class in the United States insures that disproportionate percentages of Blacks and Latinos receive such benefits. The devastating rates of unemployment among ghetto youth brought about by de-industrialization, urban renewal, and gentrification is another reality that needs to be highlighted as causing low labor market participation rates among inner city adults.

Third, arguments for social rights must be tied to an acknowledgement of social obligations. Support for such obligations does not mean accepting neo-liberal and conservative conceptions of “meaningful work” which devalue forms of productive labor such as caring for children or the elderly (work often done by women outside the formal labor market). While “workfare” proposals that coerce clients without providing real training or access to jobs that pay above poverty wages should be opposed, alternative policies should be designed to enhance recipients’ life opportunities through job training; education; provision of high-quality, publicly-financed child care and health care; and the provision of productive public-works jobs, if necessary.

The real challenge for democratic activists and intellectuals is not the false choice of “universalism versus particularism” often posed by post-modern influenced intellectuals. Rather, egalitarian “difference” can only be achieved on the terrain of a democratic and solidaristic society. As a house divided may not stand, such a divided nation may also not be able to resuscitate itself. The right-wing program of a politics of privatization and policing of the inner cities may not preclude economic distress, nihilism, and crime from visiting suburban white working class and middle class enclaves. But whether or not this occurs, there is no guarantee of a progressive political response to the growing crisis middle- and working-class families face in regards to financing health, child, and elder care. The political resolution of these emerging policy issues will be determined by what the Left does politically and intellectually in regards to contesting the racial construction of American politics.

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Democratic Socialists of America

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Gender Equality

continued from page 4

the root of all injustice. Maybe this sort of feminism made more sense in the 1970s. Certainly it seemed to make sense when we learned about the rape camps in Bosnia in the early '90s. There was a lot of talk about women then – I remember because I was in the discussions – about rape as an instrument of war and even war as an extension of rape.

I didn't agree, but I didn't disagree very loudly either. There seemed to be at least some reason to believe that male sexual sadism may somehow be deeply connected to our species' tragic propensity for violence.

That was before we had seen female sexual sadism in action.

But it's not just the theory of this naïve feminism that was wrong. So was its strategy and vision for change. That strategy and vision for change rested on the assumption, implicit or stated outright, that women are morally superior to men. We had a lot of debates over whether it was biology or conditioning that made women superior – or maybe the experience of being a woman in a sexist culture. But the assumption of superiority was beyond debate. After all, women do most of the caring work in our culture, and in polls are consistently less inclined toward war than men.

Now I'm not the only one wrestling with that assumption today. Here's Mary Jo Melone, a columnist in the *St. Petersburg Times*, writing on May 7:

I can't get this picture of [Pfc. Lynndie] England out of my head because this is not how women are expected to behave. Feminism taught me 30 years ago that not only had women gotten a raw deal from men, but that we were morally superior to them.

Now the implication of this assumption was that all we had to do to make the world a better place – kinder, less violent, more just – was to assimilate into what had been, for so many centuries, the world of men. We would fight so that women could become the CEOs, the senators, the generals, the judges and opin-

ion-makers – because that was really the only fight we had to undertake. Because once they gained power and authority, once they had achieved a critical mass within the institutions of society, women would naturally work for change.

That's what we thought, even if we thought it unconsciously. And the most profound thing I have to say to you today, as a group of brilliant young women poised to enter the world – is that it's just not true.

You can't even argue, in the case of Abu Ghraib, that the problem was that there just weren't *enough* women

Gender equality cannot, all alone, bring about a just and peaceful world.

in the military hierarchy to stop the abuses. The prison was directed by a woman, General Janis Karpinski. The top U.S. intelligence official in Iraq, who was also responsible for reviewing the status of detainees prior to their release, was a woman, Major General Barbara Fast. And the U.S. official ultimately responsible for managing the occupation of Iraq since last October was Condoleezza Rice.

What we have learned, once and for all, is that a uterus is not a substitute for a conscience; menstrual periods are not the foundation of morality.

This does not mean gender equality isn't worth fighting for for its own sake. It is. And I will keep fighting for it as long as I live.

Gender equality cannot, all alone, bring about a just and peaceful world.

What I have finally come to understand, sadly and irreversibly, is that the kind of feminism based on an assumption of moral superiority on the part of women is a lazy and self-indulgent form of feminism. Self-indulgent because it assumes that a victory for a woman – whether a diploma, a promotion, a right to serve alongside men in the military – is ipso facto, by its very nature, a victory for humanity. And lazy because it assumes that we have only one struggle – the struggle for gender equality – when in fact we have many

more. The struggles for peace, for social justice and against imperialist and racist arrogance cannot, I am truly sorry to say, be folded into the struggle for gender equality.

Women do not change institutions simply just by assimilating into them. But – and this is the “but” on which all my hopes hinge – a *certain kind* of woman can still do that – and this is where you come in.

We need a kind of woman who can say *no*, not just to the date rapist or overly persistent boyfriend, but to the military or corporate hierarchy within which she finds herself. We need a kind of woman who doesn't want to be one of the boys when the boys are acting like sadists or fools. And we need a kind of woman who isn't trying to assimilate, but to infiltrate – and subvert the institutions she goes into.

You can be those women. And as the brightest and best educated women of your generation, you'd better be.

First, because our nation is in such terrible trouble – hated worldwide, and not just by the fundamentalist fanatics. My version of patriotism is simple: When the powerful no longer act responsibly, then it is our responsibility to take the power away from them.

You have to become tough-minded activists for change because the entire feminist project is also in terrible trouble worldwide. That project, which is minimally about the achievement of equality with men, is threatened by fundamentalisms of all kinds – Christian as well as Islamic.

But we cannot successfully confront that threat without a moral vision that goes beyond gender equality. To cite an old – and far from naïve – feminist saying: “If you think equality is the goal, your standards are too low.”

It is not enough to be equal to men, when the men are acting like beasts. It is not enough to assimilate. We need to create a world worth assimilating into.

I'm counting on you. I want *you* to be the face of American women that the world sees – not those of Sabrina or Megan or Lynndie or Condoleezza.

Don't let me down. Take your hard-won diplomas, your knowledge and your talents and go out there and RAISE HELL!

OPINION

Free Trade Shipwreck

continued from page 3

ous troubles. Remember that both world wars can be partially linked to international economic breakdown

In other words, under current policies, the health of both the U.S. economy and the international economy is linked to the continuation of deficit spending in the U.S.

20 Years of Trade Imbalances

How did we come to this pass? Basically, the situation arose from the policies adopted by successive U.S. administrations to deal with the fall in demand for U.S. products that gained momentum in the 1970s.

From the end of WWII to the early 1970s, the U.S. economy experienced a golden age of balanced growth. The period was characterized by a fairly stable and rapid growth of productivity, output, and employment, which led to overall growth in the economy. This growth created the conditions for successful labor, civil rights and political movements that brought about a widespread sharing of the benefits of that growth. Trade, consumer spending and overall government spending all rose substantially, but deficits were modest and temporary. (Even Johnson's Vietnam War deficits were actually mostly balanced by state and local government surpluses.)

From the mid-1970s until about 1982, this prosperous high-growth era first slowed and then unraveled, as the economy went through a bout of inflation (mostly due to institutional and supply side factors) and two major recessions. This period also saw the demise of the Bretton Woods international trade and finance accords, which had provided the framework for the rapidly growing international trade of the early post-war period.

Since then, two major economic policy regimes have jockeyed for position in the U.S. From about 1983 to 1991, Fed Chair Paul Volcker's tight money policy of high interest rates and an overvalued dollar led to growing U.S. international trade deficits for the first time in the postwar period. These deficits were offset, in part, by the large and expanding federal budget deficit that had been caused by the combination of the Reaganomics policies of tax cuts (mostly for the wealthy) and massive military buildup. The deficit helped restore economic growth temporarily, but neither government spending nor trade deficits could increase indefinitely. Indeed, efforts were made to get both deficits under control, but these efforts came at the expense of a deep recession in the early 1990s.

From 1992-2000, under Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin, the Clinton administration reacted to the recession by shifting to a combination of tight fiscal policy (curbs on government spending) and loose monetary policy (easy credit and declining interest rates). The result, which I call Rubinomics, was the reverse of the Reaganomics pattern of loose fiscal and tight monetary policy, and resulted in a shift away from government deficits and towards increased pri-

vate credit spending to buoy demand. At the same time, Rubin (and later his successor, Larry Summers) pursued an aggressive free trade and investment agenda that, despite claimed advantages for the U.S., actually worsened the foreign trade deficit—a deficit now financed by private pocketbooks. By the end of the decade, the federal government deficit declined to zero, and by 2000 reached a surplus. At the same time, private sector (especially household) debt reached a record of over 5 percent of GDP.

However, both the Reaganomics and Rubinomics “free trade” regimes shared the same central and overwhelming problem: a growing U.S. international trade deficit with the rest of world. That deficit reached about 4 percent of GDP by 2000.

From 2001-2004, under George W. Bush, the U.S. returned to the pattern of government deficit spending characteristic of the Reagan years. At the same time, private credit spending declined to only about 0.4 percent of GDP. (This was due to corporate surpluses; household debt continues to rise dangerously.) As the trade deficit continues to increase, reaching a record 5 percent of GDP or \$525 billion in 2003, an offsetting injection of capital has to come again from government deficit spending.

Under these circumstances the Bush administration's decision to run one of the most massive federal deficit spending binges in post-war history is the right decision in the short run, as this large federal deficit is undoubtedly preventing a more severe recession in the U.S., though the emphasis on tax cuts and military spending has severely limited its job- and income-generating potential and exacerbated the massive and growing levels of inequality in the U.S. However, increased federal deficit spending is not a sustainable long-term solution to the core underlying problem of global and U.S. trade imbalance.

In any case, we appear to be reaching political limits on further U.S. federal debt expansion. If other policies remain unchanged, the trade imbalance appears more likely to result in slow growth that will increase unemployment and economic misery in the U.S. and around the world. Slower growth will reduce the trade and federal deficits but at the expense of the real economy.

What About Keynes?

In the last 30 years, we have not found a sustainable solution to the growing and ultimately infeasible world trade imbalance. Instead, we have tried to postpone addressing the real problems through the use of public or private deficit spending. The U.S. economy has been functioning as the world's buyer of last resort for more than two decades now. This can't go on. May I submit that ideology, in particular of the “free trade” and “free market” neo-liberal variety, is part of the problem both on the international and the domestic policy fronts?

Senators, this world cannot be sustained by a “race to the bottom” policy regime structured to suppress world and national aggregate demand. This was Keynes' major concern at Bretton Woods. Depending on “free trade” to solve the imbalances in the world economy only serves to perpetuate a regime of global low-wage production and accumulation of government and household debt, all for the benefit of an

elite class of property owners. Mutually beneficial trade between vastly unequal countries cannot be directed by “free market” forces. Yet you seem to be campaigning on cutting the federal budget deficit without offsetting policies to reduce the trade deficit. In the absence of further increases in household or business deficit spending, this would simply throw the U.S. economy, and possibly the global economy, into recession. The trade deficit will then go down but so will employment and income.

I appeal to you not to turn away from the major challenge of the new century: the construction of a sustainable world economy. This means a global Marshall Plan for the poorest developing countries and a new and viable international trade and investment accord. The latter needs to include “solidarity trade” policies that force countries to raise their wage, environmental and safety standards or face equalizing tariffs. The revenue from these tariffs then needs to be redirected back to low-wage countries of origin to be used to raise their labor,

environmental and social standards over time.

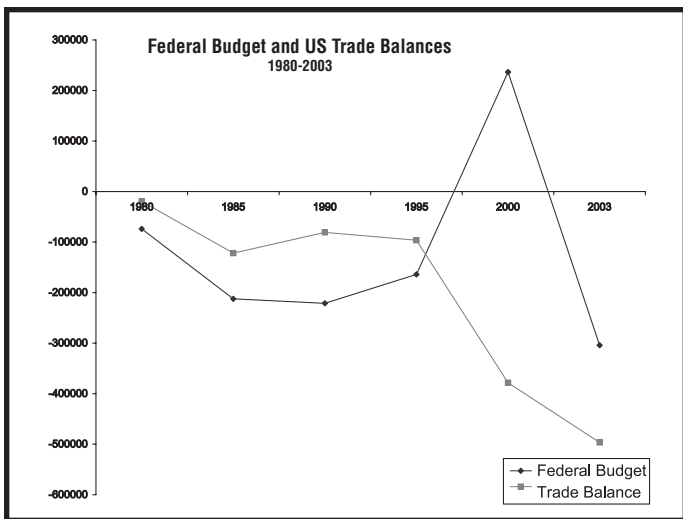
At a minimum, policies to require enforcement of labor standards and minimum wages and to stimulate demand in both advanced and developing countries must be at the heart of any rebalancing of world trade. Rather than pushing developing countries to restrain spending, global financial rules should allow these countries to run deficits in order to satisfy basic needs. Such policies will stimulate demand in these countries and reduce the need for U.S. deficit spending to finance our purchase of their surplus goods.

Following such policies will require rejecting those private domestic and global financial interests that have been so successful at creating the current neo-liberal world economy, which works against the many for the benefit of the few. However, unless these policies can be reversed, the resulting economic problems could sink your administration.

Respectfully yours,
Ron Baiman

For more detailed discussions of the problem of U.S. trade deficits, see papers by Wynne Godley and Alex Izurieta at www.cerf.cam.ac.uk and www.levy.org. For more on the problems of the Clinton “free trade” policies, see Joseph Stiglitz’s *Globalization and its Discontents*, reviewed in the fall 2002 issue of *DL*. For more on solidarity trade policies, see David Schweickart’s *After Capitalism*.

Chicago DSA member Ron Baiman is a research professor at the Center for Urban Economic Development of the University of Illinois at Chicago and an Editorial Board member of the Review of Radical Political Economics. For the last four years he has been co-teaching a course on “Globalization and Neo-Liberalism” at the University of Chicago. He serves on DSA’s National Political Committee.



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2004 Elections

continued from page 2

The 2004 election is not just about the presidency, although that is clearly the most important race. The elections also will offer many opportunities to strengthen progressive and independent forces. DSA members are encouraged to participate in appropriate Democratic and independent campaigns wherever they find them.

But DSAPAC has no illusions about the mainstream national leadership of the Democratic Party nor about its presumptive presidential candidate. Many Party leaders oppose the restoration of progressive taxation and expansion of the democratic public sector necessary to redress massive social inequality. The corporate-backed Democratic Leadership Council has far too much influence, while the Progressive Caucus and social movements have far too little within the Party. At the highest levels of the national Party, rejecting the logic of empire in favor of forging a democratic foreign policy is at best a minority opinion, so a Democratic presidency is no guarantee that the U.S. government will even extricate itself from Iraq.

We also know the limits of electing politicians to office absent social movements that bring unrelenting pressure to bear on them. FDR alone did not give the United States the New Deal, nor did LBJ single-handedly force the enactment of Medicare and civil rights legislation. Rather, these centrist politicians and their administrations came to support incremental democratic reforms precisely because of the strength of the trade union and civil rights movements and the ensuing agitation these movements visited upon political elites.

After November, the trade union and citizen movements will need to continue to pressure whatever President and Congress result from the 2004 elections to enact fair trade policies that would level up the global economy rather than perpetuate the global corporate "race to the bottom." Privatization of the public sector is not the solution; it is the problem.

Regardless of who is the victor in November, the peace movement will still need to oppose militarization and support a democratic foreign policy. Civil rights and antiracist activists will still need to struggle for class-based economic remedies as well as significant extensions of affirmative action. Structural reforms to increase and strengthen electoral democracy – such as public financing, free TV time, same-day voter registration, election-day holidays, and proportional representation – will only come about if corporate influence over the electoral system is challenged.

We firmly believe that the defeat of George W. Bush and the Republicans is a necessary but by no means sufficient condition for moving the world towards a democratic and socialist future. Removing Bush from office is the next crucial and tactical step in the long march to remake the world.

Our long-term strategy remains the revitalization of the mass democratic Left. Only by rebuilding such a Left – rooted in the trade union, feminist, and anti-racist movements – will Americans ever get the choice of more attractive and constructive electoral alternatives.

DSA At the March for Women's Lives



A DSA contingent joined well over a million other marchers for the March for Women's Lives in Washington, DC, in April.



National Director Frank Llewellyn (center), NPC member John Strauss and member Jill Greenberg held the DSA banner at the DSA gathering point on the mall.



DSA Youth organizer Lucas Shapiro manned the YDS table.

DSA LOCALS REPORT

NORTHEAST

Boston DSA held a goodbye party for Ed Clark, the retired executive vice president of UNITE and a DSA vice chair, who is moving to Vermont. Congressman Bernie Sanders sent a good-natured letter welcoming Clark to his state.

The local proudly announces Ellen Frank's new book *The Raw Deal*, debunking the myths of corporate economics.

Boston DSA joined Jobs With Justice and others in the June 19 Health Care Action Day. It is also working with the Massachusetts statewide Commonwealth Coalition on state legislative races. As a member of the anti-Central America



PHOTO: S.R. SINGER, SRS UNLIMITED

Theresa Alt and Wayles Browne interviewed participants at a festival celebrating peace activism at Cornell for the community access cable television show *Ithaca DSA Presents*.

call the DSA National Office, where they will be directed to space volunteered by Boston comrades.

This spring, **Greater Philadelphia DSA** sponsored Free Speech Cafés featuring progressive candidates for state office discussing their platforms and, in preparation for the April 25 March for Women's Lives, the president of Pennsylvania NOW addressing issues facing women.

During the summer and fall, members will be working through the local's DSA-PAC to help Tim Kearney, a progressive candidate (and long-time DSA supporter) running against the Republican speaker of the state house; this campaign will also help support other state and federal Democratic candidates.

In March, **New York City DSA** arranged several panels and a reception at the Socialist Scholars Conference.

For May Day (also known as Law Day in the United States), the local held an event in Union Square Park with Congressman Jerry Nadler and other speakers about the erosion of the rule of law under the Bush administration and about the promises of the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision still unfulfilled on its 50th anniversary.

MIDWEST

In February, representatives from several groups, including **Chicago DSA**, gathered at Pilgrim Congregational Church in Oak Park, Ill., to explore the idea of creating an umbrella

organization with a progressive focus – the Oak Park Progressive Alliance. At the second meeting, in early May, there was still much to be considered and resolved regarding identity, goals, and nuts-and-bolts operation.

Columbus DSA will soon be holding its annual fundraiser. The Democratic Socialists of Central Ohio is perhaps one of the better-funded locals, as it works a booth at COMFEST, an annual local festival that features music, art and entertainment festival, with a strong presence of progressive events and organizations.

Detroit DSA is continuing to work with Labor to implement living wage ordinances for other surrounding communities as they did for Detroit, Warren, and Ann Arbor. At its next general membership meeting, Detroit DSA will continue to develop its 2004 election strategy, with Paul Massaron, chairman of the Wayne State Board of Governors, former aide to the late UAW President Stephen Yokich and veteran political operative, invited to answer questions.

Twin Cities DSA is hard at work planning the Oct. 9 Conference on Building a Multilateral Future, an international dialogue among progressive public officials from Europe, Canada and the United States, which will also serve as the Midwest regional conference (*see back cover*).

WEST COAST

Recently, **San Diego DSA** has devoted most of its energy to coalition work, playing critical roles in the San Diego Affordable Housing Coalition, Coalition for a Living Wage, and Maquiladora Workers' Solidarity Network (SDMWSN) – particularly the latter, which lends support to the efforts of labor activists in Tijuana to create genuine trade unions and civic associations that can advance their interests.

As part of the local's SDMWSN work, San Diego DSAer Virginia Franco hosted a reception and book signing for David Bacon, author of *Children of NAFTA*, when he spoke in town. At the reception, leaders of Centro de Información para Trabajadoras y Trabajadores, A.C. (CITTAC), the SDMWSN's Tijuana affiliate, affirmed the importance of support from U.S. activists, especially in providing protections from employer and government repression and publicity in the Spanish-language press. The local also arranges tours across the border for activists, where they can see what maquiladoras actually look like and also meet with CITTAC organizers, women's organizations, community leaders, etc.

San Francisco DSA helped organize an anti-war demonstration in March.

Before that, members worked on the mayoral election campaign of Matt Gonzalez, a progressive Green running against a conservative Democrat. One DSAer's opinion piece appeared in the leading local paper, several members worked on the campaign, and the local coordinated donations from DSAers around the country, raising over \$1,100. Unfortunately, Gonzalez narrowly lost, though he remains president of the Board of Supervisors, and has chosen not to run for re-election.

Twin Cities DSA invites you to attend the
DSA Midwest Regional Conference

Saturday, October 9, 2004

8:30 a.m. – 6:00pm

Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs

University of Minnesota

301 19th Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN

Presentations, DSA workshops, conference

12:30-3:30pm

Public Conference

Building a Multilateral Future

An international dialogue among progressive public officials from Europe, Canada, and the United States on the importance of a genuine multilateral approach to international crisis and the need for international leadership on human rights and peace and justice issues. Topics include articulating the European and Canadian critique of Bush administration policies of pre-emption and unilateralism; Minnesota progressive Democrats assessing Republican Party and Democratic Party foreign and economic policies; and building progressive alliances and policy around the issues of peace, democracy, and security.

With:

- **Alexa McDonough**, the Canadian New Democratic Party's Peace and International Development advocate in the Ottawa Parliament, and former national leader of the NDP.
- **Robert Goebbels**, member of the Luxembourg Socialist Labour Party (LSAP) in the European Parliament and Vice-President of the Party of European Socialists grouping in the European Parliament.
- **Jo Leinen**, member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) in the European Parliament Committee for Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defense Policy.
- **Martin Olav Sabo**, US Congressman from Minnesota (invited)

The conference is free and open to the public.

This event is co-sponsored by the Democratic Socialists of America Fund, and is supported by the Washington office of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

For more information, contact the Twin Cities DSA, info@twincitiesdsa.org or (651) 224-8262.