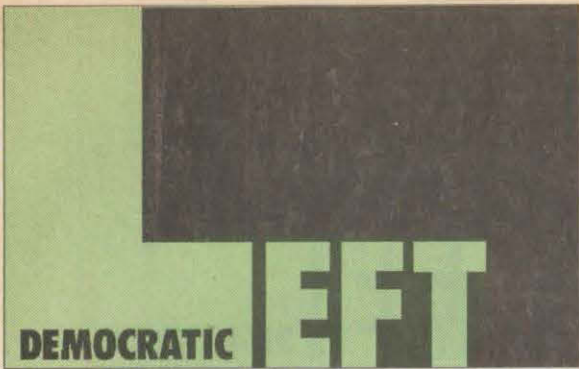


A Separate Peace



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A SEPARATE PEACE

Bogdan Denitch on What's Right and Wrong with the Dayton Accords

Editorial:
The Budget Battle

Understanding
Crime Hysteria

Feminism
After Beijing

The Canadian Left
Regroups

The 1995
DSA Convention

and
more...

DSA's 1996-97 Activist Agenda

*(as adopted by the 1995 National Convention;
see related article on p. 12)*

DSA's activist agenda is drawn from three sources: our long-term strategy and program as laid out in the Political Perspectives Document; the current political work of our locals and activists; and an analysis of recent political developments favorable to the emergence of a next Left. The main components of this two-year activist agenda are:

1 Opposition to the legislative and populist program of the reactionary Republicans, with a special emphasis on beating back the assault on the civil rights of people of color.

2 Promotion of our economic insecurity project as a central way to present an alternative, progressive program. This includes continued work on health care as a key ingredient of such a progressive program.

3 Initiation of an international labor rights and domestic right-to-organize project in conjunction with the AFL-CIO and affiliated unions that directly targets transnational corporations to build anti-corporate coalitions in the United States and to promote cross-border citizen/labor alliances.

4 Implementation of an electoral program in 1996 that targets a small number of Congressional races, either defending genuine progressives in re-election campaigns and/or supporting genuine progressives in meaningful attempts to unseat reactionary Republicans or to win open seats.

5 Development of mechanisms to encourage and support the activities of DSA locals as they engage state and local issues. This will include tracking such activities, establishing forums for the exchange of information and experiences among locals, and, from these examples, developing model policies and strategies for dissemination to locals for use in their own communities.

Underlying this activist agenda is the fundamental assumption that class issues are rising to the forefront of American politics. We must emphasize: a broad program of economic justice; greater work with the labor movement; and electoral activity driven heavily by ideological considerations (a war of ideas). But, it also means carrying this agenda out in new ways during this era of global capitalism, welfare-state dismantling, racist and sexist backlash, economic insecurity and declining living standards for the vast majority. That is, we must defend social programs and civil rights because they are necessary for the majority, and infuse the struggles for economic justice with an international dimension. Overall, we have the long-term opportunity to unite the social movements and the labor movement; to bring together identity and class concerns; to forge genuine international alliances against the transnationals; and to raise anew the central question of ownership and control of capital, which is, after all, the *raison d'être* of the socialist Left in general, and DSA in particular.

In our last issue, we promised to bring you another perspective on the Million Man March, as well as an article on prospects for peace in the Middle East in the wake of the assassination of Yitzak Rabin. Due to production difficulties, we were unable to deliver on our promises. Please accept our apologies.

-Eds.

DEMOCRATIC

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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--that together can elevate global justice over brutalizing global competition.

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cover: Muslim refugees in Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, awaiting assistance from the Islamic Relief Organization. Photo by Teun Voeten/Impact Visuals.

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Sizing Up the Political Scene

BY JOANNE BARKAN

The presidential primaries have rolled 'round again (which certainly proves that time flies even when you're not having fun). Remember how pundits scoffed at the Democratic candidates during the 1992 race, calling them the Seven Dwarfs? This season, some commentators deride the Republican hopefuls as pygmies. Meanwhile—to switch to the laudatory end of the size metaphor—the incumbent President hopes to stand out among his challengers as a moral giant.

To prove his superior stature, Clinton cites the long battle over a balanced federal budget. Didn't he defend the elderly, the disabled, and all poor children by insisting on smaller cuts in Medicare and Medicaid than those proposed by Republicans? Didn't he stand firm for principles of fairness and justice? But how does anyone stand firm when there's absolutely nothing around but hot air?

The "balanced budget in x years" is a myth, a hoax, and the cruelest of machinations. No one can predict what economic growth, inflation, and interest rates will be over, say, seven years. Economists can't predict exact numbers from month to month. They don't even agree on how to measure something like inflation. Yet small shifts in an index translate into hundreds of billions of dollars because the budget amounts to trillions. Lower your guess about the consumer price index by one half of one percent over seven years and—*presto!*—you've just added \$110 billion to revenues and savings.

The battle over "silly" numbers masks, of course, the old but deadly serious Republican agenda: shrink government, dismantle the welfare state, and lower taxes for the Republican elite. What differentiates 1996 from 1992 is that Bill Clinton has now acquiesced to much of the Republican plan.

The 1992 candidate advocated government investments to "grow the economy" out of the red. The 1996 incumbent agreed to play "let's pretend to balance the budget" by slashing government spending. The 1992 candidate proposed transforming federal welfare into a vast jobs program complete with health insurance, child care, and job placement in the public sector if private-sector employment wasn't found. The 1996 incumbent (still waffling) seems to have accepted the notion that the federal government can abandon welfare to the states to do what they will. And so on.

Having surrendered so much to the Republican congressional majority by late 1995, Clinton held fast to what remained (not much). When his ratings in the polls rose, he held on even tighter. All the while, the pundits talked about the significant philosophical differences underlying the budget struggle. But does a brawl over phoney numbers in an unpredictable budget constitute a dispute about principles? Does standing firm as long as the positive ratings hold up qualify as a moral stance? Alas, the 1996 electoral season is not shaping up to be a clash of the titans.

Joanne Barkan is a New York writer.

A Peace to End All Peace

Making Sense of the Dayton Accords

BY BOGDAN DENITCH

There was no happy ending to the Dayton talks, which promised a cessation of the wars in the former Yugoslavia and the restoration of a rather odd Bosnian state. Such an ending could only have been provided by sending all three signatories, or at least Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, on a one-way flight to the Hague tribunal to stand trial for war crimes.

Instead, Tudjman remains "our son of a bitch," whose army the United States built and trained to the point that it could engage in its own massive "ethnic cleansing," followed by wholesale looting, murder, and arson in the Serbian-majority areas of the Krajina and western Bosnia. Serbia's Milosevic, who started the whole process of disintegration of Yugoslavia and invented "ethnic cleansing" of the undesired national groups from conquered territories, has been promoted to the role of key peacemaker and guarantor of stability in the area. And as Bosnia President Alija Izetbegovic's government becomes ever more Islamic and less capable of representing the other communities of Bosnia, we increase our support for it. The Bosnian government, with its back against the wall in 1992-93, used Islamic fundamentalist volunteers from the Middle East and Afghanistan, who have since committed systematic crimes against the non-Muslim population and terrified the secular Bosnian Muslims, and who will make miserable the life of any peacemakers.

We keep forgetting that victims are just that - victims. That does not necessarily make them the good guys. To be sure, the media have helped us forget this distinction. They have passionately identified with the victims, particularly with a cosmopolitan, multicultural Sarajevo, which has been all but destroyed by the four years of war. The reporters' justified revulsion against the brutalities, murders, and rapes committed by the Serbian militias during the ethnic cleansing at the out-

set of the Bosnian war and the massacre of undisclosed numbers of Muslim male captives after the conquest of Srebrenica this year have made them overlook, or at least underplay, the crimes of the Croatian and Muslim forces. One could hardly learn from U.S. media that the Croat Bosnian "state" of Herceg-Bosna has carried out an almost total and very brutal ethnic cleansing of both Serbs and Muslims in the area under its control. This came to light, and then very dimly, only when the Hague war-crimes tribunal indicted the Bosnian Croat military and political leaders for war crimes last November. Our "ally" Tudjman reacted promptly to the indictments - by promoting one major indictee, Tihomir Blaskic, to be Inspector General of Croatian Armed Forces. He also appointed the new commander of the Croatian Armed Forces in Bosnia, in one stroke illustrating how much respect Croatia has for Bosnian sovereignty and who is in charge of, and thus responsible for, the behavior of the Croat militias in Bosnia.

The U.S. media have failed to give any detailed coverage of the exodus of close to 200,000 Serbian civilians from the Croat Krajina region, or to the mass shelling of civilian targets, or to the large-scale murder of old people left behind. I ran across freshly murdered old men and women as late as four weeks after the military operation in villages where massive looting and arson were destroying three-quarters of the remaining houses. The Croat authorities have indicted some very small fry for these crimes, which were so widespread that they were clearly a part of a campaign to make any return of refugees unimaginable.

While it is increasingly difficult to identify any "good guys" in this dirty war, the Bosnian Mus-

We keep forgetting that victims are just that - victims. This does not necessarily make them the good guys.

lims are clearly the biggest losers and victims. They have been subjected to most of the brutal forced evictions from ancestral homes, rapes, and killings, although it is so often forgotten that there are 400,000 Croat and 800,000 Serbian refugees from Bosnia as well. Moderately well-informed followers of our media would know little of these complexities. Nor would they have any way of knowing that the Izetbegovic government, while recognized by the international community, rests on a fragile foundation of democratic legitimacy. Izetbegovic was never elected president of Bosnia. Rather, he was elected a member of a five-person collective presidency and assumed power arbi-

trarily representing only his own, explicitly Muslim party. While the Bosnian Serbs started the war and committed most of the atrocities, they did have a case, which the media consistently ignored. The multiethnic state of Bosnia was based on an understanding that non of the three ethnic groups could be outvoted on a matter of major interest. The vote to set up an independent state was taken against the almost total opposition of the Serbian community, which represented one-third of the population.



Donna Binder/Impact Visuals

Women in front of their home in Brest, Croatia, a target of mortar fire during the war.

The assumption behind the recognition of Bosnia in 1991 was that the breakup of Yugoslavia was desirable. Surely after all that has passed, that is an assumption that deserves to be questioned. Still, Humpty Dumpty did fall off the wall, and the question is what to do now.

Bosnia—which has not existed as an independent state since the fifteenth century—is to be a contradictory state, simultaneously unified and divided into two parts (really three, since the Bosnian-Croat Federation is a fiction made entirely in the USA and likely to break down at any moment). This Bosnia of two parts with a very weak central government is to receive massive, mostly European, aid for reconstruction. The Dayton agreement also has some morally

desirable but pretty utopian features. It affirms the right of all refugees to return in safety and dignity to their homes—unlikely so long as regional warlords keep control of local armies and authorities. The proviso that all citizens can move anywhere they desire is similarly unlikely to be realized so long as the borders between the two Bosnias are treated as real frontiers. Further, if the central government is to function at all, if it is to receive any credits and aid, it must have substantial authority over economic matters, over currency and customs at the very least. This is most improbable, first because the Serbs fear, not unreasonably, that if the central government has this authority it will discriminate against them; second, because the Croats do not wish to relinquish their iron control over customs on every overland route into Bosnia and will keep taking a cut that nowadays approaches 50 percent of everything. Moreover, the Croat part of Bosnia is

fully integrated economically with Croatia proper.

Nevertheless, an attempt will be made to rebuild a Bosnia. It is to be put on its feet with the friendly help of the largest NATO armed force to date, in which the United States will be the senior partner by contributing forces totaling 20,000 men and women. And marvel of marvels, this daunting job is to be accomplished in one short year so that the U.S. troops will be out of harm's way in time to help re-elect President Clinton, who is responsible for this modern-day miracle of peacemaking and nation-building.

And yet, and yet . . . after all the reservations and all the premonitions of disaster, one also has to say that the end to the conflict is a good thing, and that the alternatives to this peace were all worse, some much worse. Moreover, the U.S. campaign that led to the Dayton settlement marked a welcome reversal of policy. Previously, the United States had repeatedly blocked offered peace agreements and encouraged the Sarajevo government to hold out for a better deal. This prolonged the fighting and the suffering of the peoples of Bosnia for at least two years. During this time, we constantly sniped at the Europeans and the United Nations for failing to be "robust" enough, while refusing to place any of our troops into the peacekeeping contingent. The United States cannot keep claiming



Teun Voeten/Impact Visuals

that its "boys and girls" in uniform (in reality, a volunteer professional army composed of people who chose this career) are somehow more precious than their French, Pakistani, Danish, Dutch, Spanish or British counterparts. We cannot insist on a policy that greatly increases the risks for the peacekeepers on the ground without sharing the risk. At least, we cannot do that and maintain a leading role in NATO.

For all these reasons, and above all because continued ethnic carnage is destabilizing the region and offers a horrible example to all other nationalist thugs who dislike the existing demographic picture in their own countries and want to change it by force, we need to help end the war in Bosnia and the former Yugoslavia.

While supporting the Dayton agreements, ramshackle and contradictory though they may be, there are three things I believe need to be changed if there is to be any real peace.

First, the United States has to stop treating this as a mini-Versailles, where victors dictate to losers. It did not work the first time. If Serbs are treated as Germans were after World War I, then we are merely guaranteeing that the Serbs will turn to revenge at the first opportunity. That is why we must insist on punishment of all war criminals and stop playing obvious favorites. We need to distance ourselves from our excessive identification with the present Croat regime and from the day-to-day policies in Sarajevo.

Second, it is a stupid if not criminal idea to lift the arms embargo on the whole area after six months, as is currently proposed. There is far too much military hardware in the area already. If possible, we should try to demilitarize the region.

Third, it is impossible to do that which the United States proposes – to be impartial and to build up the Bosnian government armed forces. The United States cannot be the peacemaker and take sides, even though the side we take is the least bad. For one thing, it makes the United States too vulnerable to provocations from the Bosnian side. It also relieves the Bosnian government from making much-needed concessions to the Serbs who will come under its authority in the Sarajevo area. To prevent a mass exodus, the Bosnians will have to offer an amnesty to those who merely served in the Serbian Armed Forces and did not commit war crimes. What cannot be restored is any kind of sound multiethnic state. That state – it was called Yugoslavia – did exist. It exists no longer.

What now needs to happen is to create conditions under which these pipsqueak mini-states, each of them barely viable, can develop a reasonable coexistence and borders sufficiently soft that they are not a constant source of conflict. These nations will need to compete economically and stop playing games with communications routes that the Europeans want to keep open. In short, we need a peace that will result in some kind of Scandinavianization of the area, where independent states have normal relations and borders are permeable and de-emphasized – not Berlin walls. The softer the borders, the less it will matter on which side of the frontier you find yourself. All we are saying is give peace a chance.

Bogdan Denitch, an Honorary Chair of DSA, is the author of The Death of Yugoslavia (University of Minnesota Press). This essay originally appeared in the LA Weekly.

**Children playing
in war-torn
Sarajevo.**

Rage and Retribution

The Emotional Logic of Crime Hysteria

BY LYNN CHANCER AND PAMELA DONOVAN

No, I'm not going to vote for Dinkins: I want a mayor who's going to be the mayor of all the people, not just the blacks and minorities who are committing all the crimes . . . You voted for Jackson in the primary that time, didn't you? Yeah, you're always on their side. You don't care about the fact that those animals are out there beating people up, mugging people. They should all be in jail, locked up for life."

So pronounced a relative on the occasion of a small family get-together. Most readers (especially white readers) of *Democratic Left* can probably vividly imagine the argument we were having. On one side of the table this relative expressed his deeply interconnected ideas about crime and race, while his face and his body language carried a palpable anger – an anger directed not only at an alleged criminal class but also at "the family liberal" on the other side of the table.

This dinnertime conversation has obvious counterparts in national political debates: more and more of our leaders, regardless of party, are eager to pour money into prisons while our schools continue to decline. Many of these same leaders are sharpening their scapegoating skills, painting whole classes of people – recent immigrants, welfare recipients – as potential violent criminals. What should "the family liberal" on our side of the table say in response?

This essay will argue that liberals and radicals too often respond to crime demagoguery weakly and ineffectively. We tend to focus too narrowly on the literal content of conservative assertions about crime, and to answer with rationalistic arguments. We wheel out statistics to show that the expansion of prisons is ineffective; that some crime policies threaten the Bill of Rights; that violent crime is not really rising; that massive urban unemployment has much to do with violent crime. These rational arguments are valid

and important. But they don't cut to the heart of crime politics: the emotional appeal that best explains crime's centrality to, and success within, a conservative agenda. If we don't understand the full dimensions and textures of popular anger—and if we don't understand and address the mass psychology of scapegoating, punishment, and retribution—our interventions in the crime debate will continue to have only a meager impact.

Consider the national debate on capital punishment. Conservatives tend to argue that executions could have a serious deterrent effect. This argument is, as you probably know, extraordinarily weak: the states that have executed the largest number of people since 1976 (Texas, Virginia, Florida, Louisiana) continue to have per-capita murder rates well above the U.S. average. Conversely, many states with relatively lower numbers of executions (such as Oklahoma, Washington, or Arizona) have murder rates that are a good deal lower than the U.S. average. Finally, and most troublesome for the capital punishment advocate, states with the lowest murder rates have also not executed anyone over the last twenty years (for example, Massachusetts, Iowa, Minnesota, and New Hampshire).

These statistics tell a powerful story. But we believe that opponents of capital punishment won't get very far if this is the only story they tell. For the left needs to respond not only to the surface of conservatives' arguments – their "rational" pronouncements about deterrence – but also to the undercurrents of rage and retribution that underlie the politics of capital punishment. Public opinion data and our personal experience suggest that retribution in and of itself – not beliefs about deterrence – is in fact the strongest cause of popular enthusiasm for capital punishment. Concerns with deterrence or doing away with crime per se appear to be secondary considerations, post facto ra-

tionalizations for what the *New York Times* has described as a "rage to kill those who kill."

What is the nature of this rage, and how does it sustain itself? Let us make a few cautious speculations, drawing on traditions of radical social theory and psychology: Let us say that desires for retribution are afoot in American society not only because of crime itself, but also for causes rooted beyond the borders of criminality—narrowly conceived—that is, in the general insecurities of an anxious middle class about its own economic precariousness, status, and general life situation. Let us also say that these desires for retribution are indirectly and somewhat unreasonably connected with the prevention and deterrence of criminality per se.

If these speculations are valid, there is a possibility that much of the U.S. public may be unconsciously invested in the perpetuation of criminality—and in the demonized/racialized perpetuation of criminalized objects toward whom anger can aim—because a relationship of dependency has thereby come into being. One needs criminals to have an (ironically) legitimate target of rage about whose seemingly intrinsic "badness" we are all in agreement. On the other hand, and beneath the surface of this public consensus, a much less recognized aspect of such identification may also subsist: one may also need criminalized others to project onto them our own illegitimate, hostile, and/or resentful feelings toward the outside world. "Badness" in U.S. culture can be perceived not only as bad (so that we appear good by contrast), but also as a sign of strength and power. It may be an indicator of coolness, a rebellious stance toward the world we are unable or unwilling ourselves to project.

In this regard, the criminal can become an object of fascination—of love and hate, hate and love—because he or she expresses rage directly and openly, whereas observers of crime can do so only in mediated ways: through voting for right-wing candidates who express this rage secondarily, but who express it nonetheless; by spending huge amounts of money on (evidently enjoyable) movies and programs that represent crime graphically and repetitively in varying genres and subgenres (from horror novels to reality programs like *Cops*); through talking about crime in informal settings and becoming emotionally drawn toward increasingly sadistic modes of punishment, including caning, electrification, and capital punishment.

In describing this process of unconscious (or half-conscious) popular identification with criminals, we are not romantically implying that the two—violent acts and violent reactions to those acts—are ethically identical. The former hurts, maims, terrorizes, and kills people; the second contributes less directly, we contend, to the circular maintenance of conditions within which the former occurs and recurs. But as Ellen Willis has written, it's impossible to understand vio-

lent crime without exploring the complexities of a larger social context permeated by experiences of domination and submission.

For many in the U.S., this is of course a time of profound social and economic anxiety. Every day another chunk of the New Deal order is dismantled, and working-class and middle-class workers are left that much more vulnerable to the whims of their employers and of the country's bond holders. A different kind of anxiety is generated by the partial, fragmentary success of feminist and anti-racist movements. As traditional racial and gender hierarchies are challenged (but



F. M. Kearney/Impact Visuals

A recent burglary victim peers through her new security bars.

also reasserted) more energetically each year, many white people and men feel the sting of losing subtle privileges and status. (And everyone on all sides of these conflicts feels the stress of living in an unsettled social order.)

This social and economic anxiety may explain a great deal about our country's current crime obsessions. Radical historians, activists, and criminologists have long noticed a relationship between economic insecurity and the emergence of demonized groups; between chronic social anxieties and the demise of the Weimar Republic, for example, or cyclical political reactions during times of recession/depression in Britain or the U.S. Individuals or individual groups begin to emerge as the sole problem, almost entirely divorced from the social context that has created this demonization or that (as with crime) would help explain the frequency of violent and extremely self- and other-destructive acts in certain contexts, times, and places.

Think of the appeals of "national insecurity" issues more broadly. In a rather obvious case, it is hardly

news to suggest that the sexual obsessions of the right could be read symptomatically: the Swaggert and Bakker scandals of the late 1980s, for example, seem to offer confirmation. Likewise, as Barbara Ehrenreich discussed in *Fear of Falling: The Inner Life of the Middle Class* (1989), resentment over welfare dependency has a relationship to an "anxious class" feeling disengaged from its own work ethic in the wake of a consumerist tidal wave; meanwhile, many people sense their own slipping material horizons. Then, too, hostility toward immigrants fleeing poverty and oppression, in a nation peopled by other versions of the same (the authors' respective families, for instance) is obviously a kind of specialized forgetting. Now that the national "insecurity du jour" is crime, the transgressor's role in the libidinal economy of this particular issue takes shape.

Public investment in retribution for its own sake may correlate with another factor that is not always noticed or associated with the crime issue: the increasing salience of newly politicized evangelicals. Recent sociological research suggests that renewed emphases on personal moral failures over structural or situational explanations of crime are due (in part) to the heightened profile of religious conservative Protestantism in public life. The cultural inheritance of the Western religious tradition on punishment contains an oft-quoted phrase: "an eye for an eye." Consider the particular literalism of the evangelical movement, its already amassed organizational and cultural resources, along with its own compulsive obsession with evil-doing and its need to recover (or shift focus) from recent embarrassments over sexual corruption in its own

ranks. This is a perfect setting for a home-grown authoritarianism aimed at a less controversial, insofar as externalized, target: criminals.

Since the left-leaning criminological tradition has long since confronted and dismantled its own interest in the romantic criminal figure, it may be easy to forget that this figure still plays a powerful, albeit stealthy, role in the dominant culture's handling of criminality. The American fascination with criminality typically pits the family man, who accepts the "burdens" of socialization and collectivity, against the lone wolf, who has finally cut loose of social bonds and heads for a prairie sunset of the heat, danger, and anonymity of the highway. This imaginary figure draws heavily on the violent Wild West frontier idea, as well as on the idea of "snapping" or "losing it," in which an individual with an otherwise unremarkable psychological profile erupts in an orgy of violence and atavism.

Consider how cultural identification with criminals operates when "reality-based" television programs use "perpetrator-view" camera angles when they re-enact crimes. In the fall of 1993, *America's Most Wanted* used an opening credit sequence in which the imputed viewer is the object of cops in riot gear, a zooming patrol car, a descending helicopter, and finally a blinding camera flash taking "your" mug shot. Similarly, when that same program re-enacted fugitive FBI agent Brad Bishop's apparent murder of his entire family in Maryland in the 1970s, the viewer visually accompanied Brad the entire way to witness the look of terror as "our own" arm and fist — grasping a heavy hammer — crossed the face of each victim. This sequence

Schools, Not Jails: Challenging the Prison/ Industrial Complex

- In 1980, there were approximately five hundred thousand Americans behind bars; today there are one and a half million. In 1980, an additional two and a half million were under supervision by departments of probation or parole; by 1995, the number had jumped to five million.

- The situation is particularly stark in communities of color, whose members make up 64 percent of the prison population. It is estimated that one of every three young African-American men is presently under some form of correctional control.

- In 1980, the nation spent approximately six billion dollars on prisons; today we spend over thirty billion. The average prison bed costs fifty thousand dollars to construct, another hundred thousand to finance, and an additional twenty thousand dollars each year to run.

- Corrections—which has a payroll of over five hundred thousand, and which indirectly employs hundreds of thousands more—has become a gigantic jobs program. Booming corrections budgets have spurred the proliferation of a private corrections industry providing everything from sharper razor wire to private "for profit" facilities that now house some thirty thousand inmates.

- To fund the construction and operation of prisons, legislators have been forced to divert funding from other forms of social spending. In California, for example, corrections spending is increasing at a rate twice the remainder of the budget. If new laws are fully implemented, by the year 2000 only 1 percent of the budget will remain available for California's system of higher education. —K.P.

**The Prison
Moratorium
Project—a
nationwide call
for a
moratorium on
prison-building,
initiated by the
DSA Youth
Section—is
designed to
raise these
questions
publicly. For
more
information,
contact Kevin
Pranis c/o the
DSA national
office.**



Jim West/Impact Visuals

was accompanied by “interiorized” heavy and rhythmic breathing.

Romancing the outlaw partly explains the desire not to speak of violent crime in social terms. Such romanticism suggests a loss of independent will or especially of the personal control that keeps a lid on our “dark sides.” Anyone who has been the victim of a personal crime knows firsthand that the loss of personal control animates one’s internal process of working it through in ways that do not strictly correspond to the objective harm or threat. There is something deeply satisfying, then, about dealing with the problem in terms of individual willfulness, individual violation, and individual apprehension; it reinvigorates our sense of control, both personal and other-directed.

The arguments we have presented are only sketches; the left needs to do much more hard thinking about the social psychology of rage and retribution before it will be able to produce a comprehensive new approach to crime. But we believe the left ignores these questions at its peril. Think again of how we might respond to the dinner-table argument at this essay’s beginning. Part of the reason why the left’s rationalistic arguments about crime seem to slip right off the table as soon as they are offered is precisely because we come off as so cool-headed and logical, so emotionally distant. This leaves the impression that we are only barely enraged by crime, seemingly weak-kneed, incapable of providing a different conceptual language through which general social insecurities, fears, anxieties, and anger might be expressed with less reactionary consequences.

But even when we do provide such a different conceptual language, making our arguments will not be easy. For some of the attitudes and feelings we must address are experienced by their very character as illegitimate. It’s not easy to talk about the impulse to identify with criminals, or the urge to punish criminals in outrageous and sadistic ways – because people have a strong tendency to repress and deny the existence of these very feelings. (And we’ll have to tread cautiously here – some radicals have a bad history of using accusations of “false consciousness” to ridicule and manipulate people.) But however difficult they may be, we must begin these public conversations. Arguments, both emotional and rational in sensitivity and persuasiveness, need to be made, and the sooner the better. The hauntingly mirror-like relation that interlocks criminalized individuals and a society of criminalization begs to be taken seriously if decreasing violence is indeed what is at stake. In the contemporary climate, not only crime, but also the seductions of punishment must be pondered more deeply than ever.

*Lynn Chancer teaches sociology at Barnard College and is the author of the forthcoming *Provoking Assaults: Gender, Race, and Culture in High Profile Crimes* (University of California Press). Pam Donovan teaches sociology at Queens College. Both authors are DSA members, and both are members of the planning committee of the Socialist Scholars Conference.*

*A longer version of this essay appears in the Fall 1995 issue of *Social Justice*.*

Mothers of children killed by gunfire hold a weekly vigil in Detroit.

Bold New Directions for DSA:

BY ALAN CHARNEY

Under the theme of "Building the Next Left," the delegates at DSA's 1995 National Convention took several bold steps to prepare our organization for the political challenges ahead. The Convention was devoted to improving DSA's capacity to help rebuild a powerful progressive movement in the United States. The delegates debated and approved in principle a new Political Perspectives Document — the first major revision of our viewpoint since DSA's founding in 1982. They adopted an Activist Agenda for the next two years that combines a program for combatting the reactionary right with a program for shaping the next left. They considered some necessary changes in DSA's organization and internal culture so that our political work can be carried out more effectively. These changes will include bringing on regional organizers and a political director in Washington; setting up a radical institute for getting our ideas into the mainstream media and countering the right wing's message; and opening up participation and decision-making to the Youth Section and our younger activists.

This Convention, held just outside Washington, D.C. during the weekend of November 10-12, was also a celebration of radical values and socialist vision. On Friday evening, D.C./Maryland/Northern Virginia DSA hosted a Breaking Bread event featuring DSA Honorary Chairs Cornel West and Barbara Ehrenreich. Nearly six hundred people attended the event, which was also broadcast nationally on Pacifica Radio and on C-SPAN. The event's free-flowing dialogue among DSA leaders and progressive activists from the D.C. area focused on the theme of building multi-racial alliances for social and economic justice.

On Saturday evening, three generations of DSAers — Dorothy Healey, Richard Healey, and Youth Organizer Carmen Mitchell — told their stories about sustaining commitment and activism, even in the most difficult of times. (Indeed, the entire Convention had a strong intergenerational character — over sixty members of the Youth Section, from campuses throughout the country, were present.)

The Political Perspectives Document was the centerpiece of the weekend's deliberations. DSA's founding document, "Where We Stand," was written in early 1982, just at the beginning of the Reagan period. The full extent of the conservative "counterrevolution" was not predicted at that time. The trends to-

ward the globalization of capital and the spread of economic insecurity had not been revealed in their true depth. The collapse of communism and the crisis of European social democracy were still on the horizon. Our new Perspectives Document is framed on the basis of these immense changes and affirms a revitalized socialist vision, strategy, and program.

This reinvigorated socialism puts greater emphasis on economic democracy at the bottom than public ownership at the top. It balances the competing needs of democratic planning and environmental sustainability with efficiencies of market allocation. It recognizes the pivotal role of social movements, especially anti-racism, feminism, environmentalism, and lesbian/gay liberation, in setting a social justice agenda — at the same time that it looks toward a majoritarian anti-corporate movement based on the questions of declining wages and economic insecurity. It affirms the crucial role of international cooperation among unions and democratic social movements in regulating the transnational corporations. Such international solidarity is no longer a utopian dream; it is a crucial practical necessity. The document also calls for an enhanced government activism through progressive taxation, sharply curtailed military expenditures, and expanded social programs to address our society's outrageous and growing inequality. Finally, it declares that the only way that democracy and pluralism can survive in this era of global capitalism and reactionary elites is through building a new progressive movement sustained by socialist vision and values.

The Convention's delegates also debated and approved a two-year Activist Agenda [see p.2] that lays out specific steps DSA must take to work toward the broad goals laid out in the Political Perspectives Document. Underlying this Activist Agenda is the fact that class issues — driven by declining wages and rising economic insecurity — are rising to the forefront of U.S. politics. John Sweeney, the new president of the AFL-CIO (and a DSA member), has stated that falling wages must become a central issue in the 1996 elections. The DSA Activist Agenda addresses this concern by promoting a broad campaign for economic justice that brings together the new AFL-CIO, the social movements combatting the Contract With America and right-wing scapegoating, and progressive members of Congress.

The 1995 National Convention

The Convention was a laboratory for the discussion and planning of ways to carry out this Activist Agenda. Key to this process will be strengthening DSA's locals by bringing on regional organizers who can mobilize the membership, recruit new activists, and coordinate locals' political activities. Delegates from California, New England, and the Midwest came together to figure out how to make this happen as soon as possible. At the same time, the proposal of the National Political Committee to create a Political Director position in Washington was widely discussed. The creation of such a position will allow DSA to coordinate its local activities more directly with our national allies, including the AFL-CIO and the House Progressive Caucus. It will put us more directly on the national political map. DSA activists in D.C. have already begun extensive fundraising to help underwrite this position. Also, DSA's Labor Commission, which had fallen on hard times, was reinvigorated at this Convention, and has set itself a challenging agenda for 1996, including a May national conference in Chicago and a project to promote the AFL-CIO's proposed "Solidarity Summer" of one thousand young organizers.

Equally important to making the Activist Agenda work is our need to put the ideas and programs of the left back into public discourse and to challenge the deceptive and facile rhetoric of the right. This was a theme that ran through the Convention. The Breaking Bread event gave us the opportunity to present our politics on national media, but made it even more obvious that this media outreach must be a continuous process. On the Saturday morning of the Convention, DSA Youth Organizer Carmen Mitchell debated the field coordinator of Newt Gingrich's GOPAC on C-SPAN. She gave an articulate and dignified presentation of our politics, and it was universally agreed that she trounced her right-wing opponent. (In the weeks after the Convention, the national office received dozens of letters from people around the country thanking us for presenting an "alternative" viewpoint to mainstream opinion.)

To carry forward the battle of ideas, over forty Convention delegates met to discuss the new "think tank" project (its name hasn't yet been chosen) being spearheaded by Wayne State University Professor Ron Aronson. This project is designed to be a network of

academics, activists, and media professionals concerned about getting radical values and policy proposals into mainstream political debates. First, we will need to help provide our activists with the intellectual ammunition to promote our ideas and confront the conservative propaganda machine. This will be done by training DSAers and other progressives to produce radio and public-access television shows and to debate conservatives in the media. Second, this project brings together radical activists and radical intellectuals to develop position papers and policy alternatives so that we can turn our ideas into action. For example, the project might develop draft legislation for the House Progressive Caucus or work with the AFL-CIO and other organizations on new projects.

Despite all this forward momentum, we must be honest and recognize there is a long way to go before our socialist vision and radical democratic agenda can be part of the American mainstream. If we are to make any serious headway, there must be a radical renewal and expansion of our membership. That's why the participation of the Youth Section at the Convention was so important. These are the future activists and leaders of DSA, and they must have full participation in the life of our organization now. The convention delegates recognized this and elected a National Political Committee with several new members, most of whom are under thirty. But that's just the beginning. We must make renewed efforts to increase the number of people of color and women in our activist ranks. And we must make every effort to deepen our alliances with key progressive organizations. We need much more interaction between the leaders and activists of these groups and DSAers.

Although the profound decline of liberalism has left a gaping leadership vacuum, both organizationally and ideologically, the steps taken at this DSA Convention demonstrate that our organization is preparing to help fill this vacuum with a new agenda and sense of purpose.

Alan Charney is DSA National Director. David Glenn contributed to this article.

NPC VACANCIES

Two seats reserved for women remain open on DSA's National Political Committee. Per DSA's constitution, one vacancy must be filled by a woman of color. Nominations, including self-nominations, should be forwarded to the national office by March 1.

DSA YOUTH SECTION

Winter Retreat

February 16-18

Oberlin College

Workshops, Fun & Frolics

Call Carmen Mitchell at 212.727.8610 for more info

The 1996-97 DSA National Political Committee

DSA's primary political leadership is the National Political Committee (NPC), a twenty-four person body elected every two years by delegates to the National Convention. Every DSA local is entitled to send a certain number of delegates to the National Convention, based upon the local's size. There are also "at-large" delegates to represent areas where there are no active locals.

The DSA Constitution requires that at least half of the NPC's members be women, and that at least six of the NPC's members be people of color.

The NPC guides and leads the implementation of DSA's major political and organizational goals, which are broadly defined every two years by the delegates to the National Convention. The NPC gives instructions to the national staff about how to carry forward DSA's day-to-day work. The NPC also creates task forces and

committees to guide particular areas of DSA's political work.

The DSA Constitution gives the NPC the power to charter DSA locals and commissions, as well as DSA's Youth Section.

The NPC conducts weekend-long meetings three or four times each year. The NPC also elects a five-person NPC Steering Committee, which meets more frequently, both in person and by conference call.

The minutes of the meetings of the NPC and the NPC Steering Committee are circulated through the organization in "key list" mailings, which are sent each month to DSA's Honorary Chairs and to the leaders of DSA's locals, commissions, and Youth Section chapters. (Any other DSA member may receive these "key list" mailings by sending a request to the national office.) The minutes of these meetings are also published in DSA's discussion bulletin, *Socialist Forum*.

Theresa Alt/Ithaca, NY
Shoshana Bricklin/Philadelphia, PA
Dominic Chan/Brooklyn, NY
Rachel Dewey/Princeton, NJ
Tom Ellett/Sparta, WI
Lynne Engelskirchen/Santa Monica, CA
Julia Fitzgerald/Brooklyn, NY
Karen Marie Gibson/Brooklyn, NY
David Glenn/Brooklyn, NY
Jeff Lacher/Dayton, NJ
José LaLuz/San Juan, PR
Frank Llewellyn/Brooklyn, NY
Anne McCormick/Washington, DC
William McIver, Jr./Lafayette, CO
Steve Oliver/Brooklyn, NY
Loretta Schuman/Washington, DC
Joe Schwartz/Ithaca, NY
Pat Sexton/New York, NY
Kurt Stand/Washington, DC
Steve Tarzynski/Santa Monica, CA
Eric Vega/Sacramento, CA
Juanita Webster/New York, NY

The reserved

Youth Section Seat

continues to be shared by Raybblyn Vargas and Daraka Larimore-Hall.

Beyond Beijing

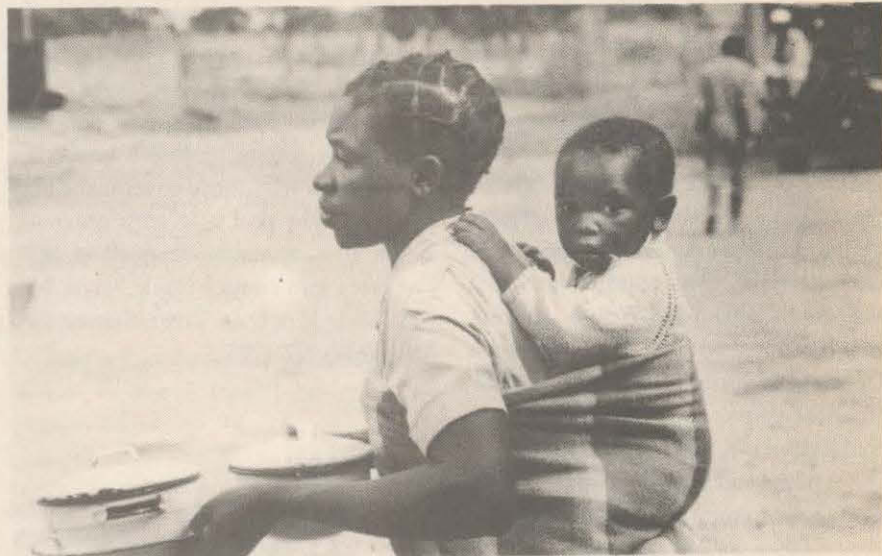
BY MIRIAM BENSMAN

It was like a huge women's conference in the mud," says DSA'er Pat Mann of the Non-Governmental Organizations ("NGO") Forum on women held outside Beijing in October 1995. Some 30,000 women from around the world, including 5,000 Chinese women, representing more than 3,000 women's organizations, gathered in a hastily built conference center of tents in Huirao. The polyglot gathering, many dressed in traditional clothing and selling traditional crafts, shared ideas and organizing strategies on how best to pressure the Fourth UN Conference on Women, which was simultaneously underway in Beijing. The NGO Forum was living proof that feminism is not merely an issue for the privileged, mostly white women of Europe and the U.S.

"As recently as 1985, in Africa and the Arab states it was hard to find women to talk to, they were so scared," notes Rose Arungu-Olende, the conference's African liaison officer, who spoke with Mann and DSA'er Judith Lorber at a New York DSA forum in December, 1995. "This time, you had to tell them, 'You've said enough.'"

That's not to say the gathering was explicitly feminist, notes Lorber, who represented the Sociologists for Women in Society at the NGO Forum. Perhaps not surprisingly, a solid minority of the representatives were outspoken in opposition to reproductive rights; many were traditional Middle Eastern women, accompanied by their families and by male, official representatives of their governments.

"Family values prevailed," Lorber says. "The gender analysis was for economic political power and for self-esteem, and not about sex. Both the NGO Forum and the UN conference tended to talk about human rights more than women's rights, which subsumed the ways in which women are specifically exploited



Bruce Paton/Impact Visuals

Simukai Farming Cooperative, Zimbabwe. Most women's labor worldwide is unquantified and unrecognized by economists.

and devalued and oppressed.

"But we learned that what can unite women around the world is questions of women's economic status," she adds.

Another unifying theme was opposition to violence against women. "Domestic violence in the US is now such a notorious problem," Mann notes, that women in Africa and the Middle East fighting female genital mutilation weren't worried about getting condescending support from the U.S. Female genital mutilation, bride-burning in India, female infanticide in China and wife-beating were all considered in the broader context of violence against women.

"What I learned in Beijing is that changes in kinship structure and economic roles are global, but the benefits and disadvantages are variable," Mann adds. "We can be quite hopeful about the status of women, but have to recognize the growing power of capital."

The UN Conference itself broke little new ground, Arungu-Olende observed; because UN conferences producing documents that require the consensus of 187 governments tend to move slowly. But its focus on poverty, education, health, violence against women, armed

conflict, the economic structure, the power structure, human rights, media and education, and the girl child reflected the influence that the NGOs and women activists have brought to bear over the past few years. "Since 1985, the women's NGO's have not left the UN in peace, they kept reminding the UN what hasn't been done," observes Arungu-Olende.

Significantly, most every country submitted a report on the progress on the status of women since the last UN conference on women, in Nairobi. In the past, usually only 30 to 40 countries submitted progress reports.

In at least two crucial respects, however, the UN Platform for Action was revolutionary: It called for women's right to say no to sexual relations, even with their husbands, and for women's freedom to choose whether and when they would have children.

It also recognized that a great deal of the work of the world is the unwaged work of women. Notes Lorber: "That's a crucial socialist feminist analysis."

Miriam Bensman is a writer and long-time DSA activist.



by Harry Fleishman

ALASKA

Working as part of a progressive community coalition, Fairbanks DSA activists organized for recent borough and school board elections. The coalition surveyed residents by telephone to find out why voter turnout remains so low. They then waged a 4,000 voter "get out the vote" telephone campaign which successfully countered right-wing attempts to capture the school board and to defeat a proposal for a bond issue to support library expansion.

CALIFORNIA

More than 300 Bay Area residents turned out for a public hearing on jobs and economic insecurity in San Francisco on November 11. Co-sponsored by San Francisco DSA and the Full Employment Coalition, the event featured Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi and Congressman Ron Dellums as keynote speakers. Testifiers included Bertram Gross, co-author of HR 1050, "A Living Wage, Jobs for All Act" as well as representatives from the San Francisco Labor Council, Chinese for Affirmative Action, the San Francisco Private Industry Council, the Coalition for Economic Equity, and the American Friends Service Committee.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston DSA and its allies have formed the Committee on Economic Insecurity and are gearing up for Boston's public hearing on economic insecurity. The hearing will be held January 28 from 1-3 PM at historic Faneuil Hall, and Congressmembers Barney Frank and John Olver will participate. Look for more

coverage in the next issue of *Democratic Left*.

DSA'ers across the state are spreading the word about single-payer health care by distributing videotapes of "Your Health Care: Choice or Chance?" to their community channels. The 30-minute videotapes are produced by MASSCARE (Massachusetts Campaign for Single-Payer Health Care). Each tape details some aspect of our worsening health care crisis and explains why single payer is the best solution. The goal is to have programs air on all community channels in MA. For more info contact Gayle Nave, Boston local, 33A Day Street, Somerville, MA. (617) 776-1202.

NEW YORK

Following a highly successful "People's Hearing On Economic Insecurity" held in October, New York City DSA is planning a second public hearing for the spring. This event will focus more specifically on economic insecurity issues as they relate to young people. The local also remains active in the health care arena, fighting to save city public hospitals and pushing for a Consumer's Bill of Rights for recipients of managed care.

PENNSYLVANIA

Reading-Berks Democratic Socialists recently sponsored "Busting Myths...Creating New Realities: A Workshop on America and Where It Should Be Going." Featured sessions included "The Future of Jobs & Unions," "Social Class In America," "Pentagon Spending and the Peace Dividend," and "Understanding Environmental Issues."

Reading-Berks DSA'ers Bob Millar and John Sellers continue to host *Alternative News and Different Views* on Berks Community Television (BC-TV). The show airs live from 8-9 PM on the fourth Monday of each month.

DSA on the Internet: a few points

1 DSA's e-mail address is:
dsa@igc.apc.org.

2 There is a "listserv" mailing list called *dsanet* for members and friends of DSA. To subscribe, send a message to:

dsanet-request@quantum.sdsu.edu.
Your message should contain only the single word "subscribe" (without the quotes). To post messages on *dsanet*, send them to:

dsanet@quantum.sdsu.edu.

3 DSA materials are archived in the Economic Democracy Information Network gopher. The address of this gopher is garnet.berkeley.edu at ports 1250, 1251, or 1252.

4 Thanks to the Herculean efforts of Chicago DSA activist J. Hughes, DSA now has a top-notch site on the World Wide Web. There you can find goodies ranging from *Democratic Left* articles to minutes of National Political Committee meetings to DSA's FBI files. Plus, there are well-organized links to just about every other website on the left. Access us at: <http://ccme-mac4.bsd.uchicago.edu/DSA.html>

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Canada's NDP Regroups

New Leadership Elected

BY KIM WILLIAM JONES

The 1995 New Democratic Party Leadership Convention held in Ottawa in October was a struggle for the soul of the NDP, as centrist forces clashed with those who want to hold the party to its idealistic roots. Some of the party establishment and other members argued in favor of "modernizing" the party; as a member of parliament from Saskatchewan put it, "The world has changed, the workplace has changed, but the party hasn't."

The leadership campaign of Lorne Nystrom, also an MP from Saskatchewan, echoed the call to moderation and asserted that the party should promote a balanced budget. In contrast, Svend Robinson's campaign, in particular, decried this "mushy middle" and rallied those seeking to reaffirm democratic socialist values and a preeminent role for labor in the party.

Canada's left has displayed greater skill at forming coalitions than do we in the U.S. and thus has a stronger infrastructure for rebuilding the Canadian left. Yet the NDP now finds itself in straits almost as dire as those afflicting DSA: the party, despite its rich and respected tradition in Canada, now finds itself marginalized.

The NDP lost official party status in the last election, which restricts its access to both Question Period and to membership on parliamentary committees. It now holds only nine federal seats. A cartoon in a Montreal newspaper, showing masses of people entering to watch a paint-drying exhibition while they ignore an NDP leadership debate being held next door, symbolizes the media view of the NDP as "irrelevant."

The Canadian left is faced with the most profound political conservative

thrust ever in Canada. The federal Liberal government of Prime Minister Jean Craton has embarked on a neo-conservative agenda, but the swing to the right in Canada is personified most sharply by the new Ontario Tory premier Mike Harris. Harris, who defeated the NDP provincial

both nations.

However, the new NDP leader, Alexa McDonough, former party leader in Nova Scotia, is experienced in building a party in unofficial status: she more than doubled the party's federal vote percentage in her home province. She is noted as well for her toughness in forcing the provincial government to institute labor reform and pay equity and to preserve the medicare system, even while the NDP held at most three seats in the Nova Scotia legislature. Her ideological profile is not as sharply defined as Robinson's, although she is thought to be more closely aligned with the party establishment.

The NDP's recent history illustrates the limitations of a purely electoral approach. As international bankers reportedly told Bob Rae, "You don't run your country, WE do!" Reenergizing the social movements is now the priority of both DSA and the NDP. As Elaine Bernard has pointed out, a major factor in the debacle of the Ontario NDP government was its failure to stoke the fires of its movement constituencies. Robinson's faction was most explicit in its desire to rebuild and mobilize the social movements which form the basis of the party, but McDonough also appears to recognize the need to rebuild from the grassroots and to expand the base of the party.

In the face of the rightwing barrage, both DSA and the NDP are faced with the historic challenge of building and holding together a progressive coalition of diverse interests that will nevertheless endorse universal themes, promoting a "universal hope," as author Todd Gitlin has expressed it.

Kim W. Jones is an activist in Chicago DSA.

A major factor in the debacle of the Ontario NDP government was its failure to stoke the fires of its movement constituencies.

government of Bob Rae, is slashing and burning everything in sight in the public sector. No wonder, then, why he is referred to as "Newt of the North." (In fact, Tory campaign staffers were actually recruited from the Gingrich campaign and the Senate campaign of Oliver North.)

The left in both the U.S. and Canada battle the same issues: attacks on the poor and on welfare mothers, cuts in federal subsidies to health care, privatization, deregulation, and the defunding of social programs. The rise of global capital, the polarization of incomes, and generous "corporate wealth-fare" shape the current political landscape in

Ben Wattenberg is right. The battle for public opinion is between the social issues favorable to the right and the economic issues favorable to the left. He's wrong, however, to assert that, in the long run, social issues like crime and family breakdown overshadow economic issues like declining wages and inadequate health care. It's the growing economic insecurity of the majority that fuels the scapegoating of immigrants, welfare mothers, and people of color. And it's the relentless pressure of falling living standards and shrinking job opportunities that destabilizes families and communities.

Economic anxiety is fertile ground both for the rise of racism and xenophobia—and for the acceleration of moral breakdown. Economic insecurity makes certain social issues into wedge issues that reactionary politicians and propagandists, like talk-show hosts and televangelists, can use to drive an agenda based on blaming the victim. Then, they take it one step further and blame government for creating the victims in the first place. This is what they say: there wouldn't be any poverty if there wasn't welfare; or there wouldn't be racism if it wasn't for affirmative action.

So, the right has a crude theory of social psychology. First, people blame themselves for their problems; then they blame other people weaker than they are; finally, they blame people stronger than they are—in this case, politicians and government bureaucrats.

O.K. we'll work with this crude theory. It's the task of the left to get people away from blaming the victim—that's why we put so much emphasis on fighting racism, sexism, xenophobia, and so forth—and get people blaming the actual institutions that produce economic anxiety—the corporations. The relentless globalization of our economy is the driving force behind declining wages and living standards for the majority. It is the major transnational corporations that are leading this global transformation. And the Contract With America is really a program to strengthen corporate control over our economic life by making government a handmaiden to business interests. Thus, the corporations must be the focus of our political attention.

On both counts—the prevalence of economic insecurity and the role of the corporations—the American public is definitely seeing the light. Here is what the November *Times-Mirror* poll had to report about economic anxiety:

People are becoming less and less satisfied with the amount of money they earn, and they are extremely concerned about their future financial security. . . . The public's anxiety level over a whole range of issues central to their lives is considerably higher now than it was in 1994 and *dramatically* higher than it was in 1988.

It's the relentless pressure of falling living standards and shrinking job opportunities that destabilizes families and communities.

Similarly, when it comes to the role of corporations in economic life, public opinion is decidedly anti-corporate. The survey found a deep belief that corporations care little about their customers and employees and too much about stockholders and top executives. Just 4 percent of the public said that corporations put the interests of their employees first and 6 percent said the customer comes first. Most respondents said big companies care primarily about their shareholders (46 percent) and top executives (34 percent). The public would have it otherwise: 31 percent said the customer should come first, 30 percent the employees, 15 percent the stockholders. Only 4 percent believe corporations should put the interests of top executive first. These public views about cor-

porate priorities were largely shared by Republicans, Democrats and Independents alike.

Nowhere is this anti-corporate attitude more prevalent than on the issue of free trade, as the same poll notes:

Additionally, the public has become strikingly disenchanted with the perceived cost, in terms of loss of jobs, of free trade agreements like NAFTA. Almost twice as many now say such agreements hurt the job situation (55 percent). Just a year and a half ago, only 32 percent held that view.

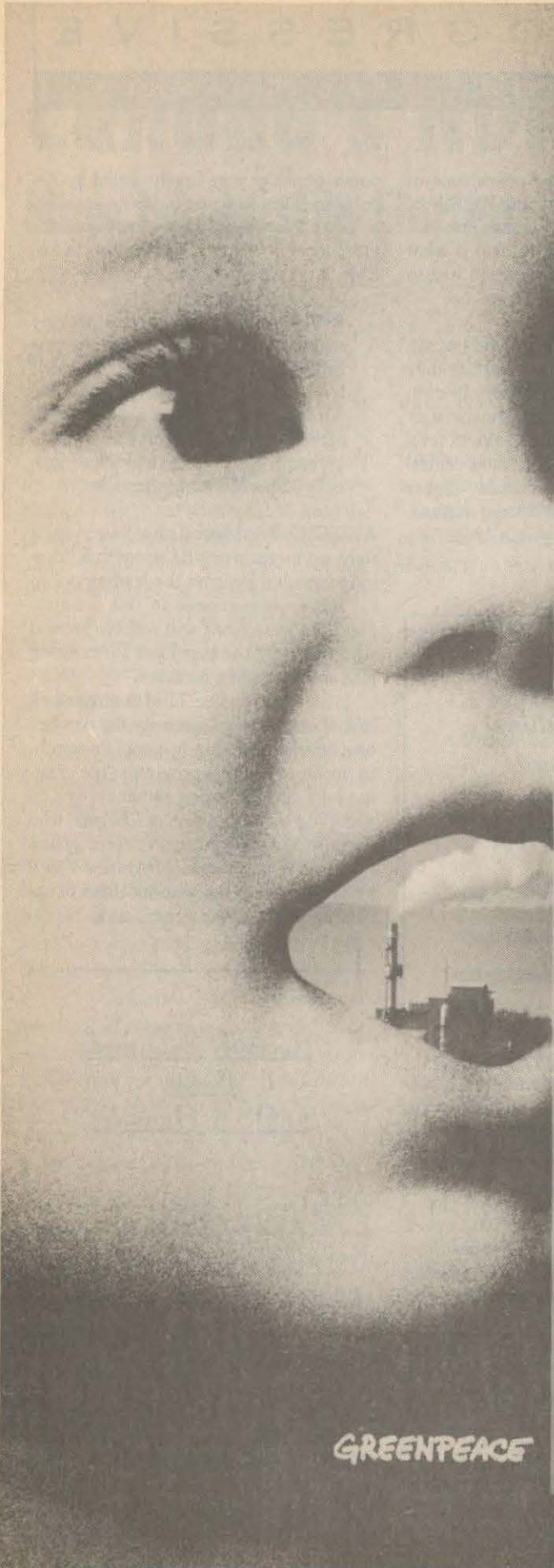
AFL-CIO President John Sweeney is right on target when he states that "raising wages has become the leading political and economic issue in this country. Next years elections will revolve around who can offer the best ideas for creating jobs and increasing incomes."

That's right! The left must work to make economic insecurity the number one, immediate issue in people's minds, to promote positive programs "for creating jobs and increasing incomes" and to elect progressive members of Congress who run on these issues and support these programs.

What are these programs? You'll be hearing much more about them in upcoming issues of *Democratic Left*.

Recently Published Books by DSA Members

- Duane Campbell, *Choosing Democracy: Practical Strategies for Multicultural Education* (Prentice-Hall).
- Michael Schwalbe, *Unlocking the Iron Cage: The Men's Movement, Gender Politics, and American Culture* (Oxford University Press).
- Joseph M. Schwartz, *The Permanence of the Political: A Democratic Critique of the Radical Impulse to Transcend Politics* (Princeton University Press).



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WE FELT LIKE ASKING THE
OWNERS, "DO YOU POISON
YOUR KIDS AT HOME OR DO
YOU JUST DO THIS TO OTHER
PEOPLE'S CHILDREN?"

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