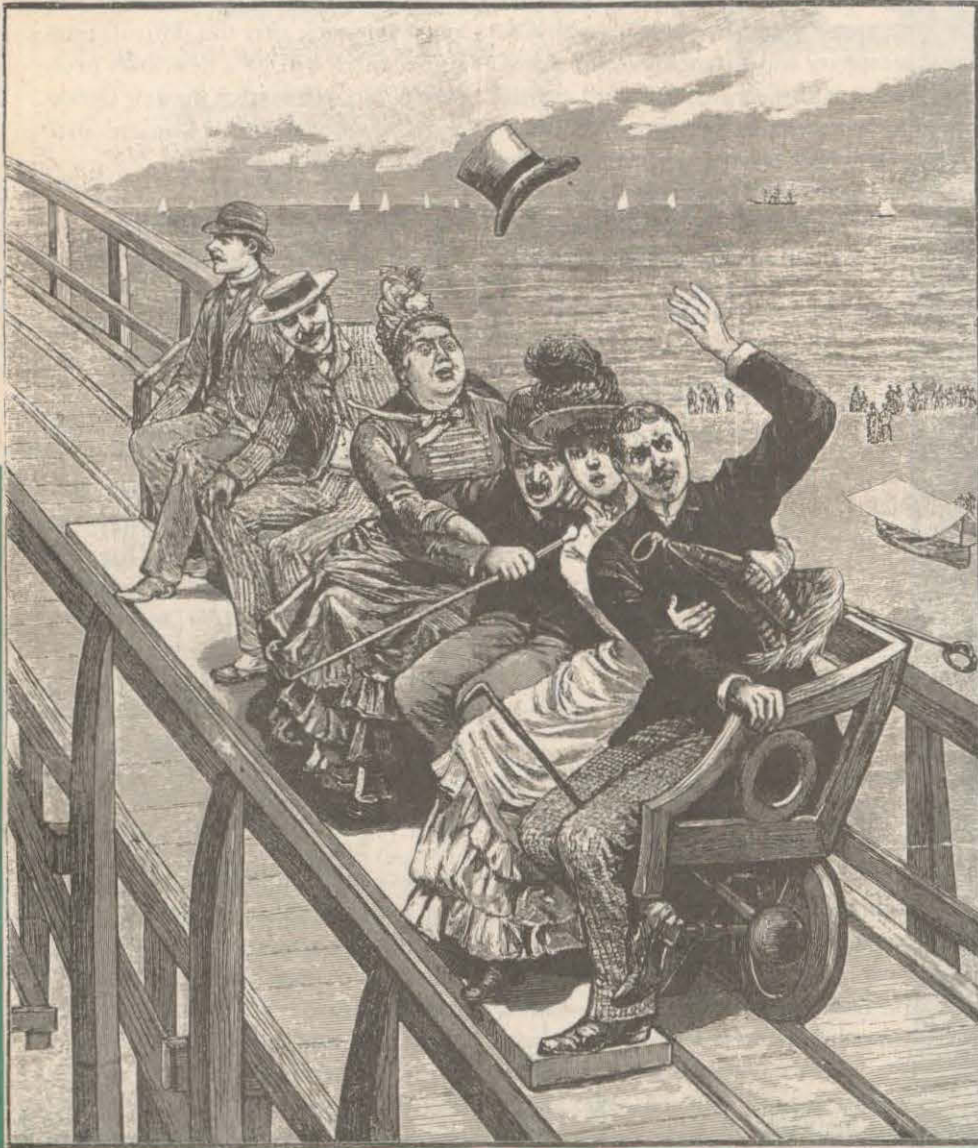


DEMOCRATIC

EFT

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**Unfinished
Business**

**Election Morning
Afterthoughts**

**AND MUCH
MUCH MORE!**

**Conservative Chutzpah,
Radical Democratic Hopes**

In September, the Socialist International held its 20th Congress in New York at the United Nations. Nearly 1000 delegates and observers attended from over 150 democratic socialist, social-democratic and labor parties.

In the post-Communist era, the Socialist International is fast becoming a veritable world parliament of the left. It's not just that former Communist parties, like in Hungary, Poland and Italy, are members. It's also that parties of the left, from moderate to radical, want to participate in an international forum that fosters debate and promotes cooperation, wherever possible, around the most important political issues of the day. Indeed the focus of this 20th Congress was on globalization, human rights, and peace and security, and led to the adoption of a major document in each area.

For DSA, the Congress was an opportunity to widen our international contacts, and to educate other socialists about the special way the democratic left functions in the U. S., particularly in relation to the Democratic Party. It was most surprising to learn that there are major changes going on in some key European parties that greatly resemble those changes taking place in the Democratic Party. The British Labor Party represents perhaps the most blatant case, in which Tony Blair, the new party leader, has deliberately sought to mimic the Clinton - new Democratic - strategy and program. From the name - new Labor - to his moderate program geared to the electoral center, to a heavy emphasis on a presidential, media-driven leadership style, Blair has begun a transformation of the Labor Party that is effectively pushing its union and left constituency base to the margins.

It used to be that the Democratic Party was the exception that proved the rule; that is, the only party of working people in the advanced capitalist world that wasn't an explicitly socialist or labor party. So, Michael Harrington had argued that the most cogent strategy for the democratic left was to turn the Demo-

cratic Party into a social democratic party. But, now the tables are starting to turn. At least in Europe, the still socialist left is beginning to face the same problems that we have been grappling with for many years.

The reason for this turn is quite easy to explain. Social democratic policies, which played a major role in producing post-war, growth economies with mass prosperity and advanced welfare states, have run their course. In a word, capitalism has entered a new period, characterized by globalization and dominated by the transnational corporations, which has made these social democratic policies increasingly difficult to maintain, let alone

*We in the U.S.
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expand. A "neo-liberal" global marketplace presides over a competitive frenzy that generates downward pressures on wages, living standards and working conditions, and makes public expenditures into a liability for corporate-led, economic growth, and not an asset as it was in the period of "welfare" capitalism. The result is structural adjustment - a partial dismantling of the welfare state - whether mandated by the IMF for the less developed nations or required by the EEC through the Maastricht Treaty.

Unfortunately, European socialists have been very slow to respond with an alternative to neo-liberalism. The old social democratic model is truly in crisis, but nothing has been formulated to take its place. So, the stage is set for Tony Blair

and new Labor, and others, who argue that there is no alternative to neo-liberalism except "neo-liberalism with a human face;" They state: the economic adjustments to the global marketplace will be painful for the majority of working people; it is the job of government to soften the blows as much as possible without interfering with the marketplace in any major way; after this difficult transition, there will be a new mass prosperity. No wonder that the new Democrats are a model. This is Clinton's program pure and simple.

This changes the relation of the U.S. left to our socialist allies in Europe and elsewhere. We are no longer the exception that proves the rule. We are fast becoming the rule. We have the most experience dealing with "democratic" neo-liberalism. We are most familiar with the reality of "class struggle" within the Democratic Party, a reality that the democratic left inside major European parties is facing more and more. Yes, class struggle - it's the most apt term I can find. For, whether it was NAFTA or health care reform or welfare, the core constituencies of the Democratic party opposed Clinton and the new Democrats. On NAFTA, a majority of Congressional Democrats voted against NAFTA; 50% voted against the welfare bill.

And, what are the lessons that we are coming to learn? First, there is the need for an articulate alternative to neo-liberalism -- a vision of a democratic economy - to shape our strategic and programmatic direction. Second, our core progressive constituencies and organizations have to organize themselves as an independent political force around an immediate program of economic justice that both speaks to the needs of working people and is linked to this alternative. Third, as an independent political force, we need to oppose the right-wing Republicans, but also contest the new Democrats in Congress, in the Administration, in the Democratic Party, and at the state levels.

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—which together can elevate global justice over brutalizing global competition.

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inside
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Cover: *Coney Island Roller Coaster, 1886*. Illustration from *Grafton's New York in the Nineteenth Century*.

2

Present Progressive
by Alan Charney

4

**Conservative Chutzpah,
Radical Democratic Hopes**
by Harvey Kaye

7

**The Left Bookshelf:
Unfinished Business**
by Bill Dixon

9

**Morning Afterthoughts I:
Doggedness & Patience are Virtues**
by Joseph Schwartz

13

**II. Reports of Labor's Demise
Prove Premature**
by Suzanne Crowell

14

**III. Election Post-Mortem,
Mostly Mortem**
by Jeff Gold

16

**DSAction: Election
Dispatches From Around
the Country**

23

Happy Campaign Trails
by Kevin Pranis

Conservative Chutzpah, Radical Democratic Hopes

BY HARVEY J. KAYE

What chutzpah! After two decades of New Right ascendance, conservatives have put the question "Is American Democracy Dying?" at the top of their political agenda. Posed most recently on the cover of *National Review*, it has been asked repeatedly in conservative publications this past year. However exasperating it is, those of us committed to redeeming America's democratic impulse should attend carefully to this new conservative discourse. Ironically enough, the right's newly-pronounced anxiety about the nation's democratic prospects may actually be—for reasons other than we might at first think—cause for hope.

The question of democracy's health is hardly original. Noting, among other things, the high cost of campaigns, the power of corporate contributions, the manipulation of the media, the superficiality of public debate, and the apathy of voters, liberal and progressive writers for some time now have been addressing the sorry state of American politics and civil society. In addition to Robert D. Putnam's celebrated article, "Bowling Alone," describing the disappearance of the associational and civic-minded citizenry celebrated in Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, works on the subject abound, for example, E.J. Dionne's *Why Americans Hate Politics*; William Greider's *Who Will Tell the People?*; Lewis Lapham's *The Wish For Kings*; and Jean Bethke Elshtain's *Democracy On Trial*—not to mention the many contributions to journals like *The American Prospect*, *Dissent*, and *Tikkun*.

The question has become all the more urgent in the face of nasty rightwing talk-radio shows, armed militia groups, the Oklahoma City bombing and the torching of African-American churches. One feels compelled to restate Franklin Roosevelt's warning that

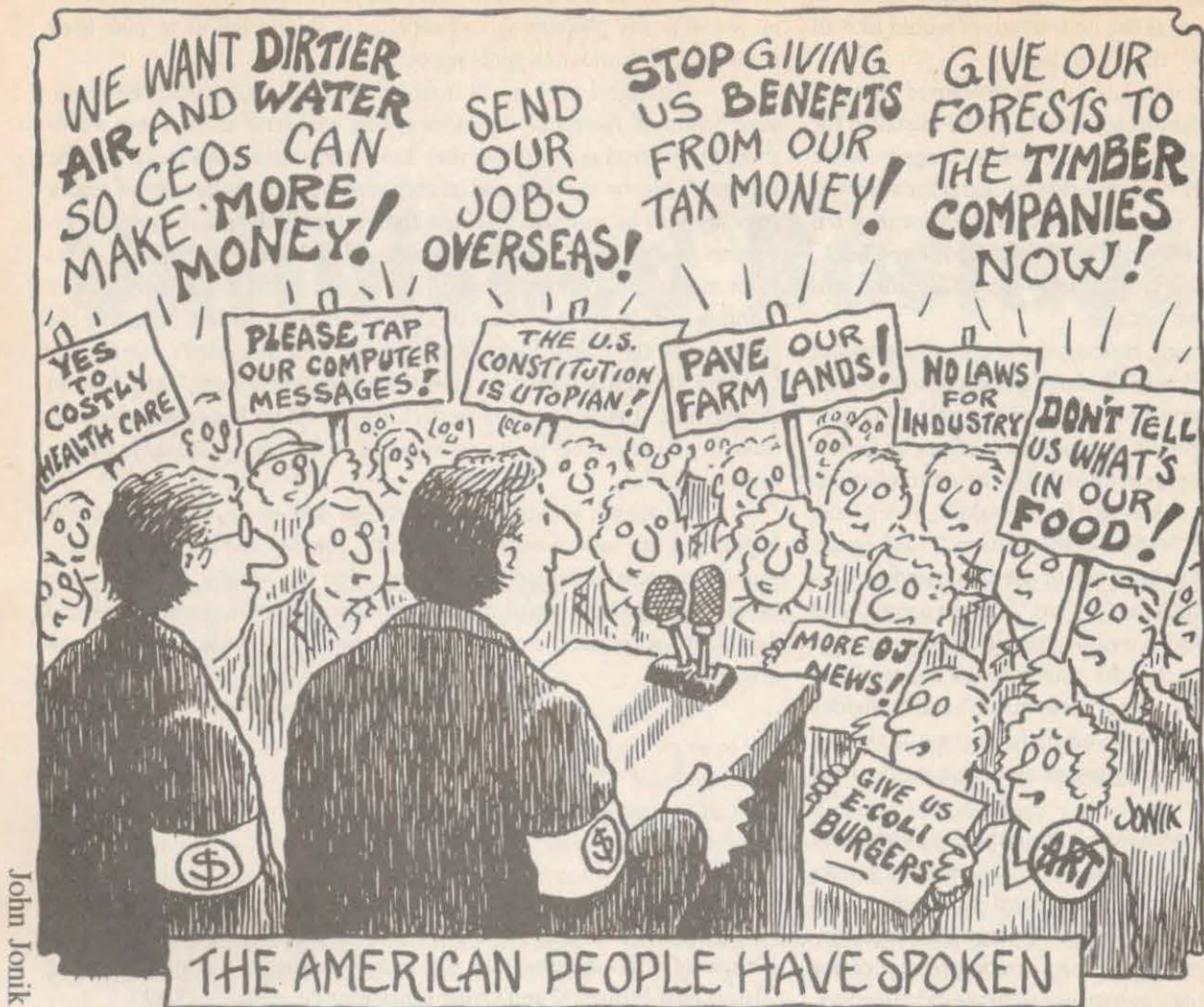
"If American democracy ceases to move forward as a living force...fascism will grow in the land."

Whatever the results of November's elections, the 1996 races have done little to assuage such concerns. Referring to the defeat of campaign-finance reforms, the cover of the summer issue of *Dollars and Sense* sadly, but rightly, announced "Democracy For Sale." Also treating the money issue, but at street level, a *New York Times* front-page story reported how campaign volunteers have given way to "hired hands" motivated not by ideology but, rather, by "a weekly paycheck whose size turns on the number of signatures they collect." And, of course, the August party conventions provided still further evidence of America's apparent political enervation. As a *New Republic* cover sarcastically proclaimed: "The One Thing America's Rich and Poor Share: An Indifference to Politics."

That conservatives have posed the question of democracy's mortality, as well, hardly seems remarkable. However, to fully appreciate its significance we need to start by recognizing that the question is being asked universally on the right, by traditional, neo-, and paleo-conservatives alike.

In October 1995 the formerly liberal, but now conservative, social science magazine, *Society*, arranged a symposium on "The Future of Liberal Democracy." Then, in November 1995, *Commentary*, the standard-bearer of neoconservatism, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary by asking 72 of its fellow travellers to respond to the statement: "In the eyes of many observers, the United States, which in 1945 entered upon the postwar era confident in

The conservatives' renewed concern about democracy should not be mistaken for a change of heart.



John Jonik

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE SPOKEN

eagerly assume that conservatives have realized the need to defend and enhance

its democratic purposes and serene in the possession of a common culture, is now, fifty years later, moving toward balkanization or even breakdown." Soon after, in January 1996, the handsomely-endowed Heritage Foundation added "The Journal of American Citizenship" to the title of its own popular magazine, *Policy Review*, in order, the editors stated, to better communicate their new mission: "to restore the tradition of American citizenship by repairing the institutions of civil society and returning to the core political principles of our Founding Fathers." Next, *Chronicles*, the magazine of the paleo-conservative Rockford Institute, organized its July issue around the anxious theme, "Virtual Democracy." And, again, the September 16th cover of *National Review*, the foremost magazine of political conservatism, asked "Is American Democracy Dying?"

Moreover, as anxious as the "diverse" factions of the New Right have always been—about the crisis of education, the future of the literary canon, political correctness, multiculturalism, welfare mothers—it has been quite a while since they have all concerned themselves with questions "democratic." Yet, before we too

American democratic life, we should not forget that the New Right itself originally took shape in hostile reaction to the "democratic surge" of the long 1960s and rose to power financially empowered by elements of corporate capital intent upon repelling social- and radical-democratic advances.

After so many left defeats and retreats—from the ERA to Clinton's signing of the so-called Welfare Reform Bill—and conservative efforts to rewrite the history of the times, it may be difficult to recall how the struggles and the achievements of the sixties for racial and gender equality, public action to combat poverty and hunger, ending the war in Southeast Asia, environmental protection, and workplace reforms, were, in their respective ways, movements to extend and deepen American democratic life and practices. However, the powers that be well understood it and, arguably more so than we did ourselves, they foresaw that if the several movements came together in solidarity, even greater democratic changes would be forthcoming.

Echoing the fears of the corporate and political elites who sponsored it and the neoconservative intellectuals who authored it, the 1975 Trilateral Commission Report, *The Crisis of Democracy*, nervously declared that America was suffering from "an excess of democracy" due to the heightened political consciousness and activism of "public-interest groups, minorities, students, women, white-collar unions [and] value-oriented university and media intellectuals." Democracy had to be subdued and, for-

tunately for the corporate class, mobilizing even further to the right were the Reagan Republicans. The rest is history—or, as the conservatives would like all of us to concede, “the end of history.”

A generation later, the conservatives’ renewed concern about democracy should not be mistaken for a change of heart. Not only do their writings evidence no sense of either responsibility or regret for what has transpired since, but the culprits in the tales they tell remain liberals and leftists—as Robert Bork’s new book, *Slouching Towards Gomorrah: Modern Liberalism and American Decline*, testifies.

Neglecting entirely the tyranny of growing corporate power and a liberated and expansive market economy, conservatives continue to attack “big government” and the likes of schoolteachers and their unions. Refusing to acknowledge the contradictions between market values and family values, they persist in warning about “radical egalitarianism.” And, ignoring or abusing the memory of the struggles from below to enlarge both the “we” in “We, the people” and the process by which we, the, people can govern, they continue to insist that the answer to the nation’s divisions and ills is renewed “civic virtue” and “religious fervor.” Conservative ambitions remain that of limiting and constraining democratic aspirations and agencies.

At the same time, I think there is more to the new conservative discourse about democracy than merely the calculated and cynical manipulation of American history and values. Twenty years ago conservatives appreciated the democratic promise of the struggles of the day even more than we did ourselves.

And in doing so they successfully mobilized against them. Given the record, we should allow that, between us, the conservatives have been the more politically perceptive; and experience should tell us to take their anxieties and pronouncements seriously.

Though I very much doubt that conservatives fear the imminent demise of American democracy, I do wonder if their recent words shouldn’t be read as a sign that they have started to sense a more familiar “danger.” Maybe the right and its corporate backers do have good reason once again to be worried. Perhaps—in developments like the popular revulsion against the “Gingrich Revolution” and the revitalization of the labor movement, revealed especially in its new leadership and the Union Summer initiatives, plus a host of other stirrings on the left, including the New Party, the Labor Party, the Campaign for America’s Future, the October “National Teach-In with the Labor Movement,” and *Tikkun* magazine’s spring Summit on Ethics and Meaning—conservatives have begun to perceive the resurgence of America’s historic democratic impulse.

It doesn’t radically change things if they do, for, whatever is happening, our task of cultivating liberty, equality and democratic community remains as demanding as ever. Yet, just maybe, we have even more reason to be hopeful that, in solidarity, liberals, progressives and democratic socialists can engage that impulse and make it, once again, an imperative.

A member of DSA and the Center for Democratic Values coordinating committee, Harvey J. Kaye is Professor of Social Change and Development at the University of Wisconsin-Green Bay and the author of “Why Do Ruling Classes Fear History?” and Other Questions (St Martin’s, 1996).

Mr. Langton Machoko from the Zimbabwe Labour Party is currently in New York City working with various progressive groups and churches to establish a Solidarity Committee to fight for democracy and human rights in his country. If you are interested in being part of this committee, please let us know by fax (212) 727-8616 or by calling us at (212) 727-8610.

Unfinished Business

BY BILL DIXON

The Permanence of the Political: A Democratic Critique of the Radical Impulse to Transcend Politics by Joseph M. Schwartz
Princeton University Press, 1995
336 pages

For the thirty or so people attending our meeting on student activism and the new labor movement, "socialism" was just too remote an idea to be particularly controversial. A friendly, open-minded group fresh from an inspiring tour of duty organizing with the AFL-CIO's Union Summer program, everyone was much too good-natured to argue about the harmless eccentricity of our calling ourselves socialists. No, the real controversy of that evening was about democracy—put bluntly, what good is it? For most of these people democratic rhetoric wasn't so much a bourgeois or white or male masquerade as a naive '60s style anachronism. One guy (off to law school this year, it turns out) wryly asked if by "democratic socialism" I meant that we could "just vote our way" out of capitalism. Someone else took issue with my off-handed expression of support for the Bill of Rights. And one woman patiently explained that wars and wars alone change history, and that ideas about justice and rights won't matter much come the great upheavals just ahead.

Michael Harrington once wrote that truths about society can only be discovered by taking sides. Joseph Schwartz, as many readers of *Democratic Left* already know, has spent years grappling with some of the elusive facts about democratic politics from the difficult stance of an activist on the side of the socialist Left in the United States. Schwartz's leadership within

DSA is one fruit of those labors; another is this book, a provocative and clear-headed contribution to the project of rethinking democracy and socialism against a bleak era of public pessimism and capitalist consolidation.

One of the dirty little paradoxes of modern politics is that democracies are only rarely well-regarded by the publics they create. Conservatives use this insight to justify "traditions" and "ancient" privileges. Free-marketeers point to this problem in order to praise the paternalism of the invisible hand, one usually attached to a strong arm kept ready by elite wealth and Big Business. Meanwhile, the Left has in recent years renewed the old question of how to engage actually existing democracies, with all of their flaws, instability, and hypocrisy, as a means to a very different kind of democracy for a very, very different kind of world.

By way of contributing toward this ambitious end Schwartz undertakes to ask political philosophy a political question. Why do certain political thinkers whose ideas have inspired historic movements for greater democracy actually express in their writings an ambivalence and sometimes even a hostility to democracy itself? Through close readings of Rousseau, Hegel, Marx, Lenin, and Hannah Arendt, Schwartz argues that these figures together compose a "radical tradition" which, among other things, characteristically seeks to theorize away the regular practices of disagreement, compromise, and activism vital to any realistic and desirable way of life for citizens of a democracy. On Schwartz's readings the radicals end up exalting various notions about "true human interests," a move which promotes the ugly implication of leaving behind any democratic debate about what those interests might happen to entail. For Hegel, Lenin, and Arendt, political hopes often rest on the coming of some kind of elite—a rational bureaucracy, a vanguard party, the glorious public actions of great and virtuous men and women. For Rousseau and Marx, citizens become caught up in a sort of natural development of social necessity which overtakes the desirability of democratic conflict. The irony is that despite this tendency the radical tradition has spurred on some of the most important achievements of the past two centuries—social democracy, feminism, and movements against colonialism and racism. The tragedy, of course, is that this anti-democratic im-

pulse hasn't always stayed asleep, as authoritarian populism's affinity to Rousseau and Hegel shows just as clearly as the use by Stalinism of Marx and Lenin.

For Schwartz, however, the ambiguous legacy of the radical tradition goes far beyond the horrors of yesterday and reaches straight into the heart of contemporary politics. Despite his overarching criticism Schwartz takes the radical tradition seriously as an important antidote to the failures of Lockean-style liberalism. Socialists have good reason to urge on the radical critique of liberalism's narrow, bias-ridden notions about selfhood and individualism, its vapid conceptions of community bred by an instrumentalist attitude toward the state, its entrenched myopia about the social sources of actual inequality, as well as its curiously abstract formulations about rights. Yet Schwartz also wants to appropriate certain features of liberal politics in order to move the living legacy of the radical tradition into a more serious commitment to the "unfinished business" of democracy both in theory and in real-life activist practice. In this Schwartz joins the proponents of "radical democracy," a slogan that by some accounts offers a more compelling set of ambitions for the Next Left than is likely to be recovered from the wreckage of twentieth century socialism. For his part Schwartz persuasively argues for the continuing relevance of socialist politics, and even places the anti-socialist rhetoric of certain writers squarely in line with the radical tradition's ambivalence toward civil rights and social justice. And in pursuing this argument Schwartz gives us a glimpse at a larger political vision, one which imagines the best hopes for freedom and justice in the real world to be waiting somewhere at the intersection of liberalism, radical democracy, and democratic socialism. Following up on that suspicion leads Schwartz to explore some possible points of reconciliation between two otherwise rather distant camps within the radical legacy, communitarianism and post-modernism.

Communitarians stress the "rootedness" of individuals in particular cultures, institutions, and groups. They point out how modern societies often end up shredding the intimate sense of membership crucial to political action. By affirming the legitimacy of relationships that happen somewhere between the family and the state, communitarians seek a populist route to coalition-building within and between religious, ethnic, and racial groups as well as middle and lower classes. The challenge is to do this honestly and consistently without deferring to bigotry or yielding too much strategic advantage to the Right. And it's not a challenge that communitarians are always able to meet, particularly with regard to feminism and race. The Clinton Administration's attempts to appropriate rhetoric about "family" and "community" offer

grand examples of how this can succeed (the Family Medical Leave Act) as well as how it can backfire (the Crime Bill) or even succumb to corruption (the Welfare Reform Act). Schwartz points out the dangers of contriving any "universalism" that ignores the distinct needs leading to different claims to justice advanced by different kinds of groups, a pluralist caveat crucial to feminism and the protection of minority interests. He also argues that many of the moral and tactical dilemmas faced by the communitarian Left could be largely avoided by confronting head-on the economic question, particularly the social provision of essential goods like health care and education. In order to make that kind of egalitarianism seem less like an outrageous scheme of bureaucratic manipulation and more like a credible demand for justice, Schwartz urges radicals to renew the work of redefining liberal notions about universal rights toward solidarity, and entitlement, and away from "privacy" and "individualism."

Talking about how to talk about things brings up that other side of the radical legacy, post-modernism. The collaboration of "liberal" ideas about "the family," "private property," or the "workplace" with sexist or racist laws and institutions, for example, raises a lot of important questions that are difficult to even know how to ask, let alone answer. In drawing on work in philosophy and sociology many writers, particularly feminists, have made truly monumental progress in revising what counts as democracy, progress which of course has not been uncontroversial. Schwartz admirably avoids some of the worst hyperbole of these debates and goes on to suggest that partisans of the "politics of difference" explore a pluralist strategy for building a new kind of political majority. Schwartz offers some interesting ideas about what we might hope for from a "radical pluralism," one organized in order to defend and foster differences of social identity instead of transcending them. And he makes the important point that only through some kind of shared sense of public citizenship (a.k.a. communitarianism) can the recognition of difference actually achieve the extension of democracy. Of course, majoritarian strategies are often out of the question for "minority" movements which are frequently embattled in defense of their own essential political integrity if not their physical survival. However, established mass movements of women or ethnic or racial minorities in democratic societies are often able to gain and keep the power needed to make or break important coalitions. For those circumstances Schwartz's speculations about radical pluralism have a special relevance that goes beyond piecemeal reformism or alliances of only temporary convenience.

For Schwartz, the gulf between communitarian hype about universalism and post-modernist hype about fragmentation reveals more than just the special talent academics from Socrates onward have always seemed to have for lousy political judgment. The two extremes also point to larger issues facing the future of democratic citizenship in the absence of alternatives to capitalism or conservatism. Schwartz's work poses some hard and telling questions to socialists as well their critics. Answering them would take us past some of the most important obstacles confronting any hope for a Next Left, a movement which would of necessity have to bring the world to look at democracy in a very different light.

Sometimes DSA member Bill Dixon is a student at the University of Chicago.

Morning

Afterthoughts:

Myriad Musings on the 1996 Elections & Beyond

I. Doggedness & Patience are Virtues...

BY JOSEPH SCHWARTZ

The 1996 elections taught the limits of mean-spirited conservatism: the electorate will reign in the right's threat to universal social programs such as Social Security and Medicare. This desire to moderate the Gingrich revolution manifested itself in support for a neo-liberal presidential-incumbent running at a time of peace and moderate economic growth. In a campaign defined by a Republicrat president who co-opted the moderate Republican agenda (balancing the budget, expanding prisons, and ending entitlement to federal means-tested programs), it is no surprise that the systemic causes of growing inequality were left undiscussed. And with corporate money fueling individual entrepreneurial electoral politics (while labor was "only" outspent seven-to-one in its "independent" advertising campaign, corporate PACs gave more than ten times as much money as labor PACs to individual candidates), few candidates challenged corporate America's ideological use of globalization to justify the brutal downsizing of the American labor force. A president who failed to use his bully-pulpit to challenge the status quo ended up with a pyrrhic victory that endorsed the center-right collusion.

The AFL-CIO's early, independent ad campaign proved to Democratic candidates that defending Social Security, Medicare, a higher minimum wage, and federal funding of education and environmental protection could be a winning strategy. But neither the ads nor the candidates addressed how to achieve such goals in an age of declining wages, shifting of means-tested programs to the states, balancing-the-budget-fetishism, and bloated defense and prison budgets. Two of the three proposals about to come forth from the President's commission on federal entitlements promise to end Social Security as a defined-benefits, universal program. The corporate sector presently finances our political discourse; Wall Street now hopes to privatize our retirement system.

The news from the 1996 election could have been worse. If the Republicans had garnered both the presidency and the Congress, the media would have touted the outcome as an endorsement of Gingrich. Instead, the pundits inform us that American politics has shifted back to the center; the only problem being that any comparative analysis of the contemporary "center" of American politics would find it well to the right of the New Deal and Great Society. The past twenty-five years has witnessed a massive shift to the right in American political culture — in part due to weak progressive social movements and an unchallenged corporate ideological offensive.

The absence of presidential leadership further accelerated this shift to the right. On welfare reform, the balanced budget, health

care, the list goes on, Bill Clinton, a talented public educator, abdicated this crucial leadership skill, opting for extreme electoral caution (except, somewhat, on affirmative action and earned income tax credits). In the spring of 1993, nervousness on the part of Wall Street led Clinton to abandon his efforts to teach the American public the difference between good (public investment) and bad deficits (uncontrolled health spending). Afraid to take on large private health insurers, he designed a "Rube Goldberg" system of private control of public health revenues, only to be blindsided by the corporate interests he tried to appease.

Finally, in June of 1995 he embraced the conservative touchstone of balancing the budget by the year 2,002 — an arbitrary, conservative obsession which aims to gut the public sector. Take defense, payment on the debt, and Social Security off the table, then only massive cuts in discretionary spending (housing, transportation, infrastructure) and public health care can balance the budget. If the president had stuck to his original position that "welfare reform" would cost taxpayers' money (not save \$55 billion over five years) and could not move forward absent universal health care, then he could have vetoed welfare reform a third time without any serious electoral consequences. Clinton should have poignantly illustrated (as the empathetic performer who feels our pain well can) the disastrous effects on children that gutting AFDC will have, rather than reinforcing the stereotypical reactionary view of undeserving welfare mothers (most of whom, in reality, work off the books to supplement their soon-to-be-slashed meager benefits). In this manner, Clinton would have been able to do the right thing without paying an electoral price.

One should not underestimate the power of the bully pulpit — in the final ten days of the campaign, under pressure from the Congressional Black Caucus, California liberals, and Jesse Jackson, the president came out against Proposition 209. Ads showing the president and Colin Powell opposing the so-called "civil rights initiative" played a major role in the final week's cutting of the gap from two to one in favor to its narrower 54-46 passage. The difference in Clinton voters versus Perot and Dole voters on Prop. 209 illustrates the fundamental difference between Democratic constituencies and other electoral blocs. While 34 percent of Clinton voters voted in favor of 209, 70 percent of Perot voters and 82 percent of Dole voters supported it. (Among white Clinton voters the split was about 50-50 versus 80 percent plus in favor among all other white voters. It is worth noting that 25 percent of African-Americans voted for Prop. 209). Earlier, vigorous presidential effort might have defeated the measure.

The absence of a presidential moral compass has led many a progressive to engage in counterfactual musing: would a Democratic Congress under a Bush presidency have passed NAFTA or welfare reform? The AFL-CIO efforts succeeded in shifting the campaign onto more progressive terrain. But not even labor's efforts could force the major parties to address the unspoken consensus barriers to progressive reform — the absence of progressive taxation, defense cuts, and democratic international trade, investment, and human rights policies.

First, whatever happened to the peace dividend? No mainstream politician discusses defense cuts, although few can explain why we need a defense budget ten times that of Russia and greater than the next ten military powers combined. Second, in regards to another "untouchable" twenty-five percent of the federal budget, the president failed to offer a progressive response to fears that Social Security will go bust — not now, but in 2035. Thus, Wall Street's schemes for Social Security privatization increasingly "crowd out" discussion of the modest reforms needed to maintain Social Security as socialized insurance.

The Social Security trust could be balanced for seventy-five years or more — instead of the projected forty — if we simply lifted the \$60,000 ceiling on income subject to Social Security taxes. Investing some of the trust fund surplus in broad stock indexes — or more productively in housing and rail transport — might increase the return on investment. Such tinkering may be necessary to maintain the trust fund's solvency through the baby boom generation's retirement, but no changes need alter Social Security as a social insurance program which guarantees every individual a semi-decent retirement regardless of their class background. Transforming Social Security into a private, individually-invested, defined contribution rather than a defined-benefits pension scheme, whose retirement benefits would solely depend on one's income stream and speculative luck, would violate the very nature of social insurance (in which rich and poor share the risk of old age through pooling resources for retirement benefits).

Third, except for right-wing, xenophobic populists Perot and Buchanan, no mainstream politician discussed how to respond to the "casualization" of American labor that corporate America has justified as necessitated by globalization. Vice-President Gore's introduction of President Clinton at the Little Rock victory party celebrated "the great American jobs machine." But the overwhelming majority of those "ten million jobs" are low-wage, temporary, and devoid of pension and health benefits.

Are there any silver linings to be found in the 1996 election results? Not only did labor weigh in with a \$35 million dollar independent ad campaign which shaped

the campaign agenda (and engendered a massive response of \$200 million dollars in independent business advertising), but the AFL sent nearly 200 political organizers into the field, mobilizing the membership in some locales for the first time in decades. Union-member turnout rose from 19 percent of the 1992 electorate to 24 percent, voting 63-35 for Democratic Congressional candidates versus 45-53 for the rest of the electorate. (This eighteen point "labor gap" was up from 12 percent in the '94 Congressional elections.) An electorate comprised of 30 percent union members (everything else held constant) would have elected strong Democratic majorities in both houses. Ever since the late 1980s, women have voted ten percent more than men for Democratic Congressional candidates. The greater inclination of women to support social programs provides a foundation upon which to construct a progressive majority. But absent the left addressing white working and middle class male ambivalence towards progressive taxation and an activist state, such a majority is unlikely to take hold.

The Democrats defeated 18 Republican incumbents (including 15 of the 71 freshmen and five of the seven most highly targeted by the AFL). And another 25 Republican incumbents (versus only nine Democratic) won with margins of less than two percent, making them vulnerable next time around. While Democrats only lost three incumbent seats, the loss of eight open seats in the South points towards a future Congressional electoral map where the South, in addition to the lower Plains, Southwest and Mountain States are overwhelmingly Republican. The "natural" Democratic majority of 40-60 seats in the House has passed with the transformation of the solid South from Democrat to Republican. This is the first time in 70 years that the Republicans re-elected majorities in both houses of the Congress.

On the other hand, heavily-targeted left Democrats and the lone socialist independent were almost universally re-elected by wide margins, including Senator Paul Wellstone (D-MN), Bernie Sanders (I-VT), and Congressional Black Caucus members Mel Watt (D-NC) and Cynthia McKinney (D-GA). (McKinney, despite being re-districted into a majority white district, assembled a progressive multiracial coalition which won handily). Representative Neil Abercrombie (D-OH), a strongly pro-labor, left Democrat, more narrowly beat out (53-47) a heavily-financed Republican challenger whose attack ads termed Abercrombie "a hippie leftist."

DSA sent six staff members into the field for the final weeks of the campaign. These staff and DSA volunteers contributed to the re-election of Senator Paul Wellstone, Congressperson Maurice Hinchey (D-upstate NY) and aided in the narrow victory of pro-labor John Tierney (D-MA) over "moderate" Republican Pete Torkildsen in Massachusetts. DSA also contributed to the near-upset victories of first-time Democratic challengers Joe Hoeffel

in suburban Philadelphia and Clem Balanoff on the Chicago South Side and southwestern suburbs. In addition, DSAers worked within progressive coalitions in Sacramento, the Los Angeles area, Orange County, the Bay Area, and San Diego opposing Prop. 209 and in support of a successful referendum to raise the California minimum wage.

In response to Proposition 187 and other threats to legal immigrants' social benefits, Latino turn-out was up by more than twenty percent nationally over the last election, with massive increases of fifty percent in California and sixty percent in Texas. The maniacal reactionary Robert Dornan lost his Congressional seat to Latina Loretta Sanchez in Orange County, California, largely due to a doubling of the Latino vote to twenty-five percent of district turnout.

Campaign financing initiatives passed in six states, including a measure in Maine in favor of partial public financing of campaigns and reduced-rate air time in return for individual contributions limits of \$50 from in-state residents. Campaign financing could be a major anti-corporate issue (democracy as one person, one voice, not one dollar, one vote). The danger, however, is that labor PACs will be banned, but the power of wealthy corporate executives, combined with the expense of advertising time, will still leave us with bought, rather than free, speech. Any desirable campaign reforms must include public financing; severe limits, if not abolition, on PACs and soft-money contributions to parties; and candidate access to reduced-rate or free air time. Such a reform agenda will have to be combined with a public campaign to reverse the 1976 Buckley-Vallejo Supreme Court ruling that, in the name of free speech, renders unconstitutional any legislated limits on aggregate campaign expenditures (as well as candidates' personal expenditures). A major assault must be mounted on the anti-democratic constitutional doctrine that corporations are persons and that money is an extension of the person. The most dangerous — and likely Republican — reforms would be those that would eliminate union political contributions but allow unlimited contributions by wealthy individuals.

Some take solace from the Nader campaign's performance of .6 percent nationally. Appearing on the ballot in 21 states representing sixty percent of the population and spending only \$5,000 (and speaking mostly on college campuses), Nader received 1.7 percent of the vote in New York and over three percent in California. Some contend that if Nader had been on ballot in all fifty states and run a well-financed campaign he might have received over five percent. Such a vote total, however, would have been dependent on Clinton remaining a shoo-in. At a time of greater left strength in 1948, Henry Wallace only received 2.5 per-

cent; Barry Commoner received only .6 percent when the short-lived Citizens Party spent over \$1 million in 1980, at a time when Jimmy Carter had disillusioned the labor movement and left even more than Clinton has done.

In a provocative article in the November 18, 1996 *Nation*, New Party chair Joel Rogers and Milwaukee AFL-CIO Central Labor Council president (and DSA member) Bruce Colburn astutely argue that the left's capacity for independent political action must be built from the grassroots up. Their stress on independent left electoral activity at the local level — whether inside, outside, or fused with the Democratic Party — evidences the realism of the New Party's approach to building a third electoral force. But the article's assertion that a there-but-for-the-making-majority exists for a program of high-wage industrial, trade, and labor-market policy; campaign finance reform; and expansion of public goods (health care and child care) radically underestimates the hostility to taxation and expansion of public provision on the part of many of those needed to build a majoritarian left. Nor do they deal with how the manipulative racial politics of the right has convinced many white middle and working class voters that public provision — whether universal or means-tested — provides shabby goods and creates citizen dependence on a paternalistic state.

Thus, any project for reconstituting a majoritarian left will not only have to “add up” the existing left, but also organize new constituencies around a compelling vision of a democratic state and civil society promoting social justice through global solidarity. Organizing existing progressives — labor, feminist, African-American, Latino, gay and lesbian, etc. — behind an independent political agenda is an important project, one in which DSA and the New Party can and should cooperate. But it is far from a majoritarian project, at this moment. Only through grassroots organizing and ideological work can the left combat a dominant paradigm which teaches that private provision is superior to public goods and that taxes should be cut (certainly not raised, even in a progressive direction).

The “divided government” resulting from the 1996 election is a manifestation of the stalemated interregnum of American and global democratic politics. The social democratic project of Keynesianism-in-one nation has run its course; so has the false boom

of the “supply side” 1980s (in reality, a military Keynesian, indebted boomlet). Neither welfare state liberalism nor “supply side” conservatism is perceived to be a viable “governing model.” (Hence the flop of Dole's “15 percent” program.)

To paraphrase Gramsci (the most quoted, but least read radical theorist), the old is dying, but the new has yet to be born. In such periods, the moral burden of the left is to defend past gains, while groping for new strategies, modes of organizing, and agents of change. Thus, the primary left virtue, for some time to come, is likely to be doggedness and patience. We are in for a long “war of position” over the very nature of equality and democracy. And we are starting from a position of relative weakness.

Today there exists no left constituency which in its particular grievance speaks to the aspirations of a democratic majority. In the 1930s the CIO occupied this position, in the 1960s, all too briefly, the civil rights coalition. Their Keynesian “governing models” of social justice brought to fruition the New Deal and the Great Society. Will a new surrogate “universal class” develop out of an internationally-conscious labor movement speaking to the needs of women, new immigrants, and minorities in our rapidly expanding service and low-wage industries? Or will popular belief in equal opportunity for children revitalize commitment to redistribution and quality public goods? And how do political movements which operate predominantly on the terrain of the nation-state construct the international cooperation and multilateral institutions necessary for a feasible, global Keynesian project?

While we engage in the educational work necessitated by this global transformation, there are immediate political tasks which indirectly speak to this social restructuring. Conservative plans to privatize Social Security will force us to debate the role of social insurance in defending the mutual obligations of a democratic community. And campaign finance reform — an issue that incumbent Congresspersons are unlikely to address in any significant manner — enables the left to back reforms that would eliminate private capital from public political deliberation. The results of the 1996 election did not advance the left's agenda; they still leave us with the daunting project of reconstituting a majoritarian left.

Joseph Schwartz teaches political theory at Temple University.

II. Reports of Labor's Demise Prove Premature

BY SUZANNE CROWELL

The truth is that without the union bosses, we'd be gaining at least 30 seats."

So stated Newt Gingrich, one month before the election. Despite the fact that business outspent labor by 7 to 1, labor's aggressive advertising campaign was alternately decried as a blatant attempt to steal the election or derided as ineffective overkill. In the end, however, those pundits who compared what might have been with what actually happened recognized a sea change when they saw it. Quiet as it's kept, Democrats won the popular vote for Congress in 1996 by 50 to 48 percent.

According to Steve Rosenthal, AFL-CIO political director, labor's effort (called Labor 96) achieved three major objectives. First, it injected issues that matter into the congressional campaigns. "We were tired of wedge issues, like Willie Horton and guns," said Rosenthal at a postelection briefing. "Medicare, pensions, health care and minimum wage—that's what candidates had to talk about" because of labor's efforts.

Second, Labor 96 was meant to mobilize union members and energize them around labor's candidates and issues. In 1994, 40 percent of union households voted Republican, even though they disagreed with Republicans on minimum wage and OSHA, for example; this year, only 35 percent voted Republican, a switch of over one million voters.

The third goal was to increase turnout. While overall turnout was down from 104 million in 1992 to 94 million in 1996, the percentage of union households voting climbed from 14 to 23 percent—an increase of more than 50 percent.

Labor's issue advertising was not the only component of its 1996 campaign. As part of its effort, 135 grassroots coordinators were placed in 102 congressional districts, 14 Senate races, and two gubernatorial contests. On election day, over 1,000 workers from more than 30 international unions worked on getting out the vote under the direction of the AFL-CIO.

The result was the defeat of 18 incumbent Republicans and the re-election of 17 Democrats. Adding 12 open House seats, 8 Senate seats, and on governor's

race gave workers 56 of the 102 targeted races.

An unheralded development during the campaign was labor's contribution to the vaunted gender gap. By pushing an agenda attractive to women, labor advanced the cause of women's involvement in the election generally. The voter mobilization project mounted by the AFL-CIO Working Women's Department—"Working Women Vote '96"—reached millions of women around the country. Working women voted 56 to 35 percent for Clinton and 58 to 40 percent for a Democratic Congress.

Most telling, however, was the difference unionism makes to men. Men in union households voted 58 to 39 percent for Democrats for Congress; men in nonunion households voted 59 to 39 percent for Republicans. While some of the "union gap" is attributable to different income levels, the difference is too large to be explained away by demographics.

Rosenthal made several postelection observations. The fundraising scandal attached to the Democratic National Committee clearly halted momentum toward the Democrats near the end of the campaign. The last-ditch slogan of the congressional Republicans—"Don't give Clinton a blank check"—was effective. Coordinated campaigns of Democrats running for various offices in the same locations were too often nonexistent.

Perhaps most frustrating was poor candidate recruitment. Several winnable districts were not in play, simply because good candidates were not running. When decisions were made 18 months ago, many viable candidates were scared off by the President's unpopularity and gloomy predictions of more Democratic losses to come. Without a clear choice, salvaging victory is all the more difficult. In New Hampshire, for example, Democrat Jeanne Shaheen won the governor's race, while the House seat was lost by a weak candidate.

But the most important question about Labor '96 has yet to be answered—whether it will be the foundation for an ongoing political mobilization of union households, or whether the momentum will be lost and energy dissipated between now and 1998, as has happened too often in the past. Labor activists at all levels, including DSA members, have important work to do in keeping newly energized workers involved in politics and in keeping those elected from forgetting how they got there.

At the same time, the longer term question of labor's role in the Democratic Party, such as it is, that has taken a back seat during the election season needs further debate and discussion. Watch this space.

Suzanne Crowell is a DSA activist living in Washington, DC.

III. DSA Election Post-Mortem, Mostly Mortem

BY JEFF GOLD

If I hadn't spent the 364 days prior to November 5, 1996 building, baby step by baby step, the long-term infrastructure of DSA as a component of a potentially revitalized left and labor movement, my head would have exploded in the voting booth. The threadneedle choices funneled by our corporate-dominated electoral system into a Far Right Republican Congress, and a virtual Republican president—of a sort to make Nixon seem like a progressive innovator—plus an oddly unappealing “left” alternative in virtual candidate Ralph Nader...well, what can I say. A previous week's museum visit to an exhibit on the life of 19th century protofeminist Victoria Claflin Woodhull, whose 1872 presidential campaign slogan was “Women's Rights, Workers' Rights, Negro Rights” made me want to write her in.

DSAers, of course, can feel at least partially vindicated by our choice of the Congressional Progressive Caucus as the object of our electoral work nationwide. Almost every one was re-elected. Senator Paul Wellstone's triumph was another bright spot. Overall, though, Senator Bob Kerrey's master plan for a Democratic Senate, and the Democratic Campaign Committee's strategy, to recruit rich guys who could self-finance campaigns, was a bust for us. The class bias of wealthy Democrats does not bode well for initiatives for labor law reform, brakes on out-of-control financial speculation, or even incremental extension of health care to children. We have to rethink the numerical limits of the Progressive Caucus in the House, which I once calculated (from urban, liberal, college town, or “oddball” districts) to be a potential 125, up from the 50 or so now in office. The U.S. Senate, with the electoral requirement of majoritarianism, almost presidential-like thresholds for successful selection, appears even further out of our reach.

With voting levels nationally at 1924 levels, we need to examine what Motor Voter has wrought. Statistically, some commentators cited Motor Voter as a bad measure of voting participation this year because it magnifies the stay-at-home registered citizens. Their message seemed to be “Neither President Bubba nor Mean Bob Dole will do anything for me, so screw ‘em!” The

elderly excepted. They are now one of the few sociological subgroups to see, and act to retain, clear state benefits from our frayed, disappearing safety net. Which is to say that the right's actual raids on the Social Security Trust Fund, Medicaid, and projected hidden attacks on Medicare—combined with brilliant generational pitches, and structural support for 401(k)s, IRAs, and all sorts of private, anti-social insurance solutions, have worked wonders. And I haven't even mentioned the regressive nature of many aspects of the sacred mortgage tax deduction.

Clinton, for his part, never had a soul. The four most recent biographies suggest that the same man who let the Tysons befoul the Arkansas river for years; made Robert Rubin, not Robert Reich, the soul of economic policy; and just appointed banker Erskine Bowles to be Prime Minister of the U.S., replacing conservative Leon Panetta; is not going to pleasantly surprise us in the second act. We should plan and act accordingly.

The AFL-CIO's congressional advertising/get-out-the-vote program seems to have succeeded in at least preventing more bleeding to the far Right. And even here we would have to measure the long term benefits of a Gephardt speakership. Charlie Rangel, Ron Dellums and Teddy Kennedy might be titular heads of committees if the Dems had won Congress. But since conservatives like Charlie Stenholm of Texas or Joe Lieberman of Connecticut would have held the functional balance of power anyway, maybe having Republicans to blame in midterm 1998 elections is not so bad. Small consolation. Maybe the AFL-CIO needed this election cycle just to re-learn the nuts and bolts of politics and turnout. Union members comprised 40 percent of Democratic voters, and turned out in 9 percent greater numbers this year than in 1992. Progress? Perhaps the federation has to find out why 40% of union members voted GOP for Congress; and do the kind of internal organizing in the next two years that we talk about in our own left organization.

This is a very long-winded way of saying that the microscopic American Left is still in no position to challenge electoral politics at any but the local level. We have to do the sort of internal consolidation and mobilization of our own members—many of whom have been way too passive in their day-to-day organizing work—while we continue our relationship to a potentially revitalized AFL-CIO as an engine of renewal. The conservative, union-busting 1920s did lead to the hard but ultimately fruitful 1930s, and the suburban 1950s did presage the more fecund 1960s. We'll have to work twice as hard to make sure we all cross Bill-and-Newt's rickety private toll bridge to the 21st Century. And find a way to focus the more comfortable on those who slipped into the river below.

Jeff Gold, a long-time activist, resides in New York City.

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Election Dispatches From Around the Country

BLUEBELL, PA The Philadelphia suburbs which comprise the thirteenth U.S. Congressional District are hardly hotbeds of socialist activism. Dole/Kemp '96 placards adorn the lush lawns of upscale housing developments, right next to small signs warning passersby that the property is "protected by Vanguard Security Systems, Inc." Aside from a few isolated pockets, registered Republicans outnumber Democrats here by about three to one, and a meeting of the John Birch Society would draw more warm bodies than would a meeting of DSA.

My reason for venturing to such hostile terrain was simple and unromantic: to help the Democrats oust U.S. Representative Jon Fox. Fox had portrayed himself as a moderate Republican when he campaigned successfully against incumbent Marjorie Margolies Mezvinsky in 1994 (Mevzinsky was the first Democratic representative elected from this district in over one hundred years). Once in Washington, he voted consistently with Newt Gingrich's agenda, aligning himself well to the right of the voters in his district, who tend to be fiscally conservative yet liberal on social issues.

This dissonance convinced local Democrats that Fox's seat was vulnerable. Fox was challenged by Joe Hoeffel, a Democratic Leadership Council-style Democrat who combined middle-of-the-road positions on welfare reform, education, and Medicare with strong support for abortion rights and environmental protections. An intelligent, earnest fellow and a fine grassroots campaigner, Hoeffel's energy never waned as he made countless appearances at soccer matches, farmers' markets and community forums, pressing the flesh and explaining why he should be elected to Congress.

The campaign attracted strong support from women and the labor community. While AFL-CIO advertisements hammered away at Fox's voting record on issues such as Medicare, women, seniors, and union members (not to mention some dedicated DSAers) swelled the ranks of Hoeffel volunteers. They canvassed the district relentlessly, knocking on doors and persuading reluctant

Republican neighbors to split their tickets and vote for Joe Hoeffel.

As a DSA volunteer entering the campaign at the late stage, most of my efforts focused on GOTV work. I phone banked until I grew hoarse. Because I am under fifty and possess a valid driver's license, the campaign decided I was ideal for making literature drops in hilly Democratic enclaves like Conshohocken. Then they sent me to Plymouth and Whitmarsh, where I canvassed ivy-covered manses I swear were at least one-quarter of a mile apart. I discovered that Doberman pinschers are the guard dogs of choice on contemporary estates, and the canines are about as open to Democratic appeals as their masters. Which is to say, not very.

Election day found the Republicans up to their usual tricks. The campaign received numerous reports of election law violations: Republicans "assisting" voters who neither required nor desired assistance; Republicans giving false information to voters who wanted to split their tickets; Republicans ignoring laws against campaigning inside the polling place. One fellow who had registered as a Democrat through the Department of Motor Vehicles under the "Motor Voter" law arrived at his polling place only to find that his name did not appear on the rolls. He claimed several other Motor Voter registrants shared this surprise; the DMV never forwarded their registrations to the Bureau of Elections.

And the upshot of all this fervent activity? According to the most recent count, Fox won the election by ten votes, out of almost 225,000 cast. Hoeffel will not concede, and we're all waiting for the recount and subsequent court battle. A Democratic upset in this bastion of Republicanism would be another small bright spot in a dreary election.

—Michele Rossi

CHICAGO, IL If you have ever entered Chicago via the Skyway, you have seen the eastern edge of the 11th District: massive, empty steel mills and chemical plants line the lakefront, interspersed with ads beckoning visitors to the riverboat casinos that sit idling just over the border in Indiana. If you enter Chicago via its cheaper sister interstate, I-94, you are greeted by an even grander sight: a huge, green landfill rising above the otherwise flat terrain. Altogether, the district spans a large area of Illinois that ranges from city to suburb to farmland. It was in that six percent that is Chicago-proper where I and a few other DSA volunteers concentrated our work to try to elect Clem Balanoff, a progressive Democrat, to Congress.

As I joined the campaign in late October, Balanoff was down by about 20 points. The gap narrowed as the election approached. Despite being rebaited (partly because of DSA's involvement, but more viciously because Clem's uncle had run for alderman as a Communist back in the 40's), and hippie-baited (due to his spending time in California in the 1980's, and registering with the Peace and Freedom Party there), Clem slowly began to gain ground, and was only eight points down three days before the election. However, Balanoff was being outspent by two-to-one, so it was the volunteers who played the most crucial role in convincing voters in the district that the Republican, Jerry Weller, who had voted with Gingrich 93% of the time, did not represent the best interests of ordinary people.

Indeed, the parking lots of the 11th District are where DSA made its presence known. Deftly avoiding Wal-Mart security trucks, Republican shoppers, and frozen windshield wipers, I and a myriad of campaign workers distributed flyers for a candidate that cared about issues affecting working people: Medicare, living-wage and anti-NAFTA proposals, and the environment. It is here, much more so than in the forests of Oregon, that environmental issues are working class: human waste dumping by local hospitals, huge garbage incinerators and coke chimneys that tower over the small houses of Calmet city, and dumping by chemical factories, plague this part of Chicago.

In such a race, union support is vital, and Clem received endorsements from every major labor organization in his district. Many of the volunteers I worked with were from unions such as the Teamsters for a Democratic Union or SEIU. But it was not only organized labor who came out to help. Clem had grown up in the neighborhood where his campaign office was based, and many of the people I met were locals who knew Clem could be trusted on the issues most important to them. They included a Latino youth named Caesar and a couple of guys named Mike and Steve who worked out at Navy Pier after they were laid off from the steel mills of their neighborhoods. It was these and other neighborhood people who spent their days walking the cold parking lots of Joliet, pounding in signs in Cal City, and blitzing door-to-door in Ottawa.

Our campaigning continued right up until 7:00 pm election night, when the polls closed and results began to trickle in. What was looking like a shocking upset, with the first 50 percent of precincts reporting Clem ahead by 10 points, slowly slipped away, with Weller catching up and finally surpassing Clem late into the night. Weller, given the run of his life, won by only about 7,000 votes (52 percent to 48 percent).

It was unfortunate that only a few of the multitudes of DSAers in the Chicago area who were asked actually contributed their time to helping Balanoff win (some, of course, were working furiously on fellow DSAer Steve De La Rosa's campaign across town). These DSAers were mostly from the University of Chicago, a youth section chapter whose members took time away from their studies around the mid-term crunch to stuff envelopes, distribute literature, and lend a hand wherever needed. Their help was greatly appreciated by myself and the Balanoff campaign.

DSA's presence in the campaign not only helped DSAers to learn more about electoral politics, but also to better spread DSA's message to those we worked with. DSA should enter into more electoral forays in the future, for it is through this kind of work that we will better activate our largely paper members and get our message out to a larger audience.

—Mike Heffron

Election Dispatches, *Continued*

MINNEAPOLIS, MN Like other DSA staff members, I headed out on the campaign trail for the week or so before the election. My trip led me to Minnesota to work for Paul Wellstone's Senate re-election bid. Wellstone was the only Senator up for re-election who voted against the 'welfare reform' that was passed by Congress and signed by the President in August. (The bill, which DSA worked to defeat, includes measures that deny legal immigrants rights to many benefits and which will ultimately throw many more children and families in to poverty.) In response to this and other progressive positions Wellstone has taken, his opponent, Rudy Boschwitz, branded Wellstone "embarrassingly liberal." As the campaign intensified, Boschwitz became increasingly negative in his ads. In the last days before the election he claimed that Wellstone had burned the American flag in the '60s.

Before I got to Minnesota the race was neck and neck, but in that last week before the election—coinciding with DSA's active involvement!—Wellstone pulled out to a strong lead, finally winning by nine percent. While I was there I worked with the campaign's superbly organized grassroots efforts. I concentrated on organizing DSA members and members of the gay and lesbian community to round up volunteers for Wellstone. Then I rolled up my sleeves for endless rounds of calls to Wellstone supporters to make sure that they got out to vote.

While in Minnesota I had the fortune to meet with many members of Twin Cities DSA. The group is planning to meet regularly to work on DSA's Action Agenda and to draw together Minnesota socialists. In my election work I ran across another DSA member, Michael Paymar, who was running for the Minnesota legislature. Along with Wellstone, he, too, won on Tuesday. He now joins the ranks of DSAers and other progressives who are trying to change American politics by serving in public office.

—Chris Riddiough

SACRAMENTO, CA After a bitter and divisive campaign, the right-wing won its electoral campaign to eliminate affirmative action in California. Proposition 209, the California Civil Rights initiative, passed by a 54 to 46 percent margin. Given that white voters make up 76 percent of the actual electorate (but only 56 percent of the population) achieving a 46 percent No vote against CCRI was a significant accomplishment.

DSA activists in California were deeply involved in the struggle to defeat Proposition 209. At our 1995 National Convention, we made opposition to CCRI a major focus for our Activist Agenda. Right-wing populist issues in California have a strong tendency to become national issues. For example, the passage of the anti-immigrant Prop. 187 in 1994 led directly to this year's anti immigrant federal legislation and the anti immigrant portions of the welfare "reform" legislation. We argued that Prop. 209, like the earlier Prop. 187, manipulated racial wedge issues to mobilize the conservative vote and that it failed to address underlying issues of economic insecurity, such as low paying jobs, job flight, and inequitable educational opportunities.

So, it was also important to bring issues of economic insecurity directly into the anti-CCRI campaign. That's why California activists decided to not only work against Prop. 209, but to also helped to qualify Prop. 210, the AFL-CIO sponsored Livable Wage Initiative for the ballot. Proposition 210 called for an increase in the minimum wage to \$5.75 an hour — \$.60 above the new federal minimum wage. Throughout the state DSAers worked diligently to bring the anti-209 and the pro-210 forces together in joint voter education and get-out-the vote operations. On November 5th, Proposition 210 won with over 60percent of the vote, proving that our pro-active economic justice issues resonate deeply among working people

Although Proposition 209 passed 54percent to 46percent, it was defeated in the Bay Area and in the Los Angeles Basin. The statewide vote should come as no surprise considering that exit polls reported 74percent of the voters were white, 7 percent African American, 10 percent Latino, and 5 percent Asian. Overall 61percent of all men voted for Proposition 209 but only 48percent of women, pointing to a large gender gap. African Americans opposed the measure 26 percent yes to 74 percent no; Latinos opposed the measure 24 percent yes, 76 percent no, and Asians opposed the measure 39percent yes, 61 percent no.

The basic message of the Republican campaign in favor of Proposition 209 focused on "special preferences" and quotas, themes that had worked in earlier campaigns in North Carolina, Louisiana, Colorado and on radio talk shows for years. They manipulated an underlying resentment against perceived unfairness of affirmative action programs

by repeating an endless litany of Affirmative Action abuses. Indeed, Proposition 209 was a culmination of a two decade old campaign against Affirmative Action. The silence of many liberals for the last two decades, provided a fertile field for this wedge issue campaigning.

In the final weeks, the Republican party poured \$2.3 million into the campaign to pass 209, and Dole made it a center of his California effort. The Democratic Party, on the other hand, provide few or no resources for the 209 campaign. Only Democratic candidates in safe districts frequently mentioned the issue. The state AFL-CIO called for a No vote, and urged a No Vote in their literature, but focused their effort on the national strategy seeking to gain a Democratic control of Congress. Significant union money and resources was not available.

Indeed, the Civil Rights Community, the Women's movement and the Left had to build a campaign largely on their own. This was a predominantly grassroots effort, featuring extensive voter education among targeted constituencies and precincts. Since there was virtually no television, radio or direct mail opposing Proposition 209, this grassroots effort was the only "voter contact" giving our side of the story. In this context, the targeted outreach by progressive organizations and networks has to be judged a major success. A year ago, over 70 percent of all Californians favored Proposition 209. By election day, this had been brought down to 54 percent, particularly by convincing white women to oppose 209 and holding the liberal base. (This wasn't the case with Proposition 187, which won by 20 percent.)

DSA mounted a major statewide effort to help defeat 209 in Sacramento, Los Angeles, and San Diego. The financial support from many California DSAers allowed us to hire staff to coordinate this effort. For example, in Los Angeles, DSA played a major role in the Metropolitan Alliance, a broad multi-racial coalition of organizations. We coordinated the precinct based activities for the Alliance in the West LA, Santa Monica and Venice areas.

DSA's campaign in California was coordinated by Duane Campbell of the Anti Racism Commission. In Los Angeles the key activists were staff person Tim Parks, along with Liz Ryder, also of the Anti Racism Commission. In Sacramento the chair

of the local Sacramento Civil Rights Network effort against 209 was Eric Vega of the Latino Commission.

DSA produced bilingual literature tied the two campaigns together asking for a vote against 209, and a vote for 210 the Livable Wage Initiative. In addition to our own work, DSA literature was distributed widely by UNITE and several African American organizations.

Several prominent DSAers also contributed to the effort against 209. DSA Honorary Chair Dolores Huerta was a tireless campaigner and fund raiser. Huerta, along with Jesse Jackson, Eleanor Smeal, Patricia Ireland and Elizabeth Toledo, participated in a Freedom Bus tour throughout California. Each of them spoke from their own views on the significance of this campaign in building a spirit of hope and of struggle. The tour, well covered in the media, clearly showed the need to work together to build broad coalitions of labor, civil rights, and women's organizations.

Electoral work is usually conducted with an assumption of a two party competitive system. In this campaign there was not a two party system. There was one party for 209 and one party silent. The civil rights communities, feminist community, student groups and left organizations had to build this campaign on their own. We lacked sufficient funds to compete effectively in the media. Under these circumstances we performed reasonably well.

The democratic left needs to create a more permanent structure for future campaigns. The current political parties (including the myriad of 3rd parties) do not defend civil rights nor economic justice of working people. The left needs both an electoral arm and a community organizing and educating arm to build the necessary political organization. The dispersion of liberal forces in this election were obvious. There were two competing campaign finance reforms, and two competing health care reform proposals on the ballot. Several "liberal" constituencies organized campaigns for their issues and left the civil rights and women's communities to fight on by themselves. There was not a common program between liberal groups, civil rights groups, feminists, and the democratic left. We have yet to develop the unity of purpose and the discipline necessary to build an electoral majority coalition.

—Duane Campbell

Southern California DSA Weighs In...

LOS ANGELES, CA Southern California DSA's 1996 campaign placed a major emphasis on implementing the National Activist Agenda's clause regarding beating the back the reactionary assaults on the poor and people of color. As with Proposition 187, the immigrant-bashing initiative of 1994, we were confronted with a "wedge" vehicle, the misnamed California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI)/Proposition 209, cynically designed to bolster the election prospects of Republican candidates and divert attention from the real reasons for the shrinking employment and educational opportunities facing Californians. Even though many worthwhile issues like increasing the minimum wage, campaign finance reform, and HMO reform were also going to be on the ballot, priority was given to defeating CCRI/Proposition 209 because thirty years of civil rights and women's rights achievements were at stake. To assist in the effort to defeat Prop 209, Southern California DSA participated in anti-209 grassroots precinct coalitions and urged its members to participate in anti-209 grassroots precinct activity.

In Los Angeles, DSA worked with the Los Angeles Metropolitan Alliance. The Alliance's mission is to create a permanent grassroots structure to build and exercise progressive power in the Greater Los Angeles area. It is a coalition of precinct-based grassroots organizations, student/youth and community of color organizations, and some of the more progressive labor union locals. Some of the key organizations included the South LA Affirmative Action Project, AGENDA, Californians for Justice, Coalition LA, SIEU locals 660, 399 and 347, HERE locals 11 and 814, United Teachers Los Angeles (UTLA), and the UCLA Affirmative Action Coalition.

The collective effort of this alliance contributed significantly to the margin of defeat Proposition 209 suffered in the Los Angeles area. In Los Angeles county, Proposition 209 was defeated 54 percent to 45 percent, and in the city of Los Angeles it went down at 60 percent to 40 percent. The Metropolitan Alli-

ance collectively organized in approximately 600 of Los Angeles county's almost 6000 precincts, concentrating its efforts in six specific geographic areas of Los Angeles. Low income communities, communities of color, and precincts with a progressive voting history were targeted as areas where the Alliance's grassroots efforts would have the most success. In the geographic areas where Metropolitan Alliance worked, the average "No" vote ranged from 62 percent to 89 percent. Through the Metropolitan Alliance labor, student/youth, and community organizations united to defeat Proposition 209 and laid the groundwork for a city-wide progressive alliance that will be able to contend for power in upcoming years.

DSA volunteered to help coordinate efforts in West Los Angeles. Our initial coalition partners included Coalition LA, the current formation of the progressive precinct network active for over ten years in Los Angeles, and the UCLA Affirmative Action Coalition, which was created in response to Governor Wilson's successful effort to dismantle the University of California's affirmative action programs. By the end of the campaign DSA had become the lead organization in the West Los Angeles effort by organizing Saturday mobilizations. We worked eighteen precincts in the Venice area. Venice includes African-American and Latino communities, has an overwhelming Democratic Party registration, and in 1994 voted from 50 percent to 70 percent against Proposition 187.

Each Saturday, over forty volunteers turned out to walk precincts in Venice where they identified No On 209 voters, passed out Coalition LA's progressive voting guide, and built the foundation for the development of a progressive grassroots presence in the West Los Angeles area. Over one hundred and fifty volunteers participated in this effort over the course of the campaign. Two thousand No On 209 voters were identified and ten thousand voting guides were distributed in these targeted precincts. During the final weekend reminders calls to the identified voters were made. On Election Day over thirty volunteers participated in the Get Out The Vote (GOTV) effort by doing poll checks to determine if our identified voters had actually voted yet. If they had not, those voters were given a final reminder call.

Alan Charney, DSA's National Director, came out for the last five days of the campaign to contribute his experience to the GOTV effort. Our work in Venice paid off, with the precincts we walked having voted against 209 from 57 percent to 85 percent with an average of 70 percent against Proposition 209. That average was ten percent above the average in Los Angeles city and 16 percent above the average in Los Angeles County.

Special mention needs to go to SAGE-UAW, the Student Association of Graduate Employees. Twenty-six SAGE members participated in the precinct mobilization and GOTV activity in West LA. SAGE members were consistently involved and proved to be the core volunteer participants. (SAGE has just completed a five day strike at UCLA to win better pay, working conditions, and union recognition of their teaching assistant members.) Other organizations that contributed volunteers were UPTE-CWA (Union of Professional and Technical Employees at UCLA), African Student Union, MECHA, Asian Pacific Coalition, Coalition LA, DSA, and many others to numerous to mention.

DSA's willingness to "roll up its sleeves" and shoulder the load in the West Los Angeles/Venice area greatly improved our standing among the left/progressive community in Los Angeles. A number of those who participated in the precinct activity have expressed interest in working with DSA and some have even indicated interest in becoming members.

In other areas like the San Fernando Valley, Pasadena, Highland Park and Orange County, DSA worked with Californians for Justice. Californians for Justice is a statewide organization created in the aftermath of Proposition 187. It consists primarily of people of color and young people. Californians for Justice is dedicated to fighting reactionary initiatives like 187 and 209, involving people of color and young people in the struggle against these initiatives, and thereby changing the voting demographic profile in California—which is currently older, upper-class, and white male—to accurately reflect the reality of the emerging majority of color in this state.

Southern California DSA is proud of its work with groups like the Metropolitan Alliance and Californians for Justice. We are equally proud of the twenty-five to thirty members in the Greater Los Angeles area who participated in our campaign project. We are particularly grateful to the one hundred and fifty members who contributed financially to Southern California DSA this year. Being a diverse organization, there were DSA members who worked on other initiatives, most notably Proposition 216, one of the health care reform initiatives, and there were members involved with Democratic Party candidates.

As we recuperate from the campaign, Southern California DSA has begun to evaluate our work in 1996, especially our work to defeat Prop 209, and to plan our activity in 1997 and beyond. We intend to continue working with the organizations and coalitions who were our partners in the effort against Proposition 209, to increase the active participation of our members in the organization, to foster development of new branches in areas like Pasadena and Orange County, to recruit new members, to make inroads on local college campuses, to improve upon our fundraising efforts, and to continue the overall development of the organization.

--Tim Parks
& Liz Rider

SAN DIEGO, CA San Diego DSA participated through coalitions in an effort to stop the eradication of affirmative action in California. Though DSA members heroically battled the odds, we fell short of a victory. The good news in California is that a broad coalition was formed and we did not hand the enemy a resounding victory. Minority voter turnout was a record high, a testament to the power of the issue.

Statewide, the gap narrowed as we approached election day. In the end those in favor of ending affirmative action had 54 percent of the vote, those opposed to eradicating this necessary program had 46 percent. The final count differed by 750,531 votes statewide.

In San Diego county, many organizations worked in coalition to impact the vote. San Diego DSA was one of the only organizations to work with all of the parties involved. Working with students at UC San Diego and San Diego State as well as through the local efforts of NOW and the Equal Opportunity Coalition, we reached thousands with our message. We participated in phone banks at the NOW office where the voter ID program covered 102 precincts and turned out 400 votes on election day. Through the Equal Opportunity Coalition, we participated in precinct walking and phoning that reached 35 precincts. About 12 members of San Diego DSA participated directly in these activities that were organized by the chapter. Many other DSA members worked in candidate campaigns, on the health care initiatives, and on the Campaign Finance Reform initiatives.

Conservative San Diego County's outcome was 63 percent to 37 percent—a difference of 121,165 votes. Though this trails most other counties in California, it is significant in that 36 percent of the vote in San Diego County far exceeds in actual numbers a majority vote in San Francisco County. It is a crucial lesson—we must learn the importance of bringing the progressive voice to heavily populated conservative areas. If we reduce the margin of victory in these areas we can begin to win.

--Stephanie Jennings

...And Massachusetts Reports

LYNN, MA In Massachusetts' 6th district DSA was an integral part of a campaign that made the critical difference in unseating Republican incumbent Peter Torkildsen and electing John Tierney, a progressive Democrat. We did it through a non-partisan get-out-the-vote campaign that targeted people acutely affected by economic insecurity.

One week before the election I joined the staff of Lynn Voter Power, an effort coordinated by Neighbor to Neighbor, Project '96 of the AFL-CIO, Boston Voter Power and other community organizations. Instead of the usual "win-this-election-now" campaign which is run with no real concern for the community, this project was started a year ago with the mission of building a long-term grassroots coalition to increase voter participation—and clout—in the most disaffected neighborhoods of Lynn. The campaign integrated the traditional elements of an intensive GOTV: voter registration, literature drops, door-knocking, phonebanking, and providing rides to the polls, with a concerted effort to bring together community leaders, organizations, and unions. Our work targeted infrequent voters in 12 precincts in the downtown area, which has been struggling against decline since the General Electric Riverworks plant slashed its work force, from 30,000 to 3,000 over the past several years.

When I arrived they put me to work coordinating nearly 100 volunteers who had signed up to work on election day. Because funding for stipends was provided by one of the unions, a very diverse range of people were able to volunteer, people who otherwise might not have participated. Project volunteers came from the local community college and community organizations, as well as from a women's substance abuse program and a homeless shelter. Even a group of Latina high school students pitched in to help cover the Spanish-speaking neighborhoods.

The weekend before election day we held trainings, in English and Spanish, to describe the overall program, rehearse the telephone and door-to-door scripts, and to explain the procedure for doing literature drops in our targeted neighborhoods. On Monday we worked late into the night completing the volunteer schedule, finishing the walking lists and copying neighborhood maps, scheduling rides and setting up a much-needed "hospitality suite" for the volunteers in an empty store front nearby.

Election day finally arrived and the troops went into action. Poll watchers were dropped at their stations, and van loads of volunteers, door-hangers in hand, drove out to neighborhoods while callers got on the phones. It was a mad-house for most of the day with so much activity to coordinate, but it was fun. Especially for me, your friendly DSA bureaucrat who spends most of her time pushing papers in the office, it was great to get out to do some organizing.

The experience of seeing a group of people, mostly strangers to each other, spend 12 hours together working their butts off for this intangible thing called democracy (as flawed as it is) was genuinely inspiring. But the real clincher was finding out that our efforts actually made the difference in electing the progressive. Tierney's margin of victory was smaller than the number of "infrequent voters" we brought to the polls, and who voted for him. Overall turnout in our precincts was significantly higher than the national average, and most of these people would probably not have voted without our work.

A more important victory, however, will be sustaining activism to pressure Tierney, and other elected officials, to address the issue of economic insecurity and work to meet the needs of the people of Lynn.

--Barb Ferrill

Happy Campaign Trails

Excerpts From the Diary of a DSA Youth Section Activist

BY KEVIN PRANIS

Thursday, October 24

My (late) arrival in Binghamton marks the beginning of my first Youth Section organizing tour and my first electoral campaign. Rich, my SUNY-Binghamton chapter contact, informed me that last week's polls showed our man (Maurice Hinchey) with a 48-37 lead over his challenger (Sue Wittig). Hinchey supporters are unhappy about the poll because they're afraid it will give Democrats a false sense of security. Rich and his brother Chuck took me to a local diner by way of a downtown in ghostly decline, pointing out the holdings of Binghamton's elite families. At The Spot, we discussed plans to pull together campus progressive organizations—the Graduate Student Employees Union, Students for Choice, the Queer Union, the Women's Center, etc. for last-minute literature drops (a strategy rejected as "too controversial" by the College Democrats).

Friday, October 25

Rich and I spent the morning making phone calls and decided to pay a visit to the offices of the Coordinated Campaign. The Campaign organizers are very worried about turnout on a campus that provides reliable votes for Democrats. Leaving the responsibility for turning out progressives to Rich and Chuck, I took off for Ithaca. After arriving at the home of Theresa Alt—NPC member and coordinator of DSA's electoral efforts here—I called around in search of a few more hands for tomorrow's literature drop. Since this lit drop was designed especially for finicky DSA members with their aversion to Clinton, Theresa and I are crossing our fingers and hoping for a good turnout.

Saturday, October 26

Blue skies and warm weather—a far cry from the last lit drop which took place in the pouring rain, or so I hear. Our work took us through Ithaca's winding hills, still splattered with autumnal colors. The Wittig signs are few and far between—a good sign, even if this is relatively progressive territory. I encountered much less hostility than expected. People seem happy to receive the information, and at one house I was told "Hinchey's my man. How's he doing?" Only one sign, marked "Private Drive" to mar an otherwise perfect day. I voted for going in anyway, but my comrade thought it better not to disturb the powers that be. Not yet anyway.

Sunday, October 27

Spent the morning meeting with the President of the Ithaca College Democrats. Returned to Binghamton late in the afternoon for Ralph Nader's appearance, organized in part by the Binghamton DSA. Nader gave a fairly interesting talk centered on the idea that we grow up as corporate rather than civic subjects. None of the information was particularly new, but the audience seemed inspired. What's unique about Nader is not his information or his analysis but the experience of seeing the world through eyes not totally accustomed to our overly commodified world. I remain disappointed by his refusal to address other issues—gay marriage, for example, and by the one dimensionality of his political strategy, but I left a bit more comfortable voting for him than I felt going in. We got rid of piles of literature, and the Hinchey campaign signed up a slew of possible volunteers, so all in all it was a great success. (Note: Must make short film *Through the Eyes of Ralph Nader*—a sort of public citizen *Terminator*.)

Thursday, October 31

Whatever the outcome of the elections, I'm feeling slightly more optimistic about the future after having visited four campuses in as many days. Caught up with Eddie Ellis at Vassar College and promised him we'd have a solid campus base in time to advance our Prison Moratorium Project next semester. Rich says the Hinchey campaign student meeting went well—I think they're doing a lit drop today.

Sunday, November 3

Two days and counting. Spent a little time today trying to put together a final lit drop at Ithaca College and then held a short meeting with Cornell labor activists. A few of the more dedicated activists braved the first cold Sunday of the year for a brief discussion of labor solidarity and DSA's political work.

Monday, November 4

Spent the afternoon with marker and tagboard, preparing for the big day. Rich, Chuck, and I met with the Sierra Club interns to confirm plans for Get Out The Vote work. People seemed excited about the Prison Moratorium Project and willing to help tomorrow despite reservations (that's putting it kindly) about Clinton. At ten, Chuck and I hit the darkened streets, leaving trails of white Hinchey signs up and down Clinton and Main.

Tuesday, November 5

The day began under ominous, leaden skies, feeling like anything *but* election day. While our primary concern was voter turnout, at noon we learned that the Wittig campaign had begun a last ditch palmcarding and advertising blitz to portray Wittig as a champion of education. We immediately moved into high gear, photocopying fliers, making signs, and deploying more palmcarders at the campus polling booths. I was pleased to see DSA members out in force, urging students to Vote Nader, Vote Hinchey. An hour and a half before the polls closed, Rich and I began phoning newly registered Democrats and independents. After a grueling hour speaking to answering

machines, we returned to the Mandela room to find the College Democrats and their friends clustered around the television watching the returns.

It was at that moment, with the day's work concluded, and Clinton's victory assured, that my pent up frustration—toward Clinton, the Democrats, and the whole damned process—was unleashed. I think other DSA members felt the same way, because we ditched the gory spectacle of Clinton's victory speech.

While our efforts didn't go unrewarded, they certainly went unappreciated—at least by the students. Those entering the polling places looked more harried than empowered by the process of voting. No joy in Mudville—just young people browbeaten into voting by their teachers, their parents, and their MTV VJs. Most were intimidated or put off by the palm-carders who descended on them like sharks. They knew little to nothing about Hinchey and less about Wittig, and while many probably wanted to know more, they instinctively distrusted those of us with the mark of politics on our brows. The clean-cut, becaped fraternity boys, on the other hand, had the whole thing figured out. When we approached them, one would speak for the whole group: "We voted." Sometimes, if the mood struck them, they would add "for Bob Dole," as a rebellious aside. A few students simply stated that they did not intend to vote—at times with a fierceness that suggested they were expecting an argument.

I think people hate, and are terrified of, voting because they don't have other opportunities to work democratically. Every (two or) four years the weight of the world is placed on their shoulders. They are held responsible for the conditions of their own lives if they vote or (especially) if they don't. Many perform the obligatory ritual, they are even interested in the issues, but they are intimidated by their own ignorance and inefficacy—more comfortable choosing between soft drinks and television programs than political candidates. I suppose that's the point Nader was after, and I suppose that's why I voted for him, despite my own reservations. Anyway, this is all water under the bridge. My first electoral campaign may be over, but my organizing tour isn't, and if I don't start driving now, I'll never catch my plane to Chicago.

Kevin Pranis is the Youth Section Organizer at DSA's national office.

Books & Other Great DSA Stuff

Which Way is Left?: Some Essential Reading

○ **New! *The Snarling Citizen: Essays***

by **Barbara Ehrenreich** \$20.00

A stunning collection of essays by a DSA Honorary Chair. Farrar Straus & Giroux, 1995, cloth.

○ ***The Worst Years of Our Lives:***

Irreverent Notes From a Decade of Greed

by **Barbara Ehrenreich** \$10.00

A collection of shorter pieces by DSA Honorary Chair Barbara Ehrenreich. Harper-Collins, 1991, softcover.

○ ***A Critic's Notebook***

by **Irving Howe** \$14.00.

The final book of essays by DSA's late Honorary Chair. With an introduction by Nicholas Howe. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1994, softcover.

○ ***A Margin of Hope***

by **Irving Howe** \$7.00

The classic memoir by DSA's late Honorary Chair. HBJ, 1982, softcover.

○ ***Ethnic Nationalism:***

The Tragic Death of Yugoslavia

by **Bogdan Denitch** \$17.95

Reflections on the political and social forces that led to catastrophe in the former Yugoslavia. University of Minnesota Press, 1994, softcover.

○ ***The End of the Cold War: European***

Unity, Socialism, and the Shift in Global Power by **Bogdan Denitch** \$12.00

An excellent, thoughtful analysis of recent history. The University of Minnesota Press, 1990, softcover.

○ ***World Orders Old and New***

by **Noam Chomsky** \$25.00

Sharp, fresh criticism of emerging global capitalism. Columbia University Press, 1994, cloth.

○ ***Keeping Faith***

by **Cornel West** \$16.00

A new collection of essays on philosophy and race. Confronts the questions surrounding identity politics, Critical Legal Studies, the legacies of the civil rights movement, and more. Routledge Press, 1993, softcover.

○ ***After Marxism***

by **Ronald Aronson** \$18.95

"A down to earth guide to left-wing theory in the post-Marxist era." -Barbara Ehrenreich
The Guilford Press, 1995, softcover.

○ ***Fat and Mean: The Corporate Squeeze of Working Americans and the Myth of Managerial "Downsizing"***

by **David M. Gordon** \$25.00

Exposes the close and crippling connection between falling wages and overstuffed bureaucracies in the United States. The Free Press, 1996, hardcover.

○ ***The Permanence of the Political: A Democratic Critique of the Radical Impulse to Transcend Politics.***

by **Joseph M. Schwartz** \$24.95

An analysis and call for a reconstructed radical democratic theory of politics. Princeton University Press, 1995, hardcover.

○ ***Why Market Socialism? Voices of Dissent***

Eds. **Frank Roosevelt and David Belkin** \$21.95
From *Dissent* magazine essay series on economics and politics of democratic socialism. Includes selections by Harrington, Howe, Barkin, Nove, Tobin, Estrin, Roemer, Block, Blair, Bell, Heilbroner, Roosevelt, Belkin, and others. M.E. Sharpe, 1994, softcover.

○ ***The History of Christian Socialism***

by **John C. Cort** \$22.00

"A rich survey of a profound but hidden tradition." - Michael Harrington
Orbis Books, 1988, softcover.

Society Pages

○ **New! *Class Warfare***

More Interviews of Noam Chomsky

with **David Barsamian** \$15.00

Chomsky reveals and explores intriguing contradictions about both himself and the political issues of our time.

Common Courage Press, 1996, softcover.

○ ***Keeping the Rabble in Line***

David Barsamian interviews Noam Chomsky \$14.00

Wide-ranging discussions on our social and political crisis.

Common Courage Press, 1994, softcover.

○ ***Generation at a Crossroads***

by **Paul Rogat Loeb** \$16.95

A thorough description of political attitudes and actions of the post-Reagan generation. Rutgers University Press, 1994, softcover.

○ ***Battling Bias: The Struggle for Identity and Community on College Campuses***

by **Ruth Sidel** \$11.95

"Ruth Sidel brings sweet reason and objectivity to a subject best known for deranged conservative paranoia."—Barbara Ehrenreich
Penguin, 1994, 290 pages, softcover.

Tools for Radicals

○ ***Organizing for Social Change:***

A Manual for Activists in the 1990s

by **Kim Bobo, Jackie Kendall, and Steve Max**

An incomparable handbook.

Seven Locks Press, 1991, softcover, \$20.00.

○ ***The Quickening of America:***

Rebuilding Our Nation, Remaking Our Lives

by **Paul Martin Du Bois and Frances Moore Lappé**

Strategies for building community-based democratic movements and revitalizing our public life.

Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1994, softcover, \$15.00.

○ ***Back Off! How to Confront and Stop***

Sexual Harassment and Harassers

by **Martha J. Langelan**

Creative, non-violent techniques women can use to protect their social environments from sexist aggression.

Fireside Books, 1993, softcover, \$12.00

The History Corner

Socialism and America

by Irving Howe \$7.00

Notes on the history of socialism in America from the time of Eugene Debs to the present.
Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977, 218 pages, paperback.

The Unquiet Ghost: Russians Remember Stalin

By Adam Hochschild \$12.95

A first-hand account of Russians coming to terms with the Soviet genocide that took some 20 million lives.
Penguin, 1994, paperback.

After the Flood: World Politics and Democracy in the Wake of Communism

by Bogdan Denitch \$17.00

Thoughtful reflections on the demise of Leninism.
Wesleyan University Press, 1992, paperback.

Why Do Ruling Classes Fear History? and Other Questions

by Harvey J. Kaye \$23.95

In this collection of essays Kaye explores the value of knowledge and the power of history to liberate, arguing that we must focus on history's valuable ability to engender social action.
St. Martin's Press, 1996, hardcover.

Recent Works by Cornel West

Race Matters

by Cornel West \$15.00

The bestselling collection of essays by DSA Honorary Chair Cornel West. Insightful, prophetic thinking.
Beacon Press, 1993, hardcover.

Prophetic Thought in Postmodern Times

by Cornel West \$15.00

Reflections on the preservation of "non-market" values.
Common Courage Press, 1993, paperback.

Breaking Bread: Insurgent Black Intellectual Life

by bell hooks and Cornel West \$14.00

This provocative and captivating dialogue discusses issues ranging from theology and the left to contemporary music, film and fashion.
South End Press, 1991, paperback.

Prophetic Reflections:

Notes on Race and Power in America

by Cornel West \$15.00

Recent speeches and interviews.
As always, challenging and enlightening.
Common Courage Press, 1993, 244 pages.

Left Video Mania

The New American Poverty

Presented by Michael Harrington \$10.00

Always an engaging and captivating speaker, Harrington presents his analysis of poverty in a speech given October 29, 1987 at Rosemont College.
The Institute for Democratic Socialism, 1987.

Hearing on Economic Insecurity

This is the outstanding hearing organized by the Boston DSA held January 28, 1996 in Boston's historic Faneuil Hall, as part of DSA's national project which inspired similar hearings by the AFL-CIO and the Progressive Caucus.

Produced by the Democratic Socialists of America Fund, 30 minutes, \$15-regular, \$25-broadcast quality

order from: **Boston DSA, 11 Garden St.

Cambridge MA 02138 same postage & handling

Stop Sweatshops! The Video

by Virginia Coughlin \$10.00

Produced for UNITE!'s campaign against sweatshops, this film focuses on the rise of sweatshops in the US and the campaigns to stop them. *UNITE!, 1996, 8 minutes.*

order from: **Stop Sweat Shops 232 W. 40th St, New York, NY 10018 same postage & handling

Manufacturing Consent:

Noam Chomsky and the Media

a film by Mark Achbar and Peter

Wintonick \$59.95

An eye-opening, thoughtful and humorous exploration of Chomsky's life and thought.
Zeitgeist Films, 1993, 166 minutes.

The Concert for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom

Featuring Billy Bragg, Pete Seeger, and

Gretchen Reed \$20.00.

A classic evening of song and humor featuring some of the left's favorite entertainers.

DSA, 1991.

Socialist Outerwear

DSA T-shirts

design A: \$15.00 blue w/ giant lettering: "Feminism/Democracy/Socialism"

design B: \$12.00 white w/ handshake & rose on front, "We Organize with Class" on back

check one: M L XL 2XL

DSA bicycle caps \$6.00 (one size fits all)

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BUILD SCHOOLS, NOT PRISONS

DSA's Youth Section Remembers Attica

Two-hundred New Yorkers assembled in Brooklyn's Prospect Park on September 14 for an afternoon program of music, poetry, and speeches to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Attica prison rebellion. We Remember Attica: Community Safety Day - an event initiated by former political prisoner Eddie Ellis and by members of the DSA Youth Section - was hosted by hip-hop artist Silq (a.k.a. Dragon Madam) and featured a diverse group of speakers and entertainers including Ellis, Nelson Denis, Adam Yauch (Beastie Boys), Bonz Malone (Vibe Magazine), Zu Ninjaz and Royal Fam (Wu-Tang Clan), Channel Live, Kool Kim, Mental Giants, Lucid Dreams, and The Adjusters.

We Remember Attica, according to organizers, had two objectives: to keep alive the memory of thirty-nine men who were brutally murdered during the retaking of the prison and to inaugurate the Prison Moratorium Project—a groundbreaking effort initiated by the Youth Section and Ellis Community Justice Center to bring together current and former prisoners, students, community activists, religious leaders, and hip-hop artists to oppose the expansion of the prison-industrial complex. "Reckless prison spending has crippled New York state's ability to meet the needs of our children, ranging from education to health care to drug treatment to jobs," says Ellis, "so we're calling for a five-year moratorium on prison construction and a redirection of prison investment to community investment."

Nelson Denis, an East Harlem State Assemblyman who spoke at the event, reiterated the importance of placing community needs over new prison

building. Denis noted that ninety-five percent of New York City's prisoners are black or Latino, and he argued that this statistic reflects fundamental flaws in the justice system which need to be overcome.

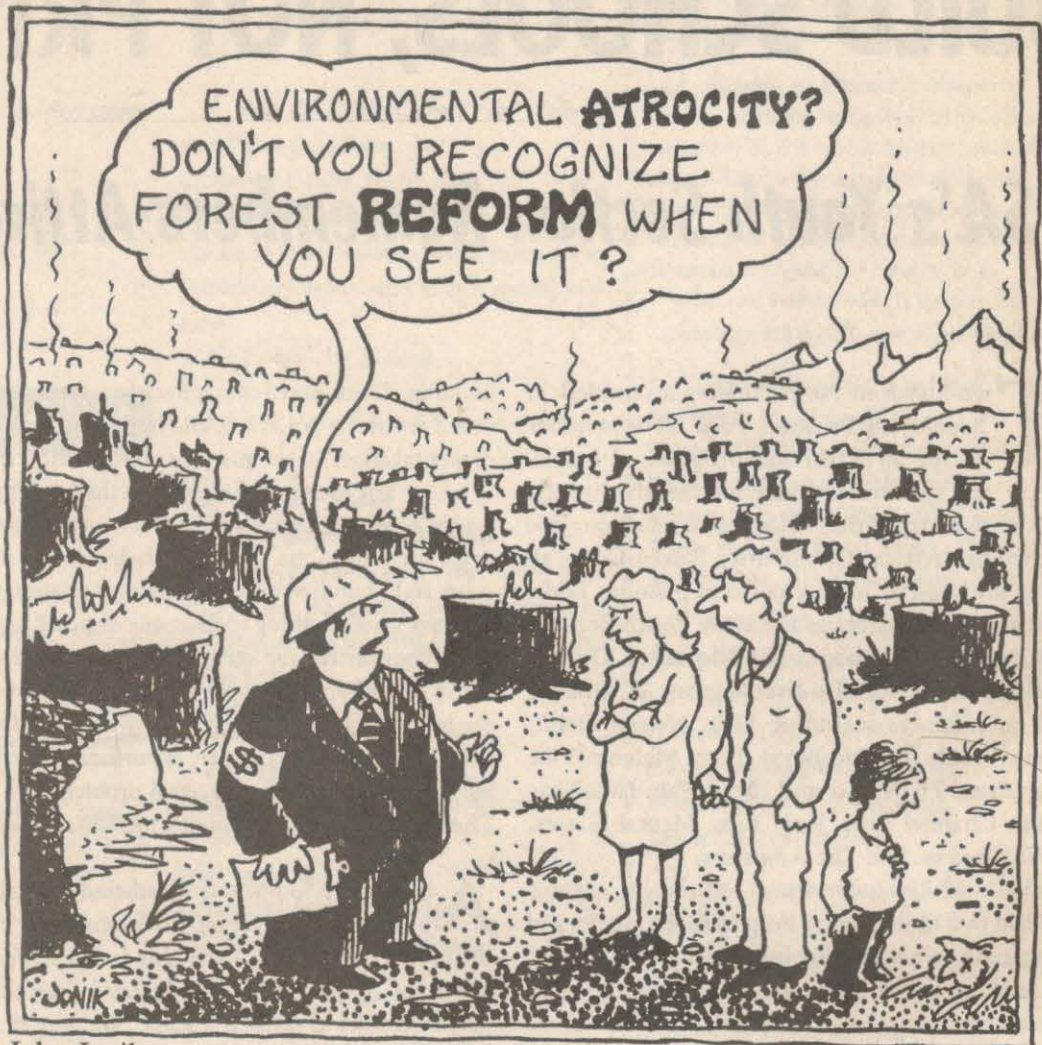
The overcrowding crisis in the New York City schools added an urgent note to Saturday's rally. "It's unbelievable that Giuliani can't find space for ninety-one thousand students, and Pataki wants to spend another eight-hundred million dollars on prisons, which are one of the least effective crime-fighting tools at our disposal," remarked Raybbin Vargas, event coordinator and outgoing co-chair of the DSA Youth Section. A desire to give young people a voice in their own lives led Vargas to take the lead in organizing the rally. *We Remember Attica* will give us—particularly as young people—an opportunity to reclaim our history, and to tell the politicians about the **real** problems we face in our communities. The first step is to stop building prisons and demonizing young people.

According to Silq—who both emceed and helped to organize the event—the support from the hip-hop community has been tremendous. "All the heads [entertainers] I was able to reach were eager to be involved in this event. Rappers and other entertainers are finally beginning to recognize their roles as cultural leaders. We pray that this meeting of cultural and political leaders will be the first step toward hip-hop activism."

For Adam Yauch of the Beastie Boys, the process of change must be far-reaching. "The problems with our justice system go deep into our collective subconscious. The problems with our justice system go into our very concepts of 'us' and 'them.' Our so-called correctional facilities do more to create outsiders than to unite us. We need to begin to look into ourselves and rethink our definition of what a criminal is."

Saturday's event concluded with a call to action, led by Vargas, who urged the audience to join the DSA Youth Section and the Community Justice Center in the Prison Moratorium Project.

Parting Shot



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